



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 1

**THE SERVICE OF THE ALTAR
BY MEN AND BOYS**

MMXII

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the former liturgical traditions’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Service of the Altar by Men and Boys: Abstract

The tradition of men and boys, to the exclusion of females, serving Mass is a specific instance of the ‘former liturgical tradition’ of whose value as a ‘treasure for the Church’ Pope Benedict XVI has spoken. Its value lies most fundamentally in its relation to the Church’s teaching, clearly expressed by Pope Blessed John-Paul II, on the complementarity of the sexes in the economy of salvation, a teaching intimately connected with the teaching that the ordination of women to the priesthood is impossible. Women, more perfectly than men, represent the Church as Bride; men, more perfectly than women, represent Christ as Bridegroom, particularly in his priestly role. This teaching is manifested not only in men, to the exclusion of women, being ordained to the priesthood, but also in those closest to the priesthood in the service of the liturgy, also being exclusively male. This distinction is reinforced by the identification of the sanctuary of a church as heaven, the liturgy carried out there a foretaste of the heavenly liturgy, and the nave of the church as earth, the dwelling place of the Church militant. For these reasons the practice of male service of the altar serves to reinforce, teach, and ‘incarnate’, a fundamental theological truth, according to the principle *lex orandi lex credendi*.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV POSITION PAPERS, 1: THE SERVICE OF THE ALTAR BY MEN AND BOYS

Introduction to the series.

The Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011) made clear what was implicit in the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007), that Masses celebrated according to the Missal of Pope Bl John XXIII must be said in accordance with the liturgical law appropriate to that Missal. This is a logical consequence of the Holy Father's stated purpose in the Motu Proprio, to create a space in the Church for the 'former liturgical tradition', both for the sake of those Catholics attached to it, and because of the value it has in itself. The 'former liturgical tradition' has many features which, in different ways, contribute to its special character, and its value for the Church. The point of these position papers is to explicate these features, their rationale, their interrelationship, and the contribution they make to the value of the liturgical tradition as a whole. We hope in so doing to contribute to a debate which will inform the future development of the 'Extraordinary Form' of the Roman Rite.

The Service of the Altar by Men and Boys

1. The issue of men and boys, to the exclusion of females, serving Mass in the Extraordinary Form (EF) is an appropriate place to start this series of papers, since on this issue the Pontifical Commission Ecclesia Dei has already spoken authoritatively, in favour of the binding nature of the rules in force in 1962. It is also very evident that permission for females to serve Mass in the Ordinary Form (OF) takes the form not of a recommended policy but a concession to 'specific local reasons' (as expressed in the Congregation for Divine Worship's 1994 ruling),¹ and the CDW has expressly praised the 'noble tradition of having boys serve at the altar', following which is 'always very appropriate' (Letter, July 27th 2001).² This is very evidently an example of a tradition, characteristic of the 1962 Missal (as well as of the 1970 Missal as originally conceived), which the Motu Proprio is concerned to preserve and foster.
2. The 'noble tradition' of men and boys serving Mass, to the exclusion of females, is notably supported by canon 44 of the Collection of Laodicea, dating from the late fourth century, as well as by innumerable later documents. The value of the tradition does not derive solely from its antiquity. The concern of Popes and bishops to preserve this tradition over so many centuries derives from profound theological and pastoral considerations.
3. The pastoral consideration mentioned by the CDW in both the documents already cited is that the intimate collaboration of the server with the priest in the divine service frequently fosters priestly vocations. The CDW is concerned that this source of vocations may be undermined by the admission of females to the service of the altar.

¹ Notitiae 30 (1994) 333-335

² Notitiae 37 (2001) 397-399

This pastoral problem follows from an issue of theological principle, which is that, properly understood, lay servers are substituting for the traditional minor order of acolyte: they are symbolically, and often causally, closely connected with the clerical state.

4. The theological reasons are related to the Church's irreformable doctrine that only men can be ordained to the priesthood. That teaching, as emphasised by Pope Bl. John-Paul II (*Mulieris Dignitatem* (1988); *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* (1994)), is based on the distinct and complementary roles of the sexes in the economy of salvation.
5. Early in *Mulieris Dignitatem* Pope Bl. John-Paul II reminds us of the principle 'Grace never casts nature aside or cancels it out, but rather perfects and ennobles it.'³ The role of the sexes in the Church, as willed by God, does not overturn but builds upon and perfects the complementarity found in human relationships, and the special charisms of each sex,⁴ notwithstanding the damage done by Original Sin.⁵ Pope Bl. John-Paul II speaks of the 'naturally spousal predisposition of the feminine personality', which is exemplified not only in marriage but in virginity, as a form of self-giving.⁶ God relates to the Church as Bridegroom to Bride, an analogy found notably in Ephesians 5, and also in numerous passages of the Old Testament.⁷
6. As Pope Bl. John-Paul II goes on to explain, in the Church every human being—male or female—is the 'Bride' in the sense that he or she accepts the gift of the love of Christ the Redeemer, and seeks to respond to it with the gift of his or her own person.⁸
7. Thus also the Blessed Virgin Mary can be described as 'a "figure" of the Church', in the phrase of St Ambrose⁹ quoted by *Lumen Gentium*¹⁰ and reiterated in *Mulieris Dignitatem*.¹¹ Pope Bl. John-Paul II concludes that women have a 'prophetic' role in the Church, inasmuch as they 'manifest this truth', of the relationship between God and the Church.¹² This has implications for female religious, who can more perfectly represent the Virgin Bride, the Church: as Pope Bl. John-Paul II wrote,

This spousal dimension, which is part of all consecrated life, has a particular meaning for women, who find therein their feminine identity and as it were discover the special genius of their relationship with the Lord.¹³

³ MD 5: 'Sed gratia, seu Dei actio supernaturalis, numquam naturam excludit, quin immo eam perficit et nobilitat.'

⁴ Catechism of the Catholic Church 2333

⁵ On Original Sin see MD 10

⁶ MD 20: 'Natura proin ac sponsalis inclinatio ipsius personae feminae';

⁷ MD 23 mentions Hosea, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Isaiah.

⁸ MD 25

⁹ S. Ambrosius, Expos. Lc. II, 7: PL 15, 1555

¹⁰ Lumen Gentium 63

¹¹ MD 27 'Mariam Nazarethanam Ecclesiae esse "figuram"'

¹² MD 29

¹³ Vita consecrata 34: 'Hac in sponsali ratione quae praecipua est omnis consecratae vitae, mulier, propriam quasi indolem detegens suae cum Domino coniunctionis, se reperit ipsa.' This could be rendered more literally: 'In this spousal way of thinking, which is the foremost consideration of all consecrated life, woman, discovering the as it were particular character of her union with the Lord, finds herself.'

We may further observe in this regard that Consecrated Virginity is a vocation unique to women.

8. The analogy of Bridegroom and Bride has its corollary in the relationship between the clergy and the *Christifideles*, and between the Sanctuary and the Nave of a church building. On the first, Pope Bl. John-Paul II cited *Mulieris Dignitatem* in his ruling on the impossibility of the ordination of women.¹⁴ If women are able to represent most perfectly the Church as Bride, it is men who are called to represent Christ, particularly in his priestly role.¹⁵ In recognition of the priest's role *in persona Christi*, the priest's collaborators and assistants, his living tools, so to speak, are to be understood as being on the same side of the analogy *vis-à-vis* the Christian faithful, and this is underscored by the long tradition of seeing the sanctuary of a church as representing the heavenly realm, and the nave the earthly one. As the scholar Fr Michel Sinoir writes:

The [Eastern] iconostasis symbolically is Heaven, and its liturgy, which anticipates Heaven, is celebrated only by members of the clergy. The nave is symbolically the earth, the abode of men and women who are preparing themselves to enter into Glory. This is by analogy the same mystery as that of Christ-the-Bridegroom, renewing in the sanctuary His sacrifice, which is gratefully received by the Church-His-Bride who is still in pilgrimage here below.¹⁶

9. This in turn makes sense of the long-standing prohibition, not only of female service at the altar, but of any female presence in the sanctuary during the liturgy. Thus we find that choirs including women are not allowed in the sanctuary by *Musica Sacra* (1958),¹⁷ and female readers are excluded from the sanctuary by the 1975 edition of the General Instruction of the Roman Missal.¹⁸
10. What is at stake is the liturgical representation of theological principles, as we would expect, on the principle *legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi*.¹⁹ These principles are not simply reflected by the liturgy, they are illustrated, taught, and in time made second nature to the assisting faithful: the liturgy can be said to 'incarnate' them.²⁰ It is for this reason that a special value attaches to the preservation of the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite in its integrity, since this Form is the liturgical articulation of a set of theological principles which are the Church's own. The 'noble tradition' of male service

¹⁴ *Ordinatio Sacerdotalis* 5

¹⁵ Pope Benedict XVI has reiterated the identification of the priest with Christ as Bridegroom of the Church in explaining the meaning and value of celibacy in the priesthood: 'This choice [of celibacy] has first and foremost a nuptial meaning; it is a profound identification with the heart of Christ the Bridegroom who gives his life for his Bride.' Post-Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 24.

¹⁶ Fr Michel Sinoir, 'La Question de L'Admission des Femmes au Service de L'Autel', Paris, Pierre Téqui, 1994, p26, translated by Fr Brian Harrison OS.

¹⁷ *Musica Sacra* 100

¹⁸ General Instruction of the Roman Missal (1975) 70

¹⁹ Pius XII *Mediator Dei* (1946) 47

²⁰ Cf. Christoph, Cardinal Schönborn 'Loving the Church: Spiritual exercises preached in the presences of Pope John Paul II' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p205: 'Yet how important such signs are for "incarnating" the faith.' (He is speaking of liturgical orientation in this passage.)

of the altar gives the Church an apprehensible presentation of the teaching of the Church on the role of the sexes in the economy of salvation, and Christ's relationship with the Church, as Bridegroom to Bride, which itself mirrors God's relationship with Creation.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 2

LITURGICAL PIETY
AND PARTICIPATION

MARCH 2012

From the General Introduction

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Liturgical Piety and Participation: Abstract

The Liturgical Movement of the mid to late 19th Century and early to mid 20th Century promoted a piety which took the liturgy as its primary inspiration. This naturally led to the insistence that the liturgy be comprehended: as well as liturgical catechesis, this in turn led some members of the movement to recommend the exposure of aspects of the liturgy which were hidden in one way or another (by the use of Latin, silence, celebration ‘*ad orientem*’ etc.), and by the simplification of the rites themselves. However, as Pope Bl. John-Paul II pointed out, proper understanding of liturgical participation does not limit it to an intellectual comprehension of the rites, but includes the impact of the rite on the whole person. Pope Benedict XVI’s reference to the former liturgical tradition’s ‘sacrality’, draws attention to the fact that the very aspects of the rites which might seem to obscure the faithful’s comprehension (complex ceremonial, Latin, silence etc.), in fact facilitate participation of the whole person, by communicating the sacred realities of the rite in ways which transcend words.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 2: LITURGICAL PIETY AND PARTICIPATION

1. The term ‘Liturgical Piety’ refers to a piety which is fostered by frequent participation in the liturgy, draws inspiration from the unfolding of the sacred mysteries through the cycle of the liturgical year, and for which the texts of the liturgical books and the ceremonies of the liturgical rites as central rather than peripheral to its formation. It is contrasted with a piety which is formed predominantly by non-liturgical devotions, whether these be public or private. The fostering of liturgical piety, and the participation in the liturgy conducive to such piety, might be said to be the ultimate objects of the Liturgical Movement, from its beginnings in the nineteenth century up to, and including, the influence that Movement had on the reform of the liturgy after the Second Vatican Council. It was the task of successive popes to encourage this movement while simultaneously guarding against the exaggerated and misguided conclusions which were sometimes derived from this ideal. The concept of liturgical piety is of particular interest in the context of the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Missal, since this ideal continues to influence discussion of the participation of the faithful in the liturgy, and the discussion of how the Extraordinary Form should be celebrated, and its liturgical books further developed over time. In particular this paper is intended to shed light on the question of whether the ‘former liturgical tradition’ is itself a barrier to a proper liturgical participation by the faithful, and whether the arguments of the Liturgical Movement, and the contemporary Magisterium such as Pius XII’s encyclical *Mediator Dei*, should be read as indicating that it is a barrier.
2. The desire for a more liturgical piety arose naturally from two observations. First, that the Catholic liturgy is an enormously rich source for the devotional life. As the English Cardinal Wiseman exclaimed as early as 1842:

Why there is not a place, or a thing, used in the worship which [the Catholic] attends, upon which there has not been lavished, so to speak, more rich poetry and more solemn prayers, than all our modern books put together.¹
3. Secondly, the liturgy, and in particular the Eucharist, is of its very nature the privileged opportunity for the Christian to communicate with God. The liturgy is the public prayer of the Church, and the Mass is the re-presentation of Christ’s Sacrifice on the Cross: in joining themselves to the first, the faithful can take part in the perfect prayer offered to God by His spotless Bride; in joining themselves to the second, the faithful can associate their own offerings with the perfect Sacrifice offered to the Father, that of the spotless Victim.
4. For the liturgy to have the place in the ordinary Catholic’s devotional life which it ought to have, his participation in the liturgy must be as profound as possible. One way of fostering this was to promote liturgical formation, both of the clergy and the faithful,² notably by books, both *of* the liturgy—missals for the laity—and *about* the liturgy, such as Dom Prosper Guéranger’s monumental ‘L’Année liturgique’, published between 1841 and 1844. Guéranger wrote in his general preface, after noting the special value of prayer united with the Prayer of the Church:

¹ “On Prayer and Prayer Books”, Dublin Review November 1842. This point is echoed in the Constitution on the Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 33.

² *Sacrosanctum Concilium*’s energy in promoting liturgical formation is very striking: see 14-20.

Liturgical prayer would soon become powerless were the faithful not to take a real share in it, or, at least, not to associate themselves to it in heart. It can heal the world, but only on the condition that it be understood.³

5. Even at its very dawn, the aims and inspiration of the Liturgical Movement encompassed a tension. On the one hand, the richness, which is to say the theological profundity, density, and complexity of the Catholic liturgy, is part of the reason for promoting a greater appreciation of it, particularly as the basis for devotional contemplation. On the other hand, if participation in the liturgy, which was also recommended by the contemporary Magisterium,⁴ requires an adequate understanding of it, then it would seem that participation could be enhanced both by the exposure to view of parts of the liturgy traditionally hidden, in one way or another (by saying silent prayers aloud, by the use of the vernacular, by saying Mass ‘*versus populum*’), and also by the simplification of the rites.
6. This tension explains the debate within the Liturgical Movement over liturgical reform, which continued for more than a century. Many writers in the movement were profoundly attached to the liturgy as it had been handed down, and opposed (for example) the use of the vernacular: Guéranger himself being an example of this. Others took the opposite view.⁵
7. This tension can be resolved, however, by two observations. First and most simply, taken to its logical conclusion, the attempt to ease the comprehension of a rite by simplifying it is self-defeating, since the process of simplification has the result that there is less to comprehend. Removing prayers and ceremonies, clearly, removes things which could be the object of fruitful meditation.
8. Secondly, the ‘comprehension’ at issue in liturgical participation is not primarily a matter of the grasp of propositions; it concerns rather the spiritual impact of the liturgy on the participant. Fr Aidan Nichols OP, discussing the views of a number of sociologists concerned with religious ritual, observes:

To the sociologist, it is by no means self-evident that brief, clear rites have greater transformative potential than complex, abundant, lavish, rich, long rites, furnished with elaborate ceremonial.⁶

Again:

The notion that the more intelligible the sign, the more effectively it will enter the lives of the faithful is implausible to the sociological imagination. ...a certain opacity is essential to symbolic action in the sociologists’ account...⁷

³ Dom Prosper Guéranger ‘The Liturgical Year: Advent’ p6-7.

⁴ Notably St Pope Pius X Motu proprio *Tra le sollicitudine* (1903): ‘Filled as We are with a most ardent desire to see the true Christian spirit flourish in every respect and be preserved by all the faithful, We deem it necessary to provide before anything else for the sanctity and dignity of the temple, in which the faithful assemble for no other object than that of acquiring this spirit from its foremost and indispensable font, which is the active participation in the most holy mysteries and in the public and solemn prayer of the Church.’

⁵ Joseph Gottler’s 1916 paper ‘Pia Desideria Liturgica’ called for the ‘foremass’ in the vernacular, and the removal of some ceremonies. Romano Guardini actually put into practice Mass ‘*versus populum*’ in the inter-war years.

⁶ Aidan Nichols OP ‘Looking at the Liturgy: a critical view of its contemporary form’ (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p59

⁷ Ibid p61

9. This is not just a matter of aesthetic impact, but of the general issue of non-verbal communication. Elaborate ceremonial indicates in a universal language the importance of whatever is at the centre of the ceremony. The use of Latin serves to emphasise the antiquity and universality of the liturgy, as Pope Blessed John XXIII pointed out.⁸ The use of silence is a very effective means of emphasising the sacred character of what is happening.⁹ Similar things can be said of many aspects of the former liturgical tradition which might superficially appear to impede the comprehension of the faithful. Pope Blessed John-Paul II refers to such things in speaking of the liturgy of the Oriental Churches:

The lengthy duration of the celebrations, the repeated invocations, everything expresses gradual identification with the mystery celebrated with one's whole person.¹⁰

Again, as the Instruction *Liturgiam authenticam* points out:

The Sacred Liturgy engages not only man's intellect, but the whole person, who is the "subject" of full and conscious participation in the liturgical celebration.¹¹

10. The point is underlined by Pope Pius XII's encyclical *Mediator Dei*. While approving a number of the initiatives of followers of the Liturgical Movement, as well as deprecating others, he makes an important qualification.

Many of the faithful are unable to use the Roman missal even though it is written in the vernacular; nor are all capable of understanding correctly the liturgical rites and formulas. So varied and diverse are men's talents and characters that it is impossible for all to be moved and attracted to the same extent by community prayers, hymns and liturgical services. Moreover, the needs and inclinations of all are not the same, nor are they always constant in the same individual. Who, then, would say, on account of such a prejudice, that all these Christians cannot participate in the Mass nor share its fruits? On the contrary, they can adopt some other method which proves easier for certain people; for instance, they can lovingly meditate on the mysteries of Jesus Christ or perform other exercises of piety or recite prayers which, though they differ from the sacred rites, are still essentially in harmony with them.¹²

⁸ Pope Bl. John XXIII Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia* (1963) 8; see also Pope Paul VI Apostolic Letter *Sacrificium Laudis* (1968): 'For this language [sc. Latin] is, within the Latin Church, an abundant well-spring of Christian civilisation and a very rich treasure-trove of devotion'.

⁹ Pope Benedict (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) writes in 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Pres, 2000) p209: 'We are realising more and more clearly that silence is part of the liturgy. We respond, by singing and praying, to the God who addresses us, but the greater mystery, surpassing all words, summons us to silence.'

¹⁰ Pope Bl. John-Paul II Encyclical *Orientale Lumen* (1995) 11: 'Extractum longius celebrationum tempus, iteratae invocationes, omnia denique comprobant aliquem paulatim in celebratum mysterium ingredi tota sua cum persona.'

¹¹ Instruction *Liturgiam authenticam* (2001) 28: 'Sacra Liturgia non solum hominis intellectum devincit, sed totam etiam personam, quae est "subiectum" plenae et consciae participationis in celebratione liturgica.'

¹² Pope Pius XII Encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) 108. 'Haud pauci enim e christifidelibus « Missali Romano », etiamsi vulgata lingua exarato, uti nequeunt; neque omnes idonei sunt ad recte, ut addecet, intellegendos ritus ac formulas liturgicas. Ingenium, indoles ac mens hominum tam varia sunt atque absimilia, ut non omnes queant precibus, canticis sacrisque actionibus, communiter habitis, eodem modo moveri ac duci. Ac praeterea animorum necessitates et propensa eorum studia non eadem in omnibus sunt, neque in singulis semper eadem permanent. Quis igitur dixerit, praeiudicata eiusmodi opinionum compulsus, tot christianos non posse Eucharisticum participare Sacri icipium, eiusque perfrui beneficiis? At ii alia ratione utique possunt, quae facilius nonnullis evadit; ut, verbi gratia, Iesu Christi mysteria pie meditando, vel alia peragendo pietatis exercitia aliasque fundendo preces, quae, etsi forma a sacris ritibus differunt, natura tamen sua cum iisdem congruunt.' The concern with the variety of forms of participation is reiterated in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 26: '[services] concern the individual members of the Church in

11. With the aid of this fuller understanding of participation, which is certainly both active and liturgical, but which is of the whole person, and not merely the intellect, we can look again at the questions raised by the Liturgical Movement about the form that a properly liturgical piety should take. To be imbued with the spirit of the liturgy, to have the liturgy in its proper place of honour in one's spiritual life, requires a degree of liturgical catechesis, but it is above all to be effected in the way the Church, in the liturgy, wishes us to be effected. This is with a profound sense of awe, awe being the rational response to the apprehension of the Holy. It is this sense which stimulates us to participate spiritually in the Sacrifice as intensely as possible. Pope Benedict XVI has noted that a particular charism of the Extraordinary Form in its 'sacrality', its evocation of awe.¹³ The mysteriousness of the ceremonies, the fact that prayers are said in a sacred language, even silently, the fact that parts of the liturgy are veiled from sight, naturally contribute to that awe, and in this way facilitate, rather than impede, the participation of the faithful.

different ways, according to their differing rank, office, and actual participation.' ('Quare ad universum Corpus Ecclesiae pertinent illudque manifestant et afficiunt; singula vero membra ipsius diverso modo, pro diversitate ordinum, munerum et actualis participationis, attingunt.')

¹³ Pope Benedict speaks of 'the sacrality which attracts many people to the former usage' (Letter to Bishops accompanying the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum* (2007)).



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 3

THE MANNER OF RECEIVING
HOLY COMMUNION

APRIL 2012

From the General Introduction

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The Manner of Receiving Holy Communion: Abstract

The Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* makes it clear that Holy Communion is to be received kneeling and on the tongue at celebrations of the Extraordinary Form. Reception on the tongue is, in fact, the universal law of the Church, from which particular Episcopal Conferences have received derogations. The value of kneeling to show one’s humility in the presence of the sacred is affirmed in innumerable texts of Scripture and emphasised by Pope Benedict XVI in his book ‘The Spirit of the Liturgy’. The moment of receiving Holy Communion is the most appropriate of all to show this attitude. Reception on the tongue, while not universal in the Early Church, became so quickly, and this reflected the great concern shown by the Fathers that particles of the host not be lost, a concern reiterated in Pope Paul VI’s *Memoriale Domini*. In conclusion, the traditional manner of receiving Holy Communion, which evinces both humility and childlike receptivity, prepares the communicant for the fruitful reception. Further, it conforms perfectly to the general attitude of reverence towards the Sacred Species to be found throughout the Extraordinary Form.

Comments can be sent to

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THE MANNER OF RECEIVING HOLY COMMUNION

1. As with the issue of service at the altar by men and boys,¹ the question of the manner of receiving Communion at celebrations of the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite is settled by the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011), which upholds the bindingness, in celebrations of the Extraordinary Form, of the liturgical law in force in 1962.² This specifies that Holy Communion is to be received by the Faithful kneeling and on the tongue.
2. Whereas service at the altar by females has been permitted in the Ordinary Form at the discretion of the local Ordinary, the prohibition on the reception of Holy Communion by the Faithful in the hand was expressly reiterated by Pope Paul VI,³ who merely noted that applications for a derogation of the law would need to be made by an Episcopal Conference to the Holy See. To explain the value of this practice, as this paper seeks to do, is to explain the value of the Church's own legislation.

Kneeling.

3. As Pope Benedict XVI has observed. 'Kneeling does not come from any one culture—it comes from the Bible and its knowledge of God.'⁴ As he goes on to elaborate, kneeling is found in numerous passages of Scripture as a proper attitude both of supplicatory prayer, and of adoration in the presence of God. In kneeling, we follow the example of Our Lord Himself,⁵ fulfil Philippians' Hymn of Christ,⁶ and conform ourselves to the heavenly liturgy glimpsed in the Book of Revelations.⁷ The Holy Father concludes:
It may well be that kneeling is alien to modern culture—insofar as it is a culture, for this culture has turned away from the faith and no longer knows the One before whom kneeling is the right, indeed the intrinsically necessary gesture. The man who learns to believe learns also to kneel, and a faith or a liturgy no longer familiar with kneeling would be sick at the core. Where it has been lost, kneeling must be rediscovered, so that, in our prayer, we remain in fellowship with the apostles and martyrs, in fellowship with the whole cosmos, indeed in union with Jesus Christ Himself.⁸
4. It remains to observe that the moment of one's reception of the Body of Our Blessed Lord in the Blessed Sacrament is an appropriate moment to kneel, and doing so is a very longstanding tradition in the West.⁹ Blessed Pope John Paul II reminds us that the proper attitude in receiving Holy Communion is 'the humility of the Centurion in the Gospel':¹⁰ this attitude is both manifested and nurtured by the recognised posture of

¹ FIUV Positio 1: The Service at the Altar of Men and Boys

² Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011) 28

³ Instruction *Memoriale Domini* (1969): 'the Supreme Pontiff judged that the long received manner of ministering Holy Communion to the faithful should not be changed'

⁴ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000) p185

⁵ Luke 22.41 (during the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane).

⁶ Philippians 2:10: 'That in the name of Jesus every knee should bow':

⁷ Revelations 5:8

⁸ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* p194.

⁹ In the West, the development of kneeling for Communion can be traced back at least to the 6th Century: see Athanasius Schneider 'Dominus Est' (Pine Beach NJ: Neman House Press, 2008) p27.

¹⁰ Encyclical Letter *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* (2003) 48: 'cum demissione centurionis in Evangelio'

humility, of kneeling. The requirement, in the current discipline of the Church, that a 'gesture of reverence' be made before Holy Communion is received,¹¹ is fulfilled in a most natural and unforced manner by receiving while kneeling.

On the Tongue.

5. The reception of Holy Communion on the tongue, as opposed to in the hand, while not the exclusive practice of the Early Church, does go back to the earliest times. It is attested by St Ephrem the Syriac¹² and the ancient Liturgy of St James,¹³ is mentioned at least as a possibility by Pope St Gregory the Great,¹⁴ and was mandated by the Council of Rouen c.878.¹⁵ Our Lord seems to have placed bread directly in the mouth of Judas at the Last Supper,¹⁶ and may have used the same method for the Consecrated Species. The spread of this method throughout the Church (with distinct variants for East and West) derived naturally from the great concern of the Fathers that no particle of the consecrated Host be lost. St Cyril of Jerusalem (invariably cited for his description of Communion in the hand)¹⁷ cautions that fragments of the Host should be considered more precious than gold dust;¹⁸ a similar concern is shown by Tertullian,¹⁹ St Jerome,²⁰ Origen,²¹ St Ephrem,²² and others.²³ This concern is rooted in Scripture, in the command of Our Lord to the Disciples following the Feeding of the Multitude, a type of the Eucharist: 'Gather up the fragments that remain, lest they be lost.'²⁴

¹¹ General Instruction on the Roman Missal (2002) 160

¹² St Ephrem the Syriac *Sermones in Hebdomada Sancta* 4, 5: 'Isaiah saw Me [sc. Christ], as you see Me now extending My right hand and carrying to your mouths the living Bread.' The reference is to Isaiah's vision of the live coal with which the angel touched his lips (Isaiah 6.6-7).

¹³ Bozestwennaya Liturgia Swjatago Apostoloa Iakowa Brata Boziya I perwago bierarcha Ierusalima (Roma-Grottaferrata, 1970) p151: 'The Lord will bless us, and make us worthy with the pure touchings of our fingers to take the live coal, and place it upon the mouths of the faithful, ...'

¹⁴ Pope St Gregory the Great, *Dialogues* 3,c. 3: 'after he had put our Lord's body into his mouth, that tongue, which long time before had not spoken, was loosed.' The context is the cure of a sick man, who may not have been able to put the Host into his own mouth; again, it was the man's tongue, among other things, which needed to be cured. Nevertheless the text does not indicate any surprise at the putting of the host directly into a man's mouth.

¹⁵ Council of Rouen, Chapter 2: 'let him [sc. the priest] place the Eucharist in the hand of no layman or woman, but let him place it only in his or her mouth with the following words: "Corpus Domini et Sanguis prosit tibi ad remissionem peccatorum et ad vitam aeternam".' ('nulli autem laico aut feminae eucharistiam in minibus ponat, sed tantum in os eius...') Mansi 10:1199f. Cf. Joseph Jungmann 'The Mass of the Roman Rite: its origins and development' (English Edition: New York: Benzinger, 1955) Vol II, pp381-2.

¹⁶ John 13:26-27: 'Jesus answered: He it is to whom I shall reach bread dipped. And when he had dipped the bread, he gave it to Judas Iscariot, the son of Simon. And after the morsel, Satan entered into him.'

¹⁷ St Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis* 5, 21f

¹⁸ *Mystagogical Catechesis* 5, 2

¹⁹ Tertullian *De Corona* 3: 'We feel pained should any wine or bread, even though our own, be cast upon the ground.'

²⁰ St Jerome *In Ps* 147, 14: '...if anything should fall to the ground, there is a danger.'

²¹ Origen *In Exod. Hom.* 13, 3: '...when you have received the Body of the Lord, you reverently exercise every care lest a particle of it fall.'

²² St Ephrem *Sermones in Hebdomada Sancta* 4, 4: '...do not trample underfoot even the fragments. The smallest fragment of this Bread can sanctify millions of men...'

²³ Notably, from the Canons of the Coptic Church: 'God forbid that any of the pearls or consecrated fragments should adhere to the fingers or fall the ground!' *Collationes canonum Copticae* (Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium* I, p95)

²⁴ John 6.12. Cf. Matthew 14.20 and 15.37; Mark 6.43 and 8.9; Luke 9.17

6. This concern is reiterated, and linked to the value of reception on the tongue, by the Instruction *Memoriale Domini* (1969), which summarises a number of considerations in favour of the traditional manner of distributing Holy Communion:

In view of the state of the Church as a whole today, this manner of distributing Holy Communion must be observed, not only because it rests upon a tradition of many centuries but especially because it is a sign of the reverence of the faithful toward the Eucharist. The practice in no way detracts from the personal dignity of those who approach this great Sacrament and it is a part of the preparation needed for the most fruitful reception of the Lord's body.²⁵

This reverence is a sign of Holy Communion not in "common bread and drink"²⁶ but in the Body and Blood of the Lord. ...

In addition, this manner of communicating, which is now to be considered as prescribed by custom, gives more effective assurance that Holy Communion will be distributed with the appropriate reverence, decorum, and dignity; that any danger of profaning the Eucharistic species, in which "the whole and entire Christ, God and man, is substantially contained and permanently present in a unique way,"²⁷ will be avoided; and finally that the diligent care which the Church has always commended for the very fragments of the consecrated bread will be maintained: "If you have allowed anything to be lost, consider this a lessening of your own members."²⁸

7. The possibility that Holy Communion in the hand might lead to a 'deplorable lack of respect towards the eucharistic species' was confirmed by Bl. Pope John Paul II.²⁹ The danger of deliberate profanation of the Blessed Sacrament, also noted in *Memoriale Domini*, has also sadly become evident, in an age in which sacrilegious acts can be made public on the internet to the scandal of Catholics all over the world. This issue is raised again by the Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004), which again refers to the distribution of the Blessed Sacrament exclusively on the tongue as the effective remedy:

If there is a risk of profanation, then Holy Communion should not be given in the hand to the faithful.³⁰

8. Bl. Pope John Paul II raised a related issue when he wrote 'To touch the sacred species and to distribute them with their own hands is a privilege of the ordained'.³¹ He links this to the consecration of the hands of the priest.³² This recalls a famous passage of St Thomas Aquinas, cited in this regard in an official statement of the Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff:³³

²⁵ [Footnote 6 in *Memoriale Domini* (MD)] Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, 98, 9: PL 37, 1264-1265.

²⁶ [Footnote 7 in MD] Cf. Justin, *Apologia I*, 66: PG 6, 427; cf. Irenaeus, *Adversus Haereses*, 1.4, c. 18. n. 5: PG 7, 1028-1029.

²⁷ [Footnote 9 in MD] Cf. *ibid.* n. 9, p. 547.

²⁸ [Footnote 10 in MD] Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catecheses Mystagogicae*, V. 21: PG 33, 1126.

²⁹ Bl. Pope John Paul II Letter *Dominicae Caenae* (1980) 11

³⁰ Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004) 92, reiterating the Congregation of Divine Worship's response to a dubium given in 1999, recorded in *Notitiae* 35 (1999) pp. 160-161

³¹ *Dominicae Caenae* 11

³² *Ibid.*, the preceding paragraph: 'But one must not forget the primary office of priests, who have been consecrated by their ordination to represent Christ the Priest: for this reason their hands, like their words and their will, have become the direct instruments of Christ.'

³³ Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff: 'Communion received on the tongue while kneeling' (2010)

...out of reverence towards this Sacrament, nothing touches it, but what is consecrated; hence the corporal and the chalice are consecrated, and likewise the priest's hands, for touching this Sacrament. Hence, it is not lawful for anyone else to touch it except from necessity, for instance, if it were to fall upon the ground, or else in some other case of urgency.³⁴

9. Insofar as we see this traditional method as having developed over time, this is not an argument against it but a testimony to the important considerations which consistently led to its adoption. As Pope Pius XII famously affirmed in *Mediator Dei* (1948), more ancient practices are not *ipso facto* to be preferred to practices which have evolved under the guidance of the Holy Spirit over many centuries.³⁵

Conclusion

10. The importance of an inner attitude of humility, stressed both by Bl. Pope John Paul II, and by the requirement for a 'gesture of reverence',³⁶ is not only a matter of decorum before the Real Presence of Our Lord, important as that is. Rather, the grace received by the communicant is dependent upon his or her disposition, and the cultivation of the correct disposition, that of humility and child-like receptivity, is facilitated by reception both kneeling and on the tongue. As Pope Paul VI emphasised: it is 'part of the preparation needed for the most fruitful reception of the Lord's body.'³⁷
11. This value of the traditional method was reiterated by Pope Benedict XVI's decision to distribute Holy Communion himself to kneeling communicants on the tongue. The official commentary on this decision cites both the concern about the loss of particles of the Consecrated Host, and a concern
to increase among the faithful devotion to the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Eucharist.³⁸
Further, the traditional method is called an 'external sign' to 'promote understanding of this great sacramental mystery'.³⁹

³⁴ St Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologiae*, IIIa Q82 a3 c: 'in reverentiam huius sacramenti, a nulla re contingitur nisi consecrata, unde et corporale et calix consecrantur, similiter et manus sacerdotis, ad tangendum hoc sacramentum. Unde nulli alii tangere licet, nisi in necessitate puta si caderet in terram, vel in aliquo alio necessitatis casu.'

³⁵ Pope Pius XII Encyclical Letter *Mediator Dei* (1948) 61: 'The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savour and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world.[Matthew 28.20] They are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.' (Haec eadem iudicandi ratio tenenda est, cum de conatibus agitur, quibus nonnulli enituntur quoslibet antiquos ritus ac caerimonias in usum revocare. Utique vetustae aetatis Liturgia veneratione procul dubio digna est; verumtamen vetus usus, non idcirco dumtaxat quod antiquitatem sapit ac redolet, aptior ac melior existimandus est vel in semet ipso, vel ad consequentia tempora novasque rerum condiciones quod attinet. Recentiores etiam liturgici ritus reverentia observantiaque digni sunt, quoniam Spiritus Sancti afflatu, qui quovis tempore Ecclesiae adest ad consummationem usque saeculorum (cfr. *Matth.* 28, 20), orti sunt; suntque iidem pariter opes, quibus inclita Iesu Christi; Sponsa utitur ad hominum sanctitatem excitandam procurandamque.)

³⁶ See paragraph 4

³⁷ *Memoriale Domini*

³⁸ Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff: 'Communion received on the tongue while kneeling' (2010).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

12. In the specific context of the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, the exclusive practice of receiving Holy Communion kneeling and on the tongue goes hand in hand with the great reverence shown to the Blessed Sacrament in that Form by the celebrating priest. Two examples would be the priest's double genuflection at the Consecration, and the holding together of thumb and forefinger, from the Consecration to the Purification of the Chalice. Reception of Communion in the hand would create a harmful dissonance with other elements of the liturgy. The matter is well expressed in the Instruction *Il Padre, incomprensibile* (1996), addressed to the Oriental Churches, on the importance of maintaining the manner of receiving Holy Communion traditional to those Churches:

Even if this excludes enhancing the value of other criteria, also legitimate, and implies renouncing some convenience, a change of the traditional usage risks incurring a non-organic intrusion with respect to the spiritual framework to which it refers.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Instruction *Il Padre, incomprensibile* (1996) 53



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 4

LITURGICAL ORIENTATION

APRIL 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Liturgical Orientation: Abstract

The celebration of Mass *ad orientem* (towards the East, away from the people) is a very visible difference between the Extraordinary Form and most celebrations of the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite. Celebration *versus populum* was known in the early centuries, and in certain churches later (notably, St Peter’s Basilica in Rome), but celebration *ad orientem* was more common, and in any case the value of the practice cannot be determined solely by ancient practice. Rather, as Pope Benedict has argued, celebration *ad orientem* emphasises both the eschatological nature of the liturgy, and the common orientation of priest and people towards the Lord, as opposed to an excessive focus by the Faithful on the celebrating priest (and vice versa). It also emphasises the sacrificial nature of the Mass. In all these ways it is central to the character and value of the Extraordinary Form as a whole.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper 4: Liturgical Orientation

1. For the casual observer, one of the most striking differences between the Extraordinary Form and the Ordinary Form is the celebration of the latter, in almost all cases, with the priest ‘facing the people’ (*versus populum*), whereas the former is celebrated with the priest facing the same direction as the people (*ad orientem*, *versus apsidem*). It surprises many to learn that the celebration of the Ordinary Form can legitimately take place *ad orientem*, and, further, that this change, which has had such a profound effect on Catholic church buildings and architecture, is not mentioned in the Second Vatican Council’s Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctam Concilium*. The purpose of this paper is to give an account of the value of the traditional practice.
2. It is worth noting, briefly, the current position in the Church’s law on this topic, with regard to the Ordinary Form. Successive editions of the reformed Roman Missal presuppose *ad orientem* celebration, instructing the priest to turn to face the people when necessary, but also say that an altar separate from the wall ‘is desirable whenever possible’.¹ Where it is not possible, because of the need to preserve existing altars of historic or artistic value, or constraints of space, celebration *ad orientem* is unavoidable; where it is possible, celebration in either direction would be possible. There is thus no justification for the destruction of historic altars, for the creation of secondary altars,² or for making celebration *ad orientem* impossible.³

The Historical Question

3. The question of liturgical orientation needs to be considered both from a historical and a theological point of view.

¹ *Missale Romanum* (2002), *Institutio Generalis* no 299: ‘Altare exstruatur a pariete seiunctum, ut facile circumiri et in eo celebration versus populum peragi possit, quod expedit ubicumque possibile sit.’ (‘Let the main altar be constructed separate from the wall so that one can easily walk around the altar and celebrate facing the people—which is desirable wherever possible.’ ‘Quod’ (‘which is’) naturally refers to the first clause of the sentence, not the second, which is subordinate to it. See C.M. Cullen and J.W. Koterski ‘The New IGMR and Mass *versus populum*’ *Homiletic and Pastoral Review* June 2001 pp51-54. Cf. Instruction *Inter Oecumenici* (1964) ‘It is better for the main altar to be constructed away from the wall so that one can easily walk around the altar and celebrate facing the people.’ (Praestat ut altare maius exstruatur a pariete seiunctum, ut facile circumiri et in eo celebration versus populum peragi possit.) AAS 56 (1967): 375. By contrast, see the Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites *Sanctissimam Eucharistiam* (1957) 4: ‘In churches, where there is only one altar, this cannot be built in such a way that the priest should celebrate facing the people’ (‘In ecclesiis, ubi unicum extat altare, hoc nequit ita aedificari, ut sacerdos celebret populum versus’). The decree is concerned with the position of the tabernacle in relation to the altar.

² ‘Cases must be considered in which the sanctuary does not allow for the placing of an altar facing the people or in which it would not be possible to maintain the existing altar with its ornamentation intact and at the same time install a forward-facing altar that could be seen as the principal altar. In such cases it is more faithful to the nature of the liturgy to celebrate at the existing altar, back to the people, than to maintain two altars at the same sanctuary. The principle of there being only one altar is theologically more important than the practice of celebrating facing the people.’ *Notitiae* 29 (1993) 249 (Editorial)

³ It is not uncommon for celebrations of the Extraordinary Form to require specially made platforms to make celebration *ad orientem* possible.

4. Otto Nussbaum's influential study, which claimed to show that *versus populum* celebration was the norm in the first four Christian centuries, in practice set the burden of proof in favour of *versus populum* celebrations where archaeology did not rule it out, on the grounds that celebration *ad orientem* emphasises the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, and that this emphasis is a later development.⁴ Against this, it can be observed not only that the sacrificial aspect of the Eucharist is emphasised by some very early witnesses,⁵ but also that thinking of the Eucharist as a shared meal would not, in fact, have suggested to Christians in the early centuries the picture of people sitting on opposite sides of a table, but rather of people reclining on the same side,⁶ as shown in early Christian art.⁷
5. Certainly, some churches were built, in the first four Christian centuries, in such a way that the celebrant had to face the nave across the altar, and others were oriented with the main doors at the East end and the apse at the West. It is less clear how this worked in practice. Bearing in mind the powerful tradition of prayer towards the East, one possibility is that the Faithful turned to face East, away from the altar, for the anaphora.⁸ Another is that they did not occupy the central nave, but principally the side naves, from which they could easily turn from the direction of the altar to the East.⁹ A third is that, in churches with doors facing the East, the celebrant could still in many cases have celebrated *ad apsidem*, towards a 'liturgical East', indicated by the splendid mosaics of the apse.¹⁰ Archaeology is little guide here.
6. Again, the example of St Peter's in Rome is clearly at work in the way many other churches were designed,¹¹ but the design of St Peter's was itself determined, at each stage of its development, by the relationship between the altar and the Confessio, the tomb of St Peter. This very particular design problem was solved by the orientation of the basilica with the doors to the East, and celebration towards the nave. A similar situation existed with other important shrine churches, notably the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.¹² This being so, these venerable examples of church design cannot be expected to tell us anything about earlier Christian practice, or about contemporary attitudes to liturgical participation.
7. Finally, it should be remembered that celebration *versus populum* in the setting of the great Roman basilicas of the early centuries does not have the pastoral or liturgical implications sometimes desired by proponents of *versus populum* celebration. The

⁴ Otto Nussbaum 'Der Standort des Liturgen' (Bonn: Hanstein, 1965), discussed by Fr Uwe Lang 'Turning Towards the Lord: Orientation in Liturgical Prayer' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2004) pp56-64

⁵ Notably in the Didache and the First Letter of Clement.

⁶ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000) p78

⁷ Lang *op cit* p61

⁸ This hypothesis is put forward by Louis Bouyer: 'Liturgy and Architecture' (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967) pp55-56

⁹ The hypothesis of Klaus Gamber: 'Liturgie und Kirchenbau' (Regensburg: Pustet, 1976) pp23-25

¹⁰ The hypothesis of Fr Uwe Lang *op cit*. pp84-85

¹¹ Particularly the stational churches in Rome: Pope Benedict *op cit*. p77.

¹² See Aidan Nichols 'Looking at the Liturgy: a critical view of its contemporary form' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p94

distance between the altar and most of the assisting Faithful, and the ancient practice of praying looking upwards, precludes a feeling of domestic intimacy, eye contact, or a clear view of the ceremonies. Indeed, there were no ceremonies at the altar, during the anaphora, in the early centuries.¹³

8. Celebration *versus populum* in early times, while real, was a minority practice, and there is no reason to regard it as normative.¹⁴ As quoted in Positio 3, Pope Pius XII puts us on our guard against privileging ancient practice against later development.¹⁵ The theological rationale for the developed traditional practice is the key to the question.

The Theological Question

9. Worship towards the East is worship towards the Lord, for according to ancient tradition the Lord departed towards the East, and will return again from the East.¹⁶ The rising sun is for this reason a profound symbol. Orientation, therefore, brings into the liturgy an important eschatological element—the expectation of the return of the Lord—and also expresses the direction of the journey the people are themselves undertaking, towards the Lord.¹⁷ As Christoph, Cardinal Schönborn has expressed it, celebration *ad orientem* manifests the attitude of worshipping ‘*obviam Sponso*’, ‘facing the Bridegroom’, and thus ‘a meeting with the Bridegroom, and an anticipation of Christ’s final coming’.¹⁸
10. In addition to the symbolism of the East is the question of the priest and faithful praying in the same direction: of their unity in prayer. Putting the two ideas together, the Holy Father writes:

On the other hand, a common turning to the East during the Eucharistic Prayer remains essential. This is not a case of accidentals, but of essentials. Looking at

¹³ Bouyer *op cit.* pp60-70

¹⁴ For a survey of the evidence see M. J. Moreton “*Eis anatholas blepsete*: Orientation as a Liturgical Principle” in *Studia Patristica* 18, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1982), pp575-590

¹⁵ Encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) 61: ‘The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savour and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world. They are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.’ (Haec eadem iudicandi ratio tenenda est, cum de conatibus agitur, quibus nonnulli enituntur quoslibet antiquos ritus ac caerimonias in usum revocare. Utique vetustae aetatis Liturgia veneratione procul dubio digna est; verumtamen vetus usus, non idcirco dumtaxat quod antiquitatem sapit ac redolet, aptior ac melior existimandus est vel in semet ipso, vel ad consequentia tempora novasque rerum condiciones quod attinet. Recentiores etiam liturgici ritus reverentia observantiaque digni sunt, quoniam Spiritus Sancti afflatu, qui quovis tempore Ecclesiae adest ad consummationem usque saeculorum (cfr. *Matth.* 28, 20), orti sunt; suntque iidem pariter opes, quibus inclita Iesu Christi; Sponsa utitur ad hominum sanctitatem excitandam procurandamque.)

¹⁶ Matthew 24:27: ‘For as lightning cometh out of the east, and appeareth even into the west: so shall the coming of the Son of man be.’ See Germanus of Constantinople *Historia ecclesiastica et mystica contemplatio* PG 98, 384 B. Cf. Lang *op cit.* p37

¹⁷ Lang *op cit.* p97

¹⁸ Christoph, Cardinal Schönborn ‘Loving the Church: Spiritual exercises preached in the presence of Pope John Paul II’ (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p205

the priest has no importance. What matters is looking together at the Lord. It is not now a question of dialogue, but of common worship, of setting off towards the One who is to come. What corresponds with the reality of what is happening is not the closed circle, but the common movement forward expressed in a common direction for prayer.¹⁹

11. Another consideration is the symbolism of sacrifice: the gathered community which is not a closed circle opens out to offer sacrifice to God.²⁰ As is particularly emphasised in the Extraordinary Form, the priest offers the Sacrifice of the Mass to the Father, while the faithful unite themselves to that Sacrifice. As Klaus Gamber has observed:

The person who is doing the offering is facing the One who is receiving the offering; thus he stands *before* the altar, positioned *ad Dominum*, facing the Lord.²¹

The rejection of celebration *ad orientem* by the more ‘Low Church’ Protestant Reformers, and its recovery by ‘Catholicising’ movements within Anglicanism, serves to underline its symbolic importance.²²

12. In this regard it is essential to distinguish the priest’s offering this Sacrifice to God, while facing East, from the priest’s showing the Consecrated Host to the Faithful (when he proclaims ‘Ecce Agnus Dei’), and the priestly prayers to God, while facing East, from his periodically addressing the faithful (‘Dominus vobiscum’). In the latter cases the priest very visibly turns to face the people, a gesture which is possible only if he is otherwise facing *ad apsidem*. This contrast is emphasised by Max Thurian, in an article published in *Notitiae*:

Regardless of the church’s architectural structure, these two complementary attitudes of the liturgy must be respected... The whole celebration is often conducted as if it were a conversation and dialogue in which there is no longer room for adoration, contemplation and silence. The fact that the celebrants and faithful constantly face each other closes the liturgy in on itself.²³

13. The danger of *versus populum* celebration being a ‘conversation’, of an excessive engagement and eye-contact between the celebrant and the Faithful, is also emphasised by Pope Benedict.²⁴ Celebration *ad orientem* avoids emphasising the personality of the priest, maintaining an essential characteristic of the Extraordinary Form.

¹⁹ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* p81. The Holy Father cites J.A. Jungmann, ‘one of the fathers of Vatican II’s Constitution on the Liturgy’, on the importance of a common direction of prayer: *op. cit.* p80.

²⁰ Cf. Aidan Nichols *op. cit.* p97

²¹ Klaus Gamber ‘The Reform of the Roman Liturgy’ (San Juan Capistrano: Una Voce Press, 1993) p178

²² Lang *op. cit.* p110; cf J. A. Jungmann, ‘Review of Nussbaum ‘Der Standort des Liturgen’’ ZKTh 88 (1966) pp445-50, 448

²³ Max Thurian ‘La Liturgie, contemplation du mystere’ *Notitiae* 32 (1996) p692 (reprinted in English in *L’Osservatore Romano* 24th June 1996 p2)

²⁴ ‘In reality what happened was that an unprecedented clericalization came on the scene. Now the priest—the “presider”, as they now prefer to call him—becomes the real point of reference for the whole liturgy. Everything depends on him. We have to see him, to respond to him, to be involved in what he is doing. His creativity sustains the whole thing. ... Less and less is God in the picture. More and more important is what is done by the human beings who meet here and do not like to subject themselves to a “pre-determined pattern”.’ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* pp80-81

Conclusion

14. The use in the Extraordinary Form of celebration *ad orientem* is a precious preservation of a venerable practice with great symbolic resonance. As the Instruction *Il Padre, incomprendibile* emphasises, with the Eastern tradition in view:

It is not a question, as is often claimed, of presiding the celebration with the back turned towards the people, but rather of guiding the people in pilgrimage toward the Kingdom, invoked in prayer until the return of the Lord.

Such practice... is thus of profound value and should be safeguarded...²⁵

15. We may leave the last word to Cardinal Schönborn:

Yet how important such signs are for “incarnating” the faith. The common prayer of priest and faithful *ad orientem* connected this cosmic “orientation” with faith in the Resurrection of Christ, the *sol invictus*, and with His *Parousia* in glory.²⁶

²⁵ Instruction *Il Padre, incomprendibile* (1996) 107

²⁶ Cardinal Schönborn *op. cit.* p205



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 5

THE USE OF THE VULGATE
AND THE ANCIENT LATIN PSALTERS

MAY 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

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The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Use of the Vulgate and the Ancient Latin Psalters: Abstract

The 1962 Missal predominantly uses the ancient Latin translation known as the ‘Vulgate’; for the Psalter it uses the ancient ‘Gallican’ and (in part) the ‘Roman’ Psalters. These versions make use of a distinctive ‘Christian Latin’ style, and follow, in the Old Testament, the Greek Septuagint translation. Both features have exposed them to criticism: in 1945 the ‘Pian Psalter’ was promulgated, using the style of Pagan Latinists and based on the Hebrew Masoretic text. (The ‘Neo Vulgate’, an entirely new Latin translation of the whole Bible, was published finally in 1979.) Nevertheless, Conciliar and post-conciliar documents affirm the value of these features. Most notably, the use of the Septuagint makes the ancient Latin translations part of a tradition of interpretation used by the New Testament authors and the Greek and Latin Fathers alike, which passed into the liturgical use made of key passages. The use of the ancient Latin texts is an important part of the organic integrity of the 1962 Missal, and the elements of the Pian Psalter which are found there for historical reasons should, ideally, be removed.

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FIUV POSITIO 5: THE USE OF THE VULGATE AND THE ANCIENT LATIN PSALTERS

1. One difference between the two Forms of the Roman Rite, which is at once deeply rooted and complex, is the use, in the Extraordinary Form, of the ancient Vulgate translation of the Bible, associated with St Jerome, with certain adaptations, in the Lectionary, and the 'Roman' and 'Gallican' Psalters in the Propers. While the 1974 Graduale Romanum uses the ancient chant texts, the Ordinary Form is otherwise based on an entirely new Latin translation, the *Nova Vulgata Editio*, the 'Neo Vulgate'.¹ It is the purpose of this paper to explain the value of the texts found in the 1962 Missal, and to what extent reform is appropriate.

Christian and Classical Latin Style

2. While this paper is not primarily concerned with the Office, the revision of Office hymns under Pope Urban VIII is worth noting. The versions published in 1629² were intended to conform to the Latin style of the Augustan age. The revised hymns are generally regarded as harder to sing, and partly for this reason the Dominicans, Benedictines, Cistercians, Calced Carmelites, and Carthusians, never adopted them.
3. The Pian Psalter (and also the Canticles used in the Office, which were revised at the same time), overseen by Fr (later, Cardinal) Augustin Bea, S.J., and authorised in 1945,³ was again modelled on the Augustan style.⁴ This Psalter was allowed as an option in the Office, and was employed in the composition of proper texts for new or revised feasts from 1945 onwards (see Appendix A).
4. Contrary to this classicising tendency, however, Christian Latin has its own value. The great Dutch classicist Christine Mohrmann⁵ observed that, in the ancient Latin translations of scripture, Latin vocabulary with pagan associations was replaced by archaic, foreign, or freshly minted terms; translations of great fidelity led to the incorporation of Greek and Semitic idioms, syntax, and even elements of grammar. The result was a Latin register with a strong identity, instantly recognisable as Christian, closely associated with Scripture, and suitable for the liturgy, in a way strikingly reminiscent of the advice of the Instruction *Liturgiam authenticam*.⁶ Particularly

¹ The Neo Vulgate Psalter was first published in 1969, the New Testament in 1971, and the complete Bible in 1979. *Liturgiam authenticam* 37 describes it as 'the point of reference as regards the delineation of the canonical text': 'Novae Vulgatae editionis esse referenda quoad textum canonicum Sacrarum Scripturarum definiendum.' Cf. para 24

² An edition of the Roman Breviary containing them was published in 1631.

³ AAS 37, 1945, pp65ff

⁴ Bea calls the Augustan age a 'better period of Latin' ('di quel migliore periodo della latinità') *Biblica* 26 (1945) pp203ff. Bea describes the ancient Latin texts as using 'a vulgar and later Latin' ('latino volgare e posteriore', and calls his own, Augustan-style Latin 'a Latin choiceworthy, more classical' ('un latino piu scelto, piu classico').

⁵ Christine Mohrmann, *Vigiliae Christianae* I (1947) pp114-128 and 168-182; see also her 'Liturgical Latin'

⁶ *Liturgiam authenticam* 27: 1. archaisms, 'seeming inelegant expressions' ('vocabula aut locutiones specie inelegantes continentu') deriving from a literal rendering, and other factors, can contribute to 'a sacred style that will come to be recognised as proper to liturgical language.' ('stylum sacrum, qui et tamquam sermo proprie liturgicus agnoscatur.') Cf. para 40 on avoiding the 'manner of speech' used in non-Catholic or non-Christian religious language ('loquendi consuetudine communitatum ecclesialium non catholicarum, aut aliarum religionum'). Cf. the Instruction *Varietates legitimate* (1994) 53: 'certain words in current Latin use (memoria, sacramentum) took on a new meaning in the Christian faith.'

noteworthy is the fact that the Latin Psalters which emerged from this tradition imitated the rhythmic construction of Hebrew poetry, and are well suited to Chant.

5. The value of Christian Latin was decisively vindicated in the Constitution on the Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. On hymns it says simply

To whatever extent may seem desirable, the hymns are to be restored to their original form.⁷

On the Psalter, the Constitution says that revision of the Psalter

is to take into account the style of Christian Latin, the liturgical use of psalms, also when sung, and the entire tradition of the Latin Church.⁸

The Septuagint and the Tradition of Interpretation

6. While the Old Testament of the Neo Vulgate is based on the Masoretic Hebrew text, the Vulgate and the ancient Latin Psalters depend upon the Greek Septuagint translation of the Old Testament. The Instruction *Varietates legitimate* (1994) describes the Septuagint's production as 'an enrichment of the Scriptures' 'under divine inspiration',⁹ a judgment which reflects the consensus of the Fathers.¹⁰ It reflects both a more ancient Hebrew manuscript tradition and a more developed theological understanding, than the Hebrew versions directly available to us. It is noteworthy that it is used in the New Testament, in some cases precisely because of its variance with the Hebrew.¹¹ It was the Septuagint which was the basis of Scriptural commentary and exegesis by the Greek Fathers, and by using Latin translations based on the Septuagint, Latin Fathers and Doctors were able to work in continuity with them.
7. In short, the Septuagint translators' own reading of the Old Testament forms a key link in a tradition of interpretation adopted and developed further by the New Testament authors and the Fathers, Doctors, and scholars of the Church right up to modern times. It is this tradition of interpretation which is reflected in the liturgical use made of the Old Testament, especially the Psalms, in the ancient Latin liturgical tradition.

⁷ Sacrosanctum Concilium 93: 'Hymni, quantum expedire videtur, ad pristinam formam restituantur'

⁸ Sacrosanctum Concilium 91: 'respectu habito latinitatis christianae, usus liturgici etiam in cantu, necnon totius traditionis latinae Ecclesiae.'

⁹ Instruction *Varietates legitimate* (1994) 9: '...the translation of the Bible into Greek introduced the word of God into a world which had been closed to it and caused, under divine inspiration, an enrichment of the Scriptures.' ('Versio librorum sacrorum in graecam linguam verbum Dei immisit in mundum, qui ei clausus erat, atque, Deo inspirante, ad Scripturas ipsas locupletandas induxit.')

¹⁰ St Augustine wrote 'With regard to whatever is in the Septuagint that is not in the Hebrew manuscripts, we can say that the one Spirit wished to say them through the writers of the former rather than the latter in order to show that both the one and the other were inspired.' (*De Civitate Dei* 18.43). See Richard Smith SJ "Inspiration and Inerrancy" in Brown et al. 'Jerome Biblical Commentary' (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969) pp499-514, pp511-12.

¹¹ The most famous example is that of Isaiah's prophecy (Isaiah 7:14) that 'a Virgin shall conceive', in which the Septuagint translators look forward to the Virgin birth with a clarity lacking in the Hebrew text. The Vulgate 'virgo' follows the Septuagint 'hē parthenos'; the Hebrew 'almāh' could equally be translated 'a young woman'. See Richard Smith op. cit. p511: 'Frequently in the [New Testament], the [Septuagint] is cited rather than a [Greek] translation based directly on the [Masoretic Text]. Moreover, at times the [Septuagint] is cited in support of basic Christian doctrines precisely because the Hebr[ew] text does not support the doctrine in question.'

8. The importance of the ‘entire tradition of the Latin Church’ is referred to in the passage of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* quoted above, and is reaffirmed emphatically in *Liturgiam authenticam*:

The effort should be made to ensure that the translations be conformed to that understanding of biblical passages which has been handed down by liturgical use and by the tradition of the Fathers of the Church, especially as regards very important texts such as the Psalms and the readings used for the principal celebrations of the liturgical year; in these cases the greatest care is to be taken so that the translation express the traditional Christological, typological and spiritual sense, and manifest the unity and the inter-relatedness of the two Testaments.¹²

The preservation of this tradition of interpretation in the texts of the 1962 Missal, by contrast with the Neo Vulgate, is illustrated in Appendix C.¹³

9. The restoration of ancient liturgical texts by Pope St Pius V,¹⁴ Pope Clement VIII,¹⁵ and Pope St Pius X,¹⁶ demonstrates a profound respect for the authentic and ancient texts (see Appendix B), and raises the issue, related to that of the tradition of interpretation, of continuity of worship. When we use the *ipsissima verba* of countless generations of our Catholic predecessors, we respond to the same liturgical occasions by reflecting upon the same texts.¹⁷ As Pope Benedict XVI has expressed it:

The diachronic aspect, praying with the Fathers and the apostles, is part of what we mean by rite, ... Rites are ... forms of the apostolic Tradition and of its unfolding in the great places of the Tradition. ... Because of the historical character of God’s action, the ‘Divine Liturgy’ ... has been fashioned, in a way similar to Scripture, by human beings and their capacities. ... The authority of the liturgy can certainly be compared to that of the great confessions of faith of the early Church.¹⁸

10. While the Pian Psalter¹⁹ and the Neo Vulgate²⁰ were prepared with accuracy in mind, they inevitably reflect the scholarly consensus of their own day. In general, profound

¹² *Liturgiam authenticam* 41: ‘Opera detur, ut translationes ad intellectum locorum biblicorum ab usu liturgico ac traditione Patrum Ecclesiae transmissum conformentur, praesertim cum de textibus magni momenti agitur, sicut psalmi et lectiones in praecipuis celebrationibus anni liturgici adhibitae; his in casibus diligentissime curetur oportet, ut translatio traditum sensum christologicum, typologicum aut spirituales exprimat atque unitatem et nexum inter utrumque Testamentum manifestet.’ Again: ‘translators are strongly encouraged to pay close attention to the history of interpretation’.¹² And again: ‘Certain expressions that belong to the heritage of the whole or of a great part of the ancient Church, as well as others that have become part of the general human patrimony, are to be respected’.

¹³ Cf. Peter Jeffery ‘Translating Tradition: a chant historian reads *Liturgiam authenticam*’ (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005) pp33-39

¹⁴ Leading to the 1570 *Missale Romanum*.

¹⁵ Leading to the 1608 *Missale Romanum*. On Clement’s restoration of the authentic liturgical text (as opposed to the Vulgate) see Peter Jeffery ‘Translating Tradition: a chant historian reads *Liturgiam authenticam*’ (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2005) pp50-52

¹⁶ Leading to the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*

¹⁷ This instinct was well articulated by Anglican scholars editing a Latin version of the Book of Common Prayer in 1865, wishing to incorporate ‘those very words which take their origin from most distinguished Doctors ... Leo ... Gregory ... which have been dear to our predecessors Bede ... King Alfred the Great ... Osmund and Anselm, and others through many centuries, in their devout dealings with heaven (in pio cum coelis commercio cordi fuere)’ W. Bright and P. G. Medd ‘Libri Precum Publicarum Ecclesiae Anglicanae Versio Latina’, (Rivington, 1865)

¹⁸ Spirit of the Liturgy p164-167. See also ‘In the history of the liturgy growth and progress are found, but not a rupture. What was sacred for prior generations, remains sacred and great for us as well.’

¹⁹ For example, the Pian Psalter was published on the eve of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, which in some cases vindicated the Septuagint over the Masoretic Hebrew text, which was the basis of the Pian translation. See Raymond Brown, D.W. Johnson and Kevin O’Connell: “Texts and Versions” (in Brown

changes have taken place in Biblical scholarship since these translations were prepared. The difficulty of establishing a definitive original text is increasingly recognised,²¹ and many of the simple rules of thumb which used to guide scholars have been questioned.²² The reality is that all translations are based on scholarly judgements subject to revision in light of the accumulation of evidence and changing scholarly fashions. The need for a stable Scriptural basis for the liturgy means that we must accept that our liturgical texts will not always accord with the latest scholarly consensus.

11. On this point an important distinction is made by Pope Pius XII in his encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu*.

Hence this special authority, or, as they say, authenticity of the Vulgate was not affirmed by the Council [sc. of Trent] particularly for critical reasons, but rather because of its legitimate use in the Churches throughout so many centuries; by which use indeed the same is shown, in the sense in which the Church has understood and understands it, to be free from any error whatsoever in matters of faith and morals; so that, as the Church herself testifies and affirms, it may be quoted safely and without fear of error in disputations, in lectures and in preaching; and so its authenticity is not specified primarily as critical, but rather as juridical.²³

The Church's use of the Vulgate does not commit her to the proposition that it is the most accurate possible translation of the inspired Hebrew text; rather, it reflects the Church's own interpretation of the text, and is guaranteed as not introducing into the text any moral or doctrinal error.

Conclusion

12. The ancient texts used in the Church's liturgical tradition are a treasure. They represent a great achievement of Christian scholarship, and are the culmination of the development of a Christian style which is of immense importance in Christian culture.²⁴

et al. 'The New Jerome Biblical Commentary' (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1986) pp1083-1112, p1086: in the Qumran Manuscripts 'many alternative readings and expansions for which medieval Hebrew manuscripts in the [Masoretic tradition] have no counterpart, but which were often already known Greek or Samaritan sources, are here found...'

²⁰ Again, the Neo Vulgate's New Testament was based upon the *United Bible Societies' Greek New Testament*, in its first two editions (1966 and 1968). These used a system of marking variant readings A, B, C, D, indicating their 'relative degree of certainty' in the view of the editors, which was much criticised and abandoned in later editions. Reviewing the 4th edition, Professor J. K. Elliott referred to 'the bizarre and often criticised system of allocating rating letters'; calling it 'arbitrary and fluctuating'; and concluding that 'even here the editors acknowledge that this "standard text" is in flux and may be changed'. J. K. Elliott 'New Testament Textual Criticism: the Application of thoroughgoing principles' (Leiden: Brill, 2010) pp557-558

²¹ E. J. Epp and B. R. Gaventa 'Junia: the First Woman Apostle' (Augsburg Fortress Publishers, 2005) p5, on the problem of establishing a stable and precise 'original authorial text'. One of the influences here was a perception among classicists (e.g. Rosalind Thomas) and New Testament scholars (e.g. Loveday Alexander) that in dealing with an age before printing made possible definitive 'editions', study of 'Literacy' and its relationship with 'Orality' has much to teach us about the purpose, genesis and evolution of different types of text.

²² To give just one example, the assumption that longer versions of a text were more likely to be interpolated, than shorter versions truncated, has lost favour. E. J. Epp *ibid*: 'both this simplicity and the accompanying innocence of New Testament textual criticism began to erode'.

²³ Pope Pius XII, Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) 21

²⁴ Cf. Pope Paul VI Apostolic Letter *Sacrificium laudis*: 'For this language [sc. Latin] is, within the Latin Church, an abundant well-spring of Christian civilisation and a very rich treasure-trove of devotion.' ('cum sit in Ecclesia Latina christiani cultus humani fons uberrimus et locupletissimus pietatis thesaurus')

Furthermore, by using them today we are able to use the very words of many of our forefathers in the Faith, and, most importantly, are able to appreciate the homiletic, exegetical, and liturgical use they made of them. The value of the diachronic continuity this represents has been emphasised by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Liturgicam authenticam*, and Pope Benedict XVI. It follows that the use of the Vulgate and the ancient psalters should be preserved in the Extraordinary Form, and that any new Propers should make use of these versions.

13. The presence of elements of the Pian Psalter in the 1962 Missal clearly disturbs the 'stability' across the Missal of the Psalter, 'the fundamental prayer book of the Christian people', so desired by *Liturgiam authenticam*.²⁵ The Instruction *Il Padre, incomprendibile* (1996), addressing the Eastern Churches, expresses the matter clearly:

The first requirement of every Eastern liturgical renewal, as is also the case for liturgical reform in the West, is that of rediscovering full fidelity to their own liturgical traditions, benefiting from their riches and eliminating that which has altered their authenticity.²⁶

In light of the judgement of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* there seems no doubt that the Pian Psalter and Canticles, and the revised Office hymns of Urban VIII, amount, in another phrase of *Il Padre*, to a 'non-organic intrusion'²⁷ in the liturgical tradition represented by the 1962 Missal and associated liturgical books. All things considered, therefore, they should ideally be replaced respectively by the corresponding passages of the Gallican Psalter, the Vulgate Canticles, and the authentic Medieval Office hymns.

²⁵ *Liturgiam authenticam* 36

²⁶ *Il Padre incomprendibile* 18

²⁷ *Ibid* 58

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE PIAN PSALTER (AND CANTICLES) FOUND IN THE 1962 BOOKS

In the Praeparatio ad Missam: Psalms 83, 84, 85, 115 and 129

In the Gratiarum Actio post Missam: the Benedicite and Ps 150

In the reformed (1955) Holy Week: Holy Thursday: Psalm 21 (which accompanies the stripping of the altars)

Easter Vigil, in the Lauds which follows it: Benedictus

1 May, Joseph Opifex: Introit Psalm verse; Gradual response and verse; Tract; Offertory.

31 May, BMV Regina: Introit Psalm verse; Gr

15 Aug, Assumption: Gradual response and verse.

3 Sept, Pius X: Introit antiphon and psalm; Gradual response and verse; Alleluia verse; Tract; Double Alleluia for Paschaltide.

Pro aliquibus locis, 6 May, Dominic Savio: Introit psalm; Gradual, Alleluia, Tract, Offertory.

Pro aliquibus locis 6 July, Maria Goretti: Introit antiphon & psalm; Gradual response & verse; Alleluia; Tract.

(It is worth noting also that the 1962 *Breviarium Romanum* with the Vulgate psalter retains the Pian Psalter for the Office of Christmas and Easter, which have a psalter proper to them for their feast and octaves, as well as antiphons, chapters and *responsoria* used for the offices of saints composed after 1945, St. Joseph the Worker, St. Pius X, etc..)

APPENDIX B: HISTORICAL EXAMPLES OF THE RESTORATION OF AUTHENTIC LITURGICAL TEXTS

1570 Missale Romanum

3rd Sunday of Advent, Introit

Antiphon (Philippians 4:4-6): ‘Gaudete in Domino semper: iterum dico, gaudete. Modestia vestra nota sit omnibus hominibus: Dominus enim prope est. Nihil solliciti sitis, sed in omni oratione petitiones vestrae innotescant apud Deum.’

Psalm: (Ps 84:2) ‘Benedixisti, Domine, terram tuam: avertisti captivitatem Jacob.’

1474 Missale Romanum

Psalm verse had been replaced by ‘et pax Dei quae exsuperat omnem sensum custodiat corda vestra et intelligentias vestras in Christo Iesu’ (Philippians 4:7, continuing the text of the epistle used in the antiphon).

4th Sunday of Advent (and Advent Ember Wednesday), Introit

Antiphon (Isaiah 45:8): ‘Rorate caeli, desuper, et nubes pluant justum: aperiatur terra, et germinet Salvatorem.’

Psalm (Ps 18:2): ‘Caeli enarrant gloriam Dei: et opera manuum eius annuntiat firmamentum.’

1474 Missale Romanum

Psalm had been replaced by ‘Et iustitia oriatur simul ego dominus creavi eum...’ (continuing the text of Isaiah used in the antiphon).

1908 Graduale Romanum

26th December, St Stephen, Introit: Psalm 118:23

‘Et enim sederunt principes, et adversum me loquebantur’ (early chant manuscripts)

1871 Graduale Romanum

Had used ‘Sederunt principes, et adversum me loquebantur’ (text changed presumably on stylistic grounds)

10th Sunday After Pentecost, Introit: Psalm 54:17

‘Dum clamarem ad Dominum...’ (early chant manuscripts)

1871 Graduale Romanum

Had used: ‘Cum clamarem ad Dominum...’ (text changed presumably on stylistic grounds)

The unrestored texts continued to be used in later editions of the Missale Romanum.

APPENDIX C: ANCIENT LATIN TEXTS AND THE NEO VULGATE

Easter Sunday Introit Ps 138 [139] v 18, Roman Psalter:

‘Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum.’ (‘I am risen and still am with you.’)

(Gallican Psalter: ‘exsurrexi et adhuc sum tecum’: ‘I have stood up...’: this text was also interpreted as a reference to the resurrection by St Augustine, who had this reading.)

Neo Vulgate: ‘Si ad finem pervenerim, adhuc sum tecum.’ (‘If I were to have arrived at the end, still I am with you.’)

The tradition of interpretation, as referring to the Resurrection, represented in the liturgical use of this text, is excluded by the Neo Vulgate.

Feast of St Andrew: Ps.138.17,

‘Mihi autem nimis honorati sunt amici tui, Deus: nimis confortatus est principatus eorum.’ (‘To me Thy friends, O God, are made exceedingly honourable; their principality is exceedingly strengthened.’)

Neo Vulgate: ‘Mihi autem nimis pretiosae cogitationes tuae, Deus; nimis gravis summa earum.’ (‘But to me your thoughts are extremely precious, O God, extremely weighty the sum of them.’)

The tradition of interpretation, as referring to the Apostles, is excluded by the Neo Vulgate.

Liturgia Horarum Monday after Lent IV, the Office of Readings

Leviticus 16:13-14, and a passage from Origen expounding it.

Lev 16:13-14 in the Vulgate, following the Septuagint, reads: ‘he shall take some of the blood of the bull, and sprinkle it with his finger seven times upon the Mercy Seat towards the East’ The significance of the East is expounded by Origen. But the Neo Vulgate, following the Masoretic Hebrew text, reads “... and he shall sprinkle it with his finger seven times against the front of the mercy seat”.

Ps 19(18):6-7 gave the Greek and Latin Fathers, who read it in the more or less identical texts of the Septuagint and the ancient Latin psalters, a tradition of exposition according to which the Eternal Son placed his Tabernacle in the sun of the Bridal Chamber of the Virgin’s womb and comes forth as the Giant of two substances, human and divine, to run his incarnate course. The Neo Vulgate confuses this imagery, which is fundamental to three Office hymns: *Conditor alme siderum*, *Veni redemptor gentium*, and *Fit porta Christi pervia*.



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 6

LITURGICAL PLURALISM
AND THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

MAY 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Liturgical Pluralism and the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

The existence of an ‘extraordinary form’ of the Roman Rite has come about by historical contingency, and it may be thought that, in the medium or long term, the ‘ordinary’ and ‘extraordinary’ forms should in some way be amalgamated. The existence of liturgical pluralism in the Church, both in East and West, has never, however, been regarded as an embarrassment, but rather a sign of vitality. This is emphatically confirmed by several documents of the Second Vatican Council and the subsequent magisterium. The ‘ideal’ of liturgical diversity demonstrates, rather than undermines, unity of faith, since different liturgical forms incarnate the faith for different conditions, emphasise different theological insights, and have a role to play in promoting the unity of the Church. The Church has continued to promote existing forms, and even to introduce new ones, up to the present day, and is concerned to protect them from an undue influence by the (ordinary) Roman Rite which would undermine their distinctive contribution to the life of the Church.

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FIUV Positio 6: Liturgical Pluralism and the Extraordinary Form

Pluralism in Liturgy and Harmony in Faith

1. Without entering into the question of the future development of the Ordinary Form, the question to be addressed by this paper is whether the existence in the Latin Rite of an extra, 'extraordinary', 'Form' of the Roman Rite is problematic, and therefore something to be overcome if possible, in the short or long term, perhaps by the creation of a single, amalgamated, Form of the Roman Rite.
2. While the coming into existence of two 'Forms' of the Roman Rite can be described as accidental,¹ a multiplicity of liturgical forms in the Church is in itself neither abnormal nor regrettable. It is noteworthy that in *Quo primum* (1570) Pope St Pius V made a strong presumption in favour of the preservation of venerable rites,² and the Second Vatican Council, in its Constitution on the Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* affirms,
in faithful obedience to tradition, the sacred Council declares that holy Mother Church holds all lawfully acknowledged rites to be of equal right and dignity; that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way.³

Again:

Even in the liturgy, the Church has no wish to impose a rigid uniformity in matters which do not implicate the faith or the good of the whole community;⁴

Speaking of the multiplicity of Rites, the Council's Decree *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* affirms that 'the variety within the Church in no way harms its unity; rather it manifests it'.⁵

¹ Pope Benedict XVI 'Letter to Bishops' accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007): 'At the time of the introduction of the new Missal, it did not seem necessary to issue specific norms for the possible use of the earlier Missal. Probably it was thought that it would be a matter of a few individual cases which would be resolved, case by case, on the local level. Afterwards, however, it soon became apparent that a good number of people remained strongly attached to this usage of the Roman Rite...'

² The adoption of the Roman Missal in preference to a different Rite Usage is only permitted with the unanimous consent of a cathedral or community Chapter and in addition the agreement of the bishop or superior. Pope St Pius V (1570) *Quo primum*: The Roman Missal, in the revised edition of 1570, is to be said in all churches 'saving only those in which the practice of saying Mass differently was granted over two hundred years ago simultaneously with the Apostolic See's institution and confirmation of the church, and those in which there has prevailed a similar custom followed continuously for a period of not less than two hundred years; in which cases We in no wise rescind their prerogatives or customs aforesaid. Nevertheless, if this Missal which We have seen fit to publish be more agreeable to these last, We hereby permit them to celebrate Mass according to this rite, subject to the consent of their bishop or prelate, and of their whole Chapter, all else to the contrary notwithstanding.' ('nisi ab ipsa prima institutione a Sede Apostolica adprobata, vel consuetudine, quae, vel ipsa institutio super ducentos annos Missarum celebrandarum in eisdem Ecclesiis assidue observata sit: a quibus, ut praefatam celebrandi constitutionem vel consuetudinem nequaquam auferimus; sic si Missale hoc, quod nunc in lucem edi curavimus, iisdem magis placeret, de Episcopi, vel Praelati, Capituli que universi consensu, ut quibusvis non obstantibus, juxta illud Missas celebrare possint, permittimus;')

³ Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 4: 'Traditioni denique fideliter obsequens, Sacrosanctum Concilium declarat Sanctam Matrem Ecclesiam omnes Ritus legitime agnitos aequo iure atque honore habere, eosque in posterum servari et omnimode fovendi velle'

⁴ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 37: 'Ecclesia, in iis quae fidem aut bonum totius communitatis non tangunt, rigidam unius tenoris formam ne in Liturgia quidem imponere cupit;'

3. This principle has been manifested historically in the Latin Church with a rich variety of Rites and Usages, both geographically defined (notably the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites) and those specific to religious orders. Just as in the Middle Ages the Franciscans used the *Missale Seraphicum* (closely related to the Roman Rite) in areas with local usages, so in modern times (before the Council) Dominican and Premonstratensian parishes maintained their proper liturgical traditions in areas accustomed to the Roman Rite. Today the Eastern Churches are to be found throughout lands ‘prevalently of Latin tradition’;⁵ far from this creating a problem, Bl. Pope John Paul II saw in this an opportunity for Latin Catholics to learn about the Eastern Rites.⁷ Most recently, Pope Benedict XVI has set in motion the creation of a new Use for members of the Anglican Communion who have been received into full communion with the Holy See. The purpose is

to maintain the liturgical, spiritual and pastoral traditions of the Anglican Communion within the Catholic Church, as a precious gift nourishing the faith of the members of the Ordinariate and as a treasure to be shared.⁸

As Bl. Pope John Paul II wrote, referring to the Second Vatican Council’s Decree on Ecumenism *Unitatis Redintegratio*:⁹

we find the strength and enthusiasm to intensify the quest for harmony in that genuine plurality of forms which remains the Church’s ideal.¹⁰

4. The harmony of faith which underlies the plurality of liturgical forms is emphasised by Pope Benedict XVI in relation to the two forms of the Roman Rite.¹¹ He immediately goes on to affirm the value, as well as the orthodoxy, of the Extraordinary Form:

What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too, and it cannot be all of a sudden entirely forbidden or even considered harmful. It

⁵ Decree of the Second Vatican Council *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 2: ‘ita ut varietas in Ecclesia nedum eiusdem noceat unitati, eam potius declaret’.

⁶ Instruction *Il Padre, incomprensibile* (1996) 10

⁷ Bl. Pope John Paul II Apostolic Letter *Oriente Lumen* (1995) 24 ‘I believe that one important way to grow in mutual understanding and unity consists precisely in improving our knowledge of one another. The children of the Catholic Church already know the ways indicated by the Holy See for achieving this: to know the liturgy of the Eastern Churches’ (‘Putamus sane magnum pondus ad crescendum in mutua comprehensione atque unitate tribuendum esse meliori mutuae intellegentiae. Catholicae Ecclesiae filii iam noverunt vias quas Sancta Sedes significavit ut ii eiusmodi propositum consequi valeant: liturgiam Ecclesiarum Orientalium noscere [corrected from ‘nascere’]’) (The quoted passage ends with a footnote reference to the Instruction *In Ecclesiasticum Futurorum* (1979) 48

⁸ Pope Benedict XVI Apostolic Constitution *Anglicanorum coetibus* (2009) III

⁹ Decree of the Second Vatican Council *Unitatis Redintegratio* 4: ‘All in the Church must preserve unity in essentials. But let all, according to the gifts they have received enjoy a proper freedom, in their various forms of spiritual life and discipline, in their different liturgical rites, and even in their theological elaborations of revealed truth. In all things let charity prevail. If they are true to this course of action, they will be giving ever better expression to the authentic catholicity and apostolicity of the Church.’ (‘In necessariis unitatem custodientes, omnes in Ecclesia, secundum munus unicuique datum, cum in variis formis vitae spiritualis et disciplinae, tum in diversitate liturgicorum rituum, immo et in theologica veritatis revelatae elaboratione, debitam libertatem servent; in omnibus vero caritatem colant. Hac enim agendi ratione ipsi veri nominis catholicitatem simul et apostolicitatem Ecclesiae in dies plenius manifestabunt.’)

¹⁰ *Oriente Lumen* 2: ‘satis iterum virium reperimus ac studii ut ea in veritate ac multiplicitate concordiae augeamus conquisitionem quae Ecclesiae remanet propositum optimum.’

¹¹ Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*: ‘There is no contradiction between the two editions of the Roman Missal.’

behoves all of us to preserve the riches which have developed in the Church's faith and prayer, and to give them their proper place.¹²

The Value of Pluralism

5. Pluralism is the 'ideal' for two notable reasons. First, as the Instruction *Il Padre, incomprendibile* expresses it, echoing *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*¹³ and the Instruction *Varietates Legitimae* (1994),¹⁴ different Rites incarnate the faith for differing conditions:

This multiformity of the Eastern liturgies does not harm the unity of the Church at all, but rather reinforces it, allowing it to sink its roots in the concrete reality of a determined time and space.¹⁵

6. Secondly, *Unitatis Redintegratio* reminds us that different theological traditions, which have their own liturgical expressions, give rise to complementary theological insights.

In the study of revelation East and West have followed different methods, and have developed differently their understanding and confession of God's truth. It is hardly surprising, then, if from time to time one tradition has come nearer to a full appreciation of some aspects of a mystery of revelation than the other, or has expressed it to better advantage. In such cases, these various theological expressions are to be considered often as mutually complementary rather than conflicting.¹⁶

¹² Letter to Bishops

¹³ Decree of the Second Vatican Council *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 2: 'the variety within the Church in no way harms its unity; rather it manifests it, for it is the mind of the Catholic Church that each individual Church or Rite should retain its traditions whole and entire and likewise that it should adapt its way of life to the different needs of time and place.' ('varietas in Ecclesia nedum eiusdem noceat unitati, eam potius declaret; Ecclesiae enim catholicae hoc propositum est, ut salvae et integrae maneant uniuscuiusque particularis Ecclesiae seu ritus traditiones, eademque pariter vult suam vitae rationem aptare variis temporum locorumque necessitatibus.')

¹⁴ Instruction *Varietates Legitimae* (1994) 4: 'The constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* spoke of the different forms of liturgical adaptation. Subsequently the Magisterium of the Church has used the term inculturation to define more precisely "the incarnation of the Gospel in autonomous cultures and at the same time the introduction of these cultures into the life of the Church." [Note: Bl. John Paul II Encyclical *Slavorum Apostoli* (1985) 21] Inculturation signifies "an intimate transformation of the authentic cultural values by their integration into Christianity and the implantation of Christianity into different human cultures." [Note: Bl. John Paul II Encyclical *Redemptoris Missio* (1990) 52]

¹⁵ *Il Padre, incomprendibile* 15

¹⁶ *Unitatis Redintegratio* 17: 'Etenim in veritatis revelatae exploratione methodi gressusque diversi ad divina cognoscenda et confitenda in Oriente et in Occidente adhibiti sunt. Unde mirum non est quosdam aspectus mysterii revelati quandoque magis congrue percipi et in meliorem lucem poni ab uno quam ab altero, ita ut tunc variae illae theologicae formulae non raro potius inter se compleri dicendae sint quam opponi.' Cf. *Oriente Lumen* 5: 'The Christian tradition of the East implies a way of accepting, understanding and living faith in the Lord Jesus. In this sense it is extremely close to the Christian tradition of the West, which is born of and nourished by the same faith. Yet it is legitimately and admirably distinguished from the latter, since Eastern Christians have their own way of perceiving and understanding, and thus an original way of living their relationship with the Saviour.' ('Certum enim modum secum importat orientalis traditio suscipiendi intellegendi vivendi Domini Iesu fidei. Ita profecto proxime illa ad christianam accedit Occidentis traditionem quae eadem nascitur aliturque fide. Tamen legitime atque insignite ab illa differt, cum proprium habeat sentiendi percipiendique morem christifidelis orientalis, ac propterea nativam aliquam rationem suae colendae necessitudinis cum Salvatore.') Cf. also *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 5: '[this Council] solemnly declares that the Churches of the East, as much as

7. Pope Benedict has written of the 1962 Missal as a valuable affirmation of particular truths:

The possibility of so celebrating [sc. using the 1962 Missal] constitutes the strongest, and thus (for them) the most intolerable contradiction of the opinion of those who believe that the faith in the Eucharist formulated by Trent has lost its value.¹⁷

8. Certain valuable features of the Extraordinary Form are shared with the Anglican Use,¹⁸ and some with the Eastern Rites. The Eastern Rites' appeal to the 'whole human person' in his totality¹⁹ has already been discussed in Positio 2;²⁰ another feature is fidelity to tradition:

Today we often feel ourselves prisoners of the present. It is as though man had lost his perception of belonging to a history which precedes and follows him. This effort to situate oneself between the past and the future, with a grateful heart for the benefits received and for those expected, is offered by the Eastern Churches in particular, with a clear-cut sense of continuity which takes the name of Tradition and of eschatological expectation.²¹

Pluralism and Church Unity

9. A different kind of value is represented by the importance of both the Eastern Churches' liturgical traditions, and the Anglican Use, for ecumenism. With this in mind Bl. John Paul II demanded

total respect for the other's dignity without claiming that the whole array of uses and customs in the Latin Church is more complete or better suited to showing the fullness of correct doctrine.²²

those of the West, have a full right and are in duty bound to rule themselves, each in accordance with its own established disciplines, since all these are praiseworthy by reason of their venerable antiquity, more harmonious with the character of their faithful and more suited to the promotion of the good of souls.' ('Quamobrem sollemniter declarat, Ecclesias Orientis sicut et Occidentis iure pollere et officio teneri se secundum proprias disciplinas peculiares regendi, utpote quae veneranda antiquitate commendentur, moribus suorum fidelium magis sint congruae atque ad bonum animarum consulendum aptiores videantur.')

¹⁷ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) "The Theology of the Liturgy" in Alcuin Reid (ed.) 'Looking Again at the Question of the Liturgy with Cardinal Ratzinger: Proceedings of the July 2001 Fontgombault Liturgical Conference' (Farnborough: St Michael's Abbey Press, 2003) pp18-33, p20

¹⁸ Notably, in the recently published calendar, the Season of Septuagesima, the Ember and Rogation Days, and the Octave of Pentecost.

¹⁹ *Oriente Lumen* 11: 'tota sua cum persona'

²⁰ FIUV Positio 2: Liturgical Piety and Participation 9

²¹ *Oriente Lumen* 8: 'Captivos hodie saepius nos temporis praesentis esse sentimus: quasi si notionem homo amiserit sese esse particulam alicuius historiae praecedentis et subsequentis. Huic magno labori, quo contendit quis ut se inter praeteritum colloquet futurumque tempus cum grato sane animo tam de acceptis quam de donis postmodum accipiendis, clarum praestant Orientales Ecclesiae sensum continuationis, quae sibi Traditionis atque eschatologicae exspectationis nomina sumit.'

²² *Oriente Lumen* 20: 'Certe, hodiernae menti videtur vera coniunctio fieri posse aliorum plene observata dignitate, dempta simul illa opinione universos mores et consuetudines Ecclesiae Latinae pleniores esse et aptiores ad rectam doctrinam demonstrandam;'

The Instruction *Il Padre* echoes *Orientalium Ecclesiarum*²³ in making ecumenism an important consideration in the development of the Eastern Rites.

In every effort of liturgical renewal, therefore, the practice of the Orthodox brethren should be taken into account, knowing it, respecting it and distancing from it as little as possible so as not to increase the existing separation...²⁴

10. Again, there is an analogy here with the Extraordinary Form. Pope Benedict XVI speaks urgently of the importance of respecting the Church's 'ancient Latin liturgical tradition' to overcome, if possible, divisions in the Church.²⁵ These divisions relate not only to groups, but countless individual Catholics who found themselves alienated from the Church following the liturgical reform. As Pope Benedict XVI has written:

I have seen how arbitrary deformations of the liturgy caused deep pain to individuals totally rooted in the faith of the Church.²⁶

11. The significance of the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite for ecumenism in relation to the Orthodox churches should also be mentioned. The late Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow remarked, referring to *Summorum Pontificum*, 'The recovery and valuing of the ancient liturgical tradition is a fact that we greet positively.'²⁷

Conclusion

12. Liturgical pluralism in itself is not, and never has been, a source of embarrassment for the Church, but is on the contrary a source of vitality. It demonstrates the response of faith to different conditions, and it represents a treasury of theological and spiritual insights which complement each other. The plurality of Rites and Usages has been affirmed and further developed by the Holy See right up to the present day.
13. As well as the Eastern Rites, the Church has always fostered Rites and Usages of venerable origin within the Latin Church, and made special efforts to preserve them, when they seemed likely to disappear, or to be unduly influenced by the Roman Rite. As well as the Usages of religious orders, already mentioned, the Mozarabic Rite is an example of a Rite whose historical and theological value is such that, however limited

²³ *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 24: Eastern Catholics are to promote unity with other Eastern Christians by, among other things, 'religious fidelity to the ancient Eastern traditions' ('religiosa erga antiquas traditiones orientales fidelitate').

²⁴ *Il Padre, incomprensibile* 21

²⁵ Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*: 'This glance at the past imposes an obligation on us today: to make every effort to enable for all those who truly desire unity to remain in that unity or to attain it anew.'

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ The Zenit news agency reported from Rome on 29th August 2007, as follows. 'Benedict XVI's move to allow for wider celebration of the Roman Missal of 1962 has received a positive reaction from the Orthodox Patriarch Alexy II of Moscow. "The recovery and valuing of the ancient liturgical tradition is a fact that we greet positively," Alexy II told the Italian daily *Il Giornale*. Benedict XVI's apostolic letter *Summorum Pontificum*, published in July, explains new norms allowing for the use of the 1962 missal as an extraordinary form of the liturgical celebration. "We hold very strongly to tradition," he continued. "Without the faithful guardianship of liturgical tradition, the Russian Orthodox Church would not have been able to resist the period of persecution." '

the use of its liturgical books may have become, the very fact that it continues to be celebrated in particular places is something to be treasured and preserved. However limited, or however wide, the usage of the Extraordinary Form may become in time, it too will have a value for the whole Church by representing, as a living tradition, a rich source of spiritual and theological insights, and a deep connection to the liturgical patrimony of the Latin Church.

14. The value of the Extraordinary Form is affirmed by Pope Benedict XVI. Like the Eastern Rites, it will maintain and develop this value, for the whole Church, only if it remains true to itself, its spirit and its traditions. This integrity is also necessary for its value in the cause of Church unity. There is a lesson to be learned from the fate of the Eastern Rites in former centuries, in which the Holy See approved changes which can now be seen as regrettable.²⁸

15. The words of *Il Padre*, applied to the Eastern Churches, but equally applicable to the Extraordinary Form, are relevant:

For historical and cultural reasons, they have maintained a more direct continuity with the spiritual atmosphere of Christian origins, a prerogative that is ever more frequently considered even by the Occident not as a sign of stagnancy and backwardness but of precious fidelity to the sources of salvation.²⁹

²⁸ *Il Padre, incomprendibile* 24: ‘These interventions felt the effects of the mentality and convictions of the times, according to which a certain subordination of the non-Latin liturgies was perceived toward the Latin-rite liturgy which was considered “*ritus praestantior*.” This attitude may have led to interventions in the Eastern liturgical texts which today, in light of theological studies and progress, have need of revision, in the sense of a return to ancestral traditions.’ Cf. *Orientalium Ecclesiarum* 6: On the Liturgical rites proper to the Eastern Churches: ‘Besides, they should attain to an ever greater knowledge and a more exact use of them, and, if in their regard they have fallen short owing to contingencies of times and persons, they should take steps to return to their ancestral traditions.’ (‘Haec omnia, igitur, maxima fidelitate ab ipsis Orientalibus observanda sunt; qui quidem harum rerum cognitionem in dies maiorem usumque perfectiorem acquirere debent, et, si ab iis ob temporum vel personarum adiuncta indebite defecerint, ad avitas traditiones redire satagant.’) The Instruction *Varietates legitimae* makes a similar point about the history of the liturgy of the West (17): ‘During the course of the centuries, the Roman rite has known how to integrate texts, chants, gestures and rites from various sources and to adapt itself in local cultures in mission territories, even if at certain periods a desire for liturgical uniformity obscured this fact.’ The footnotes to this passage give examples of features of the Roman Rite adopted over time in response to local conditions, and magisterial responses to such developments.

²⁹ *Il Padre, incomprendibile* 9



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 7

LATIN
AS A LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

JUNE 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Latin as a Liturgical Language: Abstract

Latin is the normative language of the liturgy, in the Latin Church, and also of the great majority of the Church’s teaching documents and administration, since very early times. The teaching of Blessed Pope John XXIII in *Veterum Sapientia* emphasises the value of Latin as universal, unchanging, and dignified. The rise of migration in recent decades has given particular value to the universality of Latin. It remains the essential language of the Latin Church’s culture and spirituality. Its use in the liturgy, even where the congregation may have little knowledge of the language, can give rise, as Blessed Pope John Paul II expressed it, to a ‘profound sense of the eucharistic mystery’, since it can assist in communicating the grandeur and importance of the liturgical action. Particularly in the context of a proper liturgical formation, far from being a barrier to participation, therefore, Latin can be an aid to it. Pope Benedict XVI has asked that seminarians be taught to celebrate the liturgy in Latin, noting that the Faithful can be taught many texts and chants.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper 7: Latin as a Liturgical Language

Introduction

1. The relationship between the liturgical tradition of the West and the Latin language is extremely close. The translation of the normative Latin text of the Roman liturgy into a variety of vernacular languages for optional use, as the Ordinary Form does, is quite different from the establishment of, for example, Coptic or Church Slavonic as liturgical languages proper to local churches, as has happened among the Oriental Churches.¹ The language of the liturgy of the Latin Rite remains, properly speaking, Latin, even in the Ordinary Form.²
2. The purpose of this paper is to give an account of the value, not only of Latin in the normative texts of the liturgy, but also in its actual celebration. Many Catholics are today unfamiliar with the idea of a Latin liturgy, and the arguments in favour of it need to be rehearsed. The question of replacing the Latin lections with vernacular translations, which is permitted in Low Mass (*Missa lecta*) by the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae*,³ demands separate treatment. The more fundamental question is addressed here, of the very notion of a non-vernacular liturgical language, Latin.
3. The Latin liturgy of the West seems to have been composed, rather than translated from another language, at an early though uncertain date.⁴ The use of Latin as a sacred language, with Greek and Hebrew, has been connected with its use on the titulus of the Cross since the time of Hillary.⁵ As noted in Positio 5,⁶ the Roman liturgy made use of a distinctive, Christian, Latin which, while unlike the highly complex Latin of the great pagan writers, was by no means the Latin spoken in the street, which itself would have varied from one part of the Roman Empire to another. Nor were all the inhabitants of the Western Empire fluent in Latin, particularly outside the cities.⁷ The Church's Latin was universal, as opposed to local,

¹ Cf. the Instruction *Varietates legitimae* (1994) 36: 'The process of inculturation does not foresee that creation of new families of rites; inculturation responds to the needs of a particular culture and leads to adaptations which still remain part of the Roman Rite.' The quoted passage ends with a footnote reference to Bl. Pope John Paul II, discourse to the plenary assembly of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, Jan 26, 1991, No. 3: A.A.S. 83 (1991), 940 (in part) 'Nor is it intended to mean inculturation as the creation of alternative rites.'

² Cf Code of Canon Law 928: 'The eucharistic celebration is to be carried out in the Latin language or in another language provided that the liturgical texts have been legitimately approved.' ('Eucharistica celebratio peragatur lingua latina aut alia lingua, dummodo textus liturgici legitime approbati fuerint.')

³ *Universae Ecclesiae* 26

⁴ Certainly before the end of the Papacy of Pope Damasus (366-384); cf. St Ambrose *De Sacramentis* 4.5.21ff.

⁵ Hillary of Poitiers (d.366) 'the mystery of God's will and the expectation of the blessed kingdom is preached especially in these three languages. This explains the action of Pilate: he wrote down Lord Jesus Christ King of the Jews in these three languages' (Hil.-Pict., *Tractatus super Psalmos*, prol. 15 (CSEL 22.13)). Cf. John 19:19-20: 'And Pilate wrote a title also, and he put it upon the cross. And the writing was: JESUS OF NAZARETH, THE KING OF THE JEWS. This title therefore many of the Jews did read: because the place where Jesus was crucified was nigh to the city: and it was written in Hebrew, in Greek, and in Latin.'

⁶ FIUV PP 5: 'The Vulgate and the Ancient Latin Psalters'

⁷ St Augustine 'It is an excellent thing that the Punic Christians call Baptism itself nothing else but salvation, and the Sacrament of Christ's Body nothing else but life.' ('Forgiveness and the Just Deserts of Sins, and the Baptism of Infants', 1.24.34); cf. St Augustine Epistle 84 and 209.3, on the need for Punic-speaking clergy.

but also removed from the most readily comprehensible language of the people. It was with the liturgy in this language that St Patrick evangelised the non-Latin speaking Irish, St Augustine of Canterbury the English, and St Boniface the Germans.

Practical advantages of Latin

4. Reflecting on the tradition of the use of Latin, Blessed Pope John XXIII quoted Pope Pius XI in summarising its practical advantages:

in order that the Church may embrace all nations, and that it may last until the end of time, it requires a language that is universal, immutable, and non-vernacular.⁸

Were the Church simply to employ current, local languages, the vast periods of time and geographical areas which the Church, uniquely among human institutions, must compass, would create confusion. While the Latin of administration and theology has developed over the centuries, it is still the case that Latinists today are generally able to understand the writings of Churchmen from every age of the Church's existence, and from every part of the world, when they wrote in Latin. This universality is no less valuable in the liturgy, since it enables us to share the same liturgy, or the closely related Rites and Usages found in the Latin Rite, across all ages and countries. The Extraordinary Form is thus free from the need for periodic re-translation, and serves to emphasise the unity of the worshipping Church across time and space.

5. In the context, particularly, of mass migration, which has created both individuals and communities not at ease with the official language of their adopted country, as well as the enduring problem of minority languages, the Extraordinary Form enjoys the advantage described by Bl. John XXIII:

Of its very nature Latin is most suitable for promoting every culture among diverse peoples, for it gives no rise to jealousies, it does not favour any one group, but presents itself with equal impartiality, gracious and friendly to all.⁹

It is in this way a natural bulwark against the danger, noted in the Instruction *Varietates legitimae*, that the multiplicity of languages in worship should lead to

a Christian community becoming inward looking and also the use of inculturation for political ends.¹⁰

⁸ Bl. Pope John XXIII Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientiae* 4: 'Etenim Ecclesia, ut quae et nationes omnes complexu suo contineat, et usque ad consummationem saeculorum sit permansura..., sermonem suapte natura requirit universalem, immutabilem, non vulgarem.' Quoting Pius XI, Apostolic Letter *Officiorum omnium* (1922) 452. Cf. Pope Pius XII Encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) 60: 'The use of the Latin language, customary in a considerable portion of the Church, is a manifest and beautiful sign of unity, as well as an effective antidote for any corruption of doctrinal truth.' ('Latinae linguae usus, ut apud magnam Ecclesiae partem viget, perspicuum est venustumque unitatis signum, ac remedium efficax adversus quaslibet germanae doctrinae corruptelas.')

⁹ *Veterum Sapientia* 3. 'Suae enim sponte naturae lingua Latina ad provehendum apud populos quoslibet omnem humanitatis cultum est peraccommodata: cum invidiam non commoveat, singulis gentibus se aequabilem praestet, nullius partibus faveat, omnibus postremo sit grata et amica.'

Latin and Christian Culture and Devotion

6. Pope Paul VI went beyond such practical considerations when he wrote, of Latin:
For this language is, within the Latin Church, an abundant well-spring of Christian civilisation and a very rich treasure-trove of devotion.¹¹
7. Latin is a ‘well-spring of Christian civilisation’ because it is the language of (almost all) the liturgical texts of the Latin Church—from the Roman Canon to the texts of Gregorian Chant and the Orations composed over the centuries—and also of the theological, and many other cultural works (such as musical compositions), which influenced and were influenced by them. Thus the Latin liturgy is of incomparable worth in Christian culture, for which no translation, however good, can substitute.¹²
8. It is a ‘very rich treasure-trove of devotion’ for the related reason that it is in great part through meditating upon Latin texts, scriptural and liturgical, and Latin commentaries upon those texts, that the Latin Church has developed her spiritual life over the centuries.¹³ Again, a translation cannot substitute for the very words of the Latin Psalter or Song of Songs which gave rise to the commentaries of St Augustine of Hippo and St Bernard of Clairvaux, and so many others, which have such importance in the theology and spirituality of the Latin Church.

The use of Latin in the Liturgy

9. The question remains of the value for the Faithful, who may have no education in the Latin language, of hearing the liturgy in Latin. That it does have value is consistently implied by the teaching and practice of the Church. Following Bl. Pope John XXIII’s affirmation of

¹⁰ Instruction *Varietates legitimae* (1994) 49. For the context of this quotation, see Cf. *Varietates legitimae* 7: ‘In some countries, however, where several cultures coexist, especially as a result of immigration, it is necessary to take account of the problems which this raises (cf. below No. 49).’ Referring again to this problem, the Instruction goes on (49): ‘In a number of countries there are several cultures which coexist and sometimes influence each other in such a way as to lead gradually to the formation of a new culture, while at times they seek to affirm their proper identity or even oppose each other in order to stress their own existence. It can happen that customs may have little more than folkloric interest. The episcopal conference will examine each case individually with care: They should respect the riches of each culture and those who defend them, but they should not ignore or neglect a minority culture with which they are not familiar. They should weigh the risk of a Christian community becoming inward looking and also the use of inculturation for political ends.’

¹¹ Pope Paul VI Instruction *Sacrificium laudis* (1968): ‘in Ecclesia Latina christiani cultus humani fons uberrimus et locupletissimus pietatis thesaurus’.

¹² This point was stressed by the 1971 petition to Pope Paul VI by intellectual and cultural figures from England and Wales, which led to the ‘English Indult’ of 1971. It read in part: ‘The rite in question, in its magnificent Latin text, has also inspired a host of priceless achievements in the arts—not only mystical works, but works by poets, philosophers, musicians, architects, painters and sculptors in all countries and epochs. Thus, it belongs to universal culture as well as to churchmen and formal Christians.’

¹³ This is so in the context of the traditional Latin of the Roman liturgy, including the Vulgate and the ancient Latin Psalters: see Position Paper 5, ‘The Vulgate’.

Latin in the liturgy,¹⁴ the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, states simply:

Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites.¹⁵

Pope Benedict XVI wishes seminarians not only to understand Latin for their studies, but to be able to employ it in the liturgy when they are ordained, noting that the Faithful themselves can be taught Latin prayers and chants.¹⁶

10. It should first be observed that, as Pope Benedict XVI indicates, frequent attendance at Latin liturgies enables the Faithful to become familiar with many texts, and in this way to understand them even without recourse there and then to a translation. Even a limited liturgical catechesis ensures that the Faithful have seen translations of familiar texts such as the Gloria, and reflected upon them. Familiarity with a widening repertoire of liturgical texts will enable the Faithful to pick up Latin words and phrases to identify what a text is about, where it comes in the liturgy, and to remind them what they may have learned about it.
11. The importance of liturgical formation is much emphasised in *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.¹⁷ The Extraordinary Form benefits from a rich tradition of hand missals and other aids to following, and learning about, the liturgy. The commentaries on the liturgy of the Church's

¹⁴ Bl. Pope John XXIII *Veterum Sapientia* 11, 2: 'In the exercise of their paternal care they [sc. Bishops and Superiors General] shall be on their guard lest anyone under their jurisdiction, eager for revolutionary changes, writes against the use of Latin in the teaching of the higher sacred studies or in the Liturgy, or through prejudice makes light of the Holy See's will in this regard or interprets it falsely.' ('Paterna iidem sollicitudine caveant, ne qui e sua ditione, novarum rerum studiosi, contra linguam Latinam sive in altioribus sacris disciplinis tradendis sive in sacris habendis ritibus usurpandam scribant, neve praeiudicata opinione Apostolicae Sedis voluntatem hac in re extenuent vel perperam interpretentur.')

¹⁵ Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 36, 1: 'Linguae latinae usus, salvo particulari iure, in Ritibus latinis servetur.' Cf. 101. 1: 'In accordance with the centuries-old tradition of the Latin rite, the Latin language is to be retained by clerics in the divine office. But in individual cases the ordinary has the power of granting the use of a vernacular translation to those clerics for whom the use of Latin constitutes a grave obstacle to their praying the office properly.' ('Iuxta saecularem traditionem ritus latini, in Officio divino lingua latina clericis servanda est, ... singulis pro casibus, iis clericis, quibus usus linguae latinae grave impedimentum est quominus Officium debite persolvant.')

¹⁶ Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 62: 'I ask that future priests, from their time in the seminary, receive the preparation needed to understand and to celebrate Mass in Latin, and also to use Latin texts and execute Gregorian chant; nor should we forget that the faithful can be taught to recite the more common prayers in Latin, and also to sing parts of the liturgy to Gregorian chant.' ('In universum petimus ut futuri sacerdotes, inde a Seminarii tempore, ad Sanctam Missam Latine intellegendam et celebrandam nec non ad Latinos textus usurpandos et cantum Gregorianum adhibendum instituantur; neque neglegatur copia ipsis fidelibus facienda ut notiores in lingua Latina preces ac pariter quarundam liturgiae partium in cantu Gregoriano cantus cognoscant.') Cf. Canon 249: 'The program of priestly formation is to provide that students not only are carefully taught their native language but also understand Latin well' ('Institutionis sacerdotalis Ratione provideatur ut alumni non tantum accurate linguam patriam edoceantur, sed etiam linguam latinam bene calleant') Cf. also the decree on Priestly Training of the Second Vatican Council, *Optatam totius* 13: concerning seminarians, 'Moreover they are to acquire a knowledge of Latin which will enable them to understand and make use of the sources of so many sciences and of the documents of the Church. The study of the liturgical language proper to each rite should be considered necessary; a suitable knowledge of the languages of the Bible and of Tradition should be greatly encouraged.'

¹⁷ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 41-46

year produced by Prosper Guéranger, Bl. Ildefonso Schuster, and Pius Parsch, are monuments of tradition worthy of study for their own sakes.¹⁸

12. It is worth noting also that the relatively limited number of liturgical texts in the 1962 Missal is a great advantage to the Faithful assisting at it in Latin. The limited size of the lectionary, the frequent use of a limited number of Commons of the Saints and Votive Masses, the repetition of the Sunday Mass on ferial days, the limited number of Prefaces, and so on, make a thorough familiarity with the Missal a real possibility for ordinary Catholics.

13. Furthermore, the use of Latin can be a direct aid to participation in the liturgy. Blessed Pope John Paul II made this point in the context of the experience of the Faithful in participating in the ancient liturgical tradition, in his Apostolic Letter *Dominicae Cena*e (1980):

Nevertheless, there are also those people who, having been educated on the basis of the old liturgy in Latin, experience the lack of this “one language,” which in all the world was an expression of the unity of the Church and through its dignified character elicited a profound sense of the Eucharistic Mystery.¹⁹

This dignity and universality of Latin noted by Bl. Pope John XXIII²⁰ are, indeed, essential components of the ‘sacrality’ noted of the Extraordinary Form by Pope Benedict XVI.²¹ The necessity of the liturgy using a language set apart at least to some degree from the ordinary spoken language has been emphasised repeatedly in recent decades.²²

14. This is a point taken up in Position Paper 3.²³ The Extraordinary Form has many features which may seem to be barriers to comprehension, including ritual complexity, the hiddenness of some ceremonies, the fact that some texts are read silently, and above all the use of the Latin language.²⁴ These are not, in fact, barriers to participation, if we think of participation

¹⁸ Dom Prosper Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes: ‘L’Année Liturgique’, in French, published in 15 volumes between 1841 and 1844 (published in English as ‘The Liturgical Year’ in 1949). Bl. Ildefonso Schuster, Archbishop of Milan: ‘Liber Sacramentorum’, in Italian, published in 5 volumes in 1919 (published in English as ‘The Sacramentary’ in 1924). Fr Pius Parsch: ‘Das Jahr des Heiles’, published in 3 Volumes in 1923 (published in English as ‘The Church’s Year of Grace’ in 1953). These works, particularly those of Guéranger and Parsch, were and are widely disseminated. The text of ‘L’Année Liturgique’ is available at least in part online in French (<http://www.abbaye-saint-benoit.ch/gueranger/annelliturgique/index.htm>) and English (<http://www.liturgicalatina.org/lityear/>).

¹⁹ Bl. Pope John Paul II Apostolic Letter (1980) *Dominicae Cena*e 10: ‘Non tamen desunt qui, secundum veteris liturgiae Latinae rationem acriter instituti, defectum huius “unius sermonis” percipiunt, qui in universo orbe terrarum unitatem Ecclesiae significat et indole sua dignitatis plena altum sensum Mysterii eucharistici excitavit.’

²⁰ Bl. Pope John XXIII, again quoting Pius XI, speaks of its ‘concise, rich, varied, majestic and dignified features’ (‘Neque hoc neglegatur oportet, in sermone Latino nobilem inesse conformationem et proprietatem; siquidem loquendi genus pressum, locuples, numerosum, maiestatis plenum et dignitatis (4) habet, quod unice et perspicuitati conducit et gravitati.’) *Veterum Sapientia* 3, quoting Pius XI, Epist. Ap. *Officiorum omnium*, 1 Aug. 1922: A.A.S. 14 (1922), 452-453.

²¹ Pope Benedict XVI Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007)

²² Instruction *Varietates legitimae* (1994) 39: The language of the liturgy ‘must always express, together with the truths of the faith, the grandeur and holiness of the mysteries which are being celebrated.’ The Instruction *Liturgiam authenticam* (2001) 27 urges the development of ‘a sacred style that will come to be recognised as proper to liturgical language.’

²³ FIUV PP 3: ‘Liturgical Piety and Participation,’ especially 8-10

²⁴ The claim that these features are barriers to participation, made at the Synod of Pistoia, was condemned by Pope Pius VI in *Auctorem Fidei* (1794) 33: ‘The proposition of the synod by which it shows itself eager to

in terms of the impact of the liturgy on the worshipper, in creating a 'profound sense of the Eucharistic mystery'. They are all part of a whole which is effective in communicating, non-verbally as well as verbally, the transcendent significance of the liturgical action. Of all the aspects of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition which contribute to this, the use of Latin seems both the most obvious and the most important.

remove the cause through which, in part, there has been induced a forgetfulness of the principles relating to the order of the liturgy, "by recalling it (the liturgy) to a greater simplicity of rites, by expressing it in the vernacular language, by uttering it in a loud voice"; as if the present order of the liturgy, received and approved by the Church, had emanated in some part from the forgetfulness of the principles by which it should be regulated,—rash, offensive to pious ears, insulting to the Church, favourable to the charges of heretics against it.'



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

***Positio* N. 8**

PREFACES

JUNE 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Prefaces: Abstract

Although there are a great many Latin Prefaces dating from the early Middle Ages, the Roman Rite is historically characterised by a very limited number: the Hadrianum contained 14; from the late 11th Century until 1919 there were 12; four were added between 1919 and 1928. In addition a few extra Prefaces are permitted for religious orders or certain places. The small number of Prefaces, the lack of choice between Prefaces for a particular Mass, and their restrained Latin style, are all characteristic of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition represented by the 1962 Missal, and there is little precedent for adding to their number, even for important new feasts. The Prefaces of the 1970 Missal, of which there are 82, are distinct in function as well as style, being designed to complement the new Eucharistic Prayers, and composed with a distinct sequence of prayers in mind, in which, by contrast with the ancient Roman tradition, the Preface has no intercessory role. The possibility of adding new Prefaces to the 1962 Missal does not seem to us to fulfil the criterion of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* that ‘the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires’ a liturgical change, particularly while the Extraordinary Form is still at an early stage of adoption in the mainstream of the Church’s liturgical life.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper 8: Prefaces

1. In the Letter to Bishops accompanying the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007), the Holy Father Pope Benedict XVI refers to study of the ‘practical possibilities’ of adding Prefaces to the Extraordinary Form, and to consultation of ‘bodies devoted to the *usus antiquior*’ on this question.¹ This paper is a response to that call for study and consultation. The discussion needs, first, to be informed by the history of the question, and secondly by an understanding of the criteria of organic development.

The Historical Question

2. Our information about the Missals in use in Rome (or elsewhere) before the 9th century is very patchy, and what documents exist cannot be assumed to be exhaustive. The classical, and most influential, representative of the Roman Rite of this early period is nevertheless the 8th century ‘Hadrianum’,² which had fourteen Prefaces (see Appendix, 1).
3. By contrast, many other Missals and collections of liturgical texts from 7th to the 11th centuries include a great many Prefaces.³ These clearly had the function of giving a Mass a very specific intention; they might be regarded as ‘proper’ prayers. The definitive modern collection of Latin Prefaces, the *Corpus Praefationum*, has 1,674 in total.⁴
4. Nevertheless, a small body of Prefaces began to become standard in the 11th century, quite probably in response to the ‘false decretal of Pelagius II,’ which authorises only nine, presumably in addition to the Common Preface. This document, while presenting itself as a late 6th century decretal, is probably from the 11th century.⁵ Regardless of its origin, it was included in later canon law collections.⁶ It suggests, quite possibly correctly, that the ancient Roman practice was to have a very limited number of Prefaces.
5. To the list given by the ‘false decretal’ the Preface of the Blessed Virgin Mary was added in the late 11th century (though this itself was based on an 8th century Preface). These, plus the

¹ Letter to Bishops accompanying the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007) ‘the two Forms of the usage of the Roman Rite can be mutually enriching: new Saints and some of the new Prefaces can and should be inserted in the old Missal. The “Ecclesia Dei” Commission, in contact with various bodies devoted to the *usus antiquior*, will study the practical possibilities in this regard.’

² The Sacramentary sent by Pope Adrian I (772-795) to Charlemagne at the latter’s request, which formed the basis of Alcuin of York’s reform of the Frankish liturgy.

³ The Leonine Sacramentary (*Sacramentarium Veronense*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg, Rome, Herder 1966) from about the beginning of the 7th century, contains more than 240 Prefaces (the exact number depends on how near-duplicates are counted; it may be as many as 268; furthermore, it is arranged calendrically, but the period from January to mid April is missing). However, while including Roman material this is a collection from many Italian sources, and is a collection rather than a book to be used in a specific church or diocese. The ‘old’ Gelasian Sacramentary, containing Roman, Frankish and other material and produced near Paris c.750, (*Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae ordinis anni circuli*, ed. L. C. Mohlberg with L Eizenhöfer and Peter Siffrin, Rome, Herder 1960) has 53 Prefaces; the Angoulême Sacramentary contains about 219 Prefaces (this figure includes some near-repetitions, but there are also some lacunae). St Gall 348 had 48 different Prefaces in its original version, to which the re-worked version added a further 175.

⁴ The collection includes new Prefaces published up to 1969.

⁵ That this text is an invention by Burchard himself is reasonably suspected by B. Capelle, *Les origines de la Préface romaine de la Vierge*, *Rev d’histoire Eccl* 38 (1942) 46-58 at p. 47.

⁶ *Corpus Iuris Canonici* (*Decretum Gratiani* III 1,71 (Friedberg, I 1313); cf Durandus, IV, 33, 35),

Common Preface and the Preface in the *Missa sicca* for blessing the palms on Palm Sunday, are the only Prefaces found in the Roman Missals of 1474 and 1570. Of these, seven are found in the Hadrianum, and three derive from ancient Frankish sources (see Appendix, 3).

6. In this later period other Rites and Usages of the Latin Church sometimes had a few additional Prefaces. Exceptionally, eight Prefaces not found in the Roman Missal were included in the Paris Missal of 1738 (see Appendix, 4), which was an attempt to preserve a distinctive Gallican Rite in the Latin Church. These probably include new compositions.
7. Between 1919 and 1928 four Prefaces were added to the Roman Missal. One, the Preface for the Dead (1919), came from the Paris Missal of 1738; the others, for St Joseph (1919), Christ the King (1925), and the Sacred Heart (1928), were new compositions. Each was introduced in the context of wider liturgical developments: the revision of the liturgies of All Souls⁷ and the Sacred Heart,⁸ the creation of the Feast of Christ the King,⁹ and the development of devotion to St Joseph.¹⁰ The 1955 revision of Holy Week used an ancient Preface for the new Chrism Mass (while the Preface for the '*Missa sicca*' for the blessing of palms disappeared). Particular editions of the 1962 Missal include Prefaces authorised for particular places or religious orders; the best known are the four 'Gallican Prefaces', authorised for countries of Gallican heritage (see Appendix, 7).
8. A decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites of 1968 introduced eight further Prefaces.¹¹ One is (almost unchanged) of ancient origin; the others are either significantly redacted or are new compositions. This decree also added new Eucharistic Prayers. The 1970 Missal included 82 Prefaces; the majority are new compositions, with a variety of texts as their inspiration. Some Prefaces found in the 1962 Missal and the 1968 decree were abandoned or re-written.

The Question of Organic Development

9. The Constitution on the Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, sets out criteria for authentic liturgical development. After noting the importance of historical research and pastoral considerations, it says:

⁷ It follows the reform of the liturgy of All Souls by Pope St Pius X, which created a complete Office for the feast for the first time, raised its rank, and permitted priests to celebrate three Masses.

⁸ The formulary of the feast of the Most Sacred Heart was thoroughly revised, with specially written chants, in 1928.

⁹ The Feast of Christ the King was established by Pius XI's encyclical *Quas primas* in 1925.

¹⁰ The liturgical honour given to St Joseph presents a continuously developing history. His feast is not found in the Roman Missal before the 15th Century; the feast of St Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary ('Iustus et palma', 19th March), found in the Roman Missal of 1570, was made a Holy Day of Obligation by Pope Clement XI in 1714. A feast of St Joseph Patron of the Church ('Adjutor et protector') was created by Pope Pius IX in 1847; this was moved from the third Sunday after Easter to the third Wednesday after Easter by Pius X, who added an Octave. This latter feast disappeared from the calendar, while being retained as a Votive Mass for use on Wednesdays, in favour of a new feast of St Joseph the Worker ('Sapientia reddidit'), which was created by Pope Pius XII in 1955, for the 1st May. Bl. Pope John XXIII inserted St Joseph into the Canon of the Mass in 1962. The promulgation of a Preface, to be used on his feast days and votive Masses, in 1919, is part of this wider development.

¹¹ *Preces Eucharisticae*, Notitiae, 40, May-June 1968, p.156

there must be no innovations unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them; and care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing.¹²

These are necessary conditions for any liturgical development, not merely considerations among others. Bearing these in mind, we can make certain observations.

10. A relatively small number of Prefaces may be described as characteristic of the ancient liturgical tradition of the Roman Rite. As noted above, the Hadrianum had fourteen; from the 11th Century until 1919 there were twelve; four more were added in the early 20th Century. This accords with the general character of restraint and austerity characteristic of the Roman Rite, reflected also in its limited lectionary, single Eucharistic Prayer, and so on. In style, also, the Prefaces of the Roman Rite are restrained and austere by comparison with those found in Gallican and other sources. As the liturgical scholar Adrian Fortescue expressed it:

The chief note in the Roman rite has always been its austere simplicity. That is still its essential note, compared with the florid Eastern rites. It is surely worth while to preserve this note externally also, to repress any Byzantine tendencies in our ceremonies.¹³

Contrary, perhaps, to Fortescue's critical tone, it should be emphasised that what is of value in one liturgical tradition does not necessarily correspond to something defective in another. The same ultimate ends—the worship of God and the salvation of souls—can be served by distinct means. What is to be emphasised here is simply that the simplicity and austerity of the Roman liturgical tradition is a means to those ends which is worthy of preservation, as is everything which has developed under the guidance of Providence in the Church's liturgical traditions.¹⁴ This simplicity has practical advantages, notably in making possible Missals which are both comprehensive and easily portable,¹⁵ and in facilitating a thorough familiarity with the texts of the Missal by the laity, with important implications for liturgical participation.¹⁶

11. There is little precedent for adding Prefaces to the Roman Missal. None were added between the 11th Century and the 20th, although these centuries saw many important new feasts and devotional developments. The importance of stability in the liturgy should also be stressed: it enables the faithful to continue to use the same books, and grow in familiarity with the Missal over a lifetime, united in their liturgical experience with their predecessors and successors.
12. It has often happened in the development of the Roman Rite that long-established local usages have become universal, and this principle could be applied to the Gallican and other local Prefaces, or those authorised for religious orders. The question remains, however, as to the urgency of such a development, in the context both of the need for stability in the liturgical books of the Extraordinary Form, as they are just beginning to establish themselves in wider usage in the Church, and the difference of spirit between the Gallican and the Roman styles. It seems entirely appropriate, by contrast, that the Gallican Prefaces continue

¹² *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 23

¹³ Adrian Fortescue 'Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described' (London: Burns Oates, 1936) p.xix

¹⁴ Recalling Pope Benedict XVI: 'It behoves all of us to preserve the riches which have developed in the Church's faith and prayer, and to give them their proper place.' (Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, 2007); cf. Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, 61, on liturgical development over time: the 'Holy Spirit... assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world. They [sc. rites developed over time] are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.'

¹⁵ Both Altar Missals (such as those used by military chaplains) and the pocket-sized handmissals for the laity.

¹⁶ See Positio 7, 'Latin as a Liturgical Language'

to be used in countries of Gallican heritage, and by parallel, that other Prefaces authorised for particular places or religious orders for special reasons continue in use in those places and orders.

13. The most cautious course might seem to be to make them universally optional; however, it should be noted that it is part of the character of the Extraordinary Form that options are generally minimised;¹⁷ indeed, there is no precedent for optional Prefaces in modern times.¹⁸ A multiplicity of options both makes it harder for the faithful to follow the liturgy, and tends to subject the liturgy to the personality of the priest. The Holy Father has written about the danger of liturgical ‘creativity’:

God is less and less in the picture. More and more important is what is done by human beings who meet here and do not like to subject themselves to a “pre-determined pattern”.¹⁹

14. The possibility of introducing Prefaces composed for the 1970 Missal into the Extraordinary Form presents the difficulties just mentioned, and another particular difficulty, which is the change in the role of the Preface between the two Missals.
15. One reason for this is that the ancient Latin liturgical tradition has many points in common with the ancient Rite of Alexandria, especially when it is recalled that the Preface and Roman Canon predate the insertion of the Sanctus.²⁰ In these traditions, the Preface has an intercessory, and not just a eucharistic (thanksgiving) role. The Missal of 1970, by contrast, employs Eucharistic Prayers mainly derived from (or modelled on) those other Eastern Rites, in which the intercessions are part of the Eucharistic Prayer and not the Preface.²¹ Thus, like many ancient Latin Prefaces, the Preface of the Apostles in the 1962 Missal is ‘deprecatory’: it entreats the Lord ‘do not desert Thy flock’.²² In the 1970 Missal this Preface has been re-written to remove its deprecatory character.²³

¹⁷ Prior to 1956 there were opportunities for optional extra collects, and more opportunities for the use, at the celebrant’s discretion, of Votive Masses, than is the case with the rubrics of 1962. The reduction of options certainly had the advantage of making the following of Mass by the Faithful with a hand missal simpler.

¹⁸ Prior to the Decree of 1759 which mandated the Preface of the Trinity for green Sundays, there seems to have been some variation in practice between the use of Trinity Sunday and the Common Preface for those Sundays. This needn’t imply a free choice for the priest, however, rather than different local customs. The provision of multiple Prefaces for a given Mass, in the liturgical books of the earlier period noted in paragraph 3, in some cases does suggest such a choice, though in others it may again simply record local customs.

¹⁹ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) ‘The Spirit of the Liturgy’ (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000) pp79-80: ‘Now the priest ... becomes the real reference point for the whole liturgy. Everything depends on him. We have to see him, respond to him, to be involved in what he is doing. His creativity sustains the whole thing. Not surprisingly, people try to reduce this newly created role by assigning all kinds of liturgical functions to different individuals... God is less and less in the picture. More and more important is what is done by human beings who meet here and do not like to subject themselves to a “pre-determined pattern”.’

²⁰ The Sanctus appeared in the Roman Rite probably in the 430s.

²¹ This is confirmed by the discussion of intercessions by the ‘General Instruction of the Roman Missal’ (2002), 79

²² Preface of the Apostles: ‘It is truly right and just, our duty and our salvation, suppliantly to entreat you, Lord, that you, eternal Shepherd, do not desert your flock, but that through your blessed Apostles you watch over it and protect it always, so that it may be governed by those you have appointed shepherds to lead it in the name of {as representatives in/substitutes for} your work. And so, with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominions, and with all the hosts and Powers of heaven, as we sing the hymn of your glory without end we acclaim.’ (‘Vere dignum et iustum est, aequum et salutare: Te, Domine suppliciter exorare, ut gregem tuum pastor aeternae, non deseras: sed per beatos apostolos tuos continua protectione custodias.’)

²³ Preface of the Apostles, 1970 Missal, 2011 English translation ‘It is truly right and just, our duty and our salvation, always and everywhere to give you thanks, Lord, holy Father, almighty and eternal God. For you,

16. Again, the Prefaces in the 1970 Missal were designed for use with Eucharistic Prayers II and III,²⁴ which are much shorter than the Roman Canon, to complement them, and, as Cardinal Lercaro noted at the time, the reform aimed
to make the Eucharistic Prayer more of a single unit that includes the preface, *Sanctus*, and anamnesis.²⁵
17. Such considerations rendered the great majority of ancient Latin Prefaces unsuitable for the 1970 Missal, despite their great abundance.²⁶ It would seem logical that the reverse would also be true: that the Prefaces of the 1970 Missal are not appropriate for the 1962 Missal.

Conclusion

18. At the heart of the issue is the preservation of the authentic spirit of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition,²⁷ by reference both to general principles of organic development, and to the desire of the Holy Father
to preserve the riches which have developed in the Church's faith and prayer, and to give them their proper place.²⁸
It is interesting to note, in this regard, the decision of the Holy Father, wishing to replace the Prayer for the Jews in the Good Friday liturgy, not to insert the equivalent prayer from the 1970 Missal, but to compose one more conformable to the liturgical context. In relation to Prefaces, this tradition is characterised, for good reasons, by a particular Latin style, by a very limited number of Prefaces, and by a very limited number of options.
19. Our final conclusion is in favour of a moratorium on new Prefaces. It does not seem to us that there is any urgency about adding new Prefaces, or that the criterion of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, that the 'good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires' a change, has been met in this case. It must be recognised that after a period of unprecedented liturgical change over a short period of time, which has caused such confusion, long term damage, and suffering,²⁹ a period of tranquillity would seem practical and indeed essential, particularly in relation to anything which might seem a novelty. We may end with the words of the Holy Father:
A more important objection is of the practical order. Ought we really to be rearranging everything all over again? Nothing is more harmful to the liturgy than a constant activism, even if it seems to be for the sake of genuine renewal.³⁰

eternal Shepherd, do not desert your flock, but through the blessed Apostles watch over it and protect it always, so that it may be governed by those you have appointed shepherds to lead it in the name of your Son. And so, with Angels and Archangels, with Thrones and Dominations, and with all the hosts and Powers of heaven, as we sing the hymn of your glory without end we acclaim:

²⁴ Eucharistic Prayer IV, in the 1970 Missal, has a fixed Preface. See (Archbishop) Annibale Bugnini 'The Reform of the Roman Liturgy (1948-1975)' (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990) p458.

²⁵ Bugnini, *op. cit.*, p450, quoting a 1966 memorandum of Cardinal Lercaro.

²⁶ See note 3 above.

²⁷ See also Positio 6: Liturgical Pluralism

²⁸ Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*

²⁹ Pope Benedict XVI, Letter to Bishops accompanying the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007): 'I have seen how arbitrary deformations of the liturgy caused deep pain to individuals totally rooted in the faith of the Church.'

³⁰ 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' p83

APPENDIX

1. Prefaces in the Sacramentary of Pope Adrian I (the 'Hadrianum'): 14 in total

Common	in Natali Papae
Nativity	For ordination of a priest
Epiphany	For consecration of an altar
Easter	Nuptial Mass
Ascension	for St Andrew
Pentecost	Two for St Anastasia (one of which is
Apostles	really an extra one for the Nativity)

2. Prefaces mandated by the 'False Decretal of Pope Pelagius': 10 in total

<i>From the Hadrianum:</i>	<i>From Frankish sources:</i>
Easter	Trinity
Ascension	Cross
Pentecost	Lent
Nativity	
Epiphany	
Apostles	

(the Common Preface seems to be taken for granted)

3. Prefaces found in the Roman Missals of 1474 and 1570: 12 in total

<i>Included in the False Decretal:</i>	
Nativity	Apostles
Epiphany	Lent
Easter	the Cross
Ascension	Trinity
Pentecost	

Plus the Common Preface

Added in the 11th Century: Blessed Virgin Mary

Also: Preface for the Missa Sicca of Palm Sunday

4. Prefaces of the Paris Missal ('de Vintimille') of 1738: 19 in total

Advent	Maundy Thursday (& votive for the
Nativity	Blessed Sacrament)
Epiphany	Ascension
Lent	Pentecost
Cross	Trinity
Easter	Blessed Sacrament and Corpus Christi

Dedication of a church
Blessed Virgin Mary
Apostles
SS Dionysius, Rusticus & Eleutherius

Patrons and Titulars
Nuptial Mass
Common Preface
For the Dead

5. Prefaces added to the Roman Missal from 1919 to 1928: 4 in total

For the Dead
St Joseph
Christ the King
Sacred Heart of Jesus

(The Preface of the Dead was found in the Paris Missal of 1738, but probably derives from ancient sources.³¹)

6. Effect of the Holy Week Reform of 1955: 1 added and 1 removed

Preface of the Missa Sicca of Palm Sunday, lost
Ancient Preface used for Chrism Mass, added

7. Prefaces for use *pro aliquibus locis* and by religious orders in 1962.

Without giving an exhaustive list, religious orders tend to have prefaces for the feast of their founders. These include

St Benedict
St Augustine
St Francis de Sales
St Norbert*
St Dominic*

St John of the Cross*
St Teresa of Avila*
St Elias*
Our Lady of Mount Carmel*

**approved in or after 1919*

The Franciscan *Missale Romano-Seraphicum* has extra proper Prefaces for the feasts of St Francis, St Dominic, and St Clare.

A number of French dioceses have proper Prefaces, deriving from the neo-Gallican tradition (see Appendix, 4), notably Lyon, which not only has some for some saints, but also for

Advent
Maundy Thursday

Corpus Christi
the Dedication of a Church

³¹ The phrase “vita mutatur non tollitur” occurs in SG 908 (6th-7th century Visigothic), and 1738 may have got the whole text from some such source.

The dioceses of Spain have a proper Preface for the Feast of St Teresa of Avila.

In all the dioceses of France and Belgium four Prefaces from the Neo-Gallican Missal of 1738 are authorised:

Advent
Blessed Sacrament

All Saints/ SS Peter and Paul
Dedication of a Church



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 9

SILENCE AND INAUDIBILITY
IN THE
EXTRAORDINARY FORM

JULY 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

Liturgical texts read silently or inaudibly are a striking feature of the Extraordinary Form, and this has seemed scandalous to those attached to a didactic model of the liturgy, such as the supporters of the Synod of Pistoia. The explanation of why some texts cannot be heard by the Faithful is threefold. First, some texts are obscured by singing, at sung Masses; these include the texts actually being sung. The close connection between the singing, and the natural space in the liturgy which allows this singing to take place, was noted by Pope St Pius X. Secondly, the ‘priestly prayers’ addressed personally by the celebrating priest to God, for example at the *Munda cor meum* and *Lavabo*, express the intimate relationship between the priest and God, which, as Pope Benedict XVI has emphasised, is important for all to appreciate and imitate. Thirdly, the silence of the Canon marks it as a prayer of special sacredness, with an atmosphere recalling the silence of Calvary. Pope Benedict XVI has described the deeply prayerful participation of the Faithful in the ‘filled silence’ the silent Canon creates.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper: Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form

1. A marked characteristic of the Extraordinary Form is the use of silence, particularly the silent Canon, which contrasts with the practice of the Ordinary Form. It is a natural parallel to celebration *ad orientem*,¹ which, like it, developed and spread in the early centuries of the Church.² The use of silence in the Extraordinary Form is complex, however, and indeed silence is not excluded from the Ordinary Form. Without attempting an exhaustive account of the subject, this paper will limit itself to certain generalisations about the place of silence in the Extraordinary Form.
2. Silent prayer was one of three aspects of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition criticised by the Jansenist Synod of Pistoia of 1786, a criticism itself condemned by Pope Pius VI.³ It is grouped with ritual complexity and the use of a non-vernacular language, but silence might seem the most profound challenge to the Enlightenment principles which motivated Pistoia. For it would not seem to make the liturgy more immediately comprehensible to the Faithful if it were simplified and translated into the vernacular, if the prayers were still said inaudibly. Although the Faithful, even with a limited liturgical formation, will be familiar with the content of Ordinary prayers said silently,⁴ it is clearly necessary to go beyond a functionalist and didactic model, and consider the symbolic significance of silence, in order to understand its role.

¹ See Positio 6: Liturgical Orientation

² Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000) p215: 'It is no accident that in Jerusalem, from a very early time, parts of the Canon were prayed in silence and that in the West the silent Canon—overlaid in part with meditative singing—became the norm.' Evidence is lacking on whether the Canon was said silently before the 8th Century; a tendency towards saying it in a low voice is implied by the attempt by the Emperor Justinian to outlaw this practice in the year 565 (Novella 137 in the collection edited by Schoell & Kroll in Mommsen's *Corpus Juris Civilis* vol. 3 p 699). It seems likely that the Oratio Super Oblata, the 'Secret Prayer', has been said silently since its introduction into the Mass in the 5th Century, though this cannot be established definitively. Jungmann notes that the contrast between the words 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus', said aloud, and the rest of the Canon, said silently, was noted and discussed in 9th Century, citing Amalarius of Metz (d. c.850) (Joseph Jungmann: *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its origins and development* (English edition: New York: Benzinger, 1955) Vol II, p257, footnote 47).

³ Pope Pius VI, Bull *Auctorem Fidei* (1794) 33: 'The proposition of the synod by which it shows itself eager to remove the cause through which, in part, there has been induced a forgetfulness of the principles relating to the order of the liturgy, "by recalling it (the liturgy) to a greater simplicity of rites, by expressing it in the vernacular language, by uttering it in a loud voice"; as if the present order of the liturgy, received and approved by the Church, had emanated in some part from the forgetfulness of the principles by which it should be regulated,— rash, offensive to pious ears, insulting to the Church, favourable to the charges of heretics against it.'

⁴ For many years the Sacred Congregation of Rites forbade translations of the Ordinary of the Mass; this legislation was reiterated as late as 1858. Nevertheless, the meaning of the Canon, and even paraphrases of it, were part of devotional aids to the Mass, which began to appear with the advent of printing, and developed particularly from the 17th Century onwards. See Alcuin Reid 'The Organic Development of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005) footnote 191 on p63. See also 'The Lay Folks Mass Book, or, the Manner of Hearing Mass: with Rubrics and Devotions for the People, in Four Texts, and Office in English according to the Use of York, from Manuscripts of the Xth to the XVth Century' by Thomas Frederick Simmons (Early English Text Society, 1879) (available online <http://archive.org/details/layfolksmassbook00simmuoft> , and print-on-demand from Nabu Public Domain Reprints).

Inaudibility

3. It is worth noting briefly the case of prayers said, not silently, but nevertheless inaudibly. This happens in a Sung Mass, when the singing of the Introit and Kyrie obscures the Preparatory Prayers⁵ and those immediately following them, even if they would otherwise be audible. Similarly, the singing of the other Proper and Ordinary chants obscure the priest's reading of the same texts.
4. The traditional practice creates a very intimate relationship between liturgical music and the liturgy. Pope St Pius X in his Motu Proprio on Sacred Music, *Tra le Sollicitudini*, explained that singing should not unnecessarily exceed the space created for it by the liturgy.⁶ Such spaces would be reduced considerably if the celebrant did not read the texts which the choir is singing, and eliminated altogether if singing were not allowed to obscure other prayers. When singing does exceed this space, Pius X warned,
the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music.⁷
5. The principle of inaudible prayer by the celebrant while singing is going on is maintained in the 1970 Missal, with the Offertory, which may indeed be said silently even if there is no singing.

Silent prayers of the priest

6. In another category are those prayers which are in a certain sense personal to the sacred minister saying them, notably when he implores the purification and graces to perform a rite worthily. Examples would include the 'Munda cor meum' before the Gospel, the 'Lavabo' before the Canon, and the prayers said at the priest's Communion. Pope Benedict XVI comments:
The silent prayers of the priest invite him to make his task truly personal, so that he may give his whole self to the Lord. They highlight the way in which all of us, each one personally yet together with everyone else, have to approach the Lord. The number of these priestly prayers has been greatly reduced in the liturgical reform, but, thank God, they do exist...⁸

⁵ The Preparatory Prayers (the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar), though not necessarily inaudible, do also, historically, belong to the category of prayers personal to the priest (see paragraphs 6-7), or at least to the priest and the other sacred ministers. They were originally said in the sacristy, or on the way to the Altar (see Josef Jungmann, 'The Mass of the Roman Rite: its origins and development' (English Edition: New York: Benzinger, 1950) Vol. I p291-5). This adds to the appropriateness of their inaudibility at Sung Mass.

⁶ Pope St Pius X, Motu Proprio *Tra le Sollicitudini* (1903) 22-23: 'It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. According to the ecclesiastical prescriptions the *Sanctus* of the Mass should be over before the elevation, and therefore the priest must here have regard for the singers. The *Gloria* and the *Credo* ought, according to the Gregorian tradition, to be relatively short. In general it must be considered a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.'

⁷ See the fuller quotation in Note 6 above. The role of sacred music in the Extraordinary Form will be the subject, we hope, of a future Position Paper.

⁸ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* p213. Pope Benedict goes on to list places in the 1970 Missal in which these silent prayers are to be found: at the preparation for the proclamation of the Gospel, the Preparation of the Gifts, and before and after the Priest's reception of Holy Communion.

7. The silence of these prayers is a dramatic indication of the intimacy of the priestly task: they are addressed to God alone. As Pope Benedict indicates, this is important to stress both for the priest himself, and for the Faithful who are to associate themselves with him and follow his example of humility before God.

The Silent Canon

8. In a category of its own is the Canon of the Mass. While the Sanctus is sung, at a Sung Mass, during the Canon,⁹ the words of Consecration themselves take place during a privileged period of silence, during which nothing may be sung and the organ may not be played. This silence is heightened by the ringing of the bell to signal, first, the approaching Consecration, and then the double Consecrations themselves. Later, if singing is not taking place, the celebrant can be heard to say, in a more elevated voice, 'Nobis quoque peccatoribus', the opening words of a prayer for the living,¹⁰ which serves to emphasise the priest's unworthiness, following the moment of his closest identification with Christ. The otherwise complete silence of the Canon gives it a particular sacred atmosphere, and raises it, in importance, above what goes before or comes after it. It recalls the words of the prophet Habbakuk, used in a hymn of the Liturgy of St James with a well-known English translation: 'the Lord is in his holy temple. Let all the earth keep silent before him.'¹¹ Again, the book of Wisdom:

For while all things were in quiet silence, and the night was in the midst of her course, Thy almighty word leapt down from heaven from thy royal throne, as a fierce conqueror into the midst of the land of destruction.¹²

9. This part of the Mass naturally reminds us of the High Priest passing into the Holy of Holies in the Temple, the mediation of Moses, hidden by the cloud on Mount Sinai, and the silence of Calvary, broken only by the Last Words. The sense of the priest passing out of the ordinary world, into another realm in which to meet God, is strongly underlined in an iconographic way. Such parallels have been noted by the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, a tradition summarised by St Robert Bellarmine.¹³

⁹ Sung to a chant setting, the Sanctus and Benedictus are generally short. Polyphonic settings tend to be longer, and for this reason the Benedictus is postponed until after the Consecration. (Formerly choirs were directed to divide up the Sanctus and Benedictus in this way with Chant settings also; this was not made clear in the 1908 *Graduale Romanum*, but was reiterated by the Sacred Congregation for Rites in a response to a *dubium* (14th January 1921) and abolished by the Instruction *Musica Sacra* in 1958.)

¹⁰ Often understood as being for the clergy specifically. See Jungmann *op. cit.* pp249-250. He also discusses a possible practical origin of these words being said aloud, and cites allegorical interpretations, and their importance in spreading the practice from Solemn to Low Mass, recorded in the writings of Amalarius, Bernold of Constance, and Durandus (*op. cit.* pp258-9 and footnote 54).

¹¹ Habakkuk 2:20: 'But the Lord is in his holy temple. Let all the earth keep silent before him.' ('Dominus autem in templo sancto suo: sileat a facie eius omnis terra.') The Cherubic Hymn of the 4th Century Liturgy of St James was translated into English by Gerard Moultrie as 'Let all mortal flesh keep silence.' Cf. Zephaniah 1:7: 'Be silent before the face of the Lord God: for the day of the Lord is near, for the Lord hath prepared a victim, he hath sanctified his guests.' ('Silete a facie Domini Dei: quia iuxta est dies Domini, quia praeparavit Dominus hostiam sanctificavit vocatos suos.') Again, Isaiah 32:17: 'the service of justice [is] quietness', more strikingly in Latin: 'cultus iustitiae silentium'.

¹² Wisdom 18:14: 'Cum enim quietum silentium contineret omnia et nox in suo cursu medium iter haberet, omnipotens sermo tuus de caelo a regalibus sedibus durus debellator in mediam exterminii terram prosilivit.'

¹³ St Robert Bellarmine 'Controversies' Book VI, chapter 12. 'We also have the example of the sacrifice of the Old Law. For in the solemn offering of the incense, it was commanded that only the priest should pass through the veil to sacrifice, praying for himself and for the people. They stood without, waiting, and not only did they not hear the priest, they could not even see him. ...Again, when Christ hung upon the

10. As noted above on the priestly prayers, silence indicates that the prayer is addressed to the Father, and not to the congregation, but this time this is not because of the personal nature of the petition, but because of its uniquely sacred nature. The importance of the prayers of the Canon lie in what they bring about on the altar: they are, above all, performative, not informative or didactic. As Blessed John Henry, Cardinal Newman, expressed it:

Words are necessary, but as means, not as ends; they are not mere addresses to the throne of grace, they are instruments of what is far higher, of consecration, of sacrifice.¹⁴

11. Before his election, Pope Benedict XVI more than once suggested that the Canon be said silently in the Ordinary Form.¹⁵ He comments:

Anyone who has experienced a church united in the silent praying of the Canon will know what a really *filled* silence is. It is at once a loud and penetrating cry to God and a Spirit-filled act of prayer. Here everyone does pray the Canon together, albeit in a bond with the special task of the priestly ministry. Here everyone is united, laid hold of by Christ, and led by the Holy Spirit into that common prayer to the Father which is the true sacrifice—the love that reconciles and unites God and the world.¹⁶

The value of silence

12. Blessed Pope John Paul II wrote, in *Spiritus et Sponsa* (2003), of the importance of silence, in relation to the re-evangelisation of the West.

One aspect that we must foster in our communities with greater commitment is the experience of silence. We need silence ‘if we are to accept in our hearts the full resonance of the voice of the Holy Spirit and to unite our personal prayer more closely to the Word of God and the public voice of the Church.’ In a society that lives at an increasingly frenetic pace, often deafened by noise and confused by the ephemeral, it is vital to rediscover the value of silence. The spread, also outside Christian worship, of practices of meditation that give priority to recollection is not accidental. Why not start with pedagogical daring a specific education in silence within the coordinates of personal Christian experience? Let us keep before our eyes the example of Jesus, who ‘rose and went out to a lonely place, and there he prayed’ (Mk 1: 35). The Liturgy, with its different moments and symbols, cannot ignore silence.¹⁷

As has been discussed in Positio 2,¹⁸ and contrary to the Enlightenment assumptions of Pistoia, the liturgy communicates not only at the verbal level but non-verbally. Pope Benedict XVI recently affirmed silence as ‘a particularly powerful mode of expression’:¹⁹

cross, as the exemplar of all sacrifices, he made his oblation in silence.’ Quoted in Thomas Crean OP ‘The Mass and the Saints’ (Oxford: Family Publications, 2008) p104; see also note 9 above.

¹⁴ Bl. John Henry, Cardinal Newman (1848) ‘Loss and Gain: The Story of a Convert’, Part II, Ch 20.

¹⁵ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* pp214-216, referring to and reiterating the suggestion he had made in 1978.

¹⁶ Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* pp215-216

¹⁷ Blessed Pope John Paul II, Apostolic Letter *Spiritus et Sponsa* (2003) The first internal quotation is from the *Institutio Generalis Liturgiae Horarum*, 202.

¹⁸ Positio 2: Liturgical Piety and Participation

¹⁹ Pope Benedict XVI: Message for the 46th World Communications Day ‘Silence and the Word: Path of Evangelization’ (2012): ‘It is often in silence, for example, that we observe the most authentic communication taking place between people who are in love: gestures, facial expressions and body

If God speaks to us even in silence, we in turn discover in silence the possibility of speaking with God and about God. “We need that silence which becomes contemplation, which introduces us into God’s silence and brings us to the point where the Word, the redeeming Word, is born”²⁰

In the liturgy, silence communicates the sacrality and importance of key moments with great force, even to the people of our own day.²¹

13. Pope Benedict XVI has argued that ‘for silence to be fruitful, ...it must not be just a pause in the action of the liturgy.’²² What is needed, as he puts it in the passage quoted in paragraph 10, is a ‘filled silence’: a silence during which there is something specific and appropriate to meditate upon. There is a certain parallel here with the singing which takes place, in accordance with the teaching of St Pius X, not in a pause in the liturgy, but while it continues. The silence of the priestly prayers and the Canon, in the Extraordinary Form, provides this ‘filled silence’ in a way which is both natural and symbolically charged.

language are signs by which they reveal themselves to each other. Joy, anxiety, and suffering can all be communicated in silence—indeed it provides them with a particularly powerful mode of expression. Silence, then, gives rise to even more active communication, requiring sensitivity and a capacity to listen that often makes manifest the true measure and nature of the relationships involved. When messages and information are plentiful, silence becomes essential if we are to distinguish what is important from what is insignificant or secondary.’

²⁰ *Ibid.* The internal quotation is from Pope Benedict’s Homily, Eucharistic Celebration with Members of the International Theological Commission, 6 October 2006. Pope Benedict XVI’s discussion of God’s silence as a means of communicating to us, recalls St Faustina Kowalska’s words in her diary: ‘Silence is so powerful a language that it reaches the throne of the living God. Silence is His language, though secret, yet living and powerful.’ (‘Diary: Divine Mercy in My Soul’ by Maria Faustina Kowalska (Marian Press; 3rd edition, 2003) section 888.

²¹ Cf. Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* 42 ‘Modern man is sated by talk; he is obviously tired of listening, and what is worse, impervious to words.’ (‘Qui sunt hodie homines, eos novimus, orationibus iam saturatos, saepe saepius audiendi fastidientes atque - quod peius est - contra verba obdurescentes videri.’)

²² Pope Benedict XVI *op. cit.* p209



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 10

THE EUCHARISTIC FAST

AUGUST 2012

From the General Introduction

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The Eucharistic Fast: Abstract

From the earliest times Holy Communion has been received fasting, and a fast from midnight, or even longer, was normative for many centuries. Pope Pius XII reduced the fast to three hours, to make possible the celebration of Mass in the evenings. Pope Paul VI, while emphasising the importance of a spiritual preparation for a fruitful reception, reduced it to one hour in 1964. Blessed Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI have both noted the development of a casual attitude towards the reception of Holy Communion. A possibility to be seriously considered, to counteract this, would be the restoration of Pope Pius XII’s three-hour fast. The minor inconvenience experienced by the Faithful, and occasional necessity of not receiving Holy Communion, would underline the importance and value of the Blessed Sacrament, would counteract the tendency to go forward to Holy Communion just because others are, would restore the ‘hunger and thirst’ for Holy Communion desired by Bl. Pope John Paul II, and would encourage the practice of making a Spiritual Communion, praised by both Bl. Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper: The Eucharistic Fast

1. As well as issues pertaining specifically to the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, in respects in which it differs from the Ordinary Form, the topics of these papers include those which, at least in principle, apply to the Ordinary Form (such as Liturgical Orientation,¹ or the Manner of Receiving Communion)², or which apply to the Ordinary Form to some degree (such as Silence,³ or Gregorian Chant).⁴ In this paper we address something which is connected with the special character of the Extraordinary Form, but which applies to all Catholics of the Latin Rite by virtue of Canon Law, namely the Eucharistic Fast.

A Historical Review of the Fast

2. Tertullian tells us that the Blessed Sacrament is taken ‘before all other food’.⁵ A fast from midnight is implicit in the practice of celebrating Mass before dawn, which became established in the second century,⁶ and this fast became widely established,⁷ although in the Middle Ages much longer fasts were often enforced,⁸ not only from food and water, but from marital relations.⁹ The fast was not required of the infirm.¹⁰

¹ Positio 5: Liturgical Orientation

² Positio 3: The Manner of Receiving Communion

³ Positio 9: Silence in the Extraordinary Form

⁴ Forthcoming.

⁵ The phrase ‘ante omnem cibum’, used by Tertullian (*Ad Uxorem* II, 5: PL 1, 1296) could also be translated ‘before every meal’, and it has been suggested that the Eucharist was taken before meals as an antidote to poison. See discussions in Fr Alphonse Sammut ‘The Eucharistic Fast in the Light of the Last Papal Documents’ (Rome: Miscellanea Franciscana, 1959) pp14-15, and Fr Joseph Jungmann SJ ‘The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development’ (New York: Benzinger, 1955 (English Edition)) Vol. II p366, note 34. On this interpretation it would still indicate that Holy Communion was received before, rather than at the end of, a meal.

⁶ An annual exception to the rule of morning Masses was made, for some centuries, for Maundy Thursday, which meant that on that day Holy Communion had to be received without fasting: see for example the Third Council of Carthage (397) canon 29: ‘No-one may celebrate the sacrament of the Altar unless fasting, except on the one day the Supper of the Lord is celebrated.’ (‘Ut sacramenta altaris non nisi a ieiunio hominibus celebrentur, excepto uno die in quo coena Domini celebrantur.’) The Council of Braga in 572 condemned this exception: see Sammut *op. cit.* pp28-29.

⁷ See St Thomas Aquinas *Summa Theologica* 3a Pars Q80 a.8 Ad5: ‘That this sacrament ought to enter into the mouth of a Christian before any other food must not be understood absolutely of all time, otherwise he who had once eaten or drunk could never afterwards take this sacrament: but it must be understood of the same day; and although the beginning of the day varies according to different systems of reckoning (for some begin their day at noon, some at sunset, others at midnight, and others at sunrise), the Roman Church begins it at midnight. Consequently, if any person takes anything by way of food or drink after midnight, he may not receive this sacrament on that day; but he can do so if the food was taken before midnight.’ (‘cum dicitur, hoc sacramentum prius quam alii cibi debet mitti in os Christiani, non est intelligendum absolute respectu totius temporis, alioquin qui semel comedisset et bibisset, nunquam postea posset hoc sacramentum accipere. Sed est intelligendum quantum ad eundem diem. Et licet principium diei secundum diversos diversimode sumatur, nam quidam a meridie, quidam ab occasu, quidam a media nocte, quidam ab ortu solis diem incipiunt; Ecclesia tamen, secundum Romanos, diem a media nocte incipit. Et ideo, si post mediam noctem aliquis sumpserit aliquid per modum cibi vel potus, non potest eadem die hoc sumere sacramentum, potest vero si ante mediam noctem.’)

⁸ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol. II p363-364

⁹ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol. II p363 note 23

¹⁰ Sammut *op. cit.* p29; see also below.

Although contrary to the example of the Last Supper,¹¹ feeding of the fasting Faithful is suggested by the strongly Eucharistic typology of the Feeding of the Five Thousand.¹²

3. The frequency of reception by the Faithful seems to have declined drastically from the 4th Century, despite periodic exhortations to the contrary.¹³ A decisive change came with Pope St Pius X, under whom a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council condemned lingering Jansenist errors on the subject and clarified the conditions for fruitful reception.¹⁴ Pope St Pius X also encouraged a much earlier time for First Communions, and introduced more generous dispensations for certain difficult circumstances. Pope Pius XII introduced a fast of three hours, which was not broken by 'natural water' (i.e. water without additives), at first under various conditions in 1953, and then as a general discipline in his *Motu Proprio Sacram Communionem* (1957),¹⁵ with generous provision for the 'infirm'.¹⁶
4. In 1964 Pope Paul VI reduced the fast to one hour, to be calculated from the time of reception, for both priests and faithful;¹⁷ this rule was reiterated in the 1983 Code of Canon Law.¹⁸

The Fast and Reverence for the Sacrament

5. Pope Paul VI's Instruction on Holy Communion, *Immensae caritatis* (1973) emphasises the 'supreme reverence due to so great a Sacrament', and in a footnote to this phrase gives a long quotation from the Council of Trent, insisting on the necessity for sacramental confession before reception in case the recipient, lay or clerical, should be conscious of mortal sin. The quotation begins:

It is unfitting to take part in any sacred function without holiness. Assuredly, therefore, the more that Christians perceive the sacredness and divinity of this heavenly sacrament, the more must they take every care not to come to receive it without reverence and holiness, especially since we have the frightening words of St. Paul: 'For those who eat and drink unworthily, eat and drink damnation to themselves, not discerning the Lord's body' (1 Cor 11:29). Those wishing to

¹¹ Matthew 26:26: 'whilst they were at supper, Jesus took bread, and blessed, and broke: and gave to his disciples, and said: Take ye, and eat. This is my body'; Mark 14:22: 'And whilst they were eating, Jesus took bread; and blessing, broke, and gave to them, and said: Take ye. This is my body.' Cf. 1 Corinthians 11.18-30, on the connection between the Eucharist and the 'Agape meal' in the primitive Church.

¹² Mark 6.34-44, Luke 9.11-17, John 6.4-13

¹³ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol. II pp360-362

¹⁴ Sacred Congregation for the Implementation of the Council of Trent, Decree *Sacra Tridentina Synodus*, (1905): see Appendix A.

¹⁵ See Appendix B.

¹⁶ See Appendix C.

¹⁷ 21 November 1964 *Tempus Eucharistici ieiunii servandi reducitur*, (AAS 57 (1965) 186): 'In view of the difficulties felt in many countries concerning the Eucharistic fast, the Supreme Pontiff, graciously acceding to the petitions of the Bishops, grants that the fast from solid foods be reduced to one hour before Communion, for both priests and the faithful. In this grant is included also the use of alcoholic drinks, observing, however, due moderation.' ('Attentis multarum regionum difficultatibus quoad ieiunium eucharisticum, Summus Pontifex, petitionibus Episcoporum benigne annuens, concedit ut ieiunium quoad cibos solidos reducat ad unam horam ante Sanctam Communionem, et quidem tum pro sacerdotibus tum pro fidelibus. In hac autem concessione includitur quoque potuum alchoolicorum usus, servata tamen debita moderatione.') *Osservatore Romano*, 4 December 1964, 2.

¹⁸ 1983 Code of Canon Law, Canon 919 § 1: 'A person who is to receive the Most Holy Eucharist is to abstain for at least one hour before holy communion from any food and drink, except for only water and medicine.' ('Sanctissimam Eucharistiam recepturus per spatium saltem unius horae ante sacram communionem absteineat a quocumque cibo et potu, excepta tantummodo aqua atque medicina.")

receive communion must be reminded of St. Paul's command: 'Let a man examine himself' (1 Cor 11:28).¹⁹

6. That irreverence for the Blessed Sacrament has arisen among the Faithful was noted with deep concern by Blessed Pope John Paul II in *Dominicae Cena* (1980), where he described two contrasting phenomena. First, while the scrupulosity which discouraged frequent Communion in former times has largely disappeared, members of the Faithful neglecting opportunities to receive Holy Communion are still to be found, due to a lack of Eucharistic 'hunger' and 'thirst', which is also a sign of lack of adequate sensitivity towards the great sacrament of love and a lack of understanding of its nature.²⁰

7. Secondly,

Sometimes, indeed quite frequently, everybody participating in the eucharistic assembly goes to Communion; and on some such occasions, as experienced pastors confirm, there has not been due care to approach the sacrament of Penance so as to purify one's conscience.²¹

This is the result of a lack of 'the good quality of sensitiveness of Christian conscience'.²² Pope Benedict XVI has also lamented the second attitude.²³

8. Both Bl. John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI, in the passages just noted, go on to discuss the reception of Communion in the Hand, which they link to the problem of a lack of reverence towards the Blessed Sacrament. This issue is discussed in another paper.²⁴ Our concern here is with the possibility of addressing the problem they identify by another means: by reconsidering the discipline of the Eucharistic Fast.

Restoring the discipline of Pope Pius XII

9. Requiring an extended period of fasting before the reception of Holy Communion is a natural and traditional way to underline the great significance of the Blessed Sacrament, just as Pope Benedict XVI talks of marking it with 'an exclamation point' by his own practice of giving it only on the tongue, to kneeling communicants.²⁵ It would oblige all

¹⁹ Council of Trent, sess. 13, cap. 7: 'Si non decet ad sacras ulla functiones quempiam accedere nisi sancte, certe, quo magis sanctitas et divinitas cœlestis hujus sacramenti viro Christiano comperta est, eo diligentius cavere ille debet, ne absque magna reverentia et sanctitate ad id percipiendum accedat, præsertim cum illa plena formidinis verba apud apostolum legamus: Qui manducat et bibit indigne, judicium sibi manducat et bibit, non dijudicans corpus Domini. Quare communicare volenti revocandum est in memoriam ejus præceptum: Probet autem seipsum homo.'

²⁰ Bl. Pope John Paul II Letter (1980) *Dominicae Cena* 11: 'deficiente "fame" et "siti" eucharistica, sub qua latet similiter parum sufficiens aestimatio atque intellegentia ipsius naturae huius excellentis Sacramenti amoris.'

²¹ Ibid: 'Interdum scilicet, immo compluribus in casibus, cuncti eucharisticae celebrationis participes ad communionem accedunt, tametsi nonnumquam - ut comprobant periti rerum pastores - habita non est debita cura, ut prius Paenitentiae Sacramentum reciperent propriam ad conscientiam mundandam.'

²² Ibid: 'bonum quod subtilitas est christianae conscientiae impulsae.'

²³ Peter Seewald and Pope Benedict XVI 'The Light of the World: the Pope, the Church and the Signs of the Times' (London: Catholic Truth Society, 2010) p156: 'There is a great danger of superficiality [in the reception of Holy Communion] precisely in the kinds of mass events we hold at St Peter's... In this context, where people think that everyone is just automatically supposed to receive Communion—everyone else is going up, so I will, too—I wanted to send a clear signal... This is not just some social ritual in which we can take part if we want to.' Cf. the quotation from Pope Benedict XVI's Post-Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) in note 25 below.

²⁴ Positio 4: The Manner of Receiving Communion, esp. 5-8

²⁵ Seewald and Pope Benedict *op. cit.* p156

the Faithful to think more seriously about receiving, requiring forethought, and on occasion some limited, but symbolically expressive, sacrifice. Furthermore, while it will on occasion require some practical adjustments (to the timing of services or meals, for example), it does not present the same psychological problem at the moment of reception as would withdrawal of permission for Communion in the Hand.

10. A fast from midnight is the practice most hallowed by centuries of observance, but its reimposition today would clearly create practical difficulties. These would particularly affect those attached to the Extraordinary Form, which is frequently offered at less than ideal times, when priests or churches happen to be free. Instead, we would like to suggest the restoration of the discipline established by Pope Pius XII, of a three hour fast.
11. The decline in the frequency of reception of Holy Communion noted in §3 resulted from a deeper appreciation of the supernatural reality of the Blessed Sacrament, coupled with the development of penitential discipline. The Eucharistic Fast was also more emphasised, but these fasts were frequently required before attendance at Mass, at least on Sundays and Feasts, even if Holy Communion was not received,²⁶ so they posed no additional obstacle to reception. More frequent Confession offered a solution to concerns about the worthiness of communicants, but this required a degree of infrastructure and catechesis which took time to establish.²⁷
12. Pope St Pius X saw the greatest obstacle to frequent Communion, in the early 20th Century, not as the midnight fast, but in confusion about the spiritual conditions needed for a worthy reception. Pope Pius XII's purpose in changing the rules was not so much to make the fast easier, but to make Mass at different times of day possible, facilitating its incorporation into a working or a school day.²⁸
13. While the demandingness of Pope Pius XII's discipline should not be exaggerated, it would mean that, from time to time, for practical reasons reception would be difficult or impossible for some people. This would itself be useful in counteracting the tendency, noted by both Bl. Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI as noted in paragraph 7 above, of members of the Faithful approaching Holy Communion just because everyone else is doing so; indeed, to fail to go forward to receive Holy Communion risks drawing

²⁶ Jungmann Vol II p366: 'All through the Middle Ages the precept of fasting was not only strictly adhered to with regard to Holy Communion, but was even repeatedly prescribed for attendance at Mass (as in a synod of Brixen as late as 1453), or at least it was counselled for Mass.' This is less surprising when one considers the great significance ascribed to gazing on the Host and to Spiritual Communions, discussed by Jungmann in the preceding pages, in the context of very infrequent Sacramental Communion. Cf. Eamon Duffy 'The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional religion in England c.1400-c.1580' (New Haven: Yale, 1992): on fasting before Mass, p42; 'Seeing the Host' pp95-102.

²⁷ Duffy notes the great organisational and catechetical effort required to implement the decision of Lateran IV (1215) that all Catholics should confess and communicate once a year. The existence of the mendicant orders was an enormous help in making this possible, and the development of the parochial system in the preceding centuries was essential: Duffy *op. cit.* pp53-56; 93-94. Cf. Jungmann Vol II p363: 'But in the Middle Ages, with the prevailing parish restrictions and the often insufficient organization of the cure of souls, not only was there no willingness, but to a great extent there was no possibility to confess and thus to communicate frequently.'

²⁸ Sammut *op. cit.* p101: 'Evening Masses were beyond doubt the greatest benefit and the most extensive concession issuing from the documents [sc. *Christus Dominus* (1953) and *Sacram Communionem* (1957)].' The three-hour fast facilitated reception at Masses which had to be scheduled after breakfast, such as at day schools and the main Masses in Parishes, as well as evening Masses.

attention to oneself, or even of giving scandal.²⁹ Those unable to receive would instead make a 'Spiritual Communion', a practice encouraged by Bl. Pope John Paul II, who quoted St Teresa's praise of it,³⁰ and again by Pope Benedict XVI,³¹ who asked the participants at the Papal Mass at World Youth Day Madrid to make a Spiritual Communion when general distribution was impossible.³² This practice fosters the 'hunger and thirst' for the Eucharist Bl. Pope John Paul II so desired.

Conclusion

14. Although it might seem a radical proposal, the restoration of the former discipline would be a relatively simple means of underlining the value of the Blessed Sacrament, and the importance of preparation for it. The current problem of casual attitudes towards Holy Communion demands comprehensive catechesis, and the three-hour fast would itself be a form of catechesis, something which emphasised the supernatural reality of the Blessed Sacrament, perhaps more forcefully than a merely verbal exhortation.

²⁹ Dr Edward Peters "The Communion Fast: a Reconsideration" *Antiphon* 11.3 (2007) pp234-244, p243: the current short fast 'deprives those with troubled consciences of an unobtrusive way to avoid approaching the Body and Blood of the Lord in a state that risks profanation (1 Cor 11:27).'

³⁰ Bl. John Paul II Encyclical *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* (2003) 34: 'it is good to cultivate in our hearts a constant desire for the sacrament of the Eucharist. This was the origin of the practice of "spiritual communion", which has happily been established in the Church for centuries and recommended by saints who were masters of the spiritual life. Saint Teresa of Jesus wrote: "When you do not receive communion and you do not attend Mass, you can make a spiritual communion, which is a most beneficial practice; by it the love of God will be greatly impressed on you" ' ('opportunitum est continuatum Sacramenti eucharistici desiderium alere. Inde "communio spiritualis" orta est consuetudo, quae feliciter complura iam saecula in Ecclesia viget quaeque a vitae spiritalis Sanctis magistris commendatur. Sancta Teresia a Iesu scripsit: "Cum communionem non sumitis neque Missae estis participes potestis spiritaliter communicare, id quod est valde frugiferum... Sic Domini nostri amor multum in vobis imprimatur" ') (The internal quotation from St Teresa comes from her 'Camino de Perfección' Ch 35)

³¹ Pope Benedict XVI Post-Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 55: 'Clearly, full participation in the Eucharist takes place when the faithful approach the altar in person to receive communion. Yet true as this is, care must be taken lest they conclude that the mere fact of their being present in church during the liturgy gives them a right or even an obligation to approach the table of the Eucharist. Even in cases where it is not possible to receive sacramental communion, participation at Mass remains necessary, important, meaningful and fruitful. In such circumstances it is beneficial to cultivate a desire for full union with Christ through the practice of spiritual communion, praised by Pope John Paul II and recommended by saints who were masters of the spiritual life.' ('Sine dubio plena participatio Eucharistiae habetur cum quis accedit etiam personaliter ad altare Communionis recipiendae gratia.(169) Attamen cavendum est ne haec iusta affirmatio forsitan introducat inter fideles quendam automatismum, quasi quispiam ob solam praesentiam in ecclesia, liturgiae tempore, ius habeat, vel forsitan etiam officium, ad Mensam eucharisticam accedendi. Etiam cum non datur facultas ad sacramentalem communionem accedendi, participatio Sanctae Missae manet necessaria, valida, significans et fructuosa. Bonum est his in rerum adiunctis desiderium plenae cum Christo coniunctionis colere per consuetudinem exempli gratia communionis spiritalis, memoratae a Ioanne Paulo II et commendatae a Sanctis vitae spiritalis moderatoribus.') The passage refers to Bl. John Paul II *Ecclesia de Eucharistia* (2003) 34, quoted in the preceding note.

³² After a storm had rendered unsafe many of the tents used to store consecrated hosts for distribution at the Papal Mass due to take place on 21st August 2011, only a fraction of the congregation, of over a million people, were able to receive Holy Communion. The others were encouraged to make a Spiritual Communion. The Vatican spokesman Fr Frederico Lombardi later commented: 'This helped us to remember the precious words from a recent document by the Pope, which warn that, "Care must be taken lest [the faithful] conclude that the mere fact of their being present in church during the liturgy gives them a right or even an obligation to approach the table of the Eucharist. Even in cases where it is not possible to receive sacramental Communion, participation at Mass remains necessary, important, meaningful and fruitful." In these circumstances we have to "cultivate the desire for full union with Christ," by making 'spiritual Communion' as ancient and beautiful tradition puts it. ...the intense desire to be united with Him is also an effective source of communion.' Zenit, 4th September 2011.

15. It should not be assumed that increasing the onerousness of the discipline of the Church will lead to a rejection of that discipline, or even lapsation. A serious form of discipline indicates the seriousness of the subject of the discipline, and more demanding religions have frequently attracted more adherents than laxer ones.³³ A voluntary adoption by members of the Faithful of a more rigorous fast would not have this catechetical power; nor would it gain merit as an exercise of obedience. A public campaign to encourage such a voluntary practice might even invite accusations of Phariseeism.
16. It must be said finally that the current discipline, of a fast of one hour before reception, scarcely impinges on the Faithful;³⁴ as such it is less likely to be remembered or taken seriously, and insisting upon a trivial obligation seems less than reasonable.³⁵ To restore a proper respect for the Eucharist, an obligation to fast which demands respect is surely necessary.

³³ Mark van Vugt and Anjana Ahuja 'Selected: Why some people lead, why others follow, and why it matters' (London: High Profile Books, 2010) p85 'Paradoxically, the costlier the rituals associated with a belief system, the more enduring it is. One study of religious communes in 19th century America showed that those making the most extreme demands on their followers—giving up worldly goods, celibacy, shunning contact with outsiders, relinquishing certain foods and alcohol—were the most enduring.' The authors cite a number of studies bearing out this generalisation.

³⁴ Cf. Dr Edward Peters *op. cit.* p241: 'If, as a millennium and a half suggest, some significant level of corporal fasting is conducive to the worthy reception of the Eucharist, it must be frankly admitted that such a state cannot be accomplished in one hour's time.' Dr Peters goes on to suggest (p243) that a three-hour fast be restored, but calculated from the start of Mass, for the sake of certainty about when the fast needs to begin.

³⁵ Dr Peter *ibid.* p236: 'Pointless observances should not be the subject of legislation lest contempt for the law arise.'

Appendix A: *Sacra Tridantina Synodus*.

a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, under Pope Pius X, 1905 (extract)

1. Frequent and daily Communion, as a practice most earnestly desired by Christ our Lord and by the Catholic Church, should be open to all the faithful, of whatever rank and condition of life; so that no one who is in the state of grace, and who approaches the Holy Table with a right and devout intention (*recta piaque mente*) can be prohibited therefrom.
2. A right intention consists in this: that he who approaches the Holy Table should do so, not out of routine, or vain glory, or human respect, but that he wish to please God, to be more closely united with Him by charity, and to have recourse to this divine remedy for his weakness and defects.
3. Although it is especially fitting that those who receive Holy Communion frequently or daily should be free from venial sins, at least from such as are fully deliberate, and from any affection thereto, nevertheless, it is sufficient that they be free from mortal sin, with the purpose of never sinning in the future; and if they have this sincere purpose, it is impossible that daily communicants should not gradually free themselves even from venial sins, and from all affection thereto.
4. Since, however, the Sacraments of the New Law, though they produce their effect *ex opere operato*, nevertheless, produce a great effect in proportion as the dispositions of the recipient are better, therefore, one should take care that Holy Communion be preceded by careful preparation, and followed by an appropriate thanksgiving, according to each one's strength, circumstances and duties.
5. That the practice of frequent and daily Communion may be carried out with greater prudence and more fruitful merit, the confessor's advice should be asked. Confessors, however, must take care not to dissuade anyone from frequent or daily Communion, provided he is found to be in a state of grace and approaches with a right intention.
6. But since it is plain that by the frequent or daily reception of the Holy Eucharist union with Christ is strengthened, the spiritual life more abundantly sustained, the soul more richly endowed with virtues, and the pledge of everlasting happiness more securely bestowed on the recipient, therefore, parish priests, confessors and preachers, according to the approved teaching of the Roman Catechism should exhort the faithful frequently and with great zeal to this devout and salutary practice.

Appendix B: *Sacram Communionem*

a Motu Proprio of Pope Pius XII, 1957 (extract)

1. Ordinaries of places, excluding vicars general who are not in possession of a special mandate, may permit Holy Mass to be celebrated every day after midday, should this be necessary for the spiritual welfare of a considerable number of the faithful.
2. Priests and faithful, before Holy Mass or Holy Communion respectively, must abstain for three hours from solid foods and alcoholic liquids, for one hour from non-alcoholic liquids. Water does not break the fast.
3. From now on, the fast must be observed for the period of time indicated in Number

Two, even by those who celebrate or receive Holy Communion at midnight or in the first hours of the day.

4. The infirm, even if not bedridden, may take non-alcoholic liquids and that which is really and properly medicine, either in liquid or solid form, before Mass or Holy Communion without any time limit.

We strongly exhort priests and faithful who are able to do so to observe the old and venerable form of the Eucharistic fast before Mass and Holy Communion. All those who will make use of these concessions must compensate for the good received by becoming shining examples of a Christian life and principally with works of penance and charity.

Appendix C: the ‘infirm’ in the discipline of *Sacrum Communionem*

Sacrum Communionem Section 4, on the ‘infirm’, requires some interpretation in light of Canon law. While this may seem complicated, it does illustrate Pope Pius XII’s great concern not to impose any unreasonable burdens on the Faithful.³⁶

- i. The ‘infirm’ are those for whom the fast imposes a ‘moderately grave’ inconvenience. This may be because of illness, age, a long journey, a temporary or chronic condition, or for any other reason. It includes those who are in danger of becoming ill, are about to undergo an operation, etc., as well as those infirm before Communion, since in both cases the fast imposes a burden on the individual. Those for whom the fast does not impose a grave inconvenience are not ‘infirm’ for the purposes of the legislation (a person with a broken arm, for example).
- ii. ‘Non-alcoholic liquids’ includes those with nutritional value, such as soups. By contrast, the non-infirm under Section 2 are allowed only ‘drinks’ (taken ‘per modum potus’), for the first two hours of the fast. Solid food breaks the fast even for the infirm.
- iii. Medicine, even when alcohol is an ingredient (it is dissolved in alcohol, etc.) does not break the fast. Alcoholic beverages, even if taken for medicinal purposes on a physician’s orders, do break the fast.

³⁶ For a full treatment, see Sammut *op. cit.* pp116-7, and pp83-88.



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 11

EVANGELIZATION AND
WESTERN CULTURE

SEPTEMBER 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Evangelization and Western Culture: Abstract

The Latin Liturgical Tradition grew up in the context of, and greatly influenced, the culture of the Latin West, but modern Western culture has turned against the values of the Gospel and presents a particularly difficult field for evangelization. Many aspects of the ancient liturgy are particularly unattractive to this culture, because the values underlying the liturgy have been rejected. These values, including hierarchy and the combination of reason, emotion, art, and ritual, are in fact the very ones most needed in the re-evangelization of the West, and their presentation by the Extraordinary Form is valuable. While these values are difficult for many Westerners to accept, they are presented in an attractive way thanks to the use of many non-verbal means of communication in the liturgy, its beauty, and the use of artistic and ritual forms which are still regarded as ‘classical’ in the history of Western culture.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 11: EVANGELIZATION AND WESTERN CULTURE

1. The ancient Latin liturgical tradition is rooted, first, in the Western Mediterranean culture of antiquity, and then the Western and Central European culture of the Middle Ages. It was influenced by, and in turn influenced, these cultures, over many centuries, and was carried, with the rest of European culture, to North America, Oceania, and elsewhere. A key question in the liturgical debate of the 20th Century, and since, has been whether what we may broadly call 'Western' culture (the culture of Latin Europe, and of populations of predominantly European culture in other continents), has changed in recent centuries in such a way that this liturgical tradition, in its familiar form, is no longer an effective tool for the sanctification of the individual, and the propagation of the Faith, particularly in the context for the need for a re-evangelization of this culture,¹ which is now in many ways hostile to the Gospel.² This is this question we wish to examine in this paper.
2. The place of the Latin liturgical tradition in other cultural contexts needs to be addressed separately.

Problematic features of Western Culture

3. Western culture has certainly changed, or decayed, in ways unfriendly to the ancient liturgy. The theologian Fr Aidan Nichols, OP, cites sociological evidence suggesting that, for example, children raised without a clear understanding of hierarchy and ritual, and in a context of an atomised society, find it harder to comprehend the messages conveyed by social rituals such as the liturgy.³
4. The Church has always respected pagan cultures, and in purifying them of elements incompatible with the Natural Law has enabled them to flourish.⁴ It might seem

¹ Pope Benedict XVI Apostolic Letter *Ubicumque et Semper* (2010), preamble: 'In our own time, [the Church's mission] has become particularly challenged by an abandonment of the faith—a phenomenon progressively more manifest in societies and cultures which for centuries seemed to be permeated by the Gospel.' ('Nostra aetate singulare id est quod cum fidei desertione contenditur, quae procedente tempore apud societates et culturas sese manifestavit, quae Evangelio e saeculis imbutae videbantur.') Cf. Bl. Pope John Paul II Apostolic Letter *Novo Millennio Ineunte* (2001) 40: 'Even in countries evangelized many centuries ago, the reality of a "Christian society" which, amid all the frailties which have always marked human life, measured itself explicitly on Gospel values, is now gone.' ('Pridem enim iam occidit, in civitatibus quoque antiquae evangelizationis, status ille «societatis christianae» quae, quamvis tot inter debilitates quibus humana signatur natura, manifesto sese evangelica ad bona referebat.')

² Bl. Pope John Paul II Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Ecclesia in Europa* (2003) 9: 'We are witnessing the emergence of a new culture, largely influenced by the mass media, whose content and character are often in conflict with the Gospel and the dignity of the human person.' Cf. Pope Benedict XVI, Address at Oscott College, England, 19th September 2010: 'As you proclaim the coming of the Kingdom, ...be sure to present in its fullness the life-giving message of the Gospel, including those elements which call into question the widespread assumptions of today's culture.'

³ Aidan Nichols OP 'Looking at the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p74: 'The slackening of group and grid whereby change in social patterns, especially in the family, brings about contempt for rite, the lack of strong social articulation in an increasingly amorphous, excessively personalized, individualized, and dehierarchized world: these processes, left to themselves, will tend to produce a "religion of effervescence", incompatible with a sacramental faith.'

⁴ Cf. Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith 'Doctrinal Note on Some Aspects of Evangelization' 6: 'Although the Gospel is independent from any culture, it is capable of infusing all cultures, while never allowing itself to be subservient to them.' This passage ends with a footnote reference to Pope Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* (1975) 19-20.

possible, therefore, for the Church to approach the task of re-evangelizing the West in a similarly open-minded fashion.

5. The difficulty is that the cultural attitudes most at odds with the ancient liturgy are those which have derived, historically, from a rejection of Catholic teaching.⁵ For example, the Romantic tradition stresses the emotions and spontaneity, as indicative of sincerity and authenticity.⁶ This is historically related to the focus on personal religious experience, and the rejection of Reason in theology, found in some strands of Protestantism, contrary to the teaching of the Church.⁷ A person influenced by Romanticism must reject or substantially modify this aspect of his culture, if he is to embrace the Faith.
6. Romanticism is, within modern Western culture, in permanent tension with the exaggerated Rationalism of the Enlightenment. Rationalism raises problems for the ancient liturgy of a contrasting sort, rejecting symbolism, ritual, and the sense of mystery, as obscurantism. This, again, cannot be separated from an attitude of mind hostile to the Faith itself, since it is hard to see how someone with this Rationalist response could accept the ineffable mysteries of the Trinity and Incarnation.
7. Pope Benedict XVI expresses the point with great clarity, when discussing the cultural significance of kneeling.

It may well be that kneeling is alien to modern culture—insofar as it is a culture, for this culture has turned away from the faith and no longer knows the One before whom kneeling is the right, indeed the intrinsically necessary gesture.

⁵ The tension here is noted by Pope Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* (1975) 63 ‘Evangelization loses much of its force and effectiveness if it does not take into consideration the actual people to whom it is addressed, if it does not use their language, their signs and symbols, if it does not answer the questions they ask, and if it does not have an impact on their concrete life. But on the other hand, evangelization risks losing its power and disappearing altogether if one empties or adulterates its content under the pretext of translating it’ (‘cum evangelizatio multum suae virtutis suaeque efficacitatis amittat, nisi rationem habeat populi, ad quem reapse dirigitur, nisi eius lingua eiusque signibus et imaginibus utatur, nisi quaestionibus respondeat, quas ipse ponit, nisi demum eius verum vivendi morem tangat et moveat. Altera vero ex parte, evangelizatio in periculo est, ne naturam sibi propriam perdat et omnino evanescat, si, per speciem res, quas continet, in sermonem transferendi.’)

⁶ Pope Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* 76: ‘It is often said nowadays that the present century thirsts for authenticity. Especially in regard to young people it is said that they have a horror of the artificial or false and that they are searching above all for truth and honesty.’ (‘Saepius, enim, homines dictitant aetatem nostram sitire sinceritatem ac veritatem rerum. Adulcentes praesertim dicuntur abhorreere prorsus ab omni falsa vel ficticia rerum natura, atque contra requireere totam earum veritatem ei claritatem.’)

⁷ That religious emotion is neither a necessary nor a sufficient indication of a state of Grace, and that one may prove the existence of God, and have sufficient grounds for accepting the claims of the Church, rationally. On the first, see the Council of Trent, Sixth Session, Canon 16: ‘If any one says, that he will for certain, of an absolute and infallible certainty, have that great gift of perseverance unto the end, unless he has learned this by special revelation: let him be anathema.’ (‘Si quis magnum illud usque in finem perseverantiae donum se certo habiturum absoluta et infallibili certitudine dixerit, nisi hoc ex speciali revelatione didicerit: anathema sit.’) On the second, see Vatican I Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Filius* Ch. 2: ‘The same Holy Mother Church holds and teaches that God, the beginning and end of all things, can be known with certitude by the natural light of human reason from created things; “for the invisible things of him, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made” [Rom 1:20]’ (‘Eadem sancta mater Ecclesia tenet et docet, Deum, rerum omnium principium et finem, naturali humanae rationis lumine e rebus creatis certo cognosci posse; invisibilia enim ipsius, a creatura mundi, per ea quae facta sunt intellecta, conspiciuntur’) Cf. Pope Benedict XVI, Sermon in Notre Dame, Paris, 13th September 2008: ‘St Paul makes an appeal to the reason of his readers, to the reason of every human being—that powerful testimony to the presence of the Creator in the creature: “I speak as to sensible men; judge for yourselves what I say” (1 Cor. 10.5) Never does God, of whom the Apostle is an authorised witness here, ask man to sacrifice his reason! Reason never enters into real contradiction with faith!’

The man who learns to believe learns also to kneel...⁸
As Bl. Pope John Paul II remarked:
the liturgy, though it must always be properly inculturated, must also be counter-cultural.⁹

8. In light of this, the question we face is: how, in general, and specifically in the liturgy, can we best overcome the prejudices unfriendly to the Faith which are characteristic of modern Western culture, and promote and sustain the counter-cultural nature of the community of believers?

Advantages of the Extraordinary Form

9. There are many aspects to a complete answer to this question, and indeed it has been addressed in the Papal Magisterium with increasing urgency in recent years, in the context of the 'New Evangelization'. There follow some considerations which show that ancient liturgy is a positive force in this effort, and not at all a handicap.
10. First, the ancient liturgy is characterised by an unflinching presentation of the Truths of Faith: it avoids the danger of (in the words of Pope Benedict XVI) 'the repetition of phrases that might seem more accessible and more pleasant for the people', 'making the mystery a banality'.¹⁰ For example, the reality of human sin and our need for grace, which are perhaps the truths most energetically evaded, but most urgently needed, by modern Western culture,¹¹ are presented insistently by the Extraordinary Form, not only in its texts (such as the Collects of Lent), but also ceremonies, such as the priest's Confiteor before the servers'. It is a natural bulwark against the danger noted by Pope Benedict:

A weakened sense of the meaning and importance of Christian worship can only lead to a weakened sense of the specific and essential vocation of the laity to

⁸ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'The Spirit of the Liturgy' (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000) p194

⁹ Bl. Pope John Paul II, Address to the Bishops of the North Western region of the United States, in their ad limina visit in 1998: 'Active participation certainly means that, in gesture, word, song and service, all the members of the community take part in an act of worship, which is anything but inert or passive. Yet active participation does not preclude the active passivity of silence, stillness and listening... In a culture which neither favours nor fosters meditative quiet, the art of interior listening is learned only with difficulty. Here we see how the liturgy, though it must always be properly inculturated, must also be counter-cultural.' The term 'counter-cultural' has also been used by Pope Benedict XVI, Address to the Bishops of the United States of America in Washington, D.C., 16th April 2008, in the context of the importance of prayer in common: 'If this seems counter-cultural, that is simply further evidence of the urgent needs for a renewed evangelization of culture. Cf. Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'Address to Catechists and Religion Teachers', Jubilee of Catechists, 12th December 2000: 'Thereby, to convert means: not to live as others live, not to do what all do, not to feel justified in dubious, ambiguous, evil actions just because others do the same; begin to see one's life through the eyes of God; thereby looking for the good, even if uncomfortable; not aiming at the judgment of the majority, of men, on the mercy of God—in other words: to look for a new style of life, a new life.' Cf. Pope Benedict, Address to Participants in the Plenary Assembly of the Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization, 30th May 2011: 'it often occurs that people wish to belong to the Church, but they are strongly shaped by a vision of life which is in contrast with the faith.'

¹⁰ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) Address to Catechists and Religion Teachers: 'Our way of celebrating the liturgy is very often too rationalistic. The liturgy becomes teaching, whose criteria is: making ourselves understood—often the consequence of this is making the mystery a banality, the prevalence of our words, the repetition of phrases that might seem more accessible and more pleasant to the people.'

¹¹ Ibid: ' "Conversion" (metanoia) means exactly the opposite: to come out of self-sufficiency to discover and accept our indigence'.

imbue the temporal order with the spirit of the Gospel.¹²

11. Secondly, as just noted the Extraordinary Form uses a wide range of means to communicate the Faith. The texts, ceremonies, vestments, and musical accompaniment of the liturgy, the lay-out of the sanctuary and the movement of ministers and servers, the complexity of some, and not other, ceremonies, the contrast between spoken, sung, and silent prayer, and the engagement of the Faithful, all communicate the Faith in subtle ways, even to those who, in Pope Paul VI's phrase describing 'modern man', are 'sated with talk'.¹³ This has particular value in seeking to counteract subconscious habits of mind, and can serve as a gentle re-education of the imagination and emotions: for, in Pope Benedict XVI's phrase, liturgy is a 'school of prayer'.¹⁴ The sense of 'sacrality', noted as a characteristic of the Extraordinary Form by Pope Benedict XVI,¹⁵ is precisely a response to the call, made insistently by Bl. Pope John Paul II in the context of the new evangelization, for a renewed sense of mystery in the liturgy.¹⁶ Bl. Pope John Paul II applied this explicitly to the Extraordinary Form:

The People of God need to see priests and deacons behave in a way that is full of reverence and dignity, in order to help them to penetrate invisible things without unnecessary words or explanations. In the Roman Missal of Saint Pius V, as in several Eastern liturgies, there are very beautiful prayers through which the priest expresses the most profound sense of humility and reverence before the Sacred Mysteries: they reveal the very substance of the Liturgy.¹⁷

12. Thirdly, even while some aspects of the liturgy may provoke a negative reaction among those formed by Western culture, the beauty, particularly of the Church's musical patrimony, but also of vestments, altar furnishings and architecture, all used in their intended liturgical context, can often penetrate and soften the heart hardened against the Faith. The role of art as an 'invitation to seek out the face of God' was emphasised by Bl. Pope John Paul II.¹⁸ This beauty can gain a hearing for the content of the Faith.

¹² Pope Benedict XVI, Address to the Bishops of New York State, 26th November 2011. These remarks are introduced by a reference to the new translation of the Missal.

¹³ Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* 42 'Modern man is sated by talk; he is obviously tired of listening, and what is worse, impervious to words.' ('Qui sunt hodie homines, eos novimus, orationibus iam saturatos, saepe saepius audiendi fastidientes atque - quod peius est - contra verba obdurescentes videri.')

¹⁴ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) Address to Catechists and Religion Teachers. He also says: 'God cannot be made known with words alone. ... To proclaim God is to introduce the relation with God: to teach how to pray.' Cf. Nichols *op. cit.* pp81-86 who argues that the liturgy can be a force to restore the sense of the sacred, of hierarchy and so on which is generally lacking in modern society: 'by worship our Christian selves are forged' (p84).

¹⁵ Letter to Bishops accompanying the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum*

¹⁶ Bl. Pope John Paul II *Ecclesia in Europa* 70. 'Certain signs point to a weakening in the sense of mystery in the very liturgical celebrations which should be fostering that sense. It is, therefore, urgent that the authentic sense of the liturgy be revived in the Church.'

¹⁷ Bl. Pope John Paul II, Address to the Plenary Session of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, September 21, 2001.

¹⁸ Bl. Pope John Paul II *Ecclesia in Europa* 60. 'Nor should we overlook the positive contribution made by the wise use of the cultural treasures of the Church. These can be a special element in the rekindling of a humanism of Christian inspiration. When properly preserved and intelligently used, these living testimonies of the faith as professed down the ages can prove a useful resource for the new evangelization and for catechesis, and lead to a rediscovery of the sense of mystery. ... artistic beauty, as a sort of echo of the Spirit of God, is a symbol pointing to the mystery, an invitation to seek out the face of God made visible in Jesus of Nazareth.' Cf. Pope Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* 51: 'An almost indefinite range of means can be used for this purpose: explicit preaching, of course, but also art...' ('Ad hunc enim finem assequendum adhiberi potest series paene interminata subsidiorum, veluti praedicatio aperta, quemadmodum liquet, sed etiam ars.') Pope Paul VI is quoting himself: 'Address to the Members of the *Consilium de Laicis*' (1974): AAS 66 (1974), p. 568.

13. Fourthly, the Extraordinary Form is today the focal point of a milieu informed also by traditional spiritual writers and supported by the religious orders committed to it, which constitutes a form of Catholic culture consciously counter-cultural *vis-a-vis* the dominant secular culture:¹⁹ in the phrase of Pope Paul VI, ‘they make up a community which is evangelizing’.²⁰ The call to be witnesses to the Faith even in the most hostile environment, made by Pope Benedict XVI and his immediate predecessors, is one which has been enthusiastically answered by Traditional Catholics, who find themselves in possession of resources from the Catholic Tradition which have been neglected by many others in the Church.
14. Finally, the Extraordinary Form has value in embodying classical cultural forms. It is impossible to study the history of art or music without seeing the contribution of the Church and the Faith, and this contribution is a living part of the ancient liturgy. Again, in the liturgy proper, the Extraordinary Form represents an ideal against which many Protestant and secular forms have reacted. A secular Westerner experiencing it may have a similar experience when seeing, for the first time, a nun wearing a traditional habit, which he had previously seen only in comic films or mocking cartoons. He will see at last what the fuss was about, and may well have to reassess judgements made on the basis of the parody.
15. This experience, of seeing clearly at last what lies at the root of Western culture, despite all the attempts to abuse and belittle it,²¹ is of profound importance. The philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre describes the experience of a person who encounters the culture and set of beliefs which, he suddenly realises, is what he has been groping towards himself, as ‘the shock of recognition’.²² Something like this shock is expressed by St Augustine in his Confessions:

Late have I loved you, O Beauty ever ancient, ever new, late have I loved you!

¹⁹ Cardinal Castrillon Hoyos (Interview in ‘The Latin Mass magazine’, May 2004): ‘I don’t like, indeed, those views that would like to reduce the traditionalist ‘phenomenon’ to only the celebration of the ancient rite, as if it were a stubborn and nostalgic attachment to the past. ... In reality, what we frequently find is a Christian view of the life of faith and of devotion—shared by so many Catholic families that frequently are enriched by many children—that has special characteristics, and we can mention as examples: a strong sense of belonging to the Mystical Body of Christ, a desire to maintain strong links with the past—that wishes to be seen, not in contrast with the present, but in a line of continuity with the Church—to present the principal teachings of the Faith, a profound desire for spirituality and the sacred etc.’

²⁰ Pope Paul VI *Evangelii nuntiandi* 13. Again, 42: ‘Modern man listens more willingly to witnesses than to teachers, and if he does listen to teachers, it is because they are witnesses.’ (‘homo nostrae huius aetatis libentius testes quam magistros audit; quodsi suas hisce praebet aures, ita facit, quoniam testes sunt.’)

²¹ Bl. Pope John Paul II *Ecclesia in Europa*: 108. ‘There can be no doubt that the Christian faith belongs, in a radical and decisive way, to the foundations of European culture. Christianity in fact has shaped Europe, impressing upon it certain basic values. Modern Europe itself, which has given the democratic ideal and human rights to the world, draws its values from its Christian heritage. More than a geographical area, Europe can be described as “a primarily cultural and historical concept, which denotes a reality born as a continent thanks also to the unifying force of Christianity, which has been capable of integrating peoples and cultures among themselves, and which is intimately linked to the whole of European culture”.’ Cf. *Ecclesia in America* 14. ‘The greatest gift which America has received from the Lord is the faith which has forged its Christian identity. For more than five hundred years the name of Christ has been proclaimed on the continent. The evangelization which accompanied the European migrations has shaped America’s religious profile, marked by moral values which, though they are not always consistently practiced and at times are cast into doubt, are in a sense the heritage of all Americans, even of those who do not explicitly recognize this fact.’

²² Alasdair MacIntyre ‘Whose Justice? Which Rationality?’ (London: Duckworth, 1988) p394: ‘Upon encountering a coherent presentation of one particular tradition ... such a person will often experience a shock of recognition: this is not only ... what I now take to be true but in some measure what I have always taken to be true.’

You were within me, but I was outside, and it was there that I searched for you. In my unloveliness I plunged into the lovely things which you created. You were with me, but I was not with you. Created things kept me from you; yet if they had not been in you they would have not been at all. You called, you shouted, and you broke through my deafness. You flashed, you shone, and you dispelled my blindness. You breathed your fragrance on me; I drew in breath and now I pant for you. I have tasted you, now I hunger and thirst for more. You touched me, and I burned for your peace.²³

²³ St Augustine, Confessions, 10, 27 (38): ‘Sero te amavi, pulchritudo tam antiqua et tam nova, sero te amavi! Et ecce intus eras et ego foris et ibi te quaerebam et in ista formosa, quae fecisti, deformis irrueram. Mecum eras, et tecum non eram. Ea me tenebant longe a te, quae si in te non essent, non essent. Vocasti et clamasti et rupisti surditatem meam, coruscasti, splendisti et fugasti caecitatem meam; fragrasti, et duxi spiritum et anhelum tibi, gustavi, et esurio et sitio, tetigisti me, et exarsi in pacem tuam.’

APPENDIX: Cultural figures seek the preservation of the 'Traditional Mass' in 1971

In 1971 John, Cardinal Heenan of Westminster, on behalf of the Latin Mass Society (of England and Wales), presented a petition to Pope Paul VI seeking a clear ruling to allow the ancient Mass to continue to be said, after the promulgation of the *Novus Ordo Missae* in 1970. Pope Paul's response was the 'English Indult', which encouraged the bishops of England and Wales to give express permission for the celebration of public Masses according to the former Missal; this was the first of the series of Papal documents favouring the Extraordinary Form which culminated in the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum* in 2007.

The petition was signed by fifty six cultural figures, and is indicative of the alarm aroused, even among non-Catholics, by the suggestion that the former liturgical tradition was to be prohibited. They include many of the foremost writers, critics, academics, and musicians of the day, as well as politicians from Britain's then three main parties, and two Anglican bishops. The text and signatures (in alphabetical order) were as follows.

'If some senseless decree were to order the total or partial destruction of basilicas or cathedrals, then obviously it would be the educated—whatever their personal beliefs—who would rise up in horror to oppose such a possibility. Now the fact is that basilicas and cathedrals were built so as to celebrate a rite which, until a few months ago, constituted a living tradition. We are referring to the Roman Catholic Mass. Yet, according to the latest information in Rome, there is a plan to obliterate that Mass by the end of the current year. One of the axioms of contemporary publicity, religious as well as secular, is that modern man in general, and intellectuals in particular, have become intolerant of all forms of tradition and are anxious to suppress them and put something else in their place. But, like many other affirmations of our publicity machines, this axiom is false. Today, as in times gone by, educated people are in the vanguard where recognition of the value of tradition is concerned, and are the first to raise the alarm when it is threatened. We are not at this moment considering the religious or spiritual experience of millions of individuals. The rite in question, in its magnificent Latin text, has also inspired a host of priceless achievements in the arts—not only mystical works, but works by poets, philosophers, musicians, architects, painters and sculptors in all countries and epochs. Thus, it belongs to universal culture as well as to churchmen and formal Christians. In the materialistic and technocratic civilisation that is increasingly threatening the life of mind and spirit in its original creative expression—the word—it seems particularly inhuman to deprive man of word-forms in one of their most grandiose manifestations. The signatories of this appeal, which is entirely ecumenical and non-political, have been drawn from every branch of modern culture in Europe and elsewhere. They wish to call to the attention of the Holy See, the appalling responsibility it would incur in the history of the human spirit were it to refuse to allow the Traditional Mass to survive, even though this survival took place side by side with other liturgical reforms.'

Signed: Harold Acton,²⁴ Vladimir Ashkenazy,²⁵ John Bayler, Lennox Berkeley,²⁶ Maurice Bowra,²⁷ Agatha Christie,²⁸ Kenneth Clark,²⁹ Nevill Coghill,³⁰ Cyril

²⁴ Sir Harold Mario Mitchell Acton KBE (1904-94) Catholic historian, writer and poet.

²⁵ Vladimir Ashkenazy (1937-) non-Catholic conductor and pianist.

²⁶ Sir Lennox Berkeley (1903-89) Catholic convert, composer.

²⁷ Sir Maurice Bowra (1898-1971) non-Catholic academic; President of British Academy.

²⁸ Dame Agatha Christie DBE (1890-1976) non-Catholic writer.

Connolly,³¹ Colin Davis,³² Hugh Delargy,³³ +Robert Exeter,³⁴ Miles Fitzalan-Howard,³⁵ Constantine Fitzgibbon,³⁶ William Glock,³⁷ Magdalen Goffin,³⁸ Robert Graves,³⁹ Graham Greene,⁴⁰ Ian Greenless,⁴¹ Joseph Grimond,⁴² Harman Grisewood,⁴³ Colin Hardie,⁴⁴ Rupert Hart-Davis,⁴⁵ Barbara Hepworth,⁴⁶ Auberon Herbert, John Jolliffe,⁴⁷ David Jones,⁴⁸ Osbert Lancaster,⁴⁹ F.R. Leavis,⁵⁰ Cecil Day Lewis,⁵¹ Compton Mackenzie,⁵² George Malcolm,⁵³ Max Mallowan,⁵⁴ Alfred Marnau,⁵⁵ Yehudi Menuhin,⁵⁶ Nancy Mitford,⁵⁷ Raymond Mortimer,⁵⁸ Malcolm Muggeridge,⁵⁹ Iris Murdoch,⁶⁰ John Murray,⁶¹ Sean O'Faolain,⁶² E.J. Oliver,⁶³ Oxford and Asquith,⁶⁴ William Plomer,⁶⁵ Kathleen Raine,⁶⁶ William Rees-Mogg,⁶⁷ Ralph Richardson,⁶⁸ +John Ripon,⁶⁹ Charles Russell,⁷⁰ Rivers Scott, Joan Sutherland,⁷¹ Philip Toynbee,⁷² Martin

²⁹ Kenneth, Baron Clark, OM, CH, KCB, FBA (1903-83) Art Historian and broadcaster (a deathbed Catholic convert).

³⁰ Nevill Coghill (1899-1980) literary scholar.

³¹ Cyril Connolly (1903-74) non-Catholic critic and writer.

³² Sir Colin Rex Davis, CH, CBE (1927-) non-Catholic conductor.

³³ Hugh Delargy (1908-76) Catholic Member of Parliament (sitting for the Labour Party).

³⁴ Robert Mortimer (1902-76) Anglican Bishop of Exeter.

³⁵ Miles Francis Stapleton Fitzalan-Howard, Order of Pius IX, KG, GCVO, CB, CBE, MC, DL, GCPO, Earl Marshal, 17th Duke of Norfolk (1915-2002).

³⁶ Constantine Fitzgibbon (1919-83) Catholic historian.

³⁷ Sir William Frederick Glock, CBE (1908-2000) non-Catholic music critic (BBC Controller of Music, Controller of the Proms).

³⁸ Magdalen Goffin (1923-) Catholic writer.

³⁹ Robert von Ranke Graves (1895-1985) non-Catholic poet, scholar, and writer.

⁴⁰ Graham Greene, OM, CH (1904-91) lapsed Catholic convert and author.

⁴¹ Major Ian Greenless (1913-88) Catholic author and academic, Director of the British Institute, Florence.

⁴² Joseph, Baron Grimond, CH, CBE, TD, PC (1913-93) non-Catholic barrister, writer, politician (leader of the Liberal Party).

⁴³ Harman Grisewood, CBE, Papal Chamberlain (1908-97) Catholic actor, author, radio and television executive (BBC Controller of Third Programme).

⁴⁴ Colin Hardie (1906-98) non-Catholic academic (Classicist, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford)

⁴⁵ Sir Rupert Hart-Davis (1907-99) non-Catholic publisher and writer.

⁴⁶ Dame Barbara Hepworth (1903-75) non-Catholic sculptor.

⁴⁷ John Jolliffe (1929-85) non-Catholic, academic and later Head of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

⁴⁸ David Jones (1895-74) Catholic convert, artist and poet.

⁴⁹ Sir Osbert Lancaster (1908-86) cartoonist.

⁵⁰ Francis Raymond Leavis, CH, (1895-1978) non-Catholic literary critic and writer.

⁵¹ Cecil Day-Lewis CBE (1904-72) non-Catholic poet; British Poet Laureate.

⁵² Sir Edward Montague Compton Mackenzie, OBE (1883-1972) Catholic convert and writer.

⁵³ George Malcolm, KSG, CBE (1917-97) Catholic musician and conductor; Master of Music at Westminster Cathedral.

⁵⁴ Sir Max Edgar Lucien Mallowan CBE (1908-78), Catholic, Professor of archaeology and Fellow of All Souls.

⁵⁵ Alfred Marnau (1918-99) Catholic poet and author, the co-ordinator of the petition.

⁵⁶ Yehudi Menuhin OM, KBE (1916-99) non-Catholic conductor and violinist.

⁵⁷ Nancy Mitford, CBE (1904-73), non-Catholic writer.

⁵⁸ Raymond Mortimer (1895-1980) lapsed Catholic convert, writer and editor of the New Statesman.

⁵⁹ Thomas Malcolm Muggeridge (1903-90) Catholic convert, writer.

⁶⁰ Dame Iris Murdoch (1919-99) non-Catholic philosopher and novelist.

⁶¹ John Murray (1898-1975) Anglican theologian.

⁶² Sean O'Faolain (1900-91) Catholic academic and writer.

⁶³ Edward James Oliver (1911-92) Catholic convert and biographer.

⁶⁴ Julian Edward George Asquith, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Asquith, KCMG (1916-2011) Catholic colonial administrator.

⁶⁵ William Plomer (1903-73) non-Catholic writer.

⁶⁶ Kathleen Raine, CBE (1908-2003) non-Catholic poet and writer.

⁶⁷ William, Baron Rees-Mogg (1928-) writer and journalist (editor of The Times).

⁶⁸ Lt-Cdr Sir Ralph Richardson (1902-83) Catholic actor.

⁶⁹ John Moorman (1905-89) Anglican Bishop of Ripon.

Turnell,⁷³ Bernard Wall,⁷⁴ Patrick Wall,⁷⁵ E.I Watkin,⁷⁶ R.C. Zaehner.⁷⁷

⁷⁰ Charles Ritchie Russell, Baron Russell of Killowen (1908-86), Catholic, Lord Justice of Appeal, later Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.

⁷¹ Dame Joan Alston Sutherland, OM, DC, OBE (1925-2010) non-Catholic soprano.

⁷² Theodore Philip Toynbee (1916-81) non-Catholic journalist and writer.

⁷³ Martin Turnell, scholar and writer.

⁷⁴ Bernard Wall (1908-74) Catholic publisher and writer.

⁷⁵ Major Sir Patrick Henry Bligh Wall, KBE, MC, VRD (also awarded the Legion of Merit by the USA) (1916-98) Catholic Member of Parliament, sitting for the Conservative Party.

⁷⁶ Edward Ingram Watkin (1888-1991) Catholic convert and writer.

⁷⁷ Robert Charles Zaehner (1913-74) Catholic convert, academic, and writer.



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 12

THE TEACHING OF LATIN
IN SEMINARIES

OCTOBER 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Teaching of Latin in Seminaries: Abstract

The question of Latin as a liturgical language has been dealt with in a previous paper; here the issue of Latin as the common language of the Church is addressed. The importance of Latin as a component of seminary education has been stressed before, at, and following the Second Vatican Council, but not only because of its liturgical importance: its wider importance is that it makes possible communication between generations (from the past to the present, and from the present to future generations) and between nations, in a stable language which can be learnt by all. The loss of such a common language has been a matter of great concern to a long succession of Popes, and many documents, including Canon Law, place great emphasis on the importance of Latin. It is a matter of the utmost importance that Latin be restored in seminary education, and in Catholic schools.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV POSITION PAPER: THE TEACHING OF LATIN IN SEMINARIES

1. Latin is important to the Church not only as a liturgical language,¹ but also as a language of administration, discussion, and for the dissemination of ideas, notably in magisterial documents, and as the language of countless classic works of theology, history, and other disciplines, from the Fathers and the Scholastics, and well into the modern period. Latin's use in practice as a language of communication in the Church depends on its being taught in seminaries (and also in Catholic schools); its place in seminary education has often been addressed by the Magisterium. On this topic, both the concerns, and the insights, of those attached to the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, have application to the whole Church. Priests ordained without an education in Latin find it difficult, if not impossible, to use of the provisions of the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum*;² nevertheless, the argument of this paper will be based upon wider considerations.

The Magisterium on Latin

2. The 1983 Code of Canon Law strengthened the demand of the 1917 Code,³ stating:
The programme of priestly formation is to provide that students not only are carefully taught their native language but also understand Latin well.⁴
The verb 'understand' in the English translation understates the force of the Latin 'calleant'.⁵ skill in, not mere comprehension of, Latin, is required by Canon Law, since Latin is a means of two-way communication.
3. Canon 249 reflects the Second Vatican Council's decree on Priestly Training, *Optatam totius*, which says, of seminarians,
Moreover they are to acquire a knowledge of Latin which will enable them to understand and make use of the sources of so many sciences and of the documents of the Church. The study of the liturgical language proper to each rite should be considered necessary; a suitable knowledge of the languages of the Bible and of Tradition should be greatly encouraged.⁶

¹ See Positio 7: Latin as a Liturgical Language

² Letter to Bishops accompanying the *Motu Proprio Summorum Pontificum* (2007): 'The use of the old Missal presupposes a certain degree of liturgical formation and some knowledge of the Latin language; neither of these is found very often.' As a matter of the law of the Church, the question of the criteria to be met by priests wishing to say the Extraordinary Form was clarified in the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011) 20 b: 'Regarding the use of the Latin language, a basic knowledge is necessary, allowing the priest to pronounce the words correctly [better: 'to give due utterance'] and understand their meaning.' ('ad usum Latini sermonis quod attinet, necesse est ut sacerdos celebraturus scientia polleat ad verba recte proferenda eorumque intelligendam significationem;')

³ 1917 Code of Canon Law 1364.2: 'They [sc. seminarians] will accurately pursue languages, especially Latin and the national language of the students.' ('Linguas praesertim latinam et patriam alumni accurate addiscant')

⁴ 1983 Code of Canon Law 249: 'Institutionis sacerdotalis Ratione provideatur ut alumni non tantum accurate linguam patriam edoceantur, sed etiam linguam latinam bene calleant.'

⁵ The Oxford Latin Dictionary (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2nd Edition 2012) gives the meaning for *callere* 'to have experience of; to be skilled or experienced in'.

⁶ Second Vatican Council, Decree on Seminaries *Optatam totius* 13: '...ac praeterea eam linguae latinae cognitionem acquirant, qua tot scientiarum fontes et Ecclesiae documenta intelligere atque adhibere possint.[Footnote] Studium linguae liturgicae unicuique ritui propriae necessarium habeatur, cognitio vero congrua linguarum Sacrae Scripturae et Traditionis valde foveatur.' The footnote refers to Pope Paul VI, Apostolic Letter *Summi Dei Verbum*, 1 (see footnote 13 below).

As far as the liturgy is concerned, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, as well as insisting that ‘the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites’,⁷ also assumes that clerics will normally say the Office in Latin.⁸

4. These documents maintain earlier teaching and practice: notable 20th century documents include Pius XI’s Apostolic Letter on seminary training *Officiorum omnium* (1922),⁹ the Congregation for Seminaries’ Letter *Latinam excolere linguam* (1957),¹⁰ Bl. Pope John XXIII’s Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia* (1962),¹¹ and the ‘Ordinationes’ applying this (*Sacrum Latinae linguae depositum*, 1962),¹² Paul VI’s Apostolic Letter on seminaries, *Summi Dei Verbum* (1963),¹³ the Instruction applying *Sacrosanctum Concilium* to religious, *In edicendis* (1965), and Pope Paul VI’s motu proprio *Studia Latinitatis* (1964). Immediately following the Council Pope Paul VI again commanded the retention of Latin, particularly in the Office, in his Apostolic Letter *Sacrificium laudis* (1966);¹⁴ and the Congregation for Catholic Education emphasised the

⁷ Second Vatican Council Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 36, 1: ‘Linguae latinae usus, salvo particulari iure, in Ritibus latinis servetur.’; cf. 54: ‘Nevertheless steps should be taken so that the faithful may also be able to say or to sing together in Latin those parts of the Ordinary of the Mass which pertain to them.’ (‘Provideatur tamen ut christifideles etiam lingua latina partes Ordinarii Missae quae ad ipsos spectant possint simul dicere vel cantare.’)

⁸ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 101, 1: ‘In accordance with the centuries-old tradition of the Latin rite, the Latin language is to be retained by clerics in the divine office.’ (‘Iuxta saecularem traditionem ritus latini, in Officio divino lingua latina clericis servanda est’) This was reiterated by the Instruction *In edicendis* (1965) 1, which goes on to spell out the kind of cases for which concessions could be considered, including for mission countries.

⁹ Pope Pius XI Apostolic Letter *Officiorum omnium* (1922), *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 14 (1922) pp349-358: ‘Therefore – and this is something guaranteed by canon law (*Codex Iuris Canonici* can. 1364) – in the schools of literature where the sacred order’s expectations reach maturity, we wish the alumni to be instructed very exactly in the Latin language. We wish it also for this motive, in case, when they later approach the higher disciplines that must certainly be both handed on and received in Latin, it happens that through ignorance of the language they cannot achieve full understanding of the doctrines, let alone exercise themselves in those scholastic disciplines by which the talents of youths are sharpened for defending the truth.’

¹⁰ Congregation for Seminaries Letter *Latinam excolere linguam* (1957) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 50 (1958), pp. 292-906

¹¹ Bl. Pope John XXIII Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia* (1962) 11, 4: ‘Wherever the study of Latin has suffered partial eclipse through the assimilation of the academic program to that which obtains in State public schools, with the result that the instruction given is no longer so thorough and well-grounded as formerly, there the traditional method of teaching this language shall be completely restored. Such is Our will, and there should be no doubt in anyone’s mind about the necessity of keeping a strict watch over the course of studies followed by Church students; and that not only as regards the number and kinds of subjects they study, but also as regards the length of time devoted to the teaching of these subjects.’ (‘Sicubi autem, ob assimilata studiorum rationem in publicis civitatis scholis obtinentem, de linguae Latinae cultu aliquatenus detractum sit, cum germanae firmaeque doctrinae detrimento, ibi tralaticium huius linguae tradendae ordinem reintegrari omnino censemus; cum persuasum cuique esse debeat, hac etiam in re, sacrorum alumnorum institutionis rationem religiose esse tuendam, non tantum ad disciplinarum numerum et genera, sed etiam ad earum docendarum temporis spatia quod attinet.’)

¹² Congregation for Seminaries *Sacrum Latinae linguae depositum* (1962) *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 54 pp339-368. This document goes into considerable detail on the contents of seminary curricula.

¹³ Pope Paul VI Apostolic Letter *Summi Dei Verbum* (1963): ‘The cultural formation of the young priest must certainly include an adequate knowledge of languages and especially of Latin (particularly for those of the Latin rite).’ (‘In studiorum denique supellectile, qua adulescens clerus ornari oportet, sane ponenda est non exigua variarum linguarum scientia, in primisque Latinae, si maxime de sacerdotibus agatur Latini ritus.’)

¹⁴ Pope Paul VI Apostolic Letter *Sacrificium laudis* (1966): ‘Yet those things that We have mentioned [sc. requests for permission to say the Office in the vernacular] are occurring even though the Second Ecumenical Vatican Council has after due deliberation declared its mind in solemn fashion (*Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 101,1), and after the publication of clear norms in subsequent Instructions. In the first Instruction (*ad executionem Constitutionis de sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam*), published on 26th September, 1964, it was decreed as follows: In celebrating the divine office in choir, clerics are

importance of Latin in its 1970 *Ratio fundamentalis* on seminary education.¹⁵ In 1976 Pope Paul established the ‘Latinitas Foundation’ to promote Latin.¹⁶ Blessed Pope John Paul II stressed the importance of Latin in his Apostolic Letter *Dominicae Cenae* (1980),¹⁷ and in the same year the Congregation for Catholic Education’s revised *Ratio fundamentalis* did the same.¹⁸ Later the same Congregation published an Instruction on the study of the Fathers, which stressed the need to bolster the study of Latin and Greek in seminaries, so that seminarians might read patristic texts in the original (*Inspectis dierum*, 1989).¹⁹

5. In 2007 Pope Benedict XVI returned to the subject of seminary formation in his Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis*, where he wrote:

I ask that future priests, from their time in the seminary, receive the preparation needed to understand and to celebrate Mass in Latin, and also to use Latin texts and execute Gregorian chant; nor should we forget that the faithful can be taught

bound to preserve the Latin language (n. 85). In the second Instruction (de lingua in celebrandis Officio divino et Missa “conventionali” aut “communitatis” apud Religiosos adhibenda), published on the 23rd November, 1965, that law was reinforced, and at the same time due consideration was shown for the spiritual advantage of the faithful and for the special conditions which prevail in missionary territories. Therefore, for as long as no other lawful provision is made, these laws are in force and require the obedience in which religious must excel, as dear sons of holy Church.’ (‘Sed ea, quae supra diximus, fieri contingunt, postquam Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum Secundum meditare ac sollemniter hac de re suam edixit sententiam (Cf. Const. de sacra Lit. *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, n. 101, 1), et Instructionibus eam subsecutis certae editae sunt normae; in quarum Instructione altera, *ad executionem Constitutionis de sacra Liturgia recte ordinandam* die XXVI mensis Septembris anno MCMLXIV emissa, haec sunt decreta: «In divino Officio in choro persolvendo clerici linguam latinam servare tenentur» (n. 85); altera vero, quae *de lingua in celebrandis Officio divino et Missa «conventionali» aut «communitatis» apud Religiosos adhibenda* inscribitur ac die XXIII mensis novembris anno MCMLXV fuit vulgata, praeceptum illud confirmatur simulque ratio ducitur spiritualis fidelium emolumenti et peculiarium condicionum, quae in regionibus obtinent missionali opere excolendis. Donec ergo aliter legitime statuatur, hae leges vigent et obtemperacionem expostulant, qua religiosos sodales, filios Ecclesiae carissimos, apprime commendari oportet.’)

¹⁵ Congregation for Catholic Education, Instruction *Ratio fundamentalis institutionis sacerdotalis* (1970): 66. ‘On the completion of these studies, any deficiency in knowledge which is required in a priest must be made good either before or during the study of philosophy, as n. 60 indicates. An example would be that reasonable proficiency in Latin, which the Church continually and insistently demands. A list and program of these studies should be included in the Scheme for Priestly Training.’

¹⁶ Pope Paul VI Chirograph *Romani sermonis* (1976). The aims of the Foundation are to promote the use and the study of Latin.

¹⁷ Bl. Pope John Paul II Apostolic Letter *Dominicae Cenae* (1980) 10: ‘The Roman Church has special obligations towards Latin, the splendid language of ancient Rome, and she must manifest them whenever the occasion presents itself.’ (‘Ecclesia quidem Romana erga linguam Latinam, praestantissimum sermonem Urbis Romae antiquae, peculiari obligatione devincitur eamque commonstret oportet, quotiescumque offertur occasio.’)

¹⁸ Congregation for Catholic Education, Instruction *Ratio fundamentalis institutionis sacerdotalis* (1980): ‘the Council is far from having banned the use of the Latin language. Indeed, it did the contrary. Thus the systematic exclusion of Latin is an abuse no less to be condemned than the systematic desire of some people to use it exclusively. Its sudden and total disappearance will not be without serious pastoral consequences.’

¹⁹ Instruction *Inspectis dierum* 66: ‘But it is clear that the proper instruments and resources are necessary to undertake Patristic studies properly. Such are libraries which are well stocked with respect to Patristics (‘corpora’ or collections, monographs, reviews or journals, dictionaries). And it is also clear that classical and modern languages are necessary as well. Since, however, the schools of our day and age are plainly deficient in the liberal arts, to the extent possible we shall have to further strengthen the study of Latin and Greek in our own Institutes of Priestly Formation.’ (‘Perspicuum est autem ad studia patristica apte peragenda necessaria esse instrumenta et subsidia congruentia—ut bibliotheca rite instructa quoad patristicam (corpora seu collectiones, monographiae, commentarii seu ephemerides, lexica), atque linguas classicas et hodiernas necessarias quoque esse. Sed cum in excolendis studiis humanisticis scholae nostri temporis aperte deficiant, opus erit—quod id fieri possit—ut in nostris Institutis formationis sacerdotalis studia linguae Graecae et Latinae amplius corroborantur.’)

to recite the more common prayers in Latin, and also to sing parts of the liturgy to Gregorian chant.²⁰

In 2012 Pope Benedict issued the Motu Proprio *Lingua Latina* replacing the Latinitas Foundation with the 'Pontificia Academia Latinitatis', with a wider remit for the promotion of the language, including in seminaries.

6. To summarise, it cannot be said that the Council represented a change in the teaching, or called for a change in the practice, of the Church on this subject. The reasons given in these documents for the importance of Latin fall into a number of related categories.
7. The first concerns the place of Latin in the liturgy. This is stressed by Pope Benedict XVI in *Sacramentum Caritatis*, as quoted above. It suffices to say here²¹ that it is impossible for priests to obey *Sacrosanctum Concilium*'s command, 'the use of Latin is to be preserved in the Latin Rites', without at least a basic grasp of the language.
8. Secondly, the Latin language has a fundamental place in Catholic culture, which is closely entwined with spirituality. Latin poetry, hymnody, and chant, and the texts which have inspired musical compositions from every era of Christian music, cannot be translated or replaced by vernacular equivalents: the work of art represented by the original would, at best, be replaced by a new work of art, the translation. The Latin chants, both in their poetry and in their musical settings, are, in Pope Paul VI's phrase, 'an abundant well-spring of Christian civilisation and a very rich treasure-trove of devotion.' He urges religious superiors
to ponder what they wish to give up, and not to let that spring run dry from which, until the present, they have themselves drunk deep.²²
9. Thirdly, the patrimony of theology, philosophy, canon law, and history, of the Latin Church is preserved, overwhelmingly, in Latin. The Latin version of Magisterial documents is nearly always the normative one; a translation, however skilful, can never capture all the nuances of the original, and translations do not always exist;²³ the same is true of a great many major works of the theological tradition.²⁴ Latin has always been seen as essential for the preservation of accuracy and continuity in doctrine, a point stressed in *Veterum Sapientia*. The importance of Latin for academic studies is stressed

²⁰ Pope Benedict XVI Post Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 62: 'In universum petimus ut futuri sacerdotes, inde a Seminarii tempore, ad Sanctam Missam Latine intellegendam et celebrandam nec non ad Latinos textus usurpandos et cantum Gregorianum adhibendum instituantur; neque neglegatur copia ipsis fidelibus facienda ut notiores in lingua Latina preces ac pariter quarundam liturgiae partium in cantu Gregoriano cantus cognoscant.'

²¹ See also Positio 7: 'Latin as a Liturgical Language'

²² *Sacrificium laudis*: 'cum sit in Ecclesia Latina christiani cultus humani fons uberrimus et locupletissimus pietatis thesaurus,' 'Rogamus igitur omnes, ad quos pertinet, ut ponderent, quae dimittere velint, neque fontem sinant inarescere, unde ad praesens usque tempus ubertim hauserint.'

²³ It is relevant to note that, of the documents cited in this paper, the following are not translated into English, French, or German, on the Vatican website: Pope Pius XI *Officiorum omnium*, Bl. Pope John XXIII *Veterum Sapientia*, Congregation for Seminaries *Sacrum Latinae linguae depositum*, Instruction of the Sacred Congregation for Rites *In edicendis*, Pope Paul VI *Sacrificium laudis*, Congregation for Catholic Education *Ratio fundamentalis* (both the 1970 and 1980 versions), and *Inspectis diebus*. (Of these, only *Veterum Sapientia* is available in Spanish, and only *Sacrificium laudis* in Italian.) Unofficial translations of some, but not most, of these, into some of these vernacular languages, are available elsewhere.

²⁴ Even such an important and influential work as St Alphonsus Liguori's *Theologia Moralis* has no English translation. Students without Latin have access to a greatly narrowed tradition, and are subject to the debatable judgements of translators.

by *Officiorum omnium*,²⁵ *Veterum Sapientia*,²⁶ *Optatam totius*,²⁷ *Inspectis diebus*,²⁸ and *Lingua Latina*.²⁹

10. Fourthly, there is the role of Latin as the language of the Church: a language for the exchange and development of ideas and, as Bl Pope John Paul put it, ‘an instrument of mutual friendship’.³⁰ The administrative importance of Latin is stressed by *Officiorum omnium*,³¹ *Veterum Sapientia* 4, *Optatam totius* 13, and *Lingua Latina*. The last of these documents has underlined the point:

The Latin language has continuously received the great esteem of the Catholic Church and the Roman Pontiffs, inasmuch as they consider it their own language.³²

²⁵ *Officiorum omnium*: ‘[If Latin is carefully taught:] Thus the occurrence we often grieve over will happen no longer: - our clerics and priests, when, through neglect of the copious volumes of the Fathers and Doctors of the Church in which the dogmas of the Faith are presented, being both set forth very lucidly and defended invincibly, they have not put enough effort into the study of Latin literature, seek for themselves a suitable supply of doctrine from more recent authors; among these one can virtually say not only is a clear kind of speech and an exact method of arrangement generally lacking, but so too is a faithful interpretation of the dogmas.’

²⁶ *Veterum Sapientia* 11.2: ‘In the exercise of their paternal care they [sc. bishops] shall be on their guard lest anyone under their jurisdiction, eager for revolutionary changes, writes against the use of Latin in the teaching of the higher sacred studies or in the Liturgy, or through prejudice makes light of the Holy See’s will in this regard or interprets it falsely.’ (‘Paterna iidem sollicitudine caveant, ne qui e sua dicione, novarum rerum studiosi, contra linguam Latinam sive in altioribus sacris disciplinis tradendis sive in sacris habendis ritibus usurpandam scribant, neve praeiudicata opinione Apostolicae Sedis voluntatem hac in re extenuent vel perperam interpretentur.’)

²⁷ *Optatam totius* 13, quoted in paragraph 3 above.

²⁸ *Inspectis diebus* 53: ‘The study of Patrology and of Patristics, which in its initial stage consists in outlining [the subject-matter], demands that manuals and other bibliographical resources be employed. When one arrives at difficult and involved questions of Patristic theology, however, none of these aids suffices: one has to go directly to the Fathers’ very texts. For it behoves Patristics to be both taught and learned—especially in Academies and in specialized curricula—with professor and student going directly to the primary sources themselves.’

²⁹ *Lingua Latina* 2: ‘In our day as well a knowledge of the Latin language and culture is vital for looking into the springs from which very many branches of learning generally draw, such as Theology, liturgical studies, Patristics, and Canon Law, as the Second Vatican Council teaches (see the decree on the education of priests, *Optatam Totius*, 13).’ (‘Nostris quoque temporibus Latinae linguae et cultus cognitio perquam est necessaria ad fontes vestigandos ex quibus complures disciplinae ceteroqui hauriunt, exempli gratia Theologia, Liturgia, Patrologia et Ius Canonicum, quemadmodum Concilium Oecumenicum Vaticanum II docet (cfr Decretum de Institutione sacerdotali, *Optatam totius*, 13).’)

³⁰ Bl. Pope John Paul II, Allocution to the winners of the 12th Vatican competition, 22nd November 1978: ‘...in this you confer assistance of great value on the Roman Church, which has preserved the dignity of the language of Latium, since she always reckoned it to be a bond of unity, a visible sign of stability, and an instrument of mutual friendship’ (‘id facientes, Romanae Ecclesiae magni pretii auxilium confertis, quae Latii sermonis dignitatem servavit, quippe quod unitatis vinculum, stabilitatis aspectabile signum, mutuae necessitudinis instrumentum semper existimaret.’)

³¹ *Officiorum omnium*: ‘Since Latin is such a language, it was divinely foreseen that it should be something marvellously useful for the Church as teacher, and that it should also serve as a great bond of unity for Christ’s more learned faithful; that is to say, by giving them not only something with which, whether they are separated in different locations or gathered into one place, they might easily compare the respective thoughts and insights of their minds, but also – and this is even more important – something with which they might understand more profoundly the things of mother Church, and might be united more closely with the head of the Church.’

³² *Lingua Latina* 1: ‘Latina Lingua permagni ab Ecclesia Catholica Romanisque Pontificibus usque est aestimata, quandoquidem ipsorum propria habita est lingua’

Latin as the Language of the Church

11. The importance of Latin as a common language for the Church is worth developing further. At the Second Vatican Council the participants and their advisers were able to make and understand speeches and interventions, and to consider multiple versions of proposed documents, in a single language, Latin.³³ A discussion among the bishops of the world along these lines would today be impossible, raising the question of whether the Church could again hold a General Council, should the need arise.
12. Multilingual organisations such as the United Nations and the European Union, despite abundant resources, face great difficulties. It is not possible to produce a document in several languages and assert with conviction that all the versions have precisely the same meaning. If, instead, the product of a multilingual deliberation is an official document in a single language, then those familiar with that language are given an enormous and unfair advantage. It is not surprising, then, that international diplomacy has a strong tendency towards a *lingua franca* (whether Latin, French, or English), a language in which every educated person can comment intelligently, and with mutual comprehension, on texts under discussion, and understand the significance of proposed changes, however small.
13. The need for precision in discussing and formulating documents is enormously greater in the Church than in secular diplomacy, and the importance of bishops gathered in Synod or General Council to be able to contribute to, and understand, discussions, is of the highest significance. The lack of Latin today, even at the higher ranks of the clergy, has contributed to a tendency towards using some convenient vernacular language in a particular meeting, or for the development of a particular document. This is problematic, because it places at a disadvantage, not to say disenfranchises, those less familiar with the language used,³⁴ and creates a linguistic gap between discussions and the official documents, in Latin, which derive from them. A situation in which an important Latin proposition is not actually discussed by those in whose name a document is promulgated, since they discussed instead a form of words in some other language which a translator thought equivalent, has the potential for disaster.
14. There is no practical alternative to magisterial documents, with rare exceptions, being promulgated in Latin,³⁵ since they must be able to refer to and develop the formulations of earlier Latin documents in a seamless way, and must not be rendered misleading or incomprehensible by the rapid changes typical of vernacular languages.

³³ The advantages of Latin as a common language are not limited to clerics, or to Catholics. The Anglican apologist C.S. Lewis carried on a correspondence in Latin from 1948 to 1961 with an Italian priest, and saint, St Giovanni Calabria, and after the latter's death with members of his congregation, this being their only language in common. (See *The Latin Letters of C.S. Lewis: C.S. Lewis & Don Giovanni Calabria* edited and translated by Martin Moynihan (South Bend, Indiana: St Augustine's Press, 1998))

³⁴ Cf. *Veterum Sapientia* (1962) 3: 'Of its very nature Latin is most suitable for promoting every culture among diverse peoples, for it gives no rise to jealousies, it does not favour any one group, but presents itself with equal impartiality, gracious and friendly to all.' ('Suae enim sponte naturae lingua Latina ad provehendum apud populos quoslibet omnem humanitatis cultum est peraccommodata: cum invidiam non commoveat, singulis gentibus se aequabilem praestet, nullius partibus faveat, omnibus postremo sit grata et amica.')

³⁵ Something reaffirmed in *Lingua Latina* 2: 'Furthermore, to manifest the universal nature of the Church, the liturgical texts of the Roman Rite have their paradigmatic form in the Latin language, as do the principal documents of the Magisterium and the solemn, official acts of the Roman Pontiffs.' ('In hac praeterea lingua, ut universalis Ecclesiae natura pateat, typica forma sunt scripti liturgici libri Romani Ritus, praestantiora Magisterii pontificii Documenta necnon sollemniora Romanorum Pontificum officialia Acta.')

15. The Church today is a community without a common language. She has, instead, a number of overlapping languages, between which communication proceeds through translators of varied expertise, many of them working for the media or on the internet. Ease of communication in the Church, both between nations and between generations, is steadily decaying as an older generation who benefitted from a Latin education are replaced by a younger generation who, frequently, did not. It is not surprising that Canon Law, and the Papal Magisterium, has been so emphatic about the importance of Latin. It is a matter of utmost urgency that Latin be restored to its former place of honour in seminaries, and also in Catholic schools.

APPENDIX: SOME PRACTICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

A. The state of Latin in Catholic schools and seminaries

On the basis of informal research carried out by FIUV, it is possible to generalise that the teaching of Latin has become, within the Church as in secular educational establishments, the mark of elite institutions. The best seminaries, notably in Rome, still maintain a certain standard of Latin, but at the other extreme there are many seminaries around the world which offer no Latin at all. Others, perhaps a majority, maintain a low level of Latin, aimed at giving students the ability to pronounce it correctly and a grasp of basic vocabulary and grammar. Typically it is taught for a single year, and not in a very intense way. This level of Latin is almost useless: since it cannot be employed for academic studies, it is likely to be neglected after the course is over and soon forgotten.

The Bishops' Conference of the United States has received permission from the Congregation for Catholic Education to omit Latin from the curriculum, on the grounds that they wished to use the time for other subjects, including Spanish. The words of Bl. Pope John XXIII seem apposite:

Should circumstances of time and place demand the addition of other subjects to the curriculum besides the usual ones, then either the course of studies must be lengthened, or these additional subjects must be condensed or their study relegated to another time.³⁶

Catholic schools around the world are in an even worse state: even the best schools generally retain Latin only as an option, and the standards required for many public examinations are incomparably lower than they were 50 years ago. This makes the work of seminaries much more challenging, even in countries with a well-established network of Catholic schools.

B. How Latin can be taught

In *Sacrificium laudis* Paul VI noted, addressing religious superiors:

Of course, the Latin language presents some difficulties, and perhaps not inconsiderable ones, for the new recruits to your holy ranks. But such difficulties, as you know, should not be reckoned insuperable.³⁷

Certainly, the teaching of Latin to seminarians today presents difficulties greater than in former times. We may usefully make some observations derived from the experience of teaching ancient languages to adults at university level, where these languages, when necessary for a degree course, can rarely be taken for granted among school-leavers. While less than ideal, a combination of intensive courses over the summer in preparation for the course, and intensive tuition at the beginning of a course, can make possible the use of an ancient language within the degree course itself. This leads to the language being embedded in the students' memories and steadily improved.

³⁶ *Veterum Sapientia* 11.4: 'Quodsi, vel temporum vel locorum postulante cursu, ex necessitate aliae sint ad communes adiciendae disciplinae, tunc ea de causa aut studiorum porrigatur curriculum, aut disciplinae eadem in breve cogantur, aut denique earum studium ad aliud reiciatur tempus.'

³⁷ *Sacrificium laudis*: 'Procul dubio lingua latina sacrae militiae vestrae tironibus aliquam et fortasse haud tenuem difficultatem opponit. Haec autem, quemadmodum novistis, talis non est habenda, ut vinci et superari non possit.'

To give a single concrete example, Theology students at Oxford University, who may have little aptitude for New Testament Greek, which is usually regarded as more difficult than Latin, are coached intensively in their first two terms, though not to the exclusion of other studies, and then take an examination. The examination stretches candidates by including a section calling for translation from English into Greek, but a pass may be secured, even by candidates whose gifts are not primarily linguistic, by a translation of Greek into English, from St Mark's Gospel, whose Greek is relatively simple. Adopting a similar model for Latin, at seminary, and perhaps taking advantage of seminarians' Propaedeutic year, Latin teaching after the first two terms would absorb fewer syllabus hours, and would be able to build upon a secure foundation. Needless to say, Classical Latin need not be taught in seminaries, but the Latin of the Liturgy and the Latin Fathers, with its freer grammar and much more limited vocabulary. Resources could also usefully be provided for students to put in some groundwork before arriving at seminary.

C: Latin and the laity

It is worth noting that the Church's intention has never been for Latin to be an exclusively clerical language, and nor has this historically been the case. The laity too are urged to study Latin, an important point for the consideration of all Catholic schools and colleges. Thus we read Pope Pius XI, in *Officiorum omnium*:

But if, in any layman who is indeed imbued with literature, ignorance of the Latin language, which we can truly call the 'catholic' language, indicates a certain sluggishness in his love towards the Church, how much more fitting it is that each and every cleric should be adequately practised and skilled in that language!³⁸

Bl Pope John Paul II was no less emphatic fifty six years later.

So we turn firstly to the youngsters, who at this time in which, as is known, Latin letters and the studies of humanity are prostrate in many places – they ought to receive enthusiastically this (so to speak) patrimony of Latin which the Church reckons of great value and actively to render it fruitful. Let them realise that this remark of Cicero (Brutus 37, 140) can be in a certain way referred to themselves: 'It is not so much a matter of distinction to know Latin as it is disgraceful not to know it.' But we exhort all you who are here present and the colleagues who help you, to continue the noble work and elevate the condition of Latin which is also – even though within narrower limits than was once the case – a sort of link among people of different speech. Know that the Successor of Saint Peter in the supreme ministry prays that there be happy results for what you have begun, that he is present with you, and that he strengthens you.³⁹

³⁸ 'Quod si in quopiam homine laico, qui quidem sit tinctus litteris, latinae linguae, quam dicere catholicam vere possumus, ignoratio quemdam amoris erga Ecclesiam languorem indicat, quanto magis omnes clericos, quotquot sunt, decet eiusdem linguae satis gnaros esse atque peritos!'

³⁹ Bl Pope John Paul II, Address to the Latinitas Foundation, 27th November 1978 (Acta Apostolae Sedis Vol 74 (1979) pp44-46): 'Ad juvenes ergo imprimis convertimur, qui hac ætate, qua litteræ Latinæ et humanitatis studia multis locis, ut notum est, jacent, hoc veluti Latinitatis patrimonium, quod Ecclesia magni æstimat, alacres accipiant oportet et actuosi frugiferum reddant. Noverint ii hoc Ciceronis effatum (Brutus 37,140) ad se quodam modo referri "Non ... tam præclarum est scire Latine, quam turpe nescire". Omnes autem vos qui hic adestis, et socios qui vobis opitulantur, adhortamur ut pergatis nobilem laborem et attollatis faciem Latinitatis quæ est etiam, licet arctioribus quam antea finibus circumscriptum, vinculum quoddam inter homines sermone diversos. Scitote beati Petri in summo ministerio Successorem incepti vestri felices exitus precari, vobis adesse, vos confirmare.'



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

***Positio* N. 13**

HOLY DAYS OF OBLIGATION

NOVEMBER 2012

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical traditions’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Holy Days of Obligation: Abstract

The Code of Canon Law lists ten feasts as Holy Days of Obligation, giving Episcopal Conferences, with the approval of the Holy See, the right to suppress the obligation to attend Mass on some of them. The practice of celebrating Epiphany, Ascension and Corpus Christi on Sunday, instead of on their traditional dates, has become widespread, and of other Holy Days theoretically observed as ‘of obligation’ in each country, many are either moved to Sunday, or the obligation to attend Mass on that date suppressed, when they fall on a Saturday or Monday. In the celebration of the Extraordinary Form the 1962 Calendar is used, and the feasts are celebrated on their traditional dates, though in many cases without an obligation to attend Mass. This paper defends the practice of the Extraordinary Form, on the grounds of the great historical, cultural and theological significance of the feasts. It also argues against the minimisation of the obligation to attend Mass on days other than Sundays. The great feasts should be marked by the special emphasis and honour which is their due, and the obligation is a great advantage for those wishing them to be celebrated in Catholic schools, and for those wishing to attend Mass on those days in non-Catholic environments. There is, finally, a serious danger that the very notion of Holy Days of Obligation other than Sundays will cease to be understood by the Faithful, if the number of such days dwindles in the typical year to only two or three.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper: Holy Days of Obligation

1. Under the 1983 Code of Canon Law (Canon 1246) ten Holy Days of Obligation are listed, in addition to Sundays.¹ The Code goes on to say that, with the approval of the Holy See, Conferences of Bishops may ‘suppress some of the holy days of obligation’ (that is, remove the obligation to attend Mass on those days), ‘or transfer them to a Sunday’. The typical result is:
 - a. Some of these feasts are celebrated without an obligation to attend Mass.
 - b. Epiphany, Ascension, and Corpus Christi are celebrated on the nearest Sunday.²
 - c. The remaining Holy Days of Obligation are themselves moved to Sundays,³ or the obligation to attend Mass is removed,⁴ when they fall on a Saturday or a Monday.The main exceptions are those cases in which the traditional dates of feasts are marked by public holidays: the Nativity of Our Lord, most obviously, and certain other feasts in Catholic countries or regions.⁵ Notwithstanding this, the effect of each point (a) to (c) is to reduce the number of non-Sundays in a typical year which require attendance at Mass.
2. In celebrations of the Extraordinary Form the 1962 Calendar is used, but the days of obligatory attendance at Mass are set by each Bishops’ Conference. The dates of the ten Holy Days are in fact the same in the two calendars.⁶
3. On this topic, not only does the practice of the Extraordinary Form differ from that of the Ordinary Form, but changes to Canon Law have altered the legal framework within which the Extraordinary Form exists, as they have in relation to the Eucharistic Fast.⁷ Accordingly, in this paper we wish not merely to point out the value of the practice of the Extraordinary Form, but also to suggest respectfully that the practice of removing the obligation to attend Mass on so many of the canonical Holy Days be discontinued for the whole Latin Rite.

¹ Can. 1246 §1. ‘Sunday, on which by apostolic tradition the paschal mystery is celebrated, must be observed in the universal Church as the primordial holy day of obligation. The following days must also be observed: the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Epiphany, the Ascension, the Body and Blood of Christ, Holy Mary the Mother of God, her Immaculate Conception, her Assumption, Saint Joseph, Saint Peter and Saint Paul the Apostles, and All Saints.’

§2. ‘With the prior approval of the Apostolic See, however, the conference of bishops can suppress some of the holy days of obligation or transfer them to a Sunday.’

(‘§ 1. Dies dominica in qua mysterium paschale celebratur, ex apostolica traditione, in universa Ecclesia uti primordialis dies festus de praecepto servanda est. Itemque servari debent dies Nativitatis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Epiphaniae, Ascensionis et sanctissimi Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, Sanctae Genetricis Mariae, eiusdem Immaculatae Conceptionis et Assumptionis, sancti Ioseph, sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, omnium denique Sanctorum.

§ 2. Episcoporum conferentia tamen potest, praevia Apostolicae Sedis approbatione, quosdam ex diebus festis de praecepto abolere vel ad diem dominicam transferre.’)

² Under the *Universal Norms on the Liturgical Year and the General Roman Calendar* 7 these three feasts must be moved to Sunday if they are ‘not observed as Holydays of Obligation’.

³ As, for example, in England and Wales.

⁴ As, for example, in the United States of America.

⁵ Many examples will be noted in the course of this paper.

⁶ Notwithstanding that the Octave of the Nativity of Our Lord (1st January) is renamed the Feast of Holy Mary Mother of God in the 1970 Calendar. (The Octave of the Nativity in the Extraordinary Form has an Office of Our Lady. The connection between the themes of the Motherhood of Our Lady and the Circumcision, which was the name of the feast prior to 1962, and which influenced the change in 1970, is argued by Bl. Ildefonso Schuster ‘The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal’ (English edition: London: Burns Oates and Washbourne, 1924) Vol. I p396.)

⁷ See Positio 10: The Eucharistic Fast

The Significance of the Dates

4. The first consideration in favour of celebrating the feasts on their traditional dates, as is done in the Extraordinary Form, is that these dates have great significance, historically, culturally, and above all theologically. Most obviously, it is appropriate for the Ascension to be celebrated forty days after Easter, since Scripture tells us that Our Lord Ascended forty days after His Resurrection.⁸ The liturgical calendar does not always follow exactly the sequence of events in Scripture, but in this case the forty days—symbolic of a period of waiting and preparation, and mirroring the forty days of Lent—have long been observed as a joyful period after Easter. Moreover, Ascension can be viewed as the beginning of a Novena of preparation for the coming of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost. The symbolic meaning of the period after, as well as before, the feast of the Ascension is lost if the feast is moved to a Sunday. It is a public holiday in France, being included in the Concordat of 1801.
5. The celebration of Epiphany after ‘Twelfth Night’ following Christmas marks, in union with the Eastern Churches, the most ancient day of the celebration of the Nativity of Our Lord, kept in Gaul long before its adoption in Rome,⁹ and the Twelve Days of Christmas are deeply embedded in European culture. It is a public holiday in Spain, Poland, and parts of Austria and Germany.
6. Corpus Christi was instituted following private revelations to St Juliana of Liège;¹⁰ the use of a Thursday recalls the events of Holy Thursday, to which the feast is closely related. The feast was established on the first Thursday after Trinity Sunday, first locally, and then universally by Pope Urban IV in 1264 and Pope Clement V at the Council of Vienne in 1311;¹¹ the propers and Office of the feast were composed by St Thomas Aquinas.¹² This was in fact the first creation of a feast of the Universal Church by a Pope.¹³ The celebration of public processions on the day itself is a feature of a number of countries where it is marked with a public holiday;¹⁴ elsewhere these take place on the following Sunday.

⁸ Acts 1.1-3: ‘The former treatise I made, O Theophilus, of all things which Jesus began to do and to teach, until the day on which, giving commandments by the Holy Ghost to the apostles whom he had chosen, he was taken up. To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many proofs, for forty days appearing to them, and speaking of the kingdom of God.’

⁹ Epiphany, ‘the Birthday of the Saviour’, was attended by the Emperor Julian (‘the Apostate’) at Vienne in the year 360: see Zonaras, *Epitoma Historiarum* 13.11.6 (ed. Theodor Büttner-Wobst, tomus III pp 54-55, in the series *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*, Bonn 1897). In the translation and commentary by Thomas M. Banchich and Eugene N. Lane, ‘The History of Zonaras’ (London, Routledge, 2009) p170, the commentary gives the parallel in Ammianus: Ammianus Marcellinus *Res Gestae* 21.2.5. Epiphany was adopted in Rome, in addition to Christmas, by at least the reign of Pope Leo the Great (d.461). Christmas, which had been celebrated in Rome since at least 336, became the principal celebration of the Nativity of Our Lord throughout the West due to Roman example.

¹⁰ St Juliana was the subject of Pope Benedict XVI’s General Audience of 17th November 2010.

¹¹ Pope Urban IV composed the Bull *Transiturus de hoc mundo* (1264), but died before the Bull could be distributed; it was reissued by Pope Clement V, with a brief introduction of his own, in 1311.

¹² Doubts about the historicity of Aquinas’ involvement have been set aside by recent scholarship: see Uwe Michael Lang *The Voice of the Church at Prayer: Reflections on liturgy and language* (San Francisco: Ignatius, 2012) p149 and note 33.

¹³ The surprisingly complicated history of the adoption of the feast is recounted by Lauren Pistas ‘The calendar and Corpus Christi’ in *The Genius of the Roman Rite: Historical, theological, and pastoral perspectives on Catholic liturgy* ed. Fr Uwe Michael Lang (Chicago, IL: Hillenbrand Books, 2010) pp159-178, pp170-172

¹⁴ In parts of Spain and Austria.

7. Similar considerations can be adduced for the other Holy Days, whose obligatory celebration is subject to removal when they fall on Monday or Saturday: see Appendix B.
8. Looking at the calendar as a whole, the timing of great feasts, whether they are fixed to the Easter cycle or to a particular date, can quickly become embedded in the consciousness of the Faithful, and indeed in mass-produced diaries, as landmarks of the year. As noted with the Feast of the Ascension, the distance of time between feasts, as well as their order, is important.
9. The ecumenical dimension should also be noted, since the traditional dates are shared in a great many cases by non-Catholic ecclesial communities, such as the Anglican Communion and in Lutheran communities, and by the Oriental Churches.¹⁵

Calendrical disruption

10. If, under Canon 1246, a feast is moved from one date to another, it creates a disruption to the rhythm of liturgical life on both dates. The original date either becomes a feria,¹⁶ which seems inappropriate, or the feast is celebrated without the obligation to attend Mass.¹⁷ In the latter case the feast loses the honour which is its due, and which the Church wishes to accord it, not only in terms of the obligation to attend Mass, but in terms of the special efforts which would otherwise be made to celebrate it with greater solemnity.
11. On the new date, the Sunday, the original liturgy of the day is displaced, and the sequence of Sundays is interrupted. It is worth noting the long-term policy of trimming the number of feasts and Octaves which would displace the Mass of a Sunday, particularly by Pope St Pius X and Pope Pius XII, and indeed in the liturgical reforms following the Second Vatican Council. The very ancient Sunday cycle of the Extraordinary Form¹⁸ relates in a systematic and progressive way to the liturgical seasons, and the greater appreciation of its richness was one of the Liturgical Movement's most notable achievements.¹⁹ Moving feasts onto Sundays is, from this point of view, a retrograde step.
12. In certain contexts the celebration of an important feast on the nearest Sunday can be beneficial, when the Faithful may find it difficult to attend Mass, or a more solemn

¹⁵ The celebration of the Ascension and Epiphany, on the traditional dates, is common to Anglicans, Lutherans, and the Oriental Churches (although some Lutherans, such as in Norway, have in recent times moved the celebration of Ascension to the following Sunday). The Feast of Corpus Christi can at least optionally be celebrated on its traditional date in the modern Anglican 'Book of Common Worship' (published in 2000). For the other feasts, see Appendix B.

¹⁶ As when feasts are moved to the nearest Sunday in the Ordinary Form.

¹⁷ As in the Extraordinary Form, or in the Ordinary Form when the obligation to attend Mass on a feast is suppressed, either always or because it falls on a Saturday or Monday.

¹⁸ The Sunday Gospels of the 1962 Missal largely correspond to the subjects of Pope St Gregory the Great's forty homilies on the Gospels, preached at Rome between 590 and 604. The collection indicates the dates of each sermon.

¹⁹ Pius Parsch gives an example, which we do not necessarily endorse, of the attitude of members of the Liturgical Movement: 'Pope Benedict XV placed the feast of the Holy Family on the Sunday within the octave [sc. of Epiphany], necessitating the transfer of the older and more meaningful Mass of the Sunday to a weekday. These various infringements on liturgical order and propriety may still be remedied as scholars and ecclesiastics become more familiar with and sympathetic to matters liturgical.' *The Church's Year of Grace* (English Edition: Collegeville, Minnesota, 1962) Vol. I p199.

celebration of Mass, or other appropriate devotions such as Corpus Christi processions, on the traditional day, but this is already possible at the discretion of the pastor under the rules of the 1962 Calendar.²⁰ This allows practice to follow local needs precisely—a sparsely populated rural parish may be in a different situation from a seminary, for example—and at the same time serves to emphasise that the traditional date has not been abandoned. Furthermore, where there is more than one Mass on a Sunday, all but one would be Masses of the Sunday.

The Importance of the Obligation

13. The duty to attend Mass on a Holy Day of Obligation is not absolute, and those for whom attendance would involve grave inconvenience are excused. Nevertheless, a formal obligation has important advantages.
14. First, it gives parish priests and school chaplains the opportunity to celebrate Mass in even only nominally Catholic schools. Since in day schools, and even in many boarding schools, pupils spend Sundays with their families, these celebrations are a precious opportunity for the school to worship together. In the case of pupils coming from non-practising families, it may be their only opportunity to experience the Church's liturgy celebrated with solemnity, or even at all.
15. Secondly, in many places it will give Catholic employees, students, and prisoners an important advantage in asking for special provision to be made to enable them to attend Mass, since arguments based on official religious obligations carry more weight than optional devotions: see Appendix C.
16. Thirdly, the number of Holy Days of Obligation is today so low in some places that there is a danger that the very notion of an obligation to attend Mass on a weekday is being lost.²¹ The attempt to make the obligation less onerous can paradoxically make the remaining obligation seem both arbitrary and harder to remember, and so harder to keep.²²
17. Finally, the obligation to keep a feast does not undermine the devotion with which a Catholic assists at Mass, but adds to it a conscious act of obedience, emphasising one's membership of and unity with the Church, engaging in an act of worship alongside Catholics all over the diocese, country, and indeed the world.

²⁰ An important feast can be celebrated as an 'External Solemnity' on a Sunday which is free, in the sense that no other more important feast falls on that day, and that Sunday is not itself a feast of greater importance. Corpus Christi processions have usually taken place on the Sunday following the Feast, except when the feast is a public holiday.

²¹ For example, in 2009 the feast of SS Peter & Paul (29th June) fell on a Monday; the feast of the Assumption (15th August) fell on a Saturday, and the feast of All Saints (1st November) fell on a Sunday. Since the Epiphany, Ascension, and Corpus Christi, are typically moved to Sundays whenever they fall, the result is that in some countries, such as England and Wales, the Faithful were obliged to attend Mass on only one day in the year other than on Sundays, namely the Nativity of Our Lord (25th December). Anecdotal evidence suggests that, in England and Wales, attendance at the remaining Holy Days of Obligation has fallen since Epiphany, the Ascension, and Corpus Christi were moved to Sundays in 2006, and Holy Days of Obligation are no longer always announced as such in parish newsletters.

²² A parallel case, with the Eucharistic Fast, is discussed in Positio 10: The Eucharistic Fast, see paragraph 16.

Conclusion

18. The reduction of the number of days of obligation is part of a widespread trend over many decades, of responding to falling Mass attendance and other difficulties by trying to make the practice of the Faith easier. While an understandable reaction, we believe this to be fundamentally misguided. The Church does not command the respect, or stimulate the zeal, of her children by asking less and less of them.²³ In the case of the Holy Days of obligation, the Church has imposed the obligation to attend Mass on certain days to emphasise the importance of some truth of the Faith, an event in life of Our Lord, or of some of her saints. When the obligation is removed the Church's exhortation to the Faithful to embrace the spiritual significance of these things is inevitably proclaimed with less urgency.
19. The example of St Peter's in Rome is of no small significance here, in maintaining the celebration of Holy Days on their traditional dates. Whereas there is certainly room for variation among local calendars, it is fitting within the Latin Rite that Catholics be able to celebrate these great feasts in union with the Universal Pastor, the Holy Father in St Peter's.

²³ As we noted in the paper on Positio 10, 'The Eucharistic Fast', it has been observed in sociological research that less demanding religions do not necessarily attract or retain more followers: see PP10 footnote 33, which refers and quotes Mark van Vugt and Anjana Ahuja 'Selected: Why some people lead, why others follow, and why it matters' (London: High Profile Books, 2010) p85.

Appendix A: Clarification from the PCED on Holy Days and the 1962 Calendar

Following the submission of a dubium by the Latin Mass Society, Monsignor Camille Perl, Vice President of the Pontifical Commission Ecclesia Dei, replied as follows, in a letter dated 20th October 2008, Protocol N. 107/97.

‘1. The legitimate use of the liturgical books in use in 1962 includes the right to the use of the calendar intrinsic to those liturgical books.

‘2. While in accordance with Canon 1246 §2 of the *Code of Canon Law* the Episcopal Conference can legitimately transfer Holydays of obligation with the approbation of the Holy See, it is also legitimate to celebrate the Mass and Office of those feasts on the days prescribed in the calendar of the liturgical books in use in 1962 with the clear understanding that, in accordance with the legitimate decision of the Episcopal Conference, there is no obligation to attend Mass on those days.

‘3. Thus, in accordance with nn. 356-361 of the *Rubricae Generales Missalis Romani* of 1962, it is appropriate to celebrate the external solemnity of Holy Days on the Sunday to which they have been transferred by the Episcopal Conference, as has been customary in many other countries hitherto.’

Appendix B: Six Ancient Holy Days

In addition to the three Holy Days commonly transferred to Sunday (Epiphany, Corpus Christi, and the Ascension), discussed in the body of the paper, and the Nativity of Our Lord, which is never transferred, there are six other feasts listed by Canon 1246 as Holy Days of Obligation, which are commonly either moved to Sunday, or celebrated without an obligation, if they fall on Saturday or Monday, in those countries where they are otherwise observed as Holy Days of Obligation, except in those happy cases where they are marked by public holidays. (Which feasts are of obligation varies for historical reasons between countries.)

The rationale for these practices is to avoid Holy Days of Obligation falling on consecutive days. It is hard, however, to see that the practical difficulties which this situation might imply are serious enough to warrant either the suppression of the Sunday liturgy, or the suppression of the obligation to attend Mass for an important feast the day before or after.²⁴ In any case, the practice of removing the obligation to attend Mass on Holy Days which fall on a Saturday or Monday seems preferable to the practice of moving the celebration of the feast entirely to Sunday, for the reasons already outlined, although this still considerably reduces the number of times there is an obligation to attend Mass other than on a Sunday. What we wish to stress is that the significance of the traditional dates is obscured by moving them even by a single day, particularly when they are linked to other feasts, or are celebrated in other countries, or by the Holy Father in St Peter’s. Again, in nearly every case the feasts are celebrated on the traditional date in the Anglican Communion and among many, if not all, Lutherans; in many cases it is also celebrated on that date among the Oriental Churches. This gives the use of the traditional date considerable ecumenical importance.

²⁴ A side issue is whether, since under Canon 1248 of the 1983 Code Masses on the evening before a Holy Day of Obligation fulfil the obligation to attend Mass on the following day, the Faithful could fulfil the obligation to attend Mass on two consecutive days by attending Mass on the evening of the first of the two. Canon 1248 does not appear to anticipate this problem, and authoritative clarification would be welcome.

The six Holy Days are as follows.

The Octave Day of Christmas (renamed **the Feast of Holy Mary the Mother of God** in the 1970 Calendar),²⁵ 1st January

Clearly an Octave cannot be celebrated on the seventh or ninth day, and moving it by a single day takes it off the secular New Year's Day. It is celebrated as the Feast of the Circumcision by the historic Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*,²⁶ and as 'The Naming and Circumcision of Jesus' in the modern Anglican *Common Worship*; it is also celebrated as the 'Circumcision' or the 'Name of Jesus' by some Lutherans.²⁷

The Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 8th December

This is exactly nine calendar months before the Feast of the Birthday of Mary, 8th September, and has been celebrated (formerly, as the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady) on this date in the West since the 11th century, when it entered the Western calendar by Eastern example in Norman Southern Italy. It spread to Normandy and England in the 12th century, and from there to the rest of Europe. It was made universal by the Council of Basel in 1439; a indulgence was granted in 1477 to those who adopted the feast and its Octave by Pope Sixtus IV, and it was made a day of obligation by Pope Clement XI in 1708. Pope Pius IX changed the name to 'the Immaculate Conception' in 1854. The connection with the Birthday of Our Lady is obscured if it is moved to 7th or 9th. The Feast of the 'Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary' is kept on 8th December in the Anglican Communion.²⁸

The Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, 15th August

This has been celebrated on that day since 6th century in the East, whence it spread to the West, probably at the end of the 7th century, under various names.²⁹ It is a public holiday in France,³⁰ Austria, many other European countries, and a number of countries in Latin America and Africa. It is also observed in the Anglican Communion,³¹ and by some Lutherans.³²

The Feast of St Joseph (Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary), 19th March

This is seven days before the Feast of the Annunciation (25th March); this connection is obscured if it is moved to the 18th or 20th. The custom of celebrating St Joseph's feast on this day dates back to the 10th century; it was adopted by Rome in 1479 and was made a Holy Day of Obligation in 1621. It is observed in the Anglican Communion,³³ and among some Lutherans.³⁴

The Feast of SS Peter & Paul, 29th June

²⁵ See note 4 above.

²⁶ The *Book of Common Prayer* remains in optional use among Anglicans. The 1662 Edition is the official one; a 1928 revision is also sometimes used, but its calendar is unchanged as far as the ten Holy Days are concerned.

²⁷ It is the 'Circumcision' in, for example, the Norwegian Lutheran church, and 'The Name of Jesus' in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America.

²⁸ In the *Book of Common Prayer* and in *Common Worship*.

²⁹ Such as the 'Dormitio', 'Pausatio', or 'Natale' (as in heavenly nativity).

³⁰ It is one of the four feasts established as public holidays in the Concordat of 1801.

³¹ Not in the *Book of Common Prayer*, but in *Common Worship*, under the name 'Feast of the Blessed Virgin Mary'.

³² By the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America, it is celebrated as 'Mary, Mother of Our Lord'.

³³ Again, in *Common Worship*, though not in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

³⁴ For example, in the USA the Evangelical Lutheran Church celebrates 'Joseph, Guardian of Jesus' on the traditional day.

This has particular significance for the Orthodox Churches, who celebrate it on this day, and a number of times it was the occasion for Bl. Pope John Paul II to officiate at services with the Patriarch of Constantinople. It is, according to tradition,³⁵ the day of the translation of the relics of these Apostles at Rome in the year 258, and was formerly celebrated in Rome with a splendour to rival Easter. In the 1962 Calendar it is preceded by a Vigil and followed by the Commemoration of St Paul. It is celebrated on this date in the Anglican Communion³⁶ and by many Lutherans.³⁷

The Feast of All Saints, 1st November

The celebration of a feast of All Saints on 1st November is attested from around the year 800. The commemoration of the Faithful Departed on the following day was initiated by Abbot Odilo of Cluny (d.1049). In 2010 1st November fell on a Monday, and so in many places All Saints was celebrated, in the Ordinary Form, on 31st October. Not only did this obscure the connection with All Souls' Day, but it meant that it was celebrated on the popularly recognised date of 'Halloween' (All Hallows' Eve). This is particularly unfortunate given the way Halloween has been widely adopted by neo-pagans. The triumph of the Saints over the spirits of Halloween was thus entirely obscured. All Saints is celebrated on 1st November in the Anglican Communion³⁸ and by many Lutheran communities.³⁹ It was one of the four feasts made public holidays in the French Concordat of 1801.

Appendix C: Holy Days and Rights Legislation

The right of religious freedom enshrined in international law, treaties, and national constitutions, typically creates a non-absolute right of religious believers to follow the teachings of their religion, most obviously in relation to worship. Since for practical purposes this right has often to be balanced against the convenience of others, it is natural for courts and others to give greater weight to the religious observances which are most important to the believer, and to look to official religious bodies for guidance as to which observances are really important. We will illustrate the point briefly with regard to two important jurisdictions: the United States of America, and England and Wales, subject as it is to the European Convention on Human Rights and the European Court of Human Rights.

In the Constitution of the United States of America, the First Amendment is as follows:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

³⁵ See Schuster op. cit., Volume V, p290. He adds that, far from wishing to celebrate it at a more convenient time, Pope St Leo the Great negotiated a suspension of the Vandals' fourteen-day sack of Rome in 455, to make its proper celebration possible. The currency of this story itself bears testimony to the veneration accorded to the feast.

³⁶ As 'St Peter the Apostle' in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and 'St Peter and St Paul' in *Common Worship*.

³⁷ It is celebrated as 'Peter and Paul, Apostles' by the Evangelical Lutheran Church of America. It is celebrated on a Sunday in the Norwegian Lutheran church.

³⁸ In both the *Book of Common Prayer* and *Common Worship*.

³⁹ Thus, in the Lutheran Church of America, though they can optionally celebrate it on the nearest Sunday, as is done by the Lutherans of Norway.

Since 1947 this obligation has been extended to the States, as well as the Federal Government.⁴⁰ A relevant precedent was set in 1963, that a Seventh Day Adventist should not be deprived of unemployment benefit on account of refusing to work on the Sabbath (Saturday).⁴¹ Under a Federal statute,⁴² the Federal Government must justify actions which ‘unduly burden acts of religion’ by a ‘compelling interest’, even if the action in question does not target religious practice.

In the European Convention on Human Rights, Article 9 reads as follows:

1. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief, in worship, teaching, practice and observance.
 2. Freedom to manifest one’s religion or beliefs shall be subject only to such limitations as are prescribed by law and are necessary in a democratic society in the interests of public safety, for the protection of public order, health or morals, or for the protection of the rights and freedoms of others.
- This applies not only to government bodies but private persons, such as employers. In applying this article, courts distinguish obligatory and non-obligatory ‘manifestations’ of a religion.

Thus, the English Courts have ruled that Sikhs have the right to wear the ‘Kara’, a bracelet,⁴³ and female Muslims a Hijab,⁴⁴ at school. In the latter case the Courts ruled explicitly that the Hijab can be considered as a ‘requirement’ of the Muslim faith. By contrast, a Christian who wished to wear a cross with her uniform lost her case against her employer.⁴⁵ The Courts based their decision, in part, on the fact that ‘there is no mandatory requirement of the Christian Faith that a Christian should wear a Crucifix.’⁴⁶ Again, in finding against a Marriage Registrar who refused to register same sex Civil Partnerships, the Court of Appeal based its decision in part on their finding that ‘her view of marriage, ...was not a core part of her religion.’⁴⁷ Though the factual basis of these findings can be questioned, the fact remains that Courts do take into account whether any particular practice of religion is a ‘requirement’ of the religion or is merely a personal religious practice.

For both the United States and England and Wales, and other jurisdictions with similar legal principles, it follows both from these legal considerations, and also from the more general culture which they foster, that attempts by the Church to make life easier for Catholics by minimising their obligations, or by making them more flexible, can have the paradoxical result that Catholics will find it harder to observe the practices in question. Furthermore, since the strongest obligations have the most chance of making a

⁴⁰ The precedent was set by the case *Everson v. Board of Education* in 1947.

⁴¹ *Sherbert v. Verner*, 1963

⁴² The Religious Freedom Restoration Act, 1993

⁴³ The dispute between a Sikh schoolgirl, Sarika Singh, and Aberdare Girls’ School in South Wales: *Watkins-Singh, R (on the application of) v Aberdare Girls’ High School & An or [2008] EWHC 1865(Admin)* (29 July 2008)

⁴⁴ *Begum v Denbigh High School [2006] UKHL 15*

⁴⁵ Nadia Eweida, who was sacked by British Airways for wearing a cross on her uniform in 2006, lost her Employment Tribunal and subsequent Appeal case, where she alleged Religious Discrimination and breach of Human Rights: *Eweida v British Airways Plc [2010] EWCA Civ 80* (12 February 2010). This decision was overturned by the European Court of Human Rights in 2013: *Eweida and Others v. The United Kingdom - HEJUD* [2013] ECHR 37 (15 January 2013).

⁴⁶ *Chaplin v Devon & Exeter NHS Trust, ET Case No: 1702886/2009*, and *Eweida v British Airways [2010] EWCA Civ 80*

⁴⁷ *Ladele v London Borough of Islington [2009] EWCA Civ 1357*

difference to the practices of large employers, schools, universities, and prisons, the less demanding the Church becomes, the less impact she can expect to have on public culture. For bishops' conferences to decide that a Holy Day of Obligation is no longer a day of obligation has secular legal implications for the Civil rights of Catholics, as well as arguably reducing the spiritual benefits of Holy Days, and their important role in stimulating and defending a distinctive and strong Catholic Culture.



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

***Positio* N. 14, PART I**

THE HOLY WEEK REFORM OF 1955, PART I:
GENERAL COMMENTS

FEBRUARY 2013

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgment of the Church.

The Holy Week Reform of 1955: General Comments: Abstract

The ceremonies of Holy Week found in the 1570 Roman Missal were the product of a long and complex development, but from then until the 1950s they remained substantially unchanged. The reform of 1955 involved a systematic abbreviation of the ceremonies, a revival of some obsolete elements, the insertion of some entirely novel ones, and changing the timing of the services. Each of these aspects of the reforms can be criticised, and there are also tensions between them, and these difficulties are the first part of a case for the optional use of the 1570 ceremonies by Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite. An examination of the reforms service by service will be undertaken in Part II.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 14: THE HOLY WEEK REFORM OF 1955, PART I: GENERAL COMMENTS

1. The liturgical books of 1962 include the Holy Week ceremonies as reformed in 1955. This reform has proved to be controversial, and there is a widespread desire among those attached to the Extraordinary Form that the earlier form of these rites, contained in the *Missale Romanum* of 1945, which is for practical purposes that of the Tridentine Missal of 1570, be allowed for optional use. We have no desire to impose upon anyone in this matter, however, and in particular we do not wish to add to the great practical difficulties presented, outside a monastery, seminary, or well-resourced parish dedicated to the Extraordinary Form, of celebrating Holy Week in full.
2. This paper, in its two parts, has the modest purpose of arguing that the case for the 1955 Reform is not irrefutable: rather, there is enough to be said for the 1570 services to acknowledge them as representing, in Pope Benedict XVI's words, 'riches which have grown up in the Church's life and prayer', which should be allowed some space in the Church's continuing liturgical life.¹ In this paper we wish to draw attention to some general, problematic, features of the 1955 reform; in part II we will examine the individual services in a little more detail.

The Motivation for the 1955 Reform

3. The motivation of the reform was the characteristic desire of the Liturgical Movement,² that the Church's liturgical riches be experienced by greater numbers of the Faithful,³ the focus of whose devotion had shifted to paraliturgical services (see appendix).
4. The limited musical resources, and the limited availability of clergy, prevented many small or even medium-sized parishes from presenting the services with the splendour which would be ideal.⁴ It would be too simple, however, to say that they were entirely neglected by the Faithful prior to the 1950s.
5. First, Catholics were under an obligation to attend the principal services of the Triduum until 1642.⁵
6. Secondly, there are a number of indications that at least some of the ceremonies and liturgical ideas caught the popular imagination. The 'Creeping to the Cross' on Good

¹ We wish to leave to one side, in this paper, the question of the Prayer for the Jews in the Good Friday Liturgy, which was not changed in 1955, but was changed in 1962 and again in 2007. This does not affect the comparison of the merits of the 1570 and 1955 versions of the Holy Week ceremonies.

² See *Positio 2: Liturgical Piety and Participation*

³ The Sacred Congregation for Rites decree *Maxima redemptionis nostrae mysteria* (1955) lamented the celebration of the Sacred Triduum 'by clerics alone, in an almost deserted church'.

⁴ Pope Benedict XIII's *Memoriale Rituum* of 1725 sets out the rites and what is needed to perform them in small parochial churches, where there would not be additional sacred ministers.

⁵ The change was made by Pope Urban VIII, in the Apostolic Constitution *Universa per Orbem* (1642).

Friday, for example, described with enthusiasm by William Langland in the 14th century,⁶ was apparently well attended in France in 1915 when witnessed by the English Poet Wilfred Owen.⁷ Again, there were a number of paraliturgical devotions which referred closely to the liturgy of Holy Week, notably the Easter Sepulchre, where the Blessed Sacrament was reposed on Good Friday in Medieval England,⁸ and in some parts of Europe (notably Germany and Poland) until the Second Vatican Council. Finally, Bl. Ildefonso Schuster notes the popular devotion to particles of the candles of the reed (the *triplex candela coniuncta*, or trikirion) used in the Easter Vigil, in Italy in the early 20th century.⁹ (Paraliturgical devotions are considered again in the Appendix.)

7. Thirdly, the liturgy of Holy Week was attended in full, with great edification, not only by religious, but at Holy Week retreats for the Faithful in monasteries.¹⁰ For those attending these popular events, such as the novelist Evelyn Waugh, this was an intense spiritual experience, and Waugh wrote that the reforms marred them.¹¹ The ceremonies were certainly not in vain if they fed the spiritual lives and liturgical imaginations of some Catholics.

⁶ It was suppressed after the English Reformation only with great difficulty. Duffy quotes Edmund Grindal, Queen Elizabeth's second Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining about the continuing devotion: *ibid.* p29

⁷ Owen left a record in his poem 'Maundy Thursday': the title reflecting his liturgical ignorance. He describes the veneration of the Cross by the men, the women, and the children of the parish. It seems likely he witnessed the service at Mérignac near Bordeaux, where he was staying with a French family. See *The Poems of Wilfrid Owen* edited by Jon Stallworthy (London: Chatto & Windus, 1990) pxxiii and p86.

⁸ See Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400-c.1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) pp31-37.

⁹ 'Even in our own days, in many parts of Italy, the people still have a great devotion for the particles, no longer of the Paschal candles, but of the tapers of the *Lumen Christi*, which they enclose in little bags of silk and hang round the necks of the children.' Bl. Ildefonso Schuster *'The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): historical and liturgical notes on the Roman Missal'* (English Edition; London: Burns Oates, 1925) Vol. II p286

¹⁰ Such retreats continue, in fact, to take place, both in monasteries devoted to the Extraordinary Form, notably in France, and in monasteries using the Ordinary Form.

¹¹ Writing in *The Spectator* in 1962, Waugh wrote: 'During the last few years we have experienced the triumph of the 'liturgists' in the new arrangement of the services for the end of Holy Week and for Easter. For centuries these had been enriched by devotions which were dear to the laity—the anticipation of the morning office of Tenebrae, the vigil at the Altar of Repose, the Mass of the Presanctified. It was not how the Christians of the second century observed the season. It was the organic growth of the needs of the people. Not all Catholics were able to avail themselves of the services but hundreds did, going to live in or near the monastic houses and making an annual retreat which began with Tenebrae on Wednesday afternoon and ended about midday on Saturday with the anticipated Easter Mass. During those three days time was conveniently apportioned between the rites of the Church and the discourses of the priest taking the retreat, with little temptation to distraction. Now nothing happens before Thursday evening. All Friday morning is empty. There is an hour or so in church on Friday afternoon. The Easter Mass is sung at midnight to a weary congregation who are constrained to 'renew their baptismal vows' in the vernacular and later repair to bed. The significance of Easter as a feast of dawn is quite lost, as is the unique character of Christmas as the Holy Night. I have noticed in the monastery I frequent a marked falling-off in the number of retreatants since the innovations or, as the liturgists prefer to call them, the restorations. It may well be that these services are nearer to the practice of primitive Christianity, but the Church rejoices in the development of dogma; why does it not also admit the development of liturgy?' See Scott Reid, ed., *A Bitter Trial: Evelyn Waugh and John Carmel Cardinal Heenan on the liturgical changes* (London: St Austin Press, 1996) pp24-25

The Methodology of the 1955 Reform

8. The reformers favoured earlier and simpler, over later, versions of rites,¹² despite the condemnation of antiquarianism only a few years earlier by Pope Pius XII in *Mediator Dei*,¹³ and the inevitable limitations of evidence and scholarship.¹⁴ But the reformers simultaneously added historically unprecedented elements, which were thought likely to appeal to the people, or to emphasise a theological point, such as the Renewal of Baptismal Promises in the Easter Vigil, or the carrying of the Paschal Candle in procession. The former was condemned by the liturgical scholar Dom Bernard Capelle, despite his association with the movement for reform.¹⁵ The objective tradition, the liturgy as it has in fact come down to us, as complex and seemingly illogical as any great work of art, can be damaged by both archaeological and innovative tendencies.
9. The reform tended to reduce the length of the ceremonies, most notably reducing the number of readings used in the Easter Vigil.¹⁶ Again, there were simplifications, such as the abolition of the folded chasuble, an ancient feature of the Roman liturgy in penitential seasons. However, new things were added which were thought to be of pastoral value, such as the reception of Communion on Good Friday, and efforts were made to emphasise certain favoured features, such the Palm Sunday procession.¹⁷

¹² As well as some examples mentioned below the final *Miserere* in the Office of Tenebrae, which had been used continuously since the 12th century, was lost in the reform for being 'late', and duplicating an earlier recitation. This *Miserere* was the inspiration for one of the most well-known pieces of sacred music in the Western repertoire, Gregorio Allegri's *Miserere*, composed in the 1630s.

¹³ Encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) 61: 'The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savour and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world. They are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.' ('Utique vetustae aetatis Liturgia veneratione procul dubio digna est; verumtamen vetus usus, non ideo dumtaxat quod antiquitatem sapit ac redolet, aptior ac melior existimandus est vel in semet ipso, vel ad consequentia tempora novasque rerum condiciones quod attinet. Recentiores etiam liturgici ritus reverentia observantiaque digni sunt, quoniam Spiritus Sancti afflatu, qui quovis tempore Ecclesiae adest ad consummationem usque saeculorum (cfr. *Matth.* 28, 20), orti sunt; suntque iidem pariter opes, quibus inclita Iesu Christi Sponsa utitur ad hominum sanctitatem excitandam procurandamque.')

¹⁴ For example, in the 1955 reform the colour of the vestments during the Blessing of Palms was changed from violet to red, because it was believed that this was the authentic, ancient, colour. In fact violet had anciently been used in the Roman Rite, and the change had no justification. See Philip Goddard *Festa Paschalia: A history of the Holy Week liturgy in the Roman Rite* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2011) p285, note 9.

¹⁵ He wrote: 'There is no need for the introduction of this innovation... To ensure that the task of reforming the liturgy achieves its intended object, it is necessary that it be informed by the desire to return in a wise and discreet manner to its purer origins. It would therefore be highly inopportune to introduce rites which are not only not approved by long tradition, but are entirely novel. It is particularly intolerable when the liturgies into which they are introduced are the most ancient and sacred.' Quoted in English translation by Goddard *op. cit.* p284, and in the original Latin by Alcuin Reid *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* (2nd Edition: San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), p176, note 103.

¹⁶ Other examples include the abolition of the Asperges, Preparatory Prayers, and Last Gospel, and the *Missa sicca* at the blessing of palms, on Palm Sunday; the Mass of the Presanctified was also heavily cut down. The Psalm Iudica (Ps 42) was removed from the Preparatory Prayers during Passion Week and Holy Week. Cardinal Antonelli, who was in charge of the reform, explained that one of the goals was 'to abbreviate': see Reid *Organic Development* p173 and note 87, quoting Giampietro Cardinal Ferdinando Antonelli pp24-6.

¹⁷ 'Major changes were made to the rite of blessing the palms and the subsequent procession. These changes were driven by the desire to transfer the focus of the rite from the former to the latter.' Goddard, *op. cit.* p266.

10. This raises the general difficulty that, having shortened and simplified the liturgy to draw people into a fuller appreciation of the liturgy, there is less to appreciate. Similarly, replacing ancient and perhaps mysterious ceremonies, with newly invented easy-to-understand ones, risks losing forever the chance for people, including liturgical scholars, to grow in understanding. It also assumes, falsely, that somewhat opaque symbolism has less effect on the Faithful.¹⁸ It is better, as many members of the Liturgical Movement argued, to educate the Faithful to appreciate the riches of the liturgy in their entirety.¹⁹ It might be added also, that the Faithful need not necessarily be expected to attend every service every year.

The Timing of the Ceremonies

11. One of the most striking changes made by the reform was to the timing of the services. In the 1570 Missal the services are to be celebrated at the standard time for Lenten Masses, after None (9am). In origin the Easter Vigil had been celebrated during the night,²⁰ the Mass of the Lord's Supper on Holy Thursday in the evening (in memory of the Last Supper),²¹ and the Mass of the Presanctified, on Good Friday, at the time of the Crucifixion, in the afternoon.²² At the same time, Tenebrae (Matins and Lauds), originally celebrated during the night (starting at midnight), came to be celebrated on the evening of the day before. The process of anticipation, complete by 1570, began in the 10th century. The tendency to celebrate the Holy Week services earlier in the day can be also be seen in the Eastern Churches.
12. In assessing this, it should be noted, first, that the celebration of these services, outside the ideal conditions of a monastery, seminary or parish dedicated to the Extraordinary Form, frequently has to make do with times when churches and sacred ministers are available, and it would be a pastoral mistake, at the present juncture, to be too prescriptive.

¹⁸ 'The notion that the more intelligible the sign, the more effectively it will enter the lives of the faithful is implausible to the sociological imagination. ...a certain opacity is essential to symbolic action in the sociologists' account...' Fr Aidan Nichols *Looking at the Liturgy: a critical view of its contemporary form* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p61.

¹⁹ A representative of this attitude was Fr Hans Anscar Reinhold, who wrote as follows in 1947: 'The modern Liturgical Movement is obedient, orthodox, modest. The *first thing* it demands is that all of us, we ourselves, perform the Liturgy as it is in the books and conform to it. Self reform and perfection. In the *second place* we expect this to open our eyes to niceties and rediscoveries that will transform our thinking into greater dogmatic correctness, proportionality and joy. The *third thing* will be to see the Liturgy restored to simplicity and originality. Only in the *fourth degree* will we prostrate ourselves at the feet of the Holy Father and ask for reforms.' Quoted in Reid, *Organic Development* p141-2.

²⁰ Or, as it is sometimes described, the 'morning', which is to say the early morning before dawn.

²¹ In Rome, the Pope would celebrate a single Mass at noon, in which he blessed the oils, while in the rest of the city (whose liturgy is preserved in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary) three Masses were celebrated: a morning Mass with the reconciliation of penitents, a chrisom Mass at noon, and an evening *Missa in Coena Domini ad sero*. However it was the papal ('Gregorian') books which were adopted, with additions, in Alcuin's reform of the Frankish liturgy under Charlemagne, and it was this reform which found its way back to Rome in later centuries. So the Maundy Thursday Mass of the 1570 Missal derives ultimately from the noon Mass of the Pope, rather than the ancient evening Mass of the day. See Goddard p134.

²² In the Old Gelasian tradition, in the 8th century, it is celebrated at 3pm; in the 12th century Pontifical it is celebrated at noon, which is given in the 1474 *Missale Romanum*; celebration in the morning developed later. See Goddard pp173.

13. Secondly, it must be observed that the tendency to anticipate the Vigil has strongly reasserted itself since 1970. The reality is that for many Catholics, particularly those with small children or those (such as many attached to the Extraordinary Form) who have to travel any distance to attend the service, a service starting at Midnight and ending after 2am is neither attractive nor practicable. It is also usually regarded as incompatible with attendance at the Mass of Easter Day. A late-night vigil is clearly not ideal from the point of view of encouraging attendance at as many of these important services as possible.
14. Thirdly, Tenebrae are very moving liturgies of the night or evening, with a highly effective use of the symbolism of light and darkness. In the reform they are to be celebrated in the mornings, to make way for the principal services;²³ this is little short of a disaster.
15. Finally, as with so much in the history of the liturgy, symbolic meaning came to be attached to the timing of the liturgies, and this symbolism can still speak to us today. As Pope Benedict XVI has written:
- The day on which I was baptized, as I said, was Holy Saturday. At that time [1927], the practice was still that of anticipating Easter Vigil on the morning, after which the gloom of Holy Saturday continued, without the Alleluia. It seems to me that this peculiar paradox, this peculiar anticipation of the light on a dark day, could be almost an image of history in our time. On one hand, there is still the silence of God and of his absence, but, in the Resurrection of Christ, there is already the anticipation of God's 'yes', and we live based on this anticipation, and, through the silence of God, we feel his words, and, through the darkness of his absence, we foresee his light. The anticipation of the Resurrection amidst a history that goes on is the strength that shows us the path and helps us move forward.²⁴

Conclusion

16. The reform, which began experimentally in 1951²⁵ and concluded in 1955,²⁶ led to an increased interest in the ceremonies, and higher attendance. To what extent this resulted from the novelty of the reformed services, the vigorous promotion of them by the advocates of the reform, and by bishops and priests urged to publicise them, or the change of the timing of the services, is impossible to say, and the long-term effects were prevented from manifesting themselves by the new wave of liturgical changes which began in 1964. There were reports of declining numbers at Easter Vigil as early as 1955,²⁷ and a number of

²³ Paschal Matins, which was celebrated on Holy Saturday evening at the first Office of Easter, was abolished altogether: on this see *Positio 14 Part II*, §12.

²⁴ Pope Benedict XVI: *Homily, Thanksgiving birthday Mass*, April 16, 2012

²⁵ The experimental Easter Vigil, in what was substantially the form approved in 1955, was allowed at the new, nocturnal, times from 1951 by the decree *Dominicae Resurrectionis vigiliam*, 9th February 1951, not long before Easter itself. Reid notes that the Ordo, necessary for the reformed service, was published less than a month before Easter, which fell that year on 25th March. (Reid *Organic Development* p172, note 80)

²⁶ The *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus*, commenting officially on the changes, was published in 1956, although the texts had been available earlier. The final version of the reformed Holy Week contained some revisions to the experimental Easter Vigil and reformed versions of the other ceremonies of Holy Week, and made all of these obligatory.

²⁷ Fr John Coyne, Rector of the Seminary of Oscott, England, commented in 1955: 'Now that the novelty is wearing off, parishes in many areas report dwindling congregations. In many places, also, the Easter Vigil congregation has never approached in numbers that of the Christmas midnight Mass. Nor has the new service

bishops complained of the practical difficulties of the Vigil,²⁸ notably the exhaustion of clergy who were expected to hear confessions all day and start a lengthy and demanding service late at night.²⁹ The final and obligatory reform of 1955 was vigorously opposed by some bishops, notably Archbishop McQuaid of Dublin and Cardinal Spellman of New York.³⁰

17. The controversy the reform caused at the time has not gone away. Its effect on individual services will be examined in Part II.

always been adopted where we might most have expected to find it. In Westminster Cathedral, for example, it was not in use till 1955. Saint Peter's, Rome, has still to abandon the morning service.' Quoted in Reid, *Organic Development* p222. See also Evelyn Waugh's report of declining numbers at the Downside Easter retreat, writing in 1962, quoted in note 11.

²⁸ Bishops sending in negative reports about the experimental use of the reformed Holy Week services include Mgr Felice Bonomini, Bishop of Como; Cardinal Siri, Archbishop of Genoa; and Mgr Cornelio Cuccarollo, Archbishop of Otranto. See Reid *ibid.* p222, note 270.

²⁹ This problem was noted by the official report into the experiment, a *Positio* composed by Cardinal Antonelli and published by the Sacred Congregation for Rites in 1955. See Reid *ibid.* pp221-2, and note 269.

³⁰ See Reid *ibid.* p231.

Appendix: the Triduum and Paraliturgical Devotions

Members of the Liturgical Movement liked to emphasise the superiority of the liturgy, the public prayer of the Church, over paraliturgical ('popular') devotions. This concern is reflected in the words of the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 13:

13. Popular devotions of the Christian people are to be highly commended, provided they accord with the laws and norms of the Church, above all when they are ordered by the Apostolic See.

Devotions proper to individual Churches also have a special dignity if they are undertaken by mandate of the bishops according to customs or books lawfully approved.

But these devotions should be so drawn up that they harmonize with the liturgical seasons, accord with the sacred liturgy, are in some fashion derived from it, and lead the people to it, since, in fact, the liturgy by its very nature far surpasses any of them.³¹

Before the 1955 reform, there were a number of paraliturgical devotions which, while varying from place to place, were often very well attended, and customarily took place in the time left between the services. Thus, the time on Maundy Thursday, between Mass in the morning and Tenebrae in the evening, was used for watching by the Altar of Repose. Out of this grew the practice, particularly in cities, of the 'Seven Altars': visiting seven Altars of Repose, to pray before each. On Good Friday, again, the time between the Mass of the Presanctified in the morning, and Tenebrae in the evening, was used for the very widespread devotion of the Stations of the Cross. This was celebrated publicly, with a degree of solemnity (led by a priest vested in a surplice and perhaps cope, and perhaps accompanied by acolytes with a Processional Cross and torches). In addition, in some places there was a series of sermons on the Seven Last Words. Linking the liturgy of Good Friday with the Easter Vigil was the practise, widespread in the Middle Ages, and still practiced in some countries, of the Easter Sepulchre.

These devotions both harmonise with the liturgical season and derive from the liturgy; they are therefore highly commendable, and their popularity is evidence of their importance for the spiritual lives of the Faithful. It might be regrettable that relatively few attended the Mass of the Presanctified before 1955, but it is not regrettable that so many attended the Stations of the Cross on Good Friday. They were not mutually exclusive.

One of the effects of the changes to the timings of the Triduum liturgies was that the times traditionally given over to these devotions on the afternoons of Maundy Thursday and Good Friday ceased to be available. While it would theoretically be possible to celebrate them at other times, these are not so appropriate or convenient, and in practice the devotions disappeared from Catholic life, a great impoverishment of Catholic spirituality.

³¹ Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 13: 'Pia populi christiani exercitia, dummodo legibus et normis Ecclesiae conformia sint, valde commendantur, praesertim cum de mandato Apostolicae Sedis fiunt.

'Speciali quoque dignitate gaudent sacra Ecclesiarum particularium exercitia, quae de mandato Episcoporum celebrantur, secundum consuetudines aut libros legitime approbatos.

'Ita vero, ratione habita temporum liturgicorum, eadem exercitia ordinentur oportet, ut sacrae Liturgiae congruant, ab ea quodammodo deriventur, ad eam populum manuducant, utpote quae natura sua iisdem longe antecellat.'



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

***Positio* N. 14, PART II**

THE HOLY WEEK REFORM OF 1955:
THE LITURGIES

APRIL 2013

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Holy Week Reform of 1955: The Liturgies: Abstract

Positio 14, Part I, dealt with some general aspects of the 1955 Holy Week reform; Part II offers a brief examination of the reforms service by service. The most important changes were made to the Easter Vigil, notably the complete remodelling of the blessing of the Easter Candle and the reduction in the number of readings. Important changes were also made to Palm Sunday (notably, cutting the number of blessings of the palms), and Good Friday (the ‘Mass of the Presanctified’ was heavily cut down). In conclusion, the 1570 form of the liturgies have value and importance, and it is difficult to see why they should not be allowed to continue to be used in the Church’s living liturgy. An appendix lists some changes made in 1955 which appear to have anticipated changes to the rest of the Missal, which did not always happen; this creates a tension in the 1962 Missal.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 14: THE HOLY WEEK REFORM OF 1955. PART II: THE LITURGIES

1. The history of the Holy Week ceremonies is extremely complex, and is characterized by the mutual influence of Roman and Gallican customs, and indeed Oriental liturgies. The Missal of 1570, however, ushered in a period of stability which ended only in the 1950s, and thus deserves to be regarded as ‘classical’, in the sense of a natural point of reference in the history of the ceremonies. It was experienced by the saints and doctors of this long period of time, and to a greater or lesser extent at earlier periods, and fed their understanding of the mysteries of Holy Week. Having addressed the general principles of the 1955 reform in Part I, Part II will examine in a little more detail some notable features of the 1570 ceremonies, which were suppressed or changed in 1955.
2. **Palm Sunday:** The blessing of the palms in the 1570 rite was preceded by a *missa sicca*, the only surviving example in the Roman Missal of a rite commonly celebrated in the Middle Ages;¹ this was suppressed in 1955. The eight lengthy prayers of blessing, one of them in the form of a Preface, complete with *Sanctus*, which are of great beauty and create a deeply impressive whole, were greatly reduced in 1955. The palms are blessed in the 1955 service on a temporary free-standing table to increase the visibility of the ceremony; this reflects the priorities of the time, of visibility over solemnity.² The popular late-medieval ritual, at the solemn entrance of the procession into the church, of banging the door with the foot of the processional cross, was also abolished in 1955.³
3. The reading of St. Matthew’s Passion at Mass was shortened by omitting the accounts of the supper in the house of Simon the Leper and of the Last Supper, a change which was also applied to the readings of St. Mark’s and St. Luke’s Passion on the Tuesday and Wednesday (respectively) of Holy Week. This had the effect of depriving the Holy Week liturgy—and indeed the 1962 Missal as a whole—of all the synoptic accounts of the Last Supper. This was widely acknowledged to have been a mistake, and was partially reversed in the 1970 reform.
4. **Maundy Thursday:** although it does not affect parish celebrations, it should be noted that the creation of a separate service for the blessing of oils in 1955 was an ‘archaeological’ attempt to recreate a service which had not been celebrated for many centuries. To accomplish this, a number of new liturgical texts had to be composed.⁴
5. The *Mandatum* (washing of feet), had taken place after the end of the Mass, after the Stripping of the Altars, since the earliest time of its incorporation into the Maundy Thursday Mass;⁵ its recommended transfer in 1955 to after the sermon has no

¹ Philip Goddard *Festa Paschalia: A history of the Holy Week liturgy in the Roman Rite* (Leominster: Gracewing, 2011) p266

² See Positio 4: Liturgical Orientation

³ Goddard *op. cit.* p268

⁴ The surviving texts were found in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary, dating from the 8th century.

⁵ In the 12th century Pontifical: see Goddard *op. cit.* p153.

precedent.⁶ The specification of the choir as the location of the ceremony raises a problem for the use of lay men.⁷

6. **Good Friday:** The impressive, late medieval ceremonial surrounding the procession from the Altar of Repose to the main altar and the Mass of the Presanctified,⁸ was suppressed in 1955; following the reform the procession takes place in silence, and the Communion Rite itself comprises little more than the recital of the *Pater Noster* and its embolism. The recitation of the *Pater Noster* with the Faithful has no precedent, and becomes an anomaly in relation to the way it is said the rest of the year (see the Appendix).

7. Part of the motivation for the suppression of many prayers in the Mass of the Presanctified was that their references to 'sacrifice' seemed, to the reformers, to be inappropriate, since there was no Eucharistic Sacrifice. However, Blessed Ildefonso Schuster notes, in his discussion of the Mass of the Presanctified:

Today, as a sign of mourning, the offering of the eucharistic sacrifice is omitted. Instead we offer to God the merit of the bloody sacrifice of Calvary, with which we associate ourselves through humiliation and contrition of heart. Turning towards the people [the priest] says: "Brethren, pray that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father almighty."⁹

This is, indeed, a kind of sacrifice present in every Mass. We may speak of a distinct sacrifice offered by the Faithful in the *Orate fratres*,¹⁰ and also the 'sacrifice of praise' referred to in the *Memento* of the Roman Canon.¹¹

8. The reformers' suspicion of this feature of the Mass of the Presanctified raises a general problem with their methodology. While it is true that the *Orate fratres* and similar prayers from the Mass were not in the oldest versions of the Good Friday liturgy, dating instead from the 12th century,¹² it seems remarkable that the reformers should say that public prayers of the Church, said continuously for eight centuries (even if not universally), and included in the Missal published following the Council of Trent, should be theologically defective, particularly since, as Schuster illustrates, they are

⁶ In its origins in the setting of monastic or cathedral communities, it took place in another building, such as the chapter house.

⁷ Before 1955 the Missal did not specify the location, and the use of the nave would be appropriate when the feet of lay men are washed, necessitating the removal and replacement of shoes and socks. It is interesting to note that the putting on and taking off of liturgical slippers by bishops in the sanctuary was forbidden by the Sacred Congregation for Rites, in a decree of 4th December 1952: they were to be put on only in the sacristy.

⁸ The elaboration of the ceremony took place largely in the 12th century: see Goddard *op. cit.* pp184-9

⁹ Schuster, Volume II, p221

¹⁰ 'Orate fratres, ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem omnipotentem.' ('Pray brethren, that my Sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father Almighty.')

¹¹ The Commemoration of the Living: 'qui tibi offerunt hoc sacrificium laudis' ('who offer up to thee this sacrifice of praise'). As with many liturgical texts, other interpretations may be possible, and need not be mutually exclusive.

¹² To be exact, the prayer *In spiritu humilitatis*, with its reference to sacrifice, appeared in the Good Friday liturgy in the 12th century, and the *Orate fratres* and *Dirigatur Domine* in the 13th: see Goddard *op. cit.* pp186-7.

patient of a perfectly reasonable interpretation. Such an attitude seems incompatible with Pope Pius XII's words in his encyclical *Mediator Dei*:

Clearly no sincere Catholic can refuse to accept the formulation of Christian doctrine more recently elaborated and proclaimed as dogmas by the Church, under the inspiration and guidance of the Holy Spirit with abundant fruit for souls, because it pleases him to hark back to the old formulas. No more can any Catholic in his right senses repudiate existing legislation of the Church to revert to prescriptions based on the earliest sources of canon law. Just as obviously unwise and mistaken is the zeal of one who in matters liturgical would go back to the rites and usage of antiquity, discarding the new patterns introduced by disposition of divine Providence to meet the changes of circumstances and situation.¹³

9. **The Easter Vigil:** The three prayers of blessing of the new fire were replaced by a single blessing, and the ceremonies surrounding the Paschal Candle were entirely remodelled, using freshly composed texts and ceremonies. Neither the claim by the reformers that the carrying of the Paschal Candle only ceased because of the increase in its size, nor that the triple reed (the *trikirion*) originated in the threefold *Lumen Christi*, is historically correct.¹⁴ The disappearance of the reed itself is regrettable, since it is a striking example of the influence of Oriental liturgies.¹⁵
10. The 1955 revision rendered impossible the *Exsultet*'s historical role of blessing of the candle. Instead, the prayer *Veniat ergo quaesumus*, which for many centuries had functioned as a blessing of the grains of incense, was made a blessing of the candle by inserting the word 'cereum' ('wax').¹⁶ The *Exsultet*'s reference to the 'sacrifice of incense' had been linked to the insertion of the grains of incense since the 12th

¹³ Pope Pius XII Encyclical *Mediator Dei* 63: 'Quemadmodum enim e catholicis cordatus nemo, eo consilio ductus ut ad veteres revertat formulas, a prioribus Conciliis adhibitas, illas respuere potest de christiana doctrina sententias quas Ecclesia, adspirante moderanteque divino Spiritu, recentiore aetate, ubere cum fructu, composuit retinendasque decrevi itemque quemadmodum e catholicis cordatus nemo vigent leges repudiare potest, ut ad praescripta regrediatur, quae antiquissimis hauriantur canonici iuris fontibus; ita pari modo, cum de sacra Liturgia agitur, qui ad antiquos redire ritus consuetudinesque velit, novas repudiando normas, quae ex providentis Dei consilio ob mutatas rerum condiciones fuere inducte non is procul dubio, ut facile cernere est, sapienti rectoque movetur studio.'

¹⁴ There are historical precedents for the carrying of the candle, but in no case was it both lit and blessed before being placed in the sanctuary; more usually it was in the sanctuary from the start: see Goddard *op. cit.* pp221-223, p281; in more detail see A. J. MacGregor *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum* (Alcuin Club Collection, 1992), pp327-338 and 390-396.

¹⁵ On the origin of the reed see Goddard *op. cit.* p221, and MacGregor *op. cit.* pp266-276.

¹⁶ As an alternative to the *Exsultet*, the Old Gelasian Sacramentary (c.740) contains a prayer of blessing for the Paschal Candle beginning *Deus mundi conditor*. The final paragraph of this prayer, *Veniat ergo quaesumus*, survived in later Roman Pontificals as a blessing of the incense alone; the *Exsultet* being included under the heading 'Benedictio cerei'. See also László Dobszay 'The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite') (London: T&T Clark, 2010) p255 and note 54.

century;¹⁷ the similar association of the following words, with the lighting of the candle itself and the lighting of the other lamps, was also lost.¹⁸

11. The extremely ancient set of twelve Old Testament readings in the older liturgy was replaced with a set of four,¹⁹ changing the balance of elements in the service considerably: they no longer function as a vigil in the strict sense, a time of watching and waiting. The reformers themselves expressed some regret about the change; as Adrian Fortescue says, the full twelve readings ‘form a wonderful account of God’s dealings with his people before Christ came’.²⁰ The 1970 Missal restored a much fuller set of readings, at least as an option.
12. The Blessing of the Font was moved, in 1955, from the Baptistry to the Sanctuary,²¹ where it could be seen by the people, though this has often necessitated the use of a common bucket for the holy water. The 1970 Missal restored the blessing to the font.
13. **Paschal Matins and Lauds**, which was celebrated on the evening of Holy Saturday after Compline (the Vigil having been celebrated in the morning), a service dating from the 8th century and having considerable historical importance,²² was abolished in 1955. These were significant as the first services of Easter Sunday, marking the end of Lent. Much of the contents of these services have been re-used for Matins of Easter Monday in the 1970 *Liturgy of the Hours*, and Easter Sunday Lauds in the 2005 *Antiphonale Monasticum*.
14. **The Vigil of Pentecost**: the parallel of this day with the Easter Vigil was abolished. This seems an important loss of liturgical richness with no clear compensating good.

Conclusion

15. With the perspective of more than half a century, the nature of the reform as conditioned by the concerns of the day is very striking. These concerns had already, to a large

¹⁷ In Rome, from the 12th century until the reform of 1955, the incense was embedded in the candle during the singing of the *Exsultet*, at the words ‘Suscipe sancte pater incensi huius sacrificium’ (‘receive, O holy Father, the evening sacrifice of this incense’): see Goddard *ibid.* p219. This break in the singing of the *Exsultet* was also useful for the deacon singing what is otherwise an exceptionally demanding piece.

¹⁸ The words ‘quam in honorem Dei rutilans ignis accendit’ ([the candle] which the bright fire lights for the Glory of God’) were linked to the lighting of the candle; the words ‘Qui licet sit divisus in partes’ (‘Which [light] though now divided’) to the lighting of the other lamps.

¹⁹ The origins and development of rival, but mutually influential, systems of readings for the Easter Vigil is a complex one. The twelve reading arrangement was adopted in Rome around the year 1000, from the 8th century Gallican ‘Gelasian Sacramentary’, which itself corresponds to the system used in 5th century Jerusalem, half of the readings being in fact the same passages of Scripture. This Gelasian system was used in Gaul, but had originated as the presbyteral rite of Rome. By contrast, the ‘Gregorian’ system, which originated as the Papal rite used at the Lateran in Rome, had only four readings. See Goddard *op. cit.* pp224-231. It is worth noting that the equivalent service in the Byzantine liturgy has fifteen prophecies, with a large overlap in content with the 1570 Easter Vigil.

²⁰ Adrian Fortescue ‘Holy Week’ (London: Burns Oates & Washbourne: 1951) p. xxviii

²¹ Except for churches which had a separate Baptistry.

²² They contain the exchange between the Angels and the Women, ‘Quem quaeritis’ (‘Whom do you seek?’) which formed the basis of the great tradition of Medieval Easter plays.

extent, been overtaken by others only a decade later, when the 1970 Missal began to be prepared, and far from standing the test of time, the 1955 Holy Week was, for the most part, swept away. Indeed, as noted above, in some cases the 1970 Missal made concessions to criticisms levelled against the 1955 reform. It is not surprising that many attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition do not wish to view it through the lens of the first half of the 1950s: while every era may have a legitimate influence on the organic development of the liturgy, the 1955 reform of Holy Week includes a series of radical changes of what had been unchanged for four centuries.

16. Given the historical importance of the ceremonies of the 1570 Missal, it is hard to see, in the context of the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, why they should not be permitted for the edification of the Faithful, in continuity with so many generations of their predecessors.

What earlier generations held as sacred, remains sacred and great for us too, and it cannot be all of a sudden entirely forbidden or even considered harmful. It behoves all of us to preserve the riches which have developed in the Church's faith and prayer, and to give them their proper place.²³

²³ Pope Benedict XVI: Letter to Bishops accompanying the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum*.

Appendix: The 1955 Reforms and the 1962 Missal

Although in many ways the liturgies of Holy Week are *sui generis*, they nevertheless conform to certain general liturgical principles found in the rest of the Missal. One of the effects of the 1955 Reform was to make services in Holy Week an exception to a number of these principles; in a number of cases it appears that there was an expectation that the rest of the Missal would be brought into line with these. Thus, the Confiteor and Absolution immediately before Communion was abolished on Maundy Thursday in 1955, and throughout the year in 1961. In other cases, however, corresponding adjustments to the rest of the Missal had not been made by 1962, but were made in the later 1960s, or are found in the 1970 Missal. Accordingly, the 1962 Missal contains tensions and inconsistencies which were not intended by the Reform, but derive from the contingencies of liturgical history.

It is also worth noting that, even when consistency was achieved in certain respects under the reforms of the later 1960s, this state of affairs was never intended as permanent. As *Abhinc tres annos* (1967) explains, it promulgated changes when

pastoral considerations commend them and they seem to offer no hindrance to the definitive reform of the liturgy yet to come. Further, they seem advantageous for the gradual introduction of that reform and are feasible simply by altering rubrics, not the existing liturgical books.²⁴

Some such changes are as follows.

Palm Sunday:

Maniples are abolished for the Blessing of the Palms and procession, as they are for the Good Friday Liturgical Action. This was applied to the whole liturgical year after 1962.²⁵

The *Asperges* is suppressed; it is made an option, in place of the Penitential Rite, in the 1970 Missal (when used it replaces the Penitential Rite).

The palms are blessed in the hands of the Faithful, or on a table away from the Altar, and *versus populum*. While this is part of a consistent attempt to make liturgical actions more visible, it contrasts with the blessings of Candles on the Feast of the Purification (Candlemas), and on the Feast of St Blaise, and the blessing of ashes on Ash Wednesday.

The Faithful's kissing of the blessed palm, and the hand of the celebrant, is abolished; this is part of a consistent deprecation of osculations in the Holy Week reform, but it contrasts with the norms at the blessing of candles on the Feast of the Purification.²⁶

²⁴ Instruction of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, *Abhinc tres annos* (1967)

²⁵ The maniple was made optional by the Instruction *Tres hinc annos* (1967) 25, and is not listed as among the vestments in the 1970 Missal.

The Preparatory Prayers, at Mass, are suppressed, as they are at the Easter Vigil. The principle that the Preparatory Prayers are omitted when Mass is preceded by another ceremony is extended to some other cases in the 1962 Missal, such as Ash Wednesday, but not to others, such as a Nuptial Mass following the Rite of Marriage, or indeed to Sunday Mass preceded by the Asperges. Since at Sung Masses the Introit and Kyrie still have to be sung, abolishing the Preparatory Prayers simply lengthens the time the celebrant must sit on the sedilia waiting for the chants to finish before intoning the Gloria, contrary to the principles of Pope St Pius X's Instruction on sacred music, *Tra la sollicitudine*.²⁷ Later reforms, in any case, followed a different principle, shortening the Preparatory Prayers by the omission of the Psalm *Iudica*.²⁸

The *Orate Fratres* is to be said in a loud voice, and the Faithful are to respond; this happens again at the Easter Vigil. This is clearly related to the spread of the practice of the Dialogue Mass at the time, but it is not consistent with the norms for this laid down in *De musica sacra* (1958), which speaks only about Low Mass, where it assumes that the Faithful will make all of the servers' responses.

The repetition of texts by the celebrant, when they are sung by other ministers or the schola, is abolished throughout Holy Week. The general principle that texts should not be duplicated was not applied consistently to the rest of the Missal by 1962.²⁹

The Last Gospel is suppressed, unless the blessing of palms does not take place it is suppressed also on Maundy Thursday and at the Easter Vigil. Again, a general argument against the Last Gospel was made by some advocates of reform, but it was not applied to the Missal as whole by 1962.³⁰

Maundy Thursday

Psalm 21, recited during the Stripping of the Altars, is taken from the revised Pian Psalter. This was used for newly composed liturgical texts, following the publication of this Psalter in 1945, but it never replaced existing texts. This means that the chants and

²⁶ The kissing of the hand of the priest and the object to be given to or taken from him was suppressed throughout the year by the Instruction of the Consilium, *Inter Oecumenici* (1964) 36 (d). The provisions of this Instruction took effect in 1965.

²⁷ Chant renditions of the Introit and Kyrie, begun at or just before the start of the Preparatory Prayers, will sometimes conclude in time for the Gloria (or, where this is no Gloria, the Collect) to be started by the celebrant without his having to pause. Longer settings, including most polyphonic Kyries, make it necessary for the priest to sit on the sedilia until it finishes. Such a wait will be created or lengthened by the abolition of the Preparatory Prayers. Pope St Pius X, in his Motu Proprio *Tra le sollicitudini* (1903) 22-23, wrote: 'It is not lawful to keep the priest at the altar waiting on account of the chant or the music for a length of time not allowed by the liturgy. ... In general it must be considered a very grave abuse when the liturgy in ecclesiastical functions is made to appear secondary to and in a manner at the service of the music, for the music is merely a part of the liturgy and its humble handmaid.' The general issue is discussed in *Positio 9: Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form*, 4.

²⁸ This was done by *Inter Oecumenici* (1964) 48 (c).

²⁹ The principle was applied to the whole Missal by *Inter Oecumenici* (1964) 48 (a). This creates the same problem as discussed in note 27 with the Preparatory Prayers, reducing the time available for singing, or increasing the time spent by the priest sitting on the sedilia or waiting at the Altar.

³⁰ It was abolished throughout the year by *Inter Oecumenici* 48 (j).

other texts using the Psalms found in the reformed liturgy of Maundy Thursday still use the ancient Latin Psalters, while the ceremony of the Stripping of the Altars switches to the Pian Psalter. In later reforms the liturgical use of the Pian Psalter was discontinued in favour of the Neo Vulgate Psalter, published in 1969. The difficulties represented by the use of Pian Psalter and Canticles are discussed in *Positio 5: the Use of the Vulgate and the Ancient Latin Psalters*.

The placing of the *Mandatum* after the Gospel anticipates the use of this time for additional ceremonies, previously done either before or after Mass, in later reforms: examples include the Rite of Marriage, in a Nuptial Mass, and the blessing and distribution of ashes on Ash Wednesday.³¹

The Blessing at the end of Mass is omitted, on the basis that further ceremonies followed. This principle is not consistently applied in the 1962 Missal, however; a notable exception being Corpus Christi.

Good Friday

The Faithful are to say the Pater Noster with the celebrant. As with other changes noted under Palm Sunday, this is related to practice in the Dialogue Mass, but again its use at a Sung Mass is anomalous.

Maniples are not worn, as for the Blessing Palms on Palm Sunday: see above.

Easter Vigil:

Water is blessed in the sight of the people, as are the palms on Palm Sunday: see above.

The vernacular is used, and the Faithful are involved in a dialogue with the celebrant, in the 'Renewal of Baptismal Promises'. To the anomaly of switching between sung and spoken dialogue noted above, it adds the innovation of the use of the vernacular, which was generalised throughout the year after 1962.³²

In the Lauds which follows the Vigil, the *Benedictus* is the revised version published with the Pian Psalter, just as the Pian Psalter is used on Maundy Thursday (see above).

³¹ Both the Rite of Marriage and the blessing and distribution of ashes takes place before the start of Mass in the 1962 Missal, but after the Gospel (and homily) in the 1970 Missal. The former was moved after the Gospel by *Inter Oecumenici* 70. The same document places a 'renewal of baptismal promises' by confirmands after the Gospel, when confirmations take place at Mass (65).

³² The use of the vernacular for 'dialogue formularies' and many other parts of the Mass, was made possible throughout the year by *Inter Oecumenici* 57 (c).



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 15

THE LECTIONARY OF THE
EXTRAORDINARY FORM

MAY 2013

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Lectionary of the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

The Lectionary of the Extraordinary Form is notably different from that of the Ordinary Form, with a single year’s cycle for Sundays, a single year’s cycle of readings for feasts, and a set of readings for the ferias of Lent; with some exceptions, each Mass has one Gospel and one other reading (plus the ‘Last Gospel’). By contrast the Ordinary Form’s Lectionary includes a much greater volume of readings, with a three-year cycle for Sundays and three readings on Sundays. The 1962 Lectionary does, nevertheless, have great value. The Sunday cycle, in particular, is of great antiquity; the lections are connected by theme with the proper prayers and chants of each Mass, which often refer to them; the single year’s cycle enables not only a thorough familiarity with the lections, but makes possible liturgical commentaries which are themselves monuments of tradition worthy of preservation. It would nevertheless be possible to expand the range of scripture passages in the Faithful’s liturgical experience in the Extraordinary Form by restoring the practice, abolished in 1960, of having the Gospel of a Sunday or feast, displaced by the occurrence of a more important feast, as the Last Gospel, and above all by encouraging the reading of the Divine Office, and particularly Matins, by the Faithful.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV PP 15: The Lectionary of the Extraordinary Form

1. One of the distinctive characteristics of the Extraordinary Form, in contrast to the Ordinary Form, is the Lectionary. This consists in a single year's cycle of readings, providing a single Gospel passage and Epistle¹ for Sundays, feast days, and the ferias of Lent. On ferias outside Lent the readings (and Proper prayers and chants) are those of the previous Sunday, unless a Votive Mass is being said. A greater number of lections are given for Ember Days² and certain other days.³ By contrast the Ordinary Form has a three-year cycle of readings for Sundays, for which a passage from the Gospel and two from elsewhere are given, and readings are assigned for every day of the year.

The Value of the 1962 Lectionary

2. The most ancient part of the 1962 Lectionary is the cycle of Sunday Gospels, which largely corresponds with the subjects of Pope St Gregory the Great's sermons on the corresponding days, given between 590 and 604. This cycle, however, continued to develop, as did the cycle of Sunday Epistles, and cycles of lections for the ferias of Lent, and other ferias, and the Sanctoral cycle, until the 9th century,⁴ when it assumed the form still in use today.⁵
3. The great antiquity of the Lectionary, coupled with its continuous use, demands our respect. First, this Lectionary reflects the liturgical and scriptural thinking of the Fathers of the Church. Secondly, it has been the basis of the liturgical experience and reflection of countless generations of the Latin Church's doctors, saints, scholars, and artists.

¹ The selection of passages is not, in fact, entirely limited to the Epistles, but includes passages from the Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Revelations, and the Old Testament.

² Ember Wednesday has one extra reading; Ember Saturdays have a total of five extra readings. Ember Days are celebrated four times a year. (In the 1962 Missal a shorter form of the Saturday service can be celebrated.)

³ The Easter Vigil has a large number of readings (particularly in the form it took before the 1955 reform); Palm Sunday has an extra Gospel (and, before 1955, an extra lesson), as part of the Blessing of Palms. On All Souls Day and Christmas Day priests are permitted to say three Masses, and each Mass has its own lections and other Propers.

⁴ Of the manuscript sources for the Roman Lectionary the earliest and most valuable is the Würzburg MS (Universitätsbibliothek, codex M.p.th.f.62; ed. Morin, *Rev. Bén.* 27 (1910) 41-74 and 28 (1911) 296-330) – a collection of 16 folios in a probably English hand of around 700 (possibly from the late 7th century). The Epistle list probably represents Roman usage in the 2nd half of the 7th century; the Gospel list appears to be later. There is an extensive set of Gospels for the Sanctoral Cycle, but fewer Epistles, suggesting a degree of fluidity or free choice. It appears to give alternative Epistles for some occasions (similar passages from St Paul, for example, which could not plausibly be interpreted as being intended as extra readings). There is provision for too many Sundays after Epiphany, and too few Sundays after Pentecost. There are readings provided for one, two, or three ferial days in particular weeks. By the 9th century provision is made for the correct number of Sundays, a complete set of lections for Lenten ferias (Thursday had been non-liturgical until Pope St Gregory II (d. 731)), a formalised Common of Saints, separation of the Temporal from the Sanctoral Cycles, and thoroughly revised systems of ferial readings outside Lent. By this time also there is a degree of divergence between Roman and Gallican books.

⁵ Leaving aside later feasts celebrated on Sundays, such as Trinity Sunday and the Feast of the Holy Family.

Thirdly, it is closely connected with the chants of the day, which frequently refer to its texts and constitute a musical commentary upon them. Fourthly, it has proven its worth, spiritually, pastorally, and in other practical ways, in a very wide range of social and cultural circumstances, over a very long period of time, and is shared with the historic liturgies of Anglicans and Lutherans.⁶

4. The Lectionary's development is such that, while the Sunday Gospels and Epistles each form a discernible series,⁷ the two series are independent of each other. We are not presented with connections between readings dependent on the exegetical preferences of scholars of any particular age, but rather a more fundamental working-out of the mysteries of salvation.
5. The Lectionary's limited size allows the Faithful to attain a thorough familiarity with the cycle, particularly in the context of the use of hand-missals and commentaries on the liturgy, which expound the passages and their connection with the season, and the proper prayers and chants of the day. The association of feasts and particular Sundays with particular Gospel or Epistle passages echoes the practice of the Eastern churches, where Sundays are often named after the Gospel of the day.
6. The missals and commentaries just mentioned, which are made possible by the limited set of liturgical texts,⁸ are themselves of great value in developing the spirituality of the faithful, and any reform which rendered them obsolete would cause the loss, for practical purposes, of an enormous body of popular liturgical scholarship and spirituality.⁹

⁶ The Lectionary of the *Book of Common Prayer* is based on that of the Sarum Missal, which is essentially identical to the Roman Missal; the traditional Lutheran Lectionary is based on that of the Roman Missal. The ecumenical value of the ancient one-year cycle gave the architects of the 1970 Lectionary serious pause: see Annibale Bugnini *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990) pp415-6.

⁷ This is particularly evident in Advent and Lent; the Season After Pentecost is less obviously thematic, but a pattern is still discernible. Pius Parsch wrote of it: 'From the point of view of content, the ...cycle could well be divided into three groups. The first emphasize miracle-cures. Accounts of Christ's miracles are related, yet these narratives are not intended for our instruction primarily, but rather as indications of the operations of God's grace in the Mass. Such, too, was the ultimate aim and end of our Lord when He worked wonders. ...

A second group tends to employ contrast pictures—the kingdom of God versus the kingdom of the world. These .. are primarily found in the Masses from the seventh to the fourteenth Sunday after Pentecost. ... Ancient piety often employed this pedagogical method. ...

The third class, which concentrates on the parousia, is proper to the Sundays from the fifteenth to the end of the year. These Masses are exceptional for variety of mood and depth of doctrine.'

⁸ Missals with only the texts for Sundays and important feasts can be truly 'pocket sized'; children's missals lacking the Latin for some or all of the texts can be very small indeed.

⁹ Dom Prosper Guéranger, Abbot of Solesmes: *L'Année Liturgique*, in French, published in 15 volumes between 1841 and 1844 (published in English as *The Liturgical Year* in 1949; a reprint is still in print). Bl. Ildefonso Schuster, Archbishop of Milan: *Liber Sacramentorum*, in Italian, published in 5 volumes in 1919 (published in English as *The Sacramentary* in 1924). Fr Pius Parsch: *Das Jahr des Heiles*, published in 3 Volumes in 1923 (published in English as *The Church's Year of Grace* in 1953). These works, particularly those of Guéranger and Parsch, were and are widely disseminated. The text of *L'Année Liturgique* is available at least in part online in French (<http://www.abbaye-saint-benoit.ch/gueranger/anneliturgique/index.htm>) and English (<http://www.liturgicalatina.org/lityear/>).

Ferial Cycles

7. The 1962 Lectionary corresponds (with the exception of newly created feast days) with that of the Roman Missal of 1570. This, in turn, is dependent upon the *Missale Romano-Seraphicum* (the Franciscan Missal) of the 13th century, which did not include the lections for the non-Lenten ferias found in earlier Roman books, as well as in the books of other rites and usages. Gallican Missals with lections for non-Lenten ferias continued in use into the second half of the 19th century.¹⁰ Typically, readings would be given for some, but not all, days of the week, such as Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, and would include, for example, parallel accounts of the pericope used in the Sunday Gospel.
8. The ancient ferial Lectionary did not displace the readings for feast days, and given the fullness of the Sanctoral cycle in Rome, and the developing popularity of Votive Masses, it seems likely that the editors of Roman Missals from the 13th century onwards thought it was unnecessary: there is clearly little point in a cycle of readings which is rarely used. The Lenten ferial cycle could only avoid being swamped by feasts and votive Masses by giving it a greater liturgical priority.¹¹ A relative paucity of feast days is appropriate to the Lenten season, as is the distinctive character of the ferial Mass formularies, which also include ancient, complex, and profoundly beautiful chants.
9. This points to a major difficulty in expanding the Lectionary by creating a new, or restoring an old, ferial cycle: it cannot easily co-exist with a full sanctoral cycle with its own readings. It is for this reason that the 1966 'Alternative Lectionary',¹² and the Lectionary of the 1970 Missal, entirely displace the readings of the sanctoral cycle.
10. The loss of the Sanctoral cycle would be a great blow to the liturgical expression of devotion to the saints. The more important saints have their own readings and other Propers, which serve as a commentary on their lives and work; the less important use the Commons of the Saints, which include formularies of considerable antiquity and devotional value, and give feasts of particular groups of saints (Doctors, Abbots, Holy Women and so on) a recognisable and distinctive character.¹³
11. Such a reform would mean that the readings assigned to Votive Masses, also, would have to give way to ferial readings, which would be a similar blow to the devotions to

¹⁰ In addition to the Gallican (or 'neo-Gallican') missals in use in the various dioceses of France, the Sarum Missal, used in the British Isles until the late 16th century, included ferial readings; in Germany, they are found in the Münster Missal as late as 1835.

¹¹ In the 1962 calendar the ferias of Lent are of the 3rd Class, while those of the rest of the year are 4th Class; again, many feasts falling in Lent are a lower ranking than they would otherwise have, and get only a commemoration.

¹² The 'Alternative Lectionary', published on 12th March 1966 for optional use, consists of a one-year series of Gospels and a two-year cycle of first lessons for all days in the liturgical year *De Tempore* which might not be impeded by a 1st or 2nd class feast. Thus, the Lectionary left gaps for the more important feasts to fill. The Sunday and Sanctoral cycles were not changed. This Lectionary was superseded by the Lectionary of the 1970 Missal.

¹³ Pius Parsch wrote commentaries on the Commons of the Saints: *The Church's Year of Grace* English edition (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1962) Vol. IV pp372-412

which they pertain, and for the spread of which they have been encouraged by Popes over many centuries. Both the feasts of saints and Votive Masses, when celebrated, would be accompanied by lections which might easily be inappropriate, creating a problematic tension in the liturgy.¹⁴

12. Further, and insuperable, problems derive from the Proper prayers and chants of the Sanctoral Cycle and Votive Masses, which, if they are to survive at all, will bear no relation in theme or mood to the lections, unless purely by chance.

The Divine Office

13. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* called for a more 'lavish' presentation of Scripture to the Faithful.¹⁵ A way of achieving this in perfect harmony with the liturgy already in place would be to encourage the wider use of the Office, and particularly Matins. Indeed, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* is eager to do this,¹⁶ as is the Code of Canon Law.¹⁷
14. The lections of the liturgy always have both latreutic and dogmatic functions, but the former function is more emphasised in the Mass, and the latter in the Office. The ceremonial associated with the readings at Mass encourage us to see them as a special

¹⁴ The other Propers would also be involved in this tension, whether they are appropriate to the feast (and therefore, potentially, not to the readings), as with the 1966 experiment, or fixed to the cycle of readings (and therefore independent of the feast), as in the 1970 Missal. The liturgical schola László Dobsay comments: 'The three-year system totally dissolved the association between the liturgical day (and its texts) and the pericopes assigned; this is a loss both in a liturgical and a pastoral perspective' (László Dobsay *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite* (London: T&T Clarke, 2010) p143.

¹⁵ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 51: 'The treasures of the bible are to be opened up more lavishly, so that richer fare may be provided for the faithful at the table of God's word [more literally: 'so that a richer table of God's word may be prepared for the Faithful']. In this way a more representative portion [literally 'a more excellent part'] of the holy scriptures will be read to the people in the course of a prescribed number of years.' ('Quo ditior mensa verbi Dei pareatur fidelibus, thesauri biblici largius aperiantur, ita ut, intra praestitutum annorum spatium, praestantior pars Scripturarum Sanctarum populo legatur.')

¹⁶ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 85: 'Hence all who render this service are not only fulfilling a duty of the Church, but also are sharing in the greatest honour of Christ's spouse, for by offering these praises to God they are standing before God's throne in the name of the Church their Mother.' ('Omnes proinde qui haec praestant, tum Ecclesiae officium explent, tum summum Sponsae Christi honorem participant, quia laudes Deo persolventes stant ante thronum Dei nomine Matris Ecclesiae.')

100: 'Pastors of souls should see to it that the chief hours, especially Vespers, are celebrated in common in church on Sundays and the more solemn feasts. And the laity, too, are encouraged to recite the divine office, either with the priests, or among themselves, or even individually.' ('Curent animarum pastores ut Horae praecipuae, praesertim Vesperae, diebus dominicis et festis sollemnioribus, in ecclesia communiter celebrentur. Commendatur ut et ipsi laici recitent Officium divinum, vel cum sacerdotibus, vel inter se congregati, quin immo unusquisque solus.') Cf. *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004) 41: 'For encouraging, promoting and nourishing this interior understanding of liturgical participation, the continuous and widespread celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours, the use of the sacramentals and exercises of Christian popular piety are extremely helpful.' ('Ad hunc sensum interiorem participationis liturgicae suscitandum, promovendum et alendum valde utilia sunt assidua et diffusa celebratio Liturgiae Horarum, usus sacramentalium exercitiae pietatis christianae popularis.')

¹⁷ *Code of Canon Law* (1983) 1174 §2. 'Other [literally, 'The other', 'ceteri': that is, all the other] members of the Christian faithful, according to circumstances, are also earnestly invited to participate in the liturgy of the hours as an action of the Church.' ('Ad participandam liturgiam horarum, utpote actionem Ecclesiae, etiam ceteri christifideles, pro adiunctis, enixe invitantur.')

offering to God: we might call them ‘verbal incense’.¹⁸ While the Divine Office is primarily a prayer, the didactic function of the readings is emphasised by, for example, the reading in Matins of commentaries, from the Fathers of the Church, on the very passages of Scripture just read.

15. Furthermore, the connection between Matins and the Eucharistic liturgy, particularly of Sundays and feasts, makes it the ideal supplement to the Mass of the day; indeed Matins may be thought of as a preparation for Mass.¹⁹
16. It was not so long ago that the Faithful thought nothing of going to Church twice on a Sunday, to attend Vespers as well as Mass; Matins was once widely celebrated in parish churches.²⁰ It is perhaps easier to envisage today the private use of the Office by the laity, though occasional public celebrations would do much to encourage this. The considerable success enjoyed by ‘The League for the Divine Office’ in promoting the (private, vernacular) use of the Office by the laity, in the middle of the 20th century, sets an important precedent.

Conclusion

17. The role of Scripture in the liturgy is not limited to the Lectionary. Both the Propers and the Ordinary of the Extraordinary Form make extensive use the Psalms,²¹ and there are a great many quotations of, and references to, the Scriptures throughout the Mass.²² It cannot be maintained that the 1962 Mass lacks a Scriptural dimension, and nor do the other sacraments and sacramentals of the 1962 liturgical books.²³
18. The ancient, one-year cycle of readings, particularly for Sundays, has an irreplaceable value in representing the thoughts of the Latin fathers, in harmony with the season and feast, allowing the Faithful to become as familiar as possible with the cycle, especially

¹⁸ Dr Peter Kwasniewski “The Loss of Liturgical Riches in the Sanctoral Cycle” in *The Latin Mass: A Journal of Catholic Culture and Tradition* (Fall 2007), pp. 30-35: ‘Recitation of the text of Scripture is made decisively subordinate to the historical embodiment of Scripture’s message in holy persons. The readings serve, in other words, to frame, adorn, and bring to light the face of Christ and the faces of all His imitators. The use of Scripture is iconic, not homiletic. We are not being lectured at, but rather summoned to worship, to bow down before mysteries. The readings are to function as verbal incense, not verbose information.’

¹⁹ See the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1917), entry on ‘Matins’: ‘In a certain sense it is, perhaps, the Office which was primitively the preparation for the Mass, that is to say, the Mass of the Catechumens, which presents at any rate the same construction as that Office:—the reading from the Old Testament, then the epistles and the Acts, and finally the Gospel—the whole being intermingled with psalmody, and terminated by the Homily (cf. Cabrol: *Les Origines Liturgiques*, Paris, 1906, 334 seq.).’

²⁰ A tradition which has left its mark on Anglicanism, where Matins is still celebrated publicly; this practices was reintroduced by Pius Parsch in his parish. Morning Prayer is also typically celebrated before Mass in the Eastern Churches.

²¹ Notably, part of Psalm 50 (*Asperges me*) or 117 (the verse to the *Vidi Aquam*) at the sprinkling of the Faithful on Sundays; Psalm 42 (*Iudica me*) in the Preparatory Prayers; and part of Psalm 25 (*Lavabo*) at the Lavabo.

²² To give just one example, the prayer *Supra quae* of the Roman Canon refers to the sacrifices in the Old Testament of Abel (Genesis 4.4), Abraham (Genesis 22.13), and Melchisedech (Genesis 14.18).

²³ To give just two examples, the Canticle of Zachary is recited in full during burials, and the Psalm *Domini est terra* (23) at the Churching of Women (the Blessing of a Woman after Childbirth).

in light of the long tradition of liturgical commentary, and in connection with the Proper prayers and chants of the day.

19. Until the decree *Novum Rubricarum* (1960),²⁴ when a feast or a Sunday was suppressed by an occurrent feast (one occupying the same day) of greater importance, the Last Gospel would be not the opening verses of the Gospel of St John, but the proper Gospel of the suppressed Sunday or feast.²⁵ Given the importance of the Sunday cycle, the restoration of the older practice would seem appropriate, and would be one modest way of expanding the number of Gospel passages read to the Faithful.
20. Most of all, however, the riches of the Scriptures are already presented in a liturgical context in the Office, and above all in Matins. The encouragement of the participation of the Faithful in the existing riches of the liturgy should take priority over reform: this was the guiding principle of the more cautious members of the Liturgical Movement, exemplified by the scholar Fr William Busch, a leader of the League for the Divine Office, whose words are appropriate to the current situation:

We should not wish to change in haste what we are only beginning to revive. Let us take time to learn what the Liturgy is, and then we shall be in a position to judge what adaptations to modern circumstances may be desirable—perhaps not so many as we first imagined...²⁶

²⁴ See *Novum rubricarum* 509.

²⁵ Thus, prior to 1960, if an important feast fell on a Sunday, such that the Mass to be said was not that of the Sunday, the Sunday Gospel would be read in place of the opening verses of St John's Gospel as the Last Gospel.

²⁶ William Busch "On Liturgical Reforms" *Orate Fratres* 11.8 (1936-7): pp352-57, quoted in Reid p105. Fr Busch was active in translating the German works of Fr Pius Parsch into English, and helped found the 'League of the Divine Office'. Another scholar of the Liturgical Movement who makes a similar distinction between learning to appreciate and reforming the liturgy, also quoted by Reid, was Fr Hans Anscar Reinhold, writing in 1947: 'The modern Liturgical Movement is obedient, orthodox, modest. The *first thing* it demands is that all of us, we ourselves, perform the Liturgy as it is in the books and conform to it. Self reform and perfection. In the *second place* we expect this to open our eyes to niceties and rediscoveries that will transform our thinking into greater dogmatic correctness, proportionality and joy. The *third thing* will be to see the Liturgy restored to simplicity and originality. Only in the *fourth degree* will we prostrate ourselves at the feet of the Holy Father and ask for reforms.' (Reid, *op. cit.* p141-2).

The Lectionary of the 1962 Missal: Appendices

Appendix A: Passages of Scripture found in the 1962 Lectionary omitted from the 1969 Lectionary

By using multi-year cycles, the creators of the 1969 Lectionary aimed to include a much increased quantity of Scripture in the liturgy. It is interesting to note that, despite this, certain Gospel passages familiar to those attending the Extraordinary Form on Sundays are not found in any year of the 1969 Lectionary's Sunday cycle.

In some cases the 1969 includes a different version of a pericope which the ancient Lectionary has chosen; in others no parallel passage is included. It seems worth listing both cases; the latter are emboldened, and where this is the case it is noted if the passage is not found in the 1969 weekday cycle.²⁷

St Matthew:

6:16-21 'Fasting: when you fast...' 'Do not store up treasures on earth...' (verses 19-21 omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

8:1-13 Leper healed; Centurion's servant. (St Mark's and St Luke's accounts, respectively, used)

8:23-27 Calming of the storm (St Mark's account used)

8:26: 1- 13 Caiaphas plotting; the precious ointment (St Mark's account used)

20:16b 'For many are called, but few are chosen' (omitted from the Gospel of the 25th Sunday of Ordinary Time, which stops at verse 16a; the parallel verse from Mt 22:14 is optional on 28th Sunday of Ordinary Time)

St Mark:

16:14 'Later Jesus appeared to the Eleven as they were eating;' he rebuked them for their lack of faith and their stubborn refusal to believe those who had seen him after he had risen (only in St Mark)

St Luke:

8: 4-15 Parable of the sower (St Matthew's account used)

8:11: 14-23 'But if it is through the finger of God that I cast out devils...' (St Mark's account used)

8:24-26 The return of the Unclean Spirit (the corresponding passage from St Matthew is also cut) (also omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

8:27-28 'Happy the womb that bore you...' (St Luke only)

8:14: 15-24 The banquet and guests who refuse to come... (St Matthew's account used)

18: 31-34 'The Son of Man to be handed over...' (cut from St Matthew and St Mark as well) (also omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

18:35-43 Healing of the blind man at Jericho (St Mark's account used)

18:21: 29-33 The fig tree (St Mark's account used)

²⁷ With thanks to the blogger 'Counter Cultural Father' (<http://ccfather.blogspot.co.uk/2013/05/sunday-gospel-readings-in-ef-omitted.html>)

St John:

6:59 'He said this while teaching in the synagogue in Capernaum.' (Only in St John)

8:46-59 'you are a Samaritan, and possessed...' 'Abraham saw my day and rejoiced, Before Abraham was, I AM.' (only in St John) (omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

14: 30-31 'The prince of this world is on his way...' 'I am doing exactly what the Father told me' (only in St John) (omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

16:1-4 'They will put you out of the Synagogue.' (only in St John) (omitted from the OF weekday cycle)

16: 5-11 'None of you asks me, 'Where are you going?' ...because the prince of this world now stands condemned.' (only in St John)

16-22 'What does he mean: you will no longer see me, then you will see me?...' 'You are sad now... your hearts will be full of joy...' (only in St John)

16: 23-30 'Ask and you will receive... the Father loves you...Now you are speaking plainly... the time will come when you are scattered...' (only in St John)

A much longer list could be made of passages which are optional in the 1969 Lectionary, and of verses omitted from readings of the Epistles.²⁸ A particularly striking example of the latter is the passage from the First Letter to the Corinthians (11:27-9) warning against the unworthy reception of communion, which is read on both Maundy Thursday and Corpus Christi in the 1962 Lectionary, but is not found anywhere in the 1969 Lectionary.

This list shows that, even in the narrow terms of exposure to the Scriptures, the replacement of the 1962 Lectionary with the 1969 Lectionary involved loss as well as gain. More profoundly, it illustrates the difference in spirit between the two Lectionaries: the ancient Lectionary selects passages on the basis of different principles, and in a number of ways emphasises what the new Lectionary wishes to de-emphasise.²⁹

This underlines the general point that each Lectionary is an integral part of its respective Missal, and reflects its spirit and preoccupations.³⁰

²⁸ A more comprehensive survey is made by Fr Anthony Cekada *Work of Human Hands: A theological critique of the Mass of Paul VI* (West Chester, OH: Philothea Press, 2010) pp299-272. Reference to this work does not imply agreement with the positions defended in it.

²⁹ The Oratorian priest and schola Fr Jonathan Robinson, in criticising the multi-year cycle of the 1969 Missal, remarks: 'I think the diversity, rather than enriching people, tends to confuse them... This may be because the selections, as has been noted by others, were drawn up more to satisfy the sensibilities of liturgical scholars than on traditional liturgical principles.' *The Mass and Modernity: walking to heaven backwards* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005) p332

³⁰ Fr Adrien Nocent, who collaborated on the 1969 Lectionary, wrote that it was 'destined in the long run, but inevitably, to change the theological mentality and very spirituality of the Catholic people.' 'La Parole de Dieu et Vatican II' in P. Jounel, R. Kaczynski and G. Pasqualette, eds, *Liturgia, Opera Divina e Umana: studi sulla riforma liturgica* (Rome: Edizioni liturgiche, 1982) p136; quoted in Cekada, op.c cit. p273.

Appendix B: Relationship between the Lectionary and the Chants

An important factor discussed in the body of the paper in considering any reform or expansion of the Lectionary for the Extraordinary Form is close relationship between the Lections in a given Mass Formulary and the other Propers, particularly the chants. Mass formularies in the Extraordinary Form do not usually present a single, obvious, theme; as has been noted the cycle of Sunday Epistles is independent of the cycle of Sunday Gospels, and the various propers are too concerned with their liturgical function—as processional chants, as the Secret Prayer introducing the Oblation, and so on—to appear as a unified, didactic group. Nevertheless, they contain many cross-references, and can often serve as commentary upon one another.

This is most clearly the case when chants take their text from one of the readings.³¹ Although the great majority of chants are taken from the Psalms, the exceptions frequently take their inspiration from the lections of the day. A brief review of the Sunday cycle reveals that on six occasions the Communion Antiphon is taken from the Gospel of the day: the 1st and 2nd Sundays after Epiphany, Palm Sunday, 2nd Sunday after Easter, and 3rd and 14th Sundays after Pentecost. The Communion is taken from the Epistle (Acts) on Whitsunday (Pentecost). The Alleluia verse is taken from the Gospel on 5th Sunday after Easter. Such cross references, whether actual quotations or not, are still more frequent in the formularies of feast days and on Ember Days. Similar close connections exist between the Sunday Gospels and the antiphons of Lauds and Vespers.

A more subtle and all pervading relationship is described by the great German chant scholar Dom Dominic Johner, in relation to the Gradual and Alleluia:

The early Church utilized these chants as a means to impress on the hearts of the faithful the lessons inculcated by the Epistle, and to make them the more readily susceptible for the Gospel. Clergy and laity should, without further ado, be enabled to devote themselves entirely to the contemplation of the chant and its import.³²

All things considered, it would be impossible to change the Lectionary of the Extraordinary Form substantially without seriously compromising the coherence and integrity of the Missal.

³¹ The connections noted below are of course the result of various historical processes.

³² Dom Dominic Johner *Chants of the Vatican Gradual* (English edition: Collegeville, MN: St John's Abbey Press, 1940) p6. (First published in 1934; reprinted on Lulu.com.)



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 16

THE PROCLAMATION OF LECTIONS IN LATIN
IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

JULY 2013

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Proclamation of Lections in Latin in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

Under the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* it is permissible to repeat the lections in the vernacular after their proclamation in Latin, or, in Low Mass, for them to be read only in the vernacular. This paper seeks to explain and defend the restriction on the use of the vernacular; the arguments here are relevant also to the debate concerning the possibility of having the whole of the Mass of Catechumens in the vernacular, or the Propers. The first consideration is the importance of the tradition of chanting the Epistle and Gospel at Sung Mass, which the law of the Church protects. This raises the deeper point that the lections have not only a didactic, but a latreutic role in the liturgy, and switching from Latin to a non-liturgical language not only undermines this role, but undermines the sense of a sacred, liturgical time which is produced by the use of Latin. The use of the vernacular at more points during the liturgy, which would mean more frequent alternation of languages, would, for this reason, be particularly problematic.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV PP 16: The Proclamation of Lections in Latin in the Extraordinary Form

1. For the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011) 26 states:

As foreseen by article 6 of the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum*, the readings of the Holy Mass of the Missal of 1962 can be proclaimed either solely in the Latin language, or in Latin followed by the vernacular or, in Low Masses, solely in the vernacular.

Thus, it is compulsory at Sung and Solemn Masses for the Epistle and Gospel to be sung in Latin;¹ at Low Mass it is possible to read them only in the vernacular. The practice at Low Mass varies for historical reasons between countries, but reading the lections in Latin is widespread. The repetition of the lections, where they are read or sung in Latin, in the vernacular, before the sermon, is a very common practice, though by no means universal.

2. Many of those promoting Latin in the Ordinary Form (or the 'Reform of the Reform') suggest that all the Propers be read in the vernacular, or for the vernacular to be used for the whole of the Mass up to the Offertory.² For this reason the law and practice of the Extraordinary Form demands explanation, an explanation which has relevance also for these wider issues.³
3. This paper will take for granted the general arguments in favour of the use of Latin given in Positio 7.⁴

The latreutic role of the lections

4. One aspect of the question, which explains the distinction made in *Universae Ecclesiae* between Sung and Low Masses, is the special value of the practice of chanting the lections. This practice goes back to the roots of the Gregorian Chant in the Jewish Temple, and its solemnity, beauty, and expressiveness are outstanding. Clearly its loss would be a serious impoverishment of the Church's liturgical patrimony, and of the liturgical experience of the Faithful.
5. This tradition of Chanted lections itself raises a wider question, however, of the role of the lections in the Mass. In origin, the chanting of the lections, and the inflexions of the chants corresponding to the middle and end of sentences, with questions distinguished

¹ At *Missa Cantata* it is permissible for the Epistle to be read rather than sung, though this is rare.

² Known in the context of the Extraordinary Form as the Mass of Catechumens; in the Ordinary Form as the Liturgy of the Word.

³ It is interesting to note that liturgical scholars as sympathetic to Latin as Fr Aidan Nichols OP and Fr Jonathan Robinson Cong. Orat. regard the case for vernacular lections as requiring no argument: see Nichols *Looking at the Liturgy: a critical view of its contemporary form* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p120; Robinson *The Mass and Modernity: walking to heaven backwards* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005) p336.

⁴ Position Paper 7: Latin as a Liturgical Language.

from indicative statements, served clarity of hearing and understanding.⁵ They continue to make it easier for the Faithful to follow familiar or important texts, and those in which all kneel at a certain point, such as the reference to the death of Our Lord in the Gospels of the Passion.⁶ Equally, however, they give the proclamation of the lections a deeply solemn and liturgical character, paralleling that of the Preface, underlining its latreutic quality. This is further emphasised by the ceremonies, particularly evident in Solemn and Pontifical High Mass, of the blessing of the minister reading the text, the incensation of the Missal, the kissing of the Missal, and the movement of ministers and servers around the sanctuary. The reading of the Gospel facing north symbolises the proclamation of the Gospel to the unconverted pagans of Northern Europe. At Low Mass the same point is made by the proclamation of Scripture from the Altar of Sacrifice.

6. These value of the proclamation of Scripture as an act of worship is affirmed by the Rite of the Ordination of deacons and subdeacons, who are commissioned to read the Gospel or the Epistles ‘both for the living and for the dead.’⁷
7. While Scripture naturally has didactic value, this is true also of all the Propers of the Mass, and indeed the Ordinary, and it is impossible to make a sharp distinction between a didactic Mass of Catechumens and a latreutic Mass of the Faithful. As the Second Vatican Council’s *Constitution on the Liturgy* observed

The two parts which, in a certain sense, go to make up the Mass, namely, the liturgy of the word and the eucharistic liturgy, are so closely connected with each other that they form but one single act of worship.⁸
8. With this in mind, it is natural that the lections should be chanted in Latin, the liturgical language of the Western Church. Equally naturally, at Low Mass, which is derived both historically and logically from Solemn Mass, the lections may appropriately be read in Latin also.

⁵ A synod at Grado, Italy, in 1296, restricted the use of the (more complicated) melismatic tones in chanting the Gospel because ‘these impeded the understanding of the hearers and so the devotion in the minds of the faithful is reduced’. Quoted by Fr Uwe Michael Lang *The Voice of the Church at Prayer* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2012) p153. As Lang points out, earlier in the century St Francis had been inspired to found the Friars Minor by hearing the Gospel of Mission of the Apostles proclaimed at Mass for the Feast of St Matthias (Matthew 10:7-10).

⁶ Other examples of the Sacred Ministers and the Faithful kneeling at a certain point during the proclamation of the lections are these: on Epiphany and during its octave, at the reference to the Magi falling to worship the Christ-child; on the second Passion Sunday, the Finding of the Holy Cross, and the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, all kneel at the Epistle, at the words “ut in nomine Jesu omne genu flectatur”; the third Mass of Christmas, when the Prologue of John is read; at the end of the Gospel for Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent (John 9:1-38). These parallel the occasions of genuflections during chants such as the Lenten Tract *Domine non secundum*, and for the verse of the Pentecost Alleluia *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*.

⁷ The Roman Pontifical: In the Ordination of Subdeacons, the Bishop says: ‘Receive the book of epistles and have the power of reading them in the church of God, both for the living and for the dead.’ In ordaining Deacons, he says: ‘Receive the power of reading the Gospel in the Church of God, both for the living and for the dead.’

⁸ Second Vatican Council: Dogmatic Constitution on the Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 51: ‘Duae partes e quibus Missa quodammodo constat, liturgia nempe verbi et eucharistica, tam arcte inter se coniunguntur, ut unum actum cultus efficiant.’

9. There are two other considerations, which apply also to some extent to the question of having other Propers in the vernacular in celebrations of the Extraordinary Form.

Pastoral considerations

10. The first is the question of the practical pastoral value of having the lections in the vernacular. In Masses with the people, it is common practice, where the lections are given in Latin, to repeat them in the vernacular before the sermon. It cannot be argued, therefore, that there is a pastoral imperative to have lections in the vernacular instead of Latin; there is no 'either-or' dilemma. The only argument for omitting the lections in Latin would seem to be that it saves a little time.
11. Again, however, it may be asked whether, in the conditions of most celebrations of the Extraordinary Form today, the repetition of the lections in the vernacular is necessary, since, if the Faithful do not have hand missals containing a translation, they may very easily be given a translation printed on a single sheet of paper. In this respect the situation is somewhat different from that obtaining when permission for giving the lections in the vernacular began to be given for certain regions in the 1940s: at that time parish priests could not simply print off multiple copies of a translation from the internet.
12. The same goes for the other Propers, and for that matter the Ordinary of the Mass. The use of Latin is not in fact a barrier to understanding what is being said during the liturgy, since anyone who wishes to know can easily follow a translation, and anyone who thinks that it is important that the Faithful be able to follow the Mass in their own language, can easily ensure that translations are available.⁹
13. A final argument is given by the scholar László Dobsay: that the Collect, Secret, and Postcommunion should be kept in Latin, even if other parts of the Mass are translated, because of the importance of Catholics being familiar with the rich Latin terminology of these prayers.¹⁰

⁹ In relation to obscure or minority languages and multilingual congregations, providing the Faithful with a translation presents more of a challenge. This challenge is more easily met, nevertheless, than finding a way to use the necessary languages from the Altar, which cannot easily be done in multiple languages, and should involve a more formal process of official approval of the translations used.

¹⁰ László Dobsay: 'The citations from, and references to, the liturgical texts are present in the works of the Church Fathers and many spiritual writers, as well as in the prayers and meditations of the saints. Priests and a lay people who have a high level of theological formation but do not know the Latin liturgy extremely well (which means now they are not familiar with the Latin texts), surely cut themselves off from the historical records of the Church's life. Not to know the vocabulary used, or the sentences referred to, means not being able to recognize their context and origin in the theological and spiritual literature of the tradition itself.' *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite* (London: T&T Clark, 2010) p79. Dobsay proposes that other parts of the Mass be said in the vernacular, notably the *Pater Noster*. This proposal seems to lack pastoral value, however, since the meaning of this text will have been known to most worshippers since infancy.

The integrity of the liturgy

14. The second is the question of the integrity of the liturgy. The writer Martin Mosebach addresses this in the context of the ‘problem’, as he puts it, of the sermon:

Entering into the sacred space of the liturgy, every interruption makes me suffer; I suffer whenever the garment of the liturgy is rent (to put it metaphorically). ...[By the end of the Gospel] the believer is deep in another world. He has understood that all whimsy and spontaneity must be silent when it comes to making visible what is objectively “entirely other”.¹¹

15. This atmosphere, and the attitude which it encourages, is interrupted by the sermon, which has a quite different, more personal and prosaic, character; even more jarring, as Mosebach observes, can be the recitation of parish notices. Mosebach does not argue against placing the sermon at this point in the liturgy—its presence here is of long standing—but says simply

I do think it is important to realize that there is a problem here, a “problem” insofar as there is no obvious solution to hand.¹²

16. Similarly, while we may allow that vernacular lections can have advantages, we should recognise that abruptly shifting from Latin (or other ancient liturgical languages)¹³ into the vernacular, and back again, creates a problem considered from the point of the view of the liturgy as a sacred sphere, marked out notably by the use of Latin. Were more Propers to be said in the vernacular the Mass would involve quite frequent shuttling back and forth between the two languages, one sacred and one profane. Latin cannot create and sustain a sense of sacrality if it is constantly interrupted, and we should regret even the most necessary interruptions.¹⁴

Conclusion

17. This paper has sought to give a rationale both for the law of the Church, stated in the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae*, that the lections must be given in Latin in a Sung Mass, and for the widespread practice of giving them in Latin even in Low Mass. The rationale is essentially that the Latin language is not a dispensable aspect of the liturgy, in the Extraordinary Form, and that to replace Latin with the vernacular for sections of

¹¹ Martin Mosebach *The Heresy of Formlessness: The Roman Liturgy and its enemy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006) (first published in German 2003) pp49-50

¹² Ibid p52. Similar reasoning may be applied to other long-standing uses of the vernacular in the Latin liturgical tradition, such as the wedding vows: the need to use the vernacular here is linked to ensuring the validity of the sacrament of Matrimony, and for that very reason it does not represent a precedent for its use elsewhere; the liturgical ‘problem’ it represents cannot be solved, but is manageable because it is limited in scope.

¹³ Notably the Kyrie, in Greek.

¹⁴ An example of a more necessary interruption would be the use of the vernacular for Marriage Vows, where the value of immediate intelligibility is the greatest.

the Mass not only lessens the liturgical quality of that section of the Mass, but interrupts the liturgy as a whole.

18. This argument depends upon the observation that the Mass of Catechumens cannot be categorised simply as a didactic element, which need not have a specifically liturgical character, a character expressive of worship. The prayers and ceremonies of the Extraordinary Form simply do not allow that interpretation of the structure of the Mass.
19. Again, the argument applies *a fortiori* to the possibility of having other Proper texts in the vernacular. Edifying as they are to the Faithful, they are an integral part of the worship offered to God in the Mass, and a constant switching between Latin and the vernacular would seriously undermine the Faithful's sense of the Mass as a sacred time.



Fœderatio Internationalis Una Voce

Positio N. 17

THE RECEPTION OF COMMUNION
UNDER THE SPECIES OF BREAD ALONE
IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

DECEMBER 2013

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical traditions’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Reception of Communion Under the Species of Bread Alone in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

Under the liturgical laws pertaining to the Extraordinary Form, the Faithful may not receive the Precious Blood, but only the Host, by contrast with the widespread practice, at least in Europe and North America, in the Ordinary Form. Historically, the Faithful received the Precious Blood in the West through a tube or *fistula*, until this died out in about the 12th century, with certain exceptions. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* proposed a revival of a practice exceptional reception of the Precious Blood, although permission soon became more general. The practice of the Extraordinary Form has certain advantages. It underlines the sacrificial nature of the Mass, for which the Priest’s reception from the Chalice is ritually necessary, but the Faithful’s is not. It safeguards the respect for the Sacred Vessels characteristics of the Extraordinary Form, which is incompatible with the usual practice of the Ordinary Form. It avoids a number of practical difficulties and liturgical abuses which have sometimes arisen in the Ordinary Form. And it guards against certain dangers to public health.

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FIUV Positio 17: THE RECEPTION OF COMMUNION UNDER THE SPECIES OF BREAD ALONE IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

1. The reception of Holy Communion under the Species of Bread alone is a notable feature of the Extraordinary Form; this paper seeks to articulate a rationale of the current law and practice.¹ This will also provide a principled defence of the restrictions on receiving under both kinds in the Ordinary Form.

The Historical Question

2. To generalise, communion is received under both kinds, using intinction, in the Eastern Churches. In the Latin West, the method used in the earliest centuries is unknown,² but from the 7th century the Roman *Ordines* prescribe that some of the Precious Blood be poured into a separate chalice of unconsecrated wine; the Faithful then received using a *fistula* (tube);³ later, the *fistula* continued to be used with the undiluted Precious Blood. In northern Europe the spread of the *fistula* seems to have replaced intinction.⁴ Reception of the Chalice by the Faithful began to disappear in the West in the 12th century; the *fistula* continued to be used on special occasions, and in certain religious communities, up to the 14th century, and even later: for example, by a monarch at his coronation, and in some places by the Deacon and Subdeacon at Solemn Mass,⁵ and by the Pope in Papal Masses up to the time of the Second Vatican Council.

¹ The extension of permission for the distribution of the Chalice to the Extraordinary Form is proposed by Fr Aidan Nichols: *Looking at the Liturgy: a critical view of its contemporary form* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1996) p121

² Joseph Jungmann refers to Joseph Braun, but neither are able to present useful evidence of the methods used before the 7th century. See Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1955: English Edition, trans Francis Brunner C.S.S.R.) Volume II p 382 and note s 58-60; Braun *Das christliche Altargerät* (Munich: Max Hueber, 1932) (Jungmann's references) pp79 and 247 and Plate X. Figure 28 of Plate X shows a mosaic from Mount Athos depicting the Apostles receiving directly from a large Chalice at (presumably) the Last Supper, but while this may reflect contemporary practice of the clergy it cannot be extrapolated to the laity. Widespread reception from the Chalice, using some method, in the early centuries is nevertheless sufficiently established by, for example, Pope Leo the Great (d.461) remarking that avoiding the Chalice might be an indication of Manicheanism (since the Manicheans refused to drink wine). *Sermo 4, de Quadr.* (PL, 54, 279f.): '[The Manicheans], whenever they dare to attend our assemblies for the purpose of masking their infidelity, comport themselves in the communion of the Sacraments in such a way that sometimes, in order not to be unable to hide altogether, they receive the body of Christ with their unworthy mouths, yet entirely avoid drinking in the blood of our redemption. I bring this to your pious attention for this reason: so that this sort of people may both be made manifest to you on this evidence and, when their sacrilegious pretence has been detected, be driven out of the company of the Saints by the priests' authority.' ('Cumque ad tegendam infidelitatem suam nostris audeant interesse conventibus, ita in sacramentorum communione se temperant, ut interdum, ne penitus latere non possint, ore indigno Christi corpus accipiant, sanguinem autem redemptionis nostrae haurire omnino declinent. Quod ideo vestrae notum facimus sanctitati, ut vobis hujusmodi homines et his manifestantur indiciis, et quorum deprehensa fuerit sacrilega simulatio, a sanctorum societate sacerdotali auctoritate pellantur.')

³ Also called a *calamus*, *pugillaris*, and a variety of other names.

⁴ For example by the Council of Braga in 675 and the Council of Clermont in 1096.

⁵ For this paragraph see Jungmann *op. cit.* Volume II p382-387. Braun *op. cit.* pp. 249-265 covers the spread and usage of the *fistula* in some detail, and the terms used for it.

3. The liturgical scholar Joseph Jungmann suggests that the reception of the Chalice was discontinued in the West because of 'a clearer understanding that *per concomitantiam* the entire Christ is present under both species',⁶ along with long-standing concerns about the danger of spillage of the Precious Blood. It is natural to link this to increasing reverence for the Blessed Sacrament,⁷ and the growing practice of reception of Holy Communion outside Mass.
4. Following the adoption of the reception of Communion under both kinds by Hussites, and then Lutherans and others, permission for the practice was given for certain regions, between 1433⁸ and 1621.⁹ The *fistula* had continued to be used in late Medieval Germany for the reception of unconsecrated '*Ablutionswein*' after Mass, and it was restored for Communion in both Lutheran and Catholic contexts,¹⁰ although the *fistula* was later forbidden in Lutheran churches.¹¹
5. The Hussite 'Utraquists' claimed that Our Lord commanded reception under both kinds,¹² that this was necessary for salvation, that Our Lord is not present entire under each Form, and that the Church lacked good reasons for reception under one kind only. These claims were condemned infallibly by the Council of Trent.¹³

⁶ Jungmann *op. cit.* p385

⁷ This was also manifested in lengthening Eucharistic fasts and the growing infrequency of Communion: see Positio 9: *The Eucharistic Fast*, §§2-3

⁸ First by the Council of Basle in 1433. The Council of Trent left it to the Pope to regulate the matter (Session XXII Ch XI); Pope Pius IV did so in a *Breve* of 29th July 1564.

⁹ Permission was withdrawn for Bavaria in 1571, for Austria in 1584, and for Bohemia, and in general, in 1621: see Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II p286. The possibility of a similar dispensation for former Anglicans, in case of a large-scale reconciliation, was again raised in the 1630s, but the project came to nothing.

¹⁰ Braun *op. cit.* p257: 'the decree issued by the Salzburg Provincial Synod of 1564 on lay reception of the Chalice, after the Pope had granted such reception under certain limited conditions, explicitly specifies that the Sacred Blood must be received [literally: 'enjoyed'] through a "small straw".'

¹¹ *Ibid.* p258: 'At the Lutheran Eucharist, the straw was used well into the 18th Century. While Reformed theologians and synods fought the practice, Lutherans on the whole defended it for practical reasons as well as for reasons of decorum. In Altona in 1705 an edict of the Danish King Fredric ended the use of straws, in Brandenburg Royal Prussian decrees forbade them a short time later.'

¹² The Utraquists' proof texts included: 'Bibite ex hoc omnes' ('Drink ye all of this.' Mat 26:27, and parallels) 'Nisi manducaveritis carnem Filii hominis, et biberitis ejus sanguinem, non habebitis vitam in vobis.' ('except you eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you.' John 6:54; and the Bread of Life Discourse in general). The Council of Trent comments (Session XXI, Chapter I): 'He who said: Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink his blood, you shall not have life in you (v. 54), also said: He that eateth this bread shall live for ever (v. 59); and He who said: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood hath everlasting life (v. 55), also said: The bread that I will give is my flesh for the life of the world (v. 52); and, in fine, He who said: He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me and I in him (v. 57), said, nevertheless: He that eateth this bread shall live for ever (v. 59).'

¹³ The Council of Trent, Session XIII (1551), Canon III. 'If any one denieth, that, in the venerable sacrament of the Eucharist, the whole Christ is contained under each species, and under every part of each species, when separated; let him be anathema.' Session XXI (1562): Canon I. 'If any one saith, that, by the precept of God, or, by necessity of salvation, all and each of the faithful of Christ ought to receive both species of the most holy sacrament not consecrating; let him be anathema.' Canon II. 'If any one saith, that the holy Catholic Church was not induced, by just causes and reasons, to communicate, under the species of bread only, laymen, and also clerics when not consecrating; let him be anathema.' Canon III. 'If any one denieth, that Christ whole and entire, the fountain and author of all graces, is received

6. The question of the Chalice was raised in the Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 55:

The dogmatic principles which were laid down by the Council of Trent remaining intact, communion under both kinds may be granted when the bishops think fit, not only to clerics and religious, but also to the laity, in cases to be determined by the Apostolic See, as, for instance, to the newly ordained in the Mass of their sacred ordination, to the newly professed in the Mass of their religious profession, and to the newly baptized in the Mass which follows their baptism.¹⁴

7. The Instruction *Sacramentali Communionem* (1970) stated that, with the permission of the Holy See,

Ordinaries may designate the particular instances, but on condition that they grant permission not indiscriminately but for clearly defined celebrations and that they point out matters for caution. They are also to exclude occasions when there will be a large number of communicants. The groups receiving this permission must also be specific, well ordered, and homogeneous.

8. The Instruction warns of the dangers of 'misunderstanding', and of profanation. The former was to be guarded against by 'the necessary catechesis' (§5); the latter (§6) by:

its being done with dignity, devotion, propriety, and the avoidance of the danger of irreverence.

9. These general principles were reiterated in further Instructions, *Inaestimabile donum* (1980)¹⁵ and *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004).¹⁶ In 1984, however, the Congregation

under the one species of bread; because that, as some falsely assert, He is not received, according to the institution of Christ himself, under both species; let him be anathema.'

¹⁴ Decree of the Second Vatican Council on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 55: 'Communio sub utraque specie, firmis principiis dogmaticis a Concilio Tridentino statutis, in casibus ab Apostolica Sede definiendis, tum clericis et religiosis, tum laicis concedi potest, de iudicio Episcoporum, veluti ordinatis in Missa sacrae suae ordinationis, professis in Missa religiosae suae professionis, neophytis in Missa quae Baptismus subsequitur.'

¹⁵ The Congregation for Divine Worship, Instruction *Inaestimabile donum* (1980) 12: 'Episcopal conferences and ordinaries also are not to go beyond what is laid down in the present discipline: the granting of permission for Communion under both kinds is not to be indiscriminate, and the celebrations in question are to be specified precisely; the groups that use this faculty are to be clearly defined, well disciplined, and homogeneous.'

¹⁶ The Congregation for Divine Worship, Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004) 101: 'In order for Holy Communion under both kinds to be administered to the lay members of Christ's faithful, due consideration should be given to the circumstances, as judged first of all by the diocesan Bishop.' ('Ut christifidelibus laicis sacra Communio sub utraque specie ministraretur, congruenter aestimanda erunt adiuncta, de quibus iudicent praeprimis Episcopi dioecesani.') 102: 'The chalice should not be ministered to lay members of Christ's faithful where there is such a large number of communicants that it is difficult to gauge the amount of wine for the Eucharist and there is a danger that "more than a reasonable quantity of the Blood of Christ remain to be consumed at the end of the celebration".' ('Ne ministraretur calix christifidelibus laicis ubi tantus adsit communicandorum numerus, ut difficile evadat quantitatem vini ad Eucharistiam aestimare, et periculum exstet, ut «copia Sanguinis Christi plus aequo remaneat in fine celebrationis sumenda»') The internal quotation is from *the General Instruction of the Roman Missal* n285 a.

for Divine Worship allowed the Bishops of the United States to extend permission for the use of the Chalice by the Faithful to Sundays and Holydays,¹⁷ and this practice is now very widespread in Europe and North America.

10. As clarified by the Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae*,¹⁸ practice at the Extraordinary Form is governed by the liturgical law in use in 1962: the Chalice is received only by the celebrant.

The Value of the 1962 Discipline

11. A number of related issues must be noted before the situation can be assessed.
12. First, the current practice of the Ordinary Form cannot with precision be regarded as the restoration of the ancient practice. The historic methods of intinction, and the use of a *fistula*, which avoid the need for the Chalice to be handled by the Communicant, though permitted today in the Ordinary Form, are almost unknown.¹⁹ The modern method conforms more closely to the practice of Protestant groups,²⁰ and indeed the ecumenical aspect of the new practice has often been noted.²¹
13. Again, the reception of the Chalice in the Early Middle Ages, and indeed amongst the Hussites and early Protestants,²² took place in the context of the infrequent reception of Communion, which lessened its consequences either for reverence or hygiene.

¹⁷ Protocol CD 1297/78. This followed widespread use of the Chalice beyond the guidelines given by earlier documents.

¹⁸ Pontifical Commission *Ecclesia Dei*, Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae* (2011) 28: 'Furthermore, since it is of course dealt with by special law, in respect of its own subject matter, the Apostolic Letter *Summorum Pontificum* derogates from all liturgical laws that belong to the sacred rites, promulgated from the year 1962 onwards, and not coinciding with the rubrics of the liturgical books of the year 1962.' ('Praeterea, cum sane de lege speciali agitur, quoad materiam propriam, Litterae Apostolicae Summorum Pontificum derogant omnibus legibus liturgicis, sacrorum rituum propriis, exinde ab anno 1962 promulgatis, et cum rubricis librorum liturgicorum anni 1962 non congruentibus.')

¹⁹ See *Redemptionis Sacramentum* 103: 'The norms of the Roman Missal admit the principle that in cases where Communion is administered under both kinds, "the Blood of the Lord may be received either by drinking from the chalice directly, or by intinction, or by means of a tube or a spoon". As regards the administering of Communion to lay members of Christ's faithful, the Bishops may exclude Communion with the tube or the spoon where this is not the local custom, though the option of administering Communion by intinction always remains.' ('Normae Missalis Romani admittunt principium quo, in casibus ubi Communio sub utraque specie ministretur, «sanguis Domini sumi potest vel ex ipso calice directe bibendo, vel per intinctionem, vel cum calamo, vel cum cochleari». Quoad Communione christifidelibus laicis ministrationem, Episcopi Communionem cum calamo vel cum cochleari excludi possunt, ubi usus loci non sit, manente tamen semper optione Communione per intinctionem ministrandae.') The internal quotation is the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* 245.

²⁰ It is worth noting that among Anglicans the general practice is for the Eucharistic Minister to hold onto the Chalice and tilt it to allow the Communicant to receive; the Communicant does not touch the Chalice with his hands, but only with his lips. This practice, which is compatible with existing liturgical law, has been carried over into the Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham.

²¹ There is a parallel here with the reception of the Host in the hand: see Positio 3: *The Manner of Receiving Communion*.

²² Frequent Communion is an exception throughout the history of Protestantism, generally attributable to (20th century) Catholic influence. It is worth noting also that, at least in England and Wales, Anglican congregations are significantly smaller than Catholic ones (because of the larger number of Anglican

14. Finally, the modern practice in the Ordinary Form takes place in the context of the almost universal practice of Communion in the Hand, and the very widespread use of Extraordinary Ministers of Holy Communion. The former militates against the use of intinction;²³ the distribution of the Chalice to large congregations serves in turn as a putative justification for the use of Extraordinary Ministers.²⁴
15. A casual attitude towards the reception of Holy Communion has been lamented by Blessed Pope John Paul II and by Pope Benedict XVI.²⁵ The exclusion of the Faithful from the Chalice reinforces an attitude of reverence for the Blessed Sacrament in two immediate ways: by reducing the danger of spillage of the Precious Blood, and by avoiding the necessity of Communicants taking the Chalice into their own hands. The reverence due to the Sacred Vessels is considered in more detail in Appendix A.
16. Less directly, the practice of the Extraordinary Form avoids a host of practical difficulties, and the possibility of a series of liturgical abuses, to which the distribution of the Chalice in the Ordinary Form has sometimes given rise, under modern conditions, and which have had to be dealt with by the Congregation for Divine Worship.²⁶

places of worship), making the typical Eucharistic service a more intimate affair, as well as usually a less frequent one.

²³ Michael Davies quotes Fr Tom Maher, writing in 1979 at the height of the controversy over the introduction of the practice of reception under both kinds in the United States, where Fr Maher was Executive Director of Cardinal Bernadin's 'Liturgy Office': 'It might be mentioned that we do not recommend receiving the bread and wine by intinction, that is by dipping the bread into the wine. Such a practice minimizes the sign of eating and drinking and, furthermore, would inhibit people from receiving Communion in the hand.' Michael Davies *Communion Under Both Kinds* (Long Prairie: The Neumann Press, revised edition 1989) p28.

²⁴ The standard advice of Bishops' Conferences is that two ministers be provided for the Chalice for every minister provided for the Host. This makes the distribution of Holy Communion under Both Kinds exclusively by priests and deacons, unlikely. On the other hand, the use of Extraordinary Ministers of Holy Communion is very restricted under liturgical law, and it seems a paradox to claim that they are justified by the length of time the Communion of the Faithful would otherwise take, if it would only take an excessively long time because the Chalice is being offered, in the context of the general rule that the Chalice should not be offered to large congregations.

²⁵ See Positio 3: *The Manner of the Reception of Communion*; Positio 10: *The Eucharistic Fast*. See Blessed Pope John Paul II in *Dominicae Cena* (1980): 'Sometimes, indeed quite frequently, everybody participating in the Eucharistic assembly goes to Communion; and on some such occasions, as experienced pastors confirm, there has not been due care to approach the sacrament of Penance so as to purify one's conscience.' ('Interdum scilicet, immo compluribus in casibus, cuncti eucharisticae celebrationis participes ad communionem accedunt, tametsi nonnumquam - ut comprobant periti rerum pastores - habita non est debita cura, ut prius Paenitentiae Sacramentum reciperent propriam ad conscientiam mundandam.') Pope Benedict XVI Post-Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 55: 'Clearly, full participation in the Eucharist takes place when the faithful approach the altar in person to receive communion. Yet true as this is, care must be taken lest they conclude that the mere fact of their being present in church during the liturgy gives them a right or even an obligation to approach the table of the Eucharist.' ('Sine dubio plena participatio Eucharistiae habetur cum quis accedit etiam personaliter ad altare Communionis recipiendae gratia.(169) Attamen cavendum est ne haec iusta affirmatio forsitan introducat inter fideles quendam automatismum, quasi quispiam ob solam praesentiam in ecclesia, liturgiae tempore, ius habeat, vel forsitan etiam officium, ad Mensam eucharisticam accedendi.')

²⁶ The Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* responds to problems associated with the distribution of the Precious Blood to the Faithful with clarifications, permissions, and prohibitions, as follows. First, '[o]nly out of true necessity is there to be recourse to the assistance of extraordinary ministers in the celebration of the Liturgy.' ('Solummodo ex vera necessitate recurrendum erit ad auxilium ministrorum

17. Furthermore, by creating a contrast between the Priest's reception under both kinds, and the Faithful's reception of the Host alone, the sacrificial nature of the Mass is illustrated and emphasised. The double consecration of bread and wine, symbolising the separation of Our Lord's body from the blood shed in His Passion, and also the reception by the celebrant of the Precious Blood as well as the Host, is necessary to the completion of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, considered in its ritual aspect. The Communion of the Faithful is an additional aspect of the rite, which adds nothing to the validity of the sacrifice, offered by both priest and Faithful, and can be done completely by the Faithful's reception of the Host alone.
18. The two-fold nature of the Mass, as Sacrifice and Sacrament, is a commonplace of traditional catechesis and spirituality;²⁷ the clear distinction between them is designed to do justice to each. As Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger observed, this aspect of the Extraordinary Form is a useful antidote to a one-sided emphasis on the Mass as a shared meal.²⁸
19. A final issue is one of hygiene. This caused particular concern in the context of the world-wide 'Swine Flu' (H1N1) epidemic of 2009, when many dioceses prohibited the reception of the Chalice by the Faithful. This will be discussed in more detail in Appendix B.

extraordinarium in Liturgiae celebratione.') (151). Second, as noted above, the distribution of the Chalice where the large numbers of potential Communicants make it difficult to estimate the quantity of wine which should be consecrated (102). Third, the related problem of a large quantity of the Precious Blood being consecrated leads the Instruction to condemn the practice of pouring it from one container into another after consecration (106). Fourth, the possibility that a large quantity of the Precious Blood will be left over after the Communion of the Faithful requires the seriousness of the abuse (leading to *latae sententiae* excommunication) of casting away the Sacred Species, to be reiterated (107); the same paragraph reminds readers, fifth, that the Precious Blood left over must be consumed by a priest, and not an Extraordinary Minister of Holy Communion. Sixth, self-intinction is condemned, as is, seventh, intinction using non-consecrated bread (104). Eighth, intinction also requires the use of hosts of appropriate dimensions (103). Ninth, and finally, the distribution of the Chalice is forbidden not only when there is a risk of profanation, but 'where a notable part of the people continues to prefer not to approach the chalice for various reasons, so that the sign of unity would in some sense be negated.' (102) ('ubi pars notabilis populi ad calicem variis ex causis perseveranter nolit accedere, ablato igitur quodammodo signo unitatis.')

²⁷ For example, the *Baltimore Catechism* (Q872): 'The Holy Eucharist is a Sacrament when we receive it in Holy Communion and when it remains in the Tabernacle of the Altar. It is a sacrifice when it is offered up at Mass by the separate Consecration of the bread and wine, which signifies the separation of Our Lord's blood from His body when He died on the Cross.' *A Catechism of Christian Doctrine Prepared and Enjoined by order of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore* No.3 (London: Baronius Press, 2006) (reprinted from the 1921 edition) p164

²⁸ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) 'The Theology of the Liturgy' in *Looking Again at the Question of the Liturgy with Cardinal Ratzinger: proceedings of the July 2001 Fontgombault Conference* ed. Alcuin Reid, pp18-31, p20: 'A sizable party of catholic liturgists seems to have practically arrived at the conclusion that Luther, rather than Trent, was substantially right in the sixteenth century debate; one can detect much the same position in the post conciliar discussions on the Priesthood. ... It is only against this background of the effective denial of the authority of Trent, that the bitterness of the struggle against allowing the celebration of Mass according to the 1962 Missal, after the liturgical reform, can be understood. The possibility of so celebrating constitutes the strongest, and thus (for them) the most intolerable contradiction of the opinion of those who believe that the faith in the Eucharist formulated by Trent has lost its value.'

Conclusion

20. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* proposed a revival and extension of the late Medieval tradition, which survived into modern times, of certain persons receiving from the Chalice on a very occasional basis, such as a monarch at his coronation. In the Medieval context we read of such concessions being for the 'augmenting of grace':²⁹ given the teaching of Trent, this must be understood not as sacramental grace, but as the stimulation of a special devotion.
21. This devotion was stimulated in part because of the symbolism of the Chalice, and in part because it was a special privilege; it was only the exceptional reception of the Chalice by non-clerics which was envisaged by *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. Were it to be extended to the Extraordinary Form today, however, the sense of privilege could not be generated, because of the spread of the practice in the Ordinary Form to the point of routine. On the other hand, a heightened devotion in receiving Holy Communion may be stimulated by the distinctive manner of reception employed in the Extraordinary Form: kneeling, on the tongue, with a Communion Plate, and invariably from a priest or (exceptionally) a deacon.
22. The introduction into the Extraordinary Form of the distribution of the Chalice to the Faithful would create both a practical and theological dissonance in this Form of the Roman Rite.³⁰ Practically, it would be difficult to undertake without the use of Extraordinary Ministers of Holy Communion, and would introduce an unavoidable risk of spillage which would contrast with the careful precautions, in the Extraordinary Form, taken to avoid the loss of the smallest fragment of the consecrated Host. Theologically, it would be at odds with the general emphasis on the reverence due to the Blessed Sacrament and to the Sacred Vessels, and to the emphasis placed on the sacrificial nature of the Mass. The features of the Extraordinary Form at odds with the distribution of the Chalice are, in fact, some of those of most value as a witness to the Church as a whole, to the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament.

²⁹ De Lugo (*Disputationes*, 1869, Vol IV pp39ff), refers to the permission granted by Pope Clement VI to the King of France to receive the Chalice 'ad maius gratiae augmentum'. Quoted, with other similar references, by Charles Harris 'The Communion of the Sick, Viaticum, and Reservation' in W.K. Lowther Clarke and Charles Harris: *Liturgy and Worship: A companion to the Prayer Books of the Anglican Communion* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1932), pp541-615, p614.

³⁰ See the Instruction *Il Padre, incomprensibile* (1996) 53, addressed to the Oriental Churches, on the importance of maintaining the manner of receiving Holy Communion traditional to those Churches: 'Even if this excludes enhancing the value of other criteria, also legitimate, and implies renouncing some convenience, a change of the traditional usage risks incurring a non-organic intrusion with respect to the spiritual framework to which it refers.'

Appendix A: The Reverence due to the Sacred Vessels

It is no exaggeration to say that the attitude of Catholics to the Chalice, Ciborium, and Paten, and to the Purificator, has undergone a revolution since 1962, a revolution manifested both in practice and in liturgical law. The practice of Communion under both Kinds is not the only factor in this revolution, but it is a sufficient one. The way that the Chalice is distributed in the Ordinary Form is simply incompatible with the traditional norms for the treatment of the Sacred Vessels.

These norms reflected a tradition already witnessed by St Gregory Nazianzen (d. 389/390): he took it for granted that the Sacred Vessels should not be touched by the laity.³¹ The Roman Catechism explains:

To safeguard in every possible way the dignity of so august a sacrament, not only is the power of its administration entrusted exclusively to priests, but the Church has also prohibited by law any but consecrated persons, unless some case of great necessity intervene, to dare handle or touch the sacred vessels, the linen, or other instruments necessary to its completion.³²

The prohibition on non-clerics touching the Sacred Vessels entered the *Codex Juris Canonici* through Gratian's *Decretals* (compiled in the 12th century), which cites a false decretal of Pope Soter (d. 174);³³ similarly, the *Liber Pontificalis* (c. 500) records that Pope Sixtus I (d. c.124) laid down that only sacred ministers should touch the Sacred Vessels.

This is reiterated by the 1917 Code of Canon Law (1306.1):

Care should be taken lest a chalice, paten, or, before cleansing, purificators, palls, and corporals that were used in the sacrifice of the Mass are touched by any other than by clerics or those who have custody of these things.

The careful enforcement of this attitude was characteristic of pre-Conciliar liturgical formation.³⁴ Its effect on the piety of the Faithful was pervasive, and the cultural aspects of this are underlined by the novelist Martin Mosebach.³⁵ It created a powerful sense of

³¹ St Gregory Nazianzen wrote (translated literally): 'What liturgical vessels, even though not-to-be-touched (ἄψωστα) by the many, did I give over to the hands of the lawless?' From the context he is reproaching the Arians for inciting tumults in the churches of the orthodox, during which even women of the lowest stamp made sport of sacred things. (*Oration* 33.3 (NPNF 2nd ser. 7.329); PG 36.217B).

³² *Catechism of the Council of Trent* (trans John A. McHugh O.P. and Charles J. Callan O.P., 1923) reprinted by Roman Catholic Books, p. 254.

³³ Which is to say, a canon law text falsely attributed to Pope Soter.

³⁴ Fr William O'Brien *A Handbook for the Sacristan: a detailed guide to prepare for liturgical functions* (Imprimatur 1932; reprinted by Veritas Press, Santa Monica CA) p12: 'The chalice and paten may not be handled by lay people or by one not in Major Orders. Permission may, however, be granted to those who have charge of such things to handle and prepare them.'

³⁵ Martin Mosebach *The Heresy of Formlessness* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2006): recalling the circumstances of his local church when he was a child, he writes (p176): 'The sacristan enjoyed a significant privilege for a layman: he was allowed to touch the sacred vessels; the bishop himself had given permission. His son, however, was not allowed. If his son had to fetch the chalice, he had to put on white gloves, as he did when he brought the heavy monstrance from the cupboard (his father could no longer lift it).'

the sacredness of those things most closely associated with the Blessed Sacrament, and, *a fortiori*, of the Blessed Sacrament Itself. The attitude encapsulated in this legislation is still very much at work in the Extraordinary Form today.³⁶

By contrast, we find in the 1983 Code of Canon Law (Canon 1171):

Sacred objects, which are designated for divine worship by dedication or blessing, are to be treated reverently and are not to be employed for profane or inappropriate use even if they are owned by private persons.

The General Instruction of the Roman Missal states, similarly (327):

Among the requisites for the celebration of Mass, the sacred vessels are held in special honour, especially the chalice and paten, in which the bread and wine are offered and consecrated, and from which they are consumed.

The Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004), reiterating the General Instruction,³⁷ specifies that it is a priest, deacon, or instituted acolyte, who purifies the vessels and puts them away.³⁸ The purification of Sacred Vessels by Extraordinary Ministers of Holy Communion remains, however, a very widespread abuse.

As has been noted, the distribution of the Chalice to the Faithful, when there is a congregation of any size, generally necessitates the use of Extraordinary Ministers of Holy Communion. Even if it did not, distribution in the manner almost invariably employed, using neither intinction nor the historically dominant practice of the West, the *fistula*, makes it necessary for the Communicant to handle the Chalice.

The concern, so often expressed by the Papal magisterium, that the reverence of the Faithful for the Blessed Sacrament is too often deficient, has an obvious relevance here.

³⁶ The prohibition on anyone other than the celebrant receiving the Chalice in the 1917 Code of Canon Law has been superseded, but although no longer of canonical force, as a liturgical principle it is still valid in the context of the Extraordinary Form.

³⁷ See the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* nn. 163, 183, 192.

³⁸ Congregation for Divine Worship, Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004) 119: 'The Priest, once he has returned to the altar after the distribution of Communion, standing at the altar or at the credence table, purifies the paten or ciborium over the chalice, then purifies the chalice in accordance with the prescriptions of the Missal and wipes the chalice with the purificator. Where a Deacon is present, he returns with the Priest to the altar and purifies the vessels. It is permissible, however, especially if there are several vessels to be purified, to leave them, covered as may be appropriate, on a corporal on the altar or on the credence table, and for them to be purified by the Priest or Deacon immediately after Mass once the people have been dismissed. Moreover a duly instituted acolyte assists the Priest or Deacon in purifying and arranging the sacred vessels either at the altar or the credence table. In the absence of a Deacon, a duly instituted acolyte carries the sacred vessels to the credence table and there purifies, wipes and arranges them in the usual way.' ('Sacerdos, ad altare post distributionem Communione reversus, stans ad altare vel ad abacum purificat patenam vel pyxidem super calicem, postea purificat calicem, iuxta Missalis praescripta, et calicem purificatorio absterget. Ubi adsit Diaconus, ille cum Sacerdote ad altare revertitur et vasa purificat. Licet tamen vasa purificanda, praesertim si sint plura, opportune cooperta, in altari vel in abaco super corporale relinquere eaque statim post Missam, populo dimisso, a Sacerdote vel Diacono purificari. Item acolythus rite institutus Sacerdotem vel Diaconum in vasis sacris purificandis et componendis sive ad altare sive ad abacum adiuvat. Absente Diacono, acolythus rite institutus vasa sacra ad abacum defert ibique more solito ea purificat, abstergit et componit.'))

The practice of the Extraordinary Form, which naturally conforms to the traditional discipline, can in this respect be a valuable lesson for the whole Church.

Appendix B: The Question of Hygiene

A concern for public health in the distribution of Holy Communion has always been part of the practice of the Latin Church. St Thomas Aquinas expresses it memorably:

If it be discovered that the wine has been poisoned, the priest should neither receive it nor administer it to others on any account, lest the life-giving chalice become one of death.³⁹

This is reiterated by the 1962 *Missale Romanum*'s instructions.⁴⁰

It is not surprising, accordingly, that following medical advice distribution of the Chalice was prohibited in the English dioceses of Plymouth, Brentwood, Lancaster and Portsmouth, and in some parishes in the Archdiocese of Liverpool, in the course of the epidemic of Swine Flu (the H1N1 virus) 2009; in the diocese of Portsmouth Communion on the tongue was also prohibited, as was shaking hands at the kiss of peace.⁴¹ Similar precautions were taken in a number of dioceses in North America and elsewhere, and by a number of Anglican dioceses.⁴²

There have been many studies on the survival of the virus on 'fomites', surfaces which had been infected by a sufferer. For example, one peer-reviewed study found that the H1N1 virus would survive for four hours on such a surface.⁴³ Looking at the more general problem of fomites, a study of the Norovirus, the very common 'vomiting bug', demonstrated the difficulty of disinfecting a surface: the use of a cloth with ordinary detergent only served to infect the cloth, and any previously non-infected surface the cloth subsequently touched.⁴⁴ The norovirus is not affected by detergents since it lacks a

³⁹ St Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica* IIIa Q83 a.6, ad3: 'Si vero venenum ibi adesse deprehenderit immissum, nullo modo debet sumere nec alii dare ne calix vitae vertatur in mortem.'

⁴⁰ *De Defectibus* X 6: 'If something poisonous falls into the Chalice after the Consecration, or something that would cause vomiting, the consecrated wine is to be poured into another Chalice, with water added until the Chalice is full, so that the species of wine will be dissolved; and this water is to be poured out into the sacrarium. Other wine, together with water, is to be brought and consecrated.' ('Si aliquid venenosum ceciderit in calicem, vel quod provocaret vomitum, vinum consecratum reponendum est in alio calice aqua pleno, ita ut species vini dissolvantur; et huiusmodi aqua in sacrarium proiciatur. Aliud autem vinum cum aqua apponendum est, denuo consecrandum.')

⁴¹ Reported in the *Catholic Herald*, 31st July 2009

⁴² The suspension of the use of the Chalice is provided for in the (British) Anglican context by the Sacrament Act of 1547, which followed an outbreak of the bubonic plague.

⁴³ 'In contrast, live virus—as tested by plaque assay (for seasonal H1N1) or fluorescent focus formation (for pH1N1)—was recovered from most surfaces after 4 hours and from some nonporous materials after 9 hours, but by 24 hours it had fallen below detection levels.' "Survival of Influenza A(H1N1) on Materials Found in Households: Implications for Infection Control", by Jane S. Greatorex, Paul Digard, Martin D. Curran, Robert Moynihan, Harrison Wensley, Tim Wreghitt, Harsha Varsani, Fayna Garcia, Joanne Enstone, Jonathan S. Nguyen-Van-Tam; Published November 22, 2011 by Plos One.

⁴⁴ 'In a study by Barker et al., surfaces cleaned with a detergent solution spread norovirus to uncontaminated surfaces. As a result, the contaminated surface, the cleaning cloth, and the cross-contaminated surface all tested positive for norovirus. However, cleaning with a 5,000 ppm chlorine

lipid viral envelope; it can be destroyed however by dilute bleach. Anti-bacterial agents are recommended for the Swine flu virus.

It is clear enough that the usual practice of wiping the rim of a chalice with a purificator, and turning the chalice a little between communicants, has a merely symbolic value. The sharing of saliva among a large group of people, which the usual practice of reception of the Precious Blood in the Latin West implies, is ideally suited to the passing on of infections of all kinds.

To reiterate points made above, the infrequency of Holy Communion in the Early Middle Ages means that this problem did not have the same importance. Again, the documents permitting the distribution of the Chalice consistently exclude large congregations. The reality in Europe and North America, however, is quite different.

By contrast, there should be no danger of cross-infection in the case of the reception of the Host on the tongue, if it is properly administered, since the priest's fingers should not touch the Communicant's tongue. The same is true of the practice of intinction using a spoon, practiced in the Eastern Churches: the contents on the spoon are simply gently deposited in the communicant's mouth, and the communicant does not close his mouth on the spoon. In these cases a concern about infection would be an argument for ensuring that the practice was being carried out correctly, but not for a suspension of the traditional practice.

While the Swine Flu epidemic caused particular concerns, the hygiene issue is a general one, and one more prominent today than in the 1970s when the current practice was being proposed and spread.⁴⁵ The common practice, in the context of modern levels of frequency of the reception of Communion, and with large congregations, does raise a question of public health.

Appendix C: Celiac Disease

A side-issue in considering the distribution of the Chalice is raised by Celiac Disease, sufferers of which are intolerant of gluten, a protein found in wheat, and therefore in ordinary hosts. The matter has received the attention of the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith, and Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger, as Prefect, issued norms on the matter in 2003.⁴⁶ The following principles are relevant to lay sufferers:⁴⁷

solution was effective in preventing cross-contamination and eliminating norovirus from environmental surfaces.' "Significance of Fomites in the Spread of Respiratory and Enteric Viral Disease" by Stephanie A. Boone and Charles P. Gerba; published in *Applied Environmental Microbiology* 2007

⁴⁵ The study of viruses and the understanding of how they spread has advanced a great deal since the early 1970s. The norovirus, for example, was first identified in 1972.

⁴⁶ July 24, 2003 Prot. 89/78-174 98

⁴⁷ The document makes equivalent provision for priests who suffer from Celiac disease.

A. 1. Hosts that are completely gluten-free are invalid matter for the celebration of the Eucharist.

A. 2. Low-gluten hosts (partially gluten-free) are valid matter, provided they contain a sufficient amount of gluten to obtain the confection of bread without the addition of foreign materials and without the use of procedures that would alter the nature of bread.

B. 1. A layperson affected by celiac disease, who is not able to receive, Communion under the species of bread, including low-gluten hosts, may receive Communion under the species of wine only.

C. 1. The Ordinary is competent to give permission for an individual priest or layperson to use low-gluten hosts or mustum for the celebration of the Eucharist. Permission can be granted habitually, for as long as the situation continues which occasioned the granting of permission.

It should be noted that the reception of the Chalice alone is not regarded by the (American) Catholic Celiac Society as ideal, for a number of reasons, including the fact that at the Commixtum a portion of the large Host is dropped into the Chalice, contaminating the Precious Blood with traces of gluten; this is exacerbated if previous Communicants have undertaken self-intinction.⁴⁸

Today reduced-gluten hosts are widely available, approved by both the proper Church authorities and associations supporting sufferers, and it is an established practice for priests ministering to celiacs to ensure that such hosts are consecrated, in a separate ciborium.

Those celiacs unable, without damage to their health, to receive even a small portion of a reduced-gluten host, on an occasional basis, are a small minority of what is already a small group. The possibility that, for health reasons, a person may be unable to receive Communion is one not unknown in the history of the Church. The only way to provide a completely gluten-free Communion would be for a separate Chalice to be consecrated, into which no Host is added. Although the number of people for whom this is necessary is tiny, the liceity of this solution in the context of the Extraordinary Form is one which could usefully be clarified.

⁴⁸ Mike & Chris Spreitzer: *Reaching Out To Catholics With Celiac Disease* (Catholic Celiac Society). The practice of self-intinction is, in fact, forbidden by the Instruction *Redemptionis Sacramentum* (2004) 104.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 18

THE DIALOGUE MASS

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From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical traditions’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Dialogue Mass: Abstract

The *Missa recitata* or Dialogue Mass, in which the Faithful are encouraged to make the servers’ responses and sometimes to say aloud other texts, was introduced in the early 20th century, and continues to be practised in some parts of the world. There is evidence of the Faithful joining in the responses in Southern Europe in the 16th century, but not elsewhere or later. The rationale of the 20th century practice is to encourage a deeper participation in the Mass; the purpose of this paper is to explore the rationale of hearing Low Mass without dialoguing, against the presumption that dialoguing is always better. The value of silent participation of the Faithful is in fact defended by Pope Pius XII and Blessed Pope John Paul II, and should be seen as a form of contemplative prayer, which the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* links to the liturgy and calls the ‘most intense time of prayer.’

1. At Low Mass in the Extraordinary Form, the responses may be made by the server alone (*Missa lecta*, the ‘silent’ Low Mass), or by congregation (*Missa recitata*,¹ the ‘Dialogue Mass’). The making of the responses (and often reciting other texts)² by the congregation was encouraged by the 20th century Liturgical Movement,³ in the context of a degree of liturgical experimentation and confusion.⁴ In 1921 and 1922 the Sacred Congregation for Rites stated that this practice was not ‘expedient’;⁵ in 1935, in response to a *dubium*, it said that it is for the Ordinary to decide whether it would be advantageous to encourage it in particular cases.⁶ It was discussed in Pope Pius XII’s

¹ It is called ‘*Missa recitata*’ in *De musica sacra* (see Appendix B); an early proponent, Mgr C. Callewaert, called it ‘*Missa Dialogata*’ in a 1932 article (see Ellard *op. cit.* p43).

² In addition to the servers’ responses, proponents of the *Missa recitata* suggested that the Faithful also say the parts sung by the Schola in Sung Mass, such as the Gloria and Creed, and perhaps also the Introit and other sung Propers, which are not said by the servers. The Schola, however, does not sing all the servers’ responses, notably at the Preparatory Prayers, since these are occluded by the singing of the Introit and Kyrie (see Positio 9: ‘Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form’): what is being proposed is a hybrid role for the Faithful. The different historical origins of the chants should be noted: Jungmann suggests that with responsorial chants such as the Kyrie and the Gradual, the Faithful originally sang the responses, the Gloria and Creed were first sung by ‘the clergy assembled around the altar’, and taken over from them by the Schola (Josef Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its origins and development* (English Edition, New York: Benzinger, 1950) Vol. I p238.) Most surprising is to find the *Pater Noster* also considered suitable for the Faithful to say with the priest, since it has never been said or sung by either servers or Schola. Its status as a priestly prayer is indicated by the celebrant’s gesture at this point: the prayer is introduced with hands joined, and said with hands extended.

³ It seems the practice originated in Belgium, and was proposed at the Liturgical Congress in Malines in 1909, by Fr Pierard. See Fr Gerald Ellard SJ *The Dialog Mass* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942), p41

⁴ Ellard notes the growth in Italy of ‘the loud recitation in Italian of the entire Mass, the Canon and the words of Consecration not excepted’ (emphasis in the original), which was condemned by the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1921 and 1922, and the saying in the vernacular of those ‘parts such as are not recited aloud by the priest, such as the Offertory prayers and the Prayers before Communion’ which spread in the diocese of Chicago in the United States of America in the 1930s (*ibid.* p48; pp169-70; p176). Ellard describes six methods of dialoguing, with children in mind (*ibid.* pp173-189); *De musica sacra* describes four options (see Appendix B).

⁵ The Sacred Congregation for Rites made several responses to questions on the Dialogue Mass in 1921 and 1922. The 1922 ruling (4 August) stated: ‘Things that are in themselves licit, are not always expedient, owing to the difficulties which may easily arise, as in this case, especially on account of the disturbances which the priests who celebrate and the people who assist may experience, to the disadvantage of the sacred Action and of the rubrics. Hence, it is expedient to retain the common usage, as we have several times replied in similar cases.’ (Ellard, *op. cit.* pp50-1) Jungmann notes that the argument had been made in 1921 that for the Faithful to make the responses was contrary to Canon 818 of the 1917 Code of Canon Law, which states ‘Reprobating every contrary custom, celebrating priests are to observe accurately and devoutly the rubrics of their own liturgical books, taking care lest they add other ceremonies or prayers on their own authority.’ (Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol. I pp237-8, note 25)

⁶ Sacred Congregation for Rites, Decree of 30 Nov, 1935, to the Cardinal Archbishop of Genoa: ‘This Sacred Congregation, having heard also the opinion of the Liturgical Commission, replies that, in accordance with decree n. 4375 [1921], it is for the Ordinary to decide whether, in individual cases, in view of all the circumstances, namely, the place, the people, the number of Masses which are being said at the same time, the proposed practice, though in itself praiseworthy, in fact causes disturbance rather than furthers devotion. This can easily happen in the case of the practice mentioned in the second question [sc. the saying by the people of the Kyrie, Gloria, Creed, Sanctus, and Agnus Dei], even without passing on the reason assigned, namely, that a private Mass is an abbreviated sung Mass. According to the above standard, Your Eminence has the full right to control this form of liturgical piety according to your prudent discretion.’ (See Ellard *op. cit.* p62)

1947 Encyclical *Mediator Dei*,⁷ and the Sacred Congregation of Rites amplified the forms of dialogue possible in the 1955 Instruction *De musica sacra*.⁸

2. Both practices are lawful, and both have sustained the spiritual lives of Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form for at least two generations. When liturgical practices are deeply embedded in popular experience and piety the strongest justification is needed to attempt to impose changes. This paper proposes that there is no such justification. *De musica sacra* proposed that engaging in the dialogue represents the ‘most perfect form’ of participation,⁹ and in general it would seem that the onus is on the defender of the non-dialogue form to provide a rationale for its continuing use. Accordingly, this is what this paper sets out to do, without impugning the value of the *Missa recitata*.

The Historical Question

3. The saying of Mass without singing, a development unknown among the oriental churches, arose in the West in the 9th century. This met the desire of priests to say a daily Mass, and facilitated the development of chantries. It quickly acquired great pastoral value, in enabling the Faithful to attend a short Mass early in the day, during the working week.
4. Eamon Duffy’s important study of traditional piety in late Medieval England makes clear that the models of lay participation in Low Mass emphasised an awareness of what was taking place at Mass, accompanied by appropriate silent, private prayer.¹⁰ There is nevertheless evidence of the Faithful making the responses in Southern Europe in the 16th century,¹¹ a practice which later disappeared.¹²

⁷ See Appendix A.

⁸ See Appendix B.

⁹ Instruction of the Congregation for Rites *De musica sacra* (1955) 31 (see Appendix B). Similarly, an obligation to promote the *Missa recitata* is suggested by, for example, the words of Cardinal Minoretti of Genoa, who told his clergy in 1934: ‘It is the duty of priests to associate the faithful with the active celebration of the divine Mysteries, and not merely content themselves with silent assistance. The recitation of the rosary, morning prayers, acts of faith etc., are good things. But it is a better thing for the people to join their voice with that of the server and priest at the altar.’ Quoted in Ellard *op. cit.* p63. Many similar examples can be found in Ellard’s book, indicating a strong presumption in favour of the Dialogue Mass; this in fact contrasts with the careful language of Pope Pius XII’s encyclical *Mediator Dei* (see Appendix A) and the overall position of *De musica sacra*.

¹⁰ Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c.1400 to 1580* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) pp117-130. Duffy argues that the books of meditations and devotions for use in Mass were not intended for sung Sunday liturgies, since they make no reference to the Asperges, the Pax, and other ceremonies not found in weekday Low Masses. Duffy elsewhere makes it clear how interested the late Medieval Faithful were in the Mass Propers, taking a close interest in the devotions proper to particular votive Masses, and even requesting them, in preference to Requiems, in their wills.

¹¹ Fr Gerald Ellard SJ quotes Canon Antonio de Beatis, Secretary to Cardinal Louis of Aragon, writing in 1518: ‘The Flemings frequent their churches zealously, but very early in the mornings. The priests are quite slow in saying their Masses, in which they differ a good deal from the Italians, they say them so low that no one hears their voices. They do not permit anyone to make the responses, except the servers, and no one else.’ See Ellard *op. cit.* p14. In his later book *The Mass of the Future* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1948) p103, Ellard quotes the Council of Basle of 1435 criticising the ‘northern’ practice of saying Low Mass so quietly ‘that no one hears their voices’, which implies that the Faithful were not joining in any responses. Josef Jungmann presents a series of references for the Faithful making the responses up to Carolingian times, but Low Mass did not yet exist, and his contrasting it with the modern practice at *Missa Lecta* is misleading (Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol. I pp235-6).

5. A number of factors would have militated against dialoguing at Low Mass, most simply its use for private Masses, at which members of the Faithful might, or might not, be present, and the increasing distance between the Latin of the Mass and the vernaculars of Southern Europe. Non-verbal participation was moreover given a spiritual justification: Duffy quotes a Medieval commentator's explanation for the silent Canon, which has a more general application, as being 'ne impediatur populus orare'.¹³ This tradition found a defender in Pope Pius XII, who strongly rebuked those who criticised forms of liturgical participation in which the Faithful do not follow the liturgy word by word.¹⁴

Dialoguing and Participation

6. Two bad reasons for the 20th century promotion of the Dialogue Mass referred to by Pope Pius XII are, first, the suggestion that the liturgy needs an outward, social aspect, if it is to be a truly public act, and, secondly, the decline of Solemn Mass. Against the first, which had perhaps been encouraged by the febrile atmosphere of the First World War and its aftermath, when the Dialogue Mass was spreading, he emphasised the intrinsically social nature of the liturgy.¹⁵ Against the second he condemned the tendency to see the Dialogue Mass as a substitute for Solemn Mass.¹⁶
7. A better reason was the general principle that the Faithful should both understand what is going on in the liturgy, and enter deeply into its spirit. What *Mediator Dei* and *De musica sacra* stress, however, is that taking part in the dialogue is not the only way to participate worthily in the Mass, and that different people, or even the same people at different times, may have different needs, for which the *Missa recitata* may not be ideal. We might add that today we find deeply established differences of liturgical formation and culture, among those attached to the Extraordinary Form, which have developed since these documents were written.¹⁷
8. While the verbal involvement given by dialoguing is clear enough, the contemplative, non-verbal¹⁸ form of participation made possible by a non-dialogued *Missa lecta* must be articulated.

¹² John Burckard, a Papal Master of Ceremonies, published an *Ordo Missae* of 1502 which refers to 'those present' making the responses with the servers, for example for the Preparatory Prayers, but these references are absent from the 1570 *Missale Romanum*: Ellard compares the rubrics in parallel columns, ('The Dialog Mass' pp32-3). Pope Benedict XIV, writing in 1748, refers to the Faithful making responses as something which happened in past centuries: *ibid.* p34

¹³ 'Lest it impede the praying of the people'. Duffy op. cit. p117

¹⁴ Pope Pius XII, Encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947) 107-108: see Appendix A.

¹⁵ *Mediator Dei* 100: the innovations of the Liturgical Movement 'are by no means necessary to constitute it [sc. the Mass] a public act or to give it a social character.' (See Appendix A.)

¹⁶ *Mediator Dei* 100: 'a "dialogue" Mass of this kind cannot replace the high Mass, which, as a matter of fact, though it should be offered with only the sacred ministers present, possesses its own special dignity due to the impressive character of its ritual and the magnificence of its ceremonies.' (See Appendix A.) A related concern was expressed Bishop McLaughlin of Paterson, USA, in explaining why the Dialogue Mass would not be allowed in that diocese: 'it leads people more and more away from High Mass, which is the one which the faithful should participate in.' Quoted in Ellard op. cit. p111.

¹⁷ The two practices are dominant in different geographical areas: the *Missa recitata* is unusual in the English speaking world and Germany, but very common in France, Southern Europe, and elsewhere.

¹⁸ The novelist Evelyn Waugh, writing to Cardinal Heenan in 1964 of his distress about the liturgical changes, commented: 'My trade is in words and I daily become more sceptical about verbal comprehension—especially in the odd hinterland of verbal prayers.' *A Bitter Trial: Evelyn Waugh and John Carmel Cardinal Heenan on the liturgical changes* ed. Scott Reid (Curdrige: Saint Austin Press, 1996) p43.

9. Earlier papers in this series have noted¹⁹ other features of the ancient Roman liturgy, and the historic liturgies of other Rites, appear to impede the immediate verbal participation (hearing and understanding the words), or the seeing of what is going on, but compensate for this by the effect they have on the Faithful, communicating important truths to them non-verbally, most obviously the sense of mystery, and the sacredness of the proceedings, and doing so with great force. In the case of Low Mass, the silence or near-silence of the church, while the priest and the server alone maintain the sacred dialogue within the sanctuary, communicates profoundly the mysterious and other-worldly nature of the liturgy, even to those unfamiliar with it.²⁰ A greater use of silence can foster the sense of mystery which, in sung liturgies, is created by the use of Gregorian Chant and Sacred Polyphony.
10. The subtle difference of overall tempo and volume between a typical *Missa lecta* and a Dialogue Mass is noteworthy: in the former, a contemplative quiet, if not complete silence, is extended throughout the entire liturgy, particularly when Mass is said with a small congregation.²¹

11. In the context of the introduction of the Dialogue Mass, the novelist Evelyn Waugh wrote:

‘Participation’ in the Mass does not mean hearing our own voices. It means God hearing our voices. Only He knows who is ‘participating’ at Mass. I believe, to compare small things with great, that I ‘participate’ in a work of art when I study it and love it silently. No need to shout. ...If the Germans want to be noisy, let them. But why should they disturb our devotions?²²

Blessed Pope John Paul II also emphasised the value of silent participation in the liturgy:

Yet active participation does not preclude the active passivity of silence, stillness and listening: indeed, it demands it. Worshippers are not passive, for instance, when listening to the readings or the homily, or following the prayers of the celebrant, and the chants and music of the liturgy. These are experiences of silence and stillness, but they are in their own way profoundly active. In a culture which neither favours nor fosters meditative quiet, the art of interior

¹⁹ Positio 4: Liturgical Orientation; Positio 7: Latin as a Liturgical Language; Positio 9: Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form

²⁰ To give just one example, it made a deep impression on the playwright Oscar Wilde, who refers to the Catholic liturgy more than once in his *De Profundis*, which he wrote while in prison between 1896 and 1897. ‘[W]hen one contemplates all this from the point of view of Art alone one cannot but be grateful that the supreme office of the Church should be the playing of the tragedy without the shedding of blood, the mystical presentation by means of dialogue and costume and gesture even of the Passion of her Lord, and it is always a source of pleasure and awe to me to remember that the ultimate survival of the Greek Chorus, lost elsewhere to art, is to be found in the servitor answering the priest at Mass.’ *De Profundis* (London: Folio Society, 1991), ed. Peter Forster, p63 (p13 of the manuscript).

²¹ The Anglican theologian Charles Harris noted, in his entry on ‘Silence’ in an important High Anglican liturgical reference book (*Liturgy and Worship: A companion to the prayer books of the Anglican Communion* (London: SPCK, 1932) ed W.K. Lowther Clarke), that ‘At the present day not a few Latin Catholics definitely prefer Low to High Mass, partly, it would seem, on account of its brevity and simplicity, but still more on account of the devotional effect of the mystical or subdued voice employed by the celebrant even in those portions of the service intended to be audible.’ (pp774-782; p774)

²² Article in *The Spectator*, 1964; reproduced in *A Bitter Trial* ed. Reid, pp40-1. ‘The Germans’ are picked out perhaps as representative of those enthusiastic about the dialogue Mass (the liturgist Pius Parsch would be an example); the tradition of the German ‘Singmesse’ (Low Mass with hymns) may also be in Waugh’s mind.

listening is learned only with difficulty. Here we see how the liturgy, though it must always be properly inculturated, must also be counter-cultural.²³

12. Silent participation in *Missa lecta* may be accompanied by private, formal prayer, or by following the prayers of the Mass in a Missal. Most simply, however, it is an exercise of contemplative prayer:²⁴ far from being the least intense form of prayer, the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* reminds us that this is ‘the pre-eminently *intense time* of prayer’.²⁵ Watching and listening, facilitated by the expressive character of the ritual of the Extraordinary Form, will be accompanied by a deep intention of uniting oneself with the offering made on the Altar. This is reminiscent of the silent petition recommended by St Cyprian for the liturgy,²⁶ and the wordless prayer described by St Paul.²⁷ The *Catechism* links contemplative prayer and the liturgy closely,²⁸ and reminds us of the description of prayer given by a peasant to St Jean Vianney: ‘I look at Him, and He looks at me.’²⁹
13. Contemplative participation avoids the danger that, in using a book, which dialoguing tends to encourage, the printed text becomes a barrier between the individual and the

²³ Bl. Pope John Paul II: Address to Bishops of the United States on an *ad limina* visit, October 9, 1998.

²⁴ In a fictional setting, Fr Bryan Houghton describes the participation of the Faithful in the Canon, in the Extraordinary Form, as follows: ‘Some meditate for a moment but soon give up; some thumb a prayer book without much conviction; some finger a rosary without thinking; the majority just sit and kneel and become empty. They have their distractions, of course, but as far as they are able they are recollected. You see, the state of prayer of the overwhelming majority of the faithful is that of “simple regard”.

‘...Human activity is reduced to its minimum. Then the miracle occurs. At the fine apex of their souls, imperceptible even to themselves, the Holy Ghost starts making little shrieks of “Abba, Father” or, after the consecration, soft groans of the Holy Name, “Jesu, Jesu.” They adore: or rather, to be more accurate, the Holy Ghost adores within them.’ Bryan Houghton *Mitre and Crook* (Harrison, NY: Roman Catholic Books, 1979) p44

²⁵ Catechism 2714 (emphasis in the original).

²⁶ Cf. St Cyprian, in his treatise on the Lord’s Prayer (Ch 4): ‘And when we meet together with the brethren in one place, and celebrate divine sacrifices with God’s priest, we ought to be mindful of modesty and discipline—not to throw abroad our prayers indiscriminately, with unsubdued voices, nor to cast to God with tumultuous wordiness a petition that ought to be commended to God by modesty; for God is the hearer, not of the voice, but of the heart. Nor need He be clamorously reminded, since He sees men’s thoughts, as the Lord proves to us when He says, “Why think ye evil in your hearts?” (Matth 9:4). And in another place: “And all the churches shall know that I am He that searcheth the hearts and reins” (Apoc 2:23).’

²⁷ Romans 8:26-27: ‘Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmity. For we know not what we should pray for as we ought; but the Spirit himself asketh for us with unspeakable groanings. And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what the Spirit desireth; because he asketh for the saints according to God.’ (‘Similiter autem et Spiritus adiuvat infirmitatem nostram nam quid oremus sicut oportet nescimus sed ipse Spiritus postulat pro nobis gemitibus inenarrabilibus. Qui autem scrutatur corda scit quid desideret Spiritus quia secundum Deum postulat pro sanctis.’)

²⁸ *The Catechism of the Catholic Church* 2nd Edition (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1997).: 2711 ‘Entering into contemplative prayer is like entering into the Eucharistic liturgy: we “gather up” the heart, recollect our whole being under the prompting of the Holy Spirit, abide in the dwelling place of the Lord which we are, awaken our faith in order to enter into the presence of him who awaits us.’ 2716 ‘Contemplative prayer is hearing the Word of God. Far from being passive, such attentiveness is the obedience of faith, the unconditional acceptance of a servant, and the loving commitment of a child. It participates in the “Yes” of the Son become servant and the Fiat of God’s lowly handmaid.’ 2718 ‘Contemplative prayer is a union with the prayer of Christ insofar as it makes us participate in his mystery, the mystery of Christ is celebrated by the Church in the Eucharist, and the Holy Spirit makes it come alive in contemplative prayer so that our charity will manifest it in our acts.’

²⁹ *Ibid.* 2715: ‘Contemplation is a gaze of faith, fixed on Jesus. “I look at him and he looks at me”: this is what a certain peasant of Ars used to say to his holy curé about his prayer before the tabernacle.’ (In French, the peasant’s words were ‘Je L’avisé, et Il m’avisé’).

liturgy, even undermining the social nature of the Mass which participation in the dialogue might otherwise promote.³⁰

14. Again, the Faithful's participation in Mass without dialoguing avoids a possible over-emphasis, in the Faithful's experience of the Mass, on the parts where there is a dialogue, especially the Preparatory Prayers.³¹ In the Ordinary Form of the Mass this difficulty is addressed by the omission of the Psalm *Iudica*, and the introduction of responses into the Eucharistic Prayers.

Difficulties with introducing the Dialogue Mass

15. Against the view that the *Missa recitata* ought to be introduced wherever possible, even where it is not part of the liturgical culture of a place, a number of further considerations should be borne in mind. One is the difficulty of getting the Faithful to say the responses with 'becoming dignity'.³² with correct and consistent pronunciation, and at the same speed.³³ *De musica sacra* warns that only 'well trained,' 'advanced groups' should attempt the more difficult responses; such training is seldom practicable.
16. Again, there is a great potential for confusion, conflict, and upset, in changing long-standing habits of participation; the multiple options about what, exactly, the Faithful should say in a *Missa recitata*, is a further source of confusion.
17. It is sometimes said that the Dialogue Mass is more suited to congregations new to the Extraordinary Form. The challenge of learning the Latin responses, however, undermines this claim; it can be embarrassing to find oneself expected to take part in a way for which one is not prepared. On the other hand, the *Missa lecta*, while very different in feel to the Ordinary Form, is something which a newcomer can get used to in his own time.

³⁰ The historian Pamela Graves criticises the use of devotional aids to Mass in the late Middle Ages in similar terms. 'Whether they followed the Mass in the liturgical books or in a paraphrase and devotional commentary, or they read something unconnected with the service, they were, so to speak, getting their heads down, turning their eyes from the distractions posed by their fellow worshippers, but at the same time taking them off the priest and his movements and gestures. Such folk, in becoming isolated from their neighbours, were also insulating themselves against communal religion.' This is quoted and discussed by Eamon Duffy, *op. cit.* p121. A slightly different criticism has been made of the Ordinary Form from a liturgically 'progressive' perspective: 'the participants can feel obliged to attend to the whole (or else they have not been to Mass properly). Their freedom to pray and contemplate is thus impeded by the text itself.' (Fr John Moffat SJ, *Beyond the Catechism: intellectual exercises for questioning Catholics* (Lulu, 2006) pp159-160.) Without necessarily endorsing either criticism in relation to their specific targets, there is certainly a danger of not being able to see the woods (the Mass as a whole) for the trees (the words of the liturgy), and in focusing attention on a printed text, and not on the sanctuary.

³¹ The historical arguments prized by the Liturgical Movement can even suggest that the Preparatory Prayers do not belong to the Faithful at all. The liturgical scholar Alcuin Reid remarks of these prayers: 'The popularisation of the Low Mass through the so-called "dialogue Mass" obscured their nature as preparatory and thanksgiving prayers and created what may be called a hyper-liturgical devotion by focussing the people's attention on private prayers. As C. Howell, S.J., said in 1958, "The prayers at the foot of the altar do not pertain to the people. There are no historical...pastoral...[or] practical grounds for it. Keep the people out of it" ("Parish in the Life of the Church", p. 18).' Reid *op. cit.* p177 n105

³² *De musica sacra* 31: 'Only more advanced groups who have been well trained will be able to participate with becoming dignity in this manner.' ('Hic ultimus gradus a selectis tantum cultioribus coetibus bene institutis, digne, prouti decet, adhiberi potest.'). quoted in context in Appendix B. It reflects the concern of Pope Pius XII in *Mediator Dei*, that if dialoguing is to take place, it should be 'in an orderly and fitting manner' (*Mediator Dei* 105: see Appendix A).

³³ This is a perennial problem at celebrations of the Ordinary Form in Latin.

Conclusion

18. To reiterate, we have no wish in this paper to challenge, or call for the restriction, of a practice which has sustained the spiritual lives of Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form for many decades. The aim of this paper is simply to question the presumption that there is something defective about participating in Low Mass without joining in the responses. Low Mass without dialoguing by the Faithful has, in fact, its own rationale, and its own spiritual advantages.

Appendix A: Pope Pius XII on the Dialogue Mass: extract from *Mediator Dei* (1947)

105. Therefore, they are to be praised who, with the idea of getting the Christian people to take part more easily and more fruitfully in the Mass, strive to make them familiar with the “Roman Missal,” so that the faithful, united with the priest, may pray together in the very words and sentiments of the Church. They also are to be commended who strive to make the liturgy even in an external way a sacred act in which all who are present may share. This can be done in more than one way, when, for instance, the whole congregation, in accordance with the rules of the liturgy, either answer the priest in an orderly and fitting manner, or sing hymns suitable to the different parts of the Mass, or do both, or finally in high Masses when they answer the prayers of the minister of Jesus Christ and also sing the liturgical chant.

106. These methods of participation in the Mass are to be approved and recommended when they are in complete agreement with the precepts of the Church and the rubrics of the liturgy. Their chief aim is to foster and promote the people's piety and intimate union with Christ and His visible minister and to arouse those internal sentiments and dispositions which should make our hearts become like to that of the High Priest of the New Testament. However, though they show also in an outward manner that the very nature of the sacrifice, as offered by the Mediator between God and men, must be regarded as the act of the whole Mystical Body of Christ, still they are by no means necessary to constitute it a public act or to give it a social character. And besides, a “dialogue” Mass of this kind cannot replace the high Mass, which, as a matter of fact, though it should be offered with only the sacred ministers present, possesses its own special dignity due to the impressive character of its ritual and the magnificence of its ceremonies. The splendour and grandeur of a high Mass, however, are very much increased if, as the Church desires, the people are present in great numbers and with devotion.

107. It is to be observed, also, that they have strayed from the path of truth and right reason who, led away by false opinions, make so much of these accidentals as to

105. Laudibus igitur ii digni sunt, qui eo consilio ducti, ut christiana plebs Eucharisticum Sacrificium facilius salubriusque participet, «Missale Romanum» apte in populi manibus ponere conantur, ita quidem ut christifideles, una cum sacerdote copulati, iisdem eius verbis iisdemque Ecclesiae sensibus comprecantur; itemque ii laudibus exornandi sunt, qui efficere contendunt, ut Liturgia externo etiam modo actio sacra fiat, quam reapse adstantes omnes communicent. Id quidem non una ratione contingere potest: cum nimirum universus populus, ex sacrorum rituum normis, vel sacerdotis verbis recto servato ordine respondet, vel cantus edit, qui cum variis Sacrificii partibus congruant, vel utrumque facit, vel denique cum in Sacris sollemnibus alternas Iesu Christi administri precibus dat voces unaque simul liturgica cantica concinit.

106. Quae tamen Sacrificii participandi rationes tum diiudandae ac commendandae sunt, cum Ecclesiae praeceptis sacrorumque rituum normis diligenter obtemperant. Eo autem potissimum spectant, ut christianorum pietatem eorumque intimam cum Christo cum eiusque adspectabili administro coniunctionem alant ac foveant, itemque internos illos sensus et habitus excitent, quibus animus noster Summo Sacerdoti Novi Testamenti assimuletur oportet. Nihilo secius, quamvis externo quoque modo demonstrent Sacrificium suapte natura, utpote a Mediatore Dei et hominum (cfr. 1 Tim. 2, 5) peractum, totius mystici Corporis Christi opus esse habendum; neutiquam tamen necessariae sunt ad publicam eiusmodi constituendam communemque notam. Ac praeterea id genus Sacrum, alternis vocibus celebratum, in locum augusti Sacrificii sollemniter peracti suffici non potest; quod quidem, etiamsi adstantibus solummodo sacris administris fiat, ob rituum maiestatem caerimoniarumque apparatus peculiari fruitur dignitate sua, cuius tamen splendor et amplitudo, si frequens pietateque praestans populus adsit, ut Ecclesiae in votis est, summopere adaugetur.

107. Animadvertendum quoque est eos veritatem egredi rectaque rationis iter, qui fallacibus opinationibus ducti, haec rerum ad iuncta tanti faciant, ut asseverare non

presume to assert that without them the Mass cannot fulfil its appointed end.

108. Many of the faithful are unable to use the Roman missal even though it is written in the vernacular; nor are all capable of understanding correctly the liturgical rites and formulas. So varied and diverse are men's talents and characters that it is impossible for all to be moved and attracted to the same extent by community prayers, hymns and liturgical services. Moreover, the needs and inclinations of all are not the same, nor are they always constant in the same individual. Who, then, would say, on account of such a prejudice, that all these Christians cannot participate in the Mass nor share its fruits? On the contrary, they can adopt some other method which proves easier for certain people; for instance, they can lovingly meditate on the mysteries of Jesus Christ or perform other exercises of piety or recite prayers which, though they differ from the sacred rites, are still essentially in harmony with them.

dubitent, iisdem prae termissis, rem sacram statutum sibi finem assequi non posse.

108. Haud pauci enim e christifidelibus « Missali Romano », etiamsi vulgata lingua exarato, uti nequeunt; neque omnes idonei sunt ad recte, ut addecet, intellegendos ritus ac formulas liturgicas. Ingenium, indoles ac mens hominum tam varia sunt atque ab-similia, ut non omnes queant precibus, canticis sacrisque actionibus, communiter habitis, eodem modo moveri ac duci. Ac praeterea animorum necessitates et propensa eorum studia non eadem in omnibus sunt, neque in singulis semper eaderr permanent. Quis igitur dixerit, praeiudicata eiusmodi opinionf compulsus, tot christianos non posse Eucharisticum participare Sacri icium, eiusque perfrui beneficiis? At ii alia ratione utique possunt, quae facilius nonnullis evadit; ut, verbi gratia, Iesu Christi mysteria pie meditando, vel alia peragendo pietatis exercitia aliasque fundendo preces, quae, etsi forma a sacris ritibus differunt, natura tamen sua cum iisdem congruunt.

Appendix B: the Instruction *De musica sacra* on the dialogue Mass (1955)

Participation of the faithful in low Mass.

28. Care must be taken that the faithful assist at low Mass, too, “not as strangers or mute spectators” (*Divini cultus*, Dec. 20, 1928: AAS 21 [1929] 40), but as exercising that kind of participation demanded by so great, and fruitful a mystery.

29. The first way the faithful can participate in the low Mass is for each one, on his own initiative, to pay devout attention to the more important parts of the Mass (interior participation), or by following the approved customs in various localities (exterior participation).

Those who use a small missal, suitable to their own understanding, and pray with priest in the very words of the Church, are worthy of special praise. But all are not equally capable of correctly understanding the rites, and liturgical

De fidelium participatione in Missis lectis

28. Sedulo curandum est, ut fideles, « non tamquam extranei vel muti spectatores » Missae quoque lectae intersint, sed illam praestent participationem, quae a tanto mysterio requiritur, et quae uberrimos affert fructus.

29. Primus autem modus, quo fideles Missae lectae participare possunt, habetur, cum singuli, propria industria, participationem praestant, sive internam, piam scilicet ad potiores Missae partes attentionem, sive externam, iuxta varias regionum probatas consuetudines.

Ii potissimum in hac re laude digni sunt, qui parvum missale, proprio captui accom-modatum, prae manibus habentes, una cum sacerdote, eisdem Ecclesiae verbis com-precantur. Cum vero non omnes aequae idonei sint ad ritus ac formulas liturgicas

formulas; nor does everyone possess the same spiritual needs; nor do these needs remain constant in the same individual. Therefore, these people may find a more suitable or easier method of participation in the Mass when “they meditate devoutly on the mysteries of Jesus Christ, or perform other devotional exercises, and offer prayers which, though different in form from those of the sacred rites, are in essential harmony with them” (*Mediator Dei* 39 (1947)).

In this regard, it must be noted that if any local custom of playing the organ during low Mass might interfere with the participation of the faithful, either by common prayer or song, the custom is to be abolished. This applies not only to the organ, but also to the harmonium or any other musical instrument which is played without interruption. Therefore, in such Masses, there should be no instrumental music at the following times:

- a. After the priest reaches the altar until the Offertory;
- b. From the first versicles before the Preface until the *Sanctus* inclusive;
- c. From the Consecration until the *Pater Noster*, where the custom obtains;
- d. From the *Pater Noster* to the *Agnus Dei* inclusive; at the Confiteor before the Communion of the faithful; while the Postcommunion prayer is being said, and during the Blessing at the end of the Mass.

30. The faithful can participate another way at the Eucharistic Sacrifice by saying prayers together or by singing hymns. The prayers and hymns must be chosen appropriately for the respective parts of the Mass, and as indicated in paragraph 14c.

31. A final method of participation, and the most perfect form, is for the congregation to make the liturgical responses to the prayers of the priest, thus holding a sort of dialogue with him, and reciting aloud the parts which properly belong to them.

There are four degrees or stages of this participation:

- a) First, the congregation may make the easier liturgical responses to the prayers of the priest: *Amen; Et cum spiritu tuo; Deo gratias; Gloria tibi Domine; Laus tibi, Christe; Habemus ad Dominum; Dignum et iustum est; Sed libera nos a malo;*

recte intellegend as, et cum praeterea animorum necessitates non eadem in omnibus sint, neque in singulis semper eadem permaneant, his alia vel aptior vel facior participationis ratio occurrit, scilicet « Iesu Christi mysteria pie meditando, vel alia peragendo pietatis exercitia aliasque fundendo preces, quae, etsi forma a sacris ritibus differunt, natura tamen sua cum iisdem congruunt »).

Notandum insuper, quod si alicubi, inter Missam lectam, mos vigeat organum sonandi, quin fideles sive communibus precibus, sive cantu Missae participant, reprobatus est usus, organum, harmonium, aut aliud musicum instrumentum quasi sine intermissione sonandi. Haec igitur instrumenta sileant :

- a) Post ingressum sacerdotis celebrantis ad altare, usque ad Offertorium;
- b) A primis versiculis ante Praefationem usque ad Sanctus inclusive ;
- c) Ubi consuetudo viget, a Consecratione usque ad Pater noster;
- d) Ab oratione dominica usque ad Agnus Dei inclusive ; ad confessionem ante Communionem fidelium ; dum dicitur Postcommunio et datur Benedictio in fine Missae.

30. Secundus participationis modus habetur, cum fideles Sacrificio eucharistico participant, communes preces et cantus proferendo. Providendum, ut et preces et cantus singulis Missae partibus appime congruant, firmo tamen praescripto n. 14 c.

31. Tertius denique isque plenior modus obtinetur, cum fideles sacerdoti celebranti liturgice respondent, quasi cum illo « dialogando », et partes sibi proprias clara voce dicendo.

Quatuor vero gradus plenioris huius participationis distingui possunt:

- a) Primus gradus, si fideles sacerdoti celebranti faciliora responsa liturgica reddunt, scilicet : *Amen; Et cum spiritu tuo; Deo gratias; Gloria tibi, Domine; Laus tibi, Christe; Habemus ad Dominum; Dignum et iustum est; Sed libera nos a malo;*

b) Secondly, the congregation may also say prayers, which, according to the rubrics, are said by the server, including the *Confiteor*, and the triple *Domine non sum dignus* before the faithful receive Holy Communion;

c) Thirdly, the congregation may say aloud with the celebrant parts of the Ordinary of the Mass: *Gloria in excelsis Deo*; *Credo*; *Sanctus-Benedictus*; *Agnus Dei*;

d) Fourthly, the congregation may also recite with the priest parts of the Proper of the Mass: Introit, Gradual, Offertory, Communion. Only more advanced groups who have been well trained will be able to participate with becoming dignity in this manner.

32. Since the *Pater Noster* is a fitting, and ancient prayer of preparation for Communion, the entire congregation may recite this prayer in unison with the priest in low Masses; the Amen at the end is to be said by all. This is to be done only in Latin, never in the vernacular.

33. The faithful may sing hymns during low Mass, if they are appropriate to the various parts of the Mass.

34. Where the rubrics prescribe the *clara voce*, the celebrant must recite the prayers loud enough so that the faithful can properly, and conveniently follow the sacred rites. This must be given special attention in a large church, and before a large congregation.

b) Secundus gradus, si fideles partes insuper proferunt, quae a ministrante, iuxta rubricas, sunt dicendae; et, si sacra Communio infra Missam distribuitur, confessionem quoque dicunt et ter Domine, non sum dignus;

c) Tertius gradus, si fideles partes quoque ex Ordinario Missae scilicet: Gloria in excelsis Deo; Credo; Sanctus-Benedictus; Agnus Dei, una cum sacerdote celebrante recitant;

d) Quartus denique gradus, si fideles partes quoque ad Proprium Missae pertinentes : Introitum; Graduale; Offertorium; Communionem, una cum sacerdote celebrante proferunt. Hic ultimus gradus a selectis tantum cultioribus coetibus bene institutis, digne, prouti decet, adhiberi potest.

32. In Missis lectis totum Pater noster, cum apta sit et antiqua precatio ad Communionem, a fidelibus una cum sacerdote celebrante recitari potest, lingua vero latina tantum, et addito ab omnibus Amen, exclusa quavis recitatione in lingua vulgari.

33. In Missis lectis cantus populares religiosi a fidelibus cantari possunt, servata tamen hac lege, ut singulis Missae partibus plane congruant (cfr. n. 14 b).

34. Sacerdos celebrans, potissimum si aula ecclesiae magna sit et populus frequentior, ea omnia, quae secundum rubricas clara voce pronuntiare debet, adeo elata voce dicat, ut omnes fideles sacram actionem opportune et commode sequi possint.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 19

THE KISS OF PEACE

JUNE 2014

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Kiss of Peace: Abstract

The Kiss of Peace or Pax, in the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, before the Agnus Dei, in its fullest form in *Missa Solemnis*, involves the celebrant kissing the Altar, and passing the Peace of Christ from Christ, represented by the Altar and the Consecrated Host upon the Altar, to the other Sacred Ministers, and others in the Sanctuary, with a light embrace. The historic meaning of the ceremony included the notion of the people sealing and approving of the mysteries just accomplished, and the preparation necessary for the reception of Holy Communion. In earlier ages the Pax was extended to the Faithful, in the form of an embrace or of the kissing of a Paxbrede, the latter serving to emphasise the origin of the Peace in the Blessed Sacrament, and making possible its exchange between the sexes. This later died out in most of Europe, for practical reasons. The Faithful continue, however, to unite themselves with the very clear symbolism of the ceremonious exchange of the embrace among the Sacred Ministers in the Sanctuary.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 19: THE KISS OF PEACE

1. The Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite makes significant use of the *osculum*, the liturgical kiss, of which the *amplexus*, the embrace, is a variant. A number of times throughout the Mass, the celebrant kisses the Altar, turns to the congregation and says 'Dominus vobiscum';¹ he also kisses the Altar before giving the blessing to the Faithful.²
2. This conveying to the congregation the greeting or blessing of Our Lord, in these cases represented by the Altar, is played out in a more extended fashion at the Pax. Following the *Pater Noster* and its embolism, during the latter of which the celebrant signs himself with and kisses the paten, the celebrant says aloud 'Pax Domini sit semper vobiscum', while making the sign of the cross over the Chalice with a particle of the Host, and putting this into the Chalice. He receives the response 'Et cum spiritu tuo'.³ The celebrant then says, silently, the prayer *Haec commixtio*, and then the *Agnus Dei*. In *Missa Solemnis*, while the *Agnus Dei* is being sung, the celebrant and the deacon kiss the Altar and exchange the Kiss of Peace, in the form of a light embrace, the Deacon passes it on to the Subdeacon; it is passed thence to all clergy and servers present in choir.⁴ The Pax is omitted in the Mass for the Dead and on Maundy Thursday.
3. In certain circumstances the Kiss of Peace can be given using a Paxbrede, and, using this, at *Missa Cantata* and Low Mass: again, the Pax is conveyed to the Paxbrede from the Altar, by a kiss. The use of the Paxbrede in the Extraordinary Form today is explained in more detail in the Appendix to this paper.
4. The practice of the Extraordinary Form contrasts somewhat with the 'Sign of Peace', most commonly an exchange of handshakes,⁵ found in the Ordinary Form, before the *Agnus Dei*. This paper aims to provide an explanation and rationale of the practice of the Extraordinary Form.⁶

¹ 'The Lord be with you'. The response is given 'Et cum spiritu tuo' ('And with thy spirit'). On the first of these occasions, if the celebrant is a bishop, he says 'Pax vobis' ('Peace [be] to you.') The response is the same.

² 'Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus, Pater, et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus.' ('May the omnipotent God bless you, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.') The response is given: 'Amen'.

³ 'The Peace of the Lord be with you [plural] always.' 'And with thy spirit.'

⁴ When Mass is celebrated by a bishop, the bishop gives the embrace to the Assistant Priest, and then (if they are not receiving communion) to the deacon and the subdeacon. The Assistant Priest gives it to clergy in choir and then to the Master of Ceremonies.

⁵ See *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* 82: 'As for the sign of peace to be given, the manner is to be established by Conferences of Bishops in accordance with the culture and customs of the peoples. It is, however, appropriate that each person offer the sign of peace only to those who are nearest and in a sober manner.' ('Ad ipsum signum pacis tradendae quod attinet, modus a Conferentiis Episcoporum, secundum ingenium et mores populorum, statuatur. Convenit tamen ut unusquisque solummodo sibi propinquioribus sobrie pacem significet.')

⁶ The use of a handshake instead of the embrace (or the kissing of a paxbrede) is incompatible with the practice in the Extraordinary Form of the celebrant holding his thumb and forefinger together from the Consecration of the Host until the Ablutions after Communion, when these fingers are washed with wine and water. This practice reflects a concern for fragments of the Host which might adhere to the fingers. A special washing of the fingers (in addition to the cleansing of the Chalice) begins to be found in the Latin liturgical tradition from the beginning of the 8th century: see Josef Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite: its origins and development* (English Edition: New York, Benzinger Brothers, 1955) Vol II p417. The washing of the celebrant's fingers after Communion is omitted from the 1970 Missal. Rubrics instructing the celebrant to hold thumb and forefinger together are found in the earliest printed Missals of the late 15th century.

The Historical Development of the Pax

5. While the Pax is deeply rooted in the Latin liturgical tradition,⁷ its history is a complex one, and only a rough outline can be attempted here.⁸ Justin Martyr notes an exchange of kisses as the conclusion of the service of prayers and readings.⁹
6. Later, it is found in Gallican Rites before the Offertory. Pseudo-Germanus comments:
They offer to one other the Peace of Christ in such a way that by a mutual kiss they may maintain the affection of love for one another.¹⁰
This seems naturally suggested by Matthew 5:23f.¹¹
7. In the African and Roman liturgies, however, it is found immediately before the Communion Rites,¹² a location recommended by Pope St Innocent I in a letter of the year 416:
By the peace it is clear that the people give their consent to all that has been done in the mysteries celebrated in the church. The peace is the seal that shows that these mysteries have been accomplished.¹³

⁷ Archdale King points out that in all the Celtic languages the ordinary word of 'kiss' derives from the Latin Pax, through its association with the liturgical kiss: see his *Liturgies of the Past* (London: Longmans, 1959) p270.

⁸ For a discussion of recent scholarship, raising doubts about the understanding of the historical development put forward by Josef Jungmann and others, see Robert Cabié *The Eucharist*, new ed., trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1986), at 113–115 (the second volume of the series *The Church at Prayer* ed A. G. Martimort).

⁹ Justin Martyr *First Apology* 65.

¹⁰: Pseudo Germanus: *Expositio brevis antiquae liturgiae gallicanae* 'De Sono' (PL 72.93D-94A): The passage continues: '... and that he who is black with some discord may promptly rush back to grace or beg forgiveness of his neighbor, lest he bring upon himself the company of the Betrayer by giving a false peace. In this way too the reception of the Eucharist or the granting of the blessing may be all the more profitable that Christ sees that hearts are at peace, since He commanded his disciples, as he ascended to heaven, "I leave you peace, my peace I give you" (Jn 14:27) and let all know that you are my disciples in this: that you love one another.' ('Pacem autem ideo Christi mutuo proferunt ut per mutuo ósculo teneant in se caritatis affectum, et qui aliqua fuscatur discordia, cito recurat ad gratiam vel petat proximo veniam, ne pacem falsam dando incurrat proditoris consortium, et tantum melius proficiat Eucharistia suscepta vel benedictio tradita quantum Christus conspicerit pacifica esse corda quia ipse mandavit discipulis caelos ascendens pacem relinquo vobis pacem meam do vobis (Joan xiv 27) et in hoc cognoscent omnes quod discipuli mei estis si vos invicem dilexeritis.') This passage is quoted in part by Archdale King *op. cit.* p171. King also quotes the *Missale Gothicum*'s Epiphany Collect: 'ut osculum quod in labiis datur in cordibus non negatur' 'that the kiss given with lips not be contradicted in hearts.')

¹¹ 'If therefore thou offer thy gift at the altar, and there thou remember that thy brother hath any thing against thee; Leave there thy offering before the altar, and go first to be reconciled to thy brother: and then coming thou shalt offer thy gift.' ('Si ergo offeres munus tuum ad altare, et ibi recordatus fueris quia frater tuus habet aliquid adversum te: relinque ibi munus tuum ante altare, et vade prius reconciliari fratri tuo: et tunc veniens offeres munus tuum.')

¹² Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II p322.

¹³ St. Innocent I, Letter to Decentius, Bishop of Gubbio, *Epistula* 25.1.4 (PL 20.553A) A literal translation of a longer passage: 'You say that some priests order the Peace to the people before the mysteries have been confected, or that they give it to one another even though the peace must necessarily be proclaimed after all the things which I need not mention explicitly, since by it [sc. the pax] is manifested that the people have given their consent to all that is done in the mysteries and celebrated in the church, and these are shown to have been accomplished by the sign of the conclusion of the peace.' ('Pacem igitur asseris ante confecta mysteria quosdam populis imperare vel sibi inter se sacerdotes tradere cum post omnia, quae apperire non debeo, pax sit necessario indicenda, per quam constet populum ad omnia, quae in mysteriis aguntur atque in ecclesia celebrantur, praeuisse consensum, ac finita esse pacis concludentis signáculo demonstrantur.') St Innocent I also maintains in this letter that the Roman practice of the Pax, at this point in the Mass, is of 'apostolic tradition'.

8. The *Pater Noster* coming before it, by the time of Pope Gregory the Great (d.604), suggests the mutual forgiveness enjoined in that prayer.¹⁴ One may, therefore, regard the Roman practice as involving both the themes of a concluding ‘seal’ for the mysteries, similar to the Amen at the end of the Canon, and the mutual forgiveness emphasised in the Gallican tradition.
9. Over time the Pax developed from a simultaneous giving of the kiss between the ministers at the Altar and neighbours in the congregation,¹⁵ to a more ceremonious practice in which the kiss is, as it were, passed from Our Lord Himself, in the Consecrated Host, or else represented by the Paten, the Altar, the Chalice, the Missal, or the Crucifix, or some combination of these, to the Sacred Ministers, and then to the Faithful, passing from one person to another. This adds an extra pertinence to the Pax taking place while the *Agnus Dei* is being sung, and after the Consecration: the effect is that the peace is radiating from the Lamb of God slain (as it were), upon the altar, not just because the Kiss begins there, but also because of the text and music which are simultaneous. As Joseph Jungmann expresses it:

Thus the kiss of peace is made to proceed from the altar and, like a message or even like a gift which comes from the Sacrament, is handed on “to the others and to the people.”¹⁶

This practice is well-established in Pontificals of the 10th Century. In the context of infrequent reception of Holy Communion at that time, the symbolism of a blessing being conveyed from the Blessed Sacrament upon the Altar to the Faithful was of particular significance.
10. There is, therefore, no danger of mistaking the peace at issue in this ceremony for a mere secular communal harmony: it is very specifically the Peace of Christ, radiating from the Blessed Sacrament, now present on the Altar.
11. In all the Rites of the Church the Kiss underwent a process of stylisation, becoming for example a bow or a kissing of the fingers in certain Oriental churches. In the West the embrace found in the Extraordinary Form today developed, and in England, the elegant solution of the Paxbrede came into use in parish churches,¹⁷ which spread to continental Europe and appears in the 1570 *Missale Romanum*. Variations on the Paxbrede included the use of a crucifix or reliquary.
12. The Paxbrede allowed the Pax to be made between the sexes, which had otherwise been forbidden (except, notably, for the couple at a nuptial Mass).¹⁸
13. The direct participation of the Faithful in the Pax, for which the Paxbrede was particularly well suited, began to die out in the following centuries in most countries.¹⁹ The liturgical

¹⁴ Matthew 6:12: ‘And forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors.’ (‘Et dimitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos dimittimus debitoribus nostris.’)

¹⁵ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II p321 n1-2, citing St Augustine on African usage and the oldest Roman Ordines.

¹⁶ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II p326

¹⁷ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II pp328-9, cites English diocesan statutes of 1248; the origin of the Paxbrede is put at c.1000, in an English monastic setting, by Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Eucharistic Liturgies: Their Evolution and Interpretation*, Alcuin Club Collections, no. 87 (London: SPCK, 2012), 215.

¹⁸ Jungmann *op. cit.* Vol II p327. However, in former times men and women usually sat on different sides of the nave, a practice recommended in the 1917 Code of Canon Law (Canon 1262.1).

¹⁹ See the Appendix for exceptions.

scholar Polycarpus Radó suggests ‘reasons of hygiene’ for this.²⁰ Another practical reason seems to have been that the practice of passing the Paxbrede among the Faithful according to their social degree led to unedifying disputes over precedence.²¹ A modern factor which reduces the time available to present the Paxbrede is the frequency of the Communion of the Faithful during Mass.²²

Participation and Proposals for Reform

14. The possibility of the Faithful’s direct participation in the Pax causing disruption, just noted, has a modern parallel in the difficulties encountered with the practice in the Ordinary Form. This was discussed in the 2007 Synod of Bishops,²³ and the Congregation for Divine Worship was asked to examine the proposal that it be moved to the beginning of the Offertory to mitigate this.
15. However, as noted earlier, the meaning of the Pax in the Extraordinary Form is bound up, more clearly than in the Ordinary Form, with the Blessed Sacrament as the source of the peace. As St Alphonsus Ligouri expressed it:

Before giving the peace, the priest kisses the Altar to show that he cannot give peace unless he has first received it from Jesus Christ, who is represented by the Altar.²⁴

The kissing of the Altar, next to the Host Itself, as well as the Paten, is the first link of a chain conveying the Peace of Christ to the Sacred Ministers and others in the Sanctuary.
16. The Extraordinary Form is able to maintain this important and ancient symbolism, without any danger of disruption, by inviting the Faithful to unite themselves spiritually with the very

²⁰ Polycarpus Radó, OSB *Enchiridion Liturgicum* (Herder, 1961) Tomus II; ‘in very many places it has fallen into disuse, particularly for reasons of hygiene.’ (‘plerisque locis nunc in desuetudinem abiit, praecipue ob rationes hygienicas.’) It is noteworthy that the Sign of Peace in the Ordinary Form has on a number of occasions been suspended in time of epidemic.

²¹ See Eamon Duffy *The Stripping of the Altars*, (New Haven: Yale, 1992), p. 126-127. ‘In 1494 the wardens of the parish of All Saints, Stanyng [England], presented Joanna Dyaca for breaking the paxbrede by throwing it on the ground, “because another woman of the parish had kissed it before her.” On All Saints Day 1522 Master John Browne of the parish of Theydon-Garnon in Essex, having kissed the pax-brede at the parish Mass, smashed it over the head of Richard Pond, the holy-water clerk who had tendered it to him, “causing streams of blood to run to the ground.” Brown was enraged because the pax had first been offered to Francis Hamden and his wife Margery, despite the fact that the previous Sunday he had warned Pond, “Clerke, if thou here after givest not me the pax first I shall breke it on thy hedd.”

²² J.B. O’Connell comments, on those occasions when the Paxbrede is employed: ‘When the kiss of peace has to be given to a number of persons, it should come to an end before the celebrant sings *Dominus vobiscum* preceding the Postcommunion Prayer’ (*The Celebration of Mass: a study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal*, 4th Edition (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1963)). This appears to assume that there will be no Communion of the Faithful in Mass, as was indeed the practice for many centuries, either because the Faithful would receive only on the most important feasts, or because they received outside Mass.

²³ Pope Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Exhortation *Sacramentum Caritatis* (2007) 49: ‘...during the [2007] Synod of Bishops there was discussion about the appropriateness of greater restraint in this gesture, which can be exaggerated and cause a certain distraction in the assembly just before the reception of Communion. It should be kept in mind that nothing is lost when the sign of peace is marked by a sobriety which preserves the proper spirit of the celebration, as, for example, when it is restricted to one’s immediate neighbours.’ (‘Synodo Episcoporum, opportunitas est considerata moderandi hunc gestum, qui nimium pondus assumere potest, quandam confusionem gignens inter fideles et quidem ante ipsam Communionem. Probe est asseverandum quemadmodum huius actus praestantiae nihil detrahat sobrietas, necessaria ad servandum idoneum celebrationis spiritum, exempli gratia, cum efficitur ut mutuum signum pacis detur solummodo personae proximae.’)

²⁴ Quoted in Thomas Crean OP *The Mass and the Saints* (Oxford: Family Publications, 2008) p180; the quotation comes from Ligouri’s *The Sacrifice of Jesus Christ*.

vivid and gracious ceremony performed in the Sanctuary by the Sacred Ministers. Any physical sign of peace is itself a symbol, and the question is whether members of the Faithful can best make truly their own a symbolic gesture made by the Sacred Ministers, or one made by themselves; there is less difference between the two than may first appear.

17. This development is an example of a very widespread twofold phenomenon in the history of the liturgy: of rites and ceremonies being reduced to a symbolically important minimum, and of ceremonies once involving the Faithful being performed solely by the clergy, on the Faithful's behalf. Some have regarded such developments as a matter of regret, but Pope Pius XII reminds us that archaic liturgical practices are not necessarily to be preferred to the more developed forms, since the development has taken place under the guidance of providence.²⁵
18. The Roman Rite frequently retains archaic ceremonies in an abbreviated or even vestigial form, allowing the meaning of the whole rite to be expressed succinctly, and reminding us of the antiquity of the Rite. The compressed meanings of the rite are a bulwark against banality: the smallest aspect of the Extraordinary Form is freighted with significance, like the details of any great work of art.

Conclusion

19. The Pax in the Extraordinary Form is the most significant of a series of occasions on which the celebrant conveys to the Faithful the peace of Christ, represented by the Altar which he kisses. It has this special significance because on this occasion the Lamb of God is present on the Altar in the consecrated Host.
20. The Pax exchanged among the Sacred Ministers and others is a visually eloquent expression of what happens on each of these occasions, of this peace radiating out to the Faithful. The themes of approving and sealing the foregoing mysteries, and of mutual reconciliation and preparation for the reception of Communion, are, in this context, dependent upon this central idea, of the Peace which comes from Christ.
21. The continued use of the Paxbrede in certain places and in certain Orders, discussed in more detail in the Appendix, illustrates the legitimate diversity of the Extraordinary Form, and the preservation of older customs in particular contexts. Such customs are part of the authentic liturgical culture of their proper regions or orders, and should be preserved and fostered whenever possible.

²⁵ Pope Pius XII Encyclical Letter *Mediator Dei* (1948) 61: 'The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savour and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world. They are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.' ('Utique vetustae aetatis Liturgia veneratione procul dubio digna est; verumtamen vetus usus, non idcirco dumtaxat quod antiquitatem sapit ac redolet, aptior ac melior existimandus est vel in semet ipso, vel ad consequentia tempora novasque rerum condiciones quod attinet. Recentiores etiam liturgici ritus reverentia observantiaque digni sunt, quoniam Spiritus Sancti afflatu, qui quovis tempore Ecclesiae adest ad consummationem usque saeculorum, orti sunt; suntque iidem pariter opes, quibus inclita Iesu Christi; Sponsa utitur ad hominum sanctitatem excitandam procurandamque.')

Appendix: The Paxbrede

A Paxbrede (also spelt pax-brede or paxbred), in Latin *instrumentum pacis* or *osculatorium*, in Spanish *portapaz*,²⁶ is often a decorated silver plate with a handle on the back, but it can take a number of forms, sometimes incorporating a relic. In the Middle Ages it was often made of wood, with a painted image. More modern examples are often gilded, with an enamelled image. A crucifix or icon can also serve as a Paxbrede.²⁷

The use of the Paxbrede in the Extraordinary Form today must be considered in three contexts: first, in the Roman Rite *simpliciter*; secondly, in the Rites and Usages of certain religious orders, and thirdly, in the customs and privileges proper to Spain and the former Spanish Empire.

The first is summarised by the rubrical handbook, John O'Connell's *The Celebration of Mass*.

To 'greater' prelates present at low Mass, to the clergy in a sung Mass, and to lay persons of high rank present at solemn Mass or low Mass the kiss of peace is conveyed by means of the *instrumentum pacis* or pax-brede.²⁸

The Paxbrede is kissed by the Assistant Priest (at Pontifical Mass), or the deacon (at Solemn Mass), who has just received the Pax from the celebrant by means of the *amplexus*, or by the celebrant (at Low Mass), who has just kissed the Altar, and taken to the others mentioned by O'Connell.

Secondly, in the Rites and Usages of a number of religious orders, in addition to what is noted above, the Paxbrede is used to give the Pax to the servers and members of the community in choir at Solemn Mass, and in this way either supplements the embrace among the Sacred Ministers, as just described, or replaces it: thus the Dominicans, for example, do not use the *amplexus* at all. The liturgical scholar Archdale King discusses the details in the context of the Carthusians,²⁹ the Premonstratensians,³⁰ and the Dominicans.³¹ It has also historically been used, and in some places continues to be used, by the Dominicans in Low Mass.³² Jungmann also mentions the Capuchin Franciscans as using the Paxbrede on Sundays and important feasts.³³

²⁶ Other terms used are, in English, Paxboard, and in Latin *Pacificale*, *Paciferum*, *Pax*, *Tabula ad pacem* or *Asser ad pacem*.

²⁷ Polycarpus Radó *op. cit.* Tomus II, pp. 1440: 'Many Instruments of Peace are square tablets decorated with Christ's image or saints' relics. Others were made in an even more exquisite fashion like the reredos of an altar, while yet others show the appearance of a shield (medallion). A fourth type of Instrument of Peace is a Cross provided with a foot, called a Pacificale. The material they were made from was wood, often also stone, ivory, silver, gold or another metal.'

²⁸ J.B. O'Connell *The Celebration of Mass: a study of the Rubrics of the Roman Missal*, 4th Edition (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1963). Cf *Ritus servandus* (1962) X, 3

²⁹ Archdale King *Liturgies of the Religious Orders* (London: Longmans, 1955) p53

³⁰ *Ibid.* p218 and 223

³¹ *Ibid.* p388

³² Archdale King refers to the Spanish Province as retaining this custom (*ibid.*). Today it is used in the Australian province, and by the Fraternity of Saint Vincent de Ferrer (Fraternité Saint-Vincent-Ferrier (FSVF)), who use the Dominican Rite.

³³ Jungmann *op. cit.* p330 n47

Thirdly, in Spain and in the former Spanish Empire, the *Manual de Liturgia* by Fr. Gregorio Martínez de Antoñana, CMF, notes that in addition to what is said by O'Connell, referring to Low Mass:

You can also give it generally to all the Faithful But whatever you do, to princes and people of equivalent dignity, it is given with an *amplexo*. ...In Spain there is the privilege whereby the acolyte brings the peace to the choir with the Paxbrede.³⁴

In other words, the Paxbrede can be extended at Low and Sung Mass to the congregation, with the embrace reserved for lay dignitaries; this may be called a custom of Spain and her former possessions. Furthermore, the 'Privilege of Pius V' allows an acolyte to take the Pax to clergy in choir with a Paxbrede, as is done in the religious orders just noted.

The offering of the Paxbrede to the Faithful in Spain and the former Spanish represents a important survival of the Medieval practice of England and elsewhere. Today, if time is short, the Paxbrede can if necessary be offered to a representative number of the Faithful, such as those in the front row, or the first person sitting in each pew.

³⁴ Fr. Gregorio Martínez de Antoñana *Manual de Liturgia*, p419, note 1



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 20

THE SEASON OF SEPTUAGESIMA, AND VIGILS AND OCTAVES,
IN THE
EXTRAORDINARY FORM

OCTOBER 2014

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Septuagesima, and Vigils & Octaves: Abstract

The calendar of the Extraordinary Form contains a number of features not found in the Ordinary Form, notably the season of Septuagesima, the number and treatment of vigils, and the number of octaves. Before the reform of 1955 there was a much greater number of vigils and octaves. These very ancient features of the calendar allowed the Faithful to enter more deeply into the mysteries presented by the Church’s year by facilitating their preparation for and subsequent meditation upon those mysteries. They also contributed to a liturgical cycle characterised by sharper contrasts of penitential and joyful days and seasons.

Comments can be sent to
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FIUV POSITION PAPER 20: SEPTUAGESIMA, AND VIGILS AND OCTAVES, IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

1. The season of Septuagesima, and vigils and octaves, formed an important part of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition. They are found in the 1962 calendar, though the number of vigils and octaves was greatly reduced in 1956.¹ This paper aims to explain the role of these features of the historic calendars. Many of the points made in this paper would also be applicable to the Ember Days and Rogation Days, but reasons of space make it impossible to treat them here.

History of Septuagesima

2. The season comprises the Sundays (and the weeks they begin) of Septuagesima, Sexagesima, and Quinquagesima, as a period of preparation for Lent. During this time, although the Lenten rules of fasting do not apply, the liturgical colour is the violet of penance, and the joyful *Alleluia* and *Gloria in Excelsis* are not used.² This, and the other proper texts of the season, express the penitential character of the period.
3. A preparatory period before Lent was already becoming established in the Roman liturgy in the time of Pope Gregory the Great (d. 604): in the 6th century this extended to Sexagesima Sunday, and it was later extended a further week to Septuagesima.³ The Gospel readings, in particular, prepare the Faithful for the Lenten and Easter seasons.⁴
4. The importance of the three Sundays is indicated by the location of the Papal Mass on these days, the three basilicas outside the ancient walls of Rome: respectively St Lawrence, St Paul, and St Peter. The Office begins the Book of Genesis on Septuagesima, which is continued on the Sundays of Lent.
5. The names of these Sundays indicate roughly the time before Easter, in parallel with Quadragesima, the First Sunday of Lent. 'Septuagesima' recalls the 70 years of the Babylonian Exile, as was noted by the medieval liturgical commentator Amalarius.⁵
6. The Eastern Rites also have a pre-Lent season, also of great antiquity: Meatfare Sunday, introduces abstinence from meat; Cheesefare Sunday introduces abstinence from eggs and milk products.
7. The season of Septuagesima is to be found in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer* and in the historic practice of many Lutheran churches.

¹ The decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites reforming vigils and octaves, *Cum nostra*, was promulgated in 1955 and came into effect in 1956. See also Appendix A.

² The *Alleluia* is replaced, as for Lent, with a Tract.

³ Lauren Pristas "Parachuted into Lent" *Usus Antiquior* Vol 1 n.2, 2010, pp95-109, p96, citing Camille Callewaert and St Gregory the Great: Cf. *Homiliae in evangelia* XIX.1 and Callewaert, *L'oeuvre liturgique de S. Grégoire: la septuagésime et l'alléluia* (Louvain: Université catholique de Louvain, 1937) p648 and n.46.

⁴ The Gospel readings for the three Sundays are, respectively, the Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard (Matthew 20:1-16), the Parable of the Sower (Matthew 13:1-23), and Jesus' Going to Jerusalem, with the Cure of Bartimaeus (Luke 18:31-43).

⁵ Amalarius *De ecclesiasticis officiis* I.1, PL 105.993ff

8. The Second Vatican Council's Constitution on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, discussed the seasons of the Church's year as follows:

The liturgical year is to be revised so that the traditional customs and discipline of the sacred seasons shall be preserved or restored to suit the conditions of modern times; their specific character is to be retained, so that they duly nourish the piety of the faithful who celebrate the mysteries of Christian redemption, and above all the paschal mystery.⁶

9. It is surprising, therefore, that the Consilium following the Council decided to abolish the season of Septuagesima, particularly as it is part of the preparation for Easter. Archbishop Annibale Bugnini recalled the discussion in a footnote:

There was disagreement on the suppression of the Septuagesima season. Some saw these weeks as a step toward Easter. On one occasion Pope Paul VI compared the complex made up of Septuagesima, Lent, Holy Week and Easter Triduum, to the bells calling people to Sunday Mass. The ringing of them an hour, a half-hour, fifteen and five minutes before the time of Mass has a psychological effect and prepares the faithful materially and spiritually for the celebration of the liturgy. Then, however, the view prevailed that there should be a simplification: it was not possible to restore Lent to its full importance without sacrificing Septuagesima, which is an extension of Lent.⁷

Rationale of the older calendars

10. On the motivation for the change, the reasoning seems to have been that the season of Septuagesima's penitential character—the use of violet and the suppression of the *Alleluia* and *Gloria*—confused the Faithful and detracted from Lent. The liturgical scholar Lauren Pristas comments:

A period of preparation necessarily heightens, not diminishes, the importance of whatever event is being prepared for; in addition, preparation generally assures a fuller or better participation in the event itself.

11. The penitential season of Lent's great importance requires careful preparation: to omit this holds the danger that the Faithful will find themselves trying to adjust, and even to decide what form their Lenten observance will take, in Lent itself. Furthermore, the season contains a particularly ancient and rich liturgy. The liturgical scholar László Dobszay, with other proponents of the 'Reform of the Reform', has suggested restoring

⁶ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 107: 'Annus liturgicus ita recognoscatur ut, servatis aut restitutis sacrorum temporum traditis consuetudinibus et disciplinis iuxta nostrae aetatis condiciones, ipsorum indoles nativa retineatur ad fidelium pietatem debite alendam in celebrandis mysteriis Redemptionis christianae, maxime vero mysterio paschali.'

⁷ Annibale Bugnini *The Reform of the Liturgy* 1948-1975 (English Edition: Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990) p307 n6. In the main text, speaking of decisions of the Consilium in 1965, he writes that 'by and large the present texts will remain in place'. This, however, although favoured by the consultors whose views had been sought, proved impossible. The plan of a continuous series of Sundays of 'Ordinary Time' before and after Lent and the Easter season, meant that the Sunday which falls, in one year, immediately before Lent would, in another year, fall after Pentecost, or several weeks before Lent. Having decided to abolish Septuagesima as a separate liturgical season, the Mass formularies could not be retained in an appropriate place, and were lost. The process of discussion and the outcome are discussed in detail by Pristas *op. cit.*.

the season in the Ordinary Form.⁸ The season of Septuagesima is found in the recently promulgated calendar of the Ordinariate of Our Lady of Walsingham.

The History and Rationale of Vigils and Octaves

12. Vigils form a very ancient feature of the Roman calendar. In origin, it is conventional to distinguish the 'old Roman' custom of a night vigil, a service of readings and prayers which led up to the celebration of Mass at dawn, which is attested in Rome and elsewhere in the Latin West from the 4th century,⁹ and the Greek custom of a 'fore-feast', which anticipates and prepares for a feast. The feast of the Nativity of Our Lord has both kinds of vigils: the Midnight Mass, and a separate vigil Mass for the day before Christmas. The liturgical commentator Bl Ildefonsus Schuster proposed that when the custom of celebrating dawn Masses became inconvenient, the dawn Mass was used for vigil Mass, and a new Mass formulary had to be created for the feast day itself.¹⁰
13. Vigils continued to be created with celebration taking place on the morning of the day before the feast. The purpose of such vigils is, as Parsch puts it, to be 'a day of preparation, a day of spiritual acclimation and interior purification.'¹¹ The liturgy is generally penitential, and frequently explores a specific aspect of the feast which might be neglected in the main celebration.
14. A period of penitential preparation for an event of special spiritual importance has important scriptural roots, and is found in its fullest liturgical expression in Advent and Lent.¹² The vigils of the ancient calendar fulfil this role for the more important feasts of the rest of the year.
15. Octaves of celebration are found in the both the Old and New Testament in relation to the Temple cult.¹³ The symbolic explanation of the octave given by John of Ivry

⁸ László Dobszay *The Restoration and Organic Development of the Roman Rite* (London: T&T Clark, 2010) p133

⁹ The celebration of the Vigil of St Lawrence is mentioned in the Life of St Melania the Younger, who as a child was not allowed to attend it being too young (see Pius Parsch *The Church's Year of Grace* (English Edition: Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1962) Vol. 4 p304). Ildefonsus Schuster *The Sacramentary* (English Edition: London, Burns Oates & Washbourne, 1929) Vol. IV p2: 'Thus we know from Pontius, a deacon attached to St Cyprian, that at Carthage the anniversary of a martyr was preceded by ...a night vigil, and we gather from the *Acta* of St Saturninus of Toulouse that his *natalis* was celebrated not only by a night vigil, but by the singing of hymns and the offering of the holy Sacrifice at early dawn.'

¹⁰ See Schuster *op. cit.* Vol. IV p263. A process like this certainly took place with Ember Saturdays: the Mass today (in the Extraordinary Form) celebrated on the Saturday was formerly a vigil service of lections and prayers, followed by a Mass celebrated at dawn; the Mass used today on the Sunday shares the same Gospel, and is of later composition.

¹¹ Parsch *op. cit.* Vol. IV p318

¹² Prosper Guéranger notes: 'Moses fasted for forty days in preparation for receiving the Ten Commandments (Ex 34:28). The prophet Daniel fasted for three weeks before receiving his vision (Dan 10:2-6). Elijah the prophet fasted forty days before God spoke to him (1 Kings 19:8). And we all know that Christ our Saviour fasted for forty days in preparation for His temptation by the devil and for the beginning of His ministry (Mt 4:1-11, Lk 4:1-13).' *The Liturgical Year* (English Edition: Great Falls, MT: St Bonaventure Publications, 2000) Vol. I p469.

¹³ Leviticus 23:36 enjoins, of the Feast of Tabernacles: 'The eighth day also shall be most solemn and most holy: and you shall offer holocausts to the Lord.' ('dies quoque octavus erit celeberrimus atque sanctissimus et offeretis holocaustum Domino'). This pattern was followed in Solomon's dedication of

(d.1079) was read at Matins¹⁴ on the octave of the Dedication of a Church in the Office before 1956:

The chief feasts are celebrated over eight days, because the world evolves over six ages. The seventh age is the rest of the holy souls until the general resurrection. The eighth is the Kingdom of God after the eternal resurrection. And for this reason the octave day is observed with greater solemnity, namely because the glory of Christ will be eternal in that kingdom, and joy will be unspeakable. And as we celebrate the Saints' feasts again, we share in the joy of the souls' rest on the day of their solemnity, and in their glory onto resurrection in their octave day.¹⁵

The connection between the octave celebration and the life of heaven is reflected in some of the octaves' proper texts.

16. Pius Parsch gives a practical explanation:

Mother Church is a good psychologist; she understands human nature perfectly. When a feast comes, the soul is amazed and not quite prepared to think profoundly upon its mystery; but on the following days the mind finds it easy to consider the mystery from all sides, sympathetically and deeply; and an eighth day affords a wonderful opportunity to make a synthesis of all points covered.¹⁶

17. Clearly, there is a limit to the number of vigils and feasts which can, without impeding each other and other feasts, be included in the calendar, and the problem has been addressed in successive reforms of the calendar, notably that of 1910.¹⁷ The reform of 1955 was, however, a far more radical pruning than anything before or after it, and the case for the restoration of many ancient vigils and octaves is strong. The Ordinary Form itself includes a vigil Mass for the Epiphany, which was one of those abolished in the 1955 reform.¹⁸

Conclusion

18. An important aspect of the liturgical year is the balance between joyful and penitential aspects. One aspect of this is the discipline on fasting, which is not treated in this

the Temple (I Kings 8:65-66, 2 Chronicles 7:8-9), and Our Lord took part in the feast during his active ministry. John 7:37: 'And on the last, and great day of the festivity, Jesus stood and cried, saying: If any man thirst, let him come to me and drink.' ('In novissimo autem die magno festivitatis stabat Jesus, et clamabat dicens: Si quis sitit, veniat ad me et bibat.') These precedents were noted by Guéranger, *op. cit.* Vol. I p469.

¹⁴ In the Second Nocturn. It is there attributed to Pope Felix IV (d.530), *De consecratione*, dist. 1, cc. 2 and 17.

¹⁵ John of Ivry, *De officiis ecclesiasticis*, PL 147, col. 42C: 'Ideo praecipuae festivitates octo diebus coluntur, quia sex aetatibus vergitur mundus; septima aetas est usque ad universalem resurrectionem requies animarum sanctarum; octava, regnum Dei post resurrectionem sempiternam: et ideo octava dies agitur celebrior, quia in ipso regno Christi gloria erit sempiterna, et ineffabilis exsultatio. Et iterum dum sanctorum festa celebramus, in die solemnitatis eorum animarum requiei congaudemus, in octavo eorum in gloria resurrectioni.'

¹⁶ Parsch *op. cit.* Vol. I p244

¹⁷ The highest-ranking form of octave prevents any other feast being celebrated during the octave; even with lower-ranking forms, the octave day itself, like a vigil, can clash with other feasts. See Appendix A for examples of such clashes.

¹⁸ In the context of the Ordinary Form, such a vigil Mass can only be celebrated on the evening of the day preceding the feast: see Appendix A.

paper;¹⁹ another is the strictly liturgical aspect, in which the joy of great feasts is extended and explored, but also contrasted with a day or season of (in Parsch's phrase) 'interior purification', when the liturgical colour is purple and the liturgy reminds us of our need for forgiveness and grace.

19. It is generally true that the discipline of the Church demanded more in the way of penance in earlier times, and this is reflected in penitential aspects of the liturgy. However, it would be most accurate to say that the calendar of the 1962 Missal, and even more so the calendar before 1956, compared with that of 1970, presents a series of sharper contrasts of penance and celebration. This is partly because of a greater emphasis on the sanctoral cycle in general.²⁰ Equally important, however, is the extended celebration of feasts with octaves, balancing the more frequent or prolonged periods of preparation, with vigils and with the season of Septuagesima. This may be called part of the genius of the ancient Latin liturgical tradition as it has developed, in which it is similar to the Byzantine liturgy. It presents to the Faithful a richly varying fare, to draw us out of ourselves and into a deeper identification with the themes of the Church's year.

¹⁹ Though see Appendix A below.

²⁰ See Positio 15: 'The Lectionary of the Extraordinary Form', 9

Appendix A: Vigils and Octaves in the Reforms of 1955 and 1970

Feasts with vigils and / or octaves before the reform of 1955, which came into effect in 1956. Those not abolished in that reform, and therefore found in the 1962 Calendar, are in bold.

Fixed feasts

Jan 6: Epiphany: vigil & octave
(Jan 21: St Agnes: **octave**)²¹
Feb 24: St Matthias: vigil
June 24: Nativity of St John the Baptist: **vigil** & octave
June 29: SS Peter & Paul: **vigil**²² & octave
July 25: St James the Apostle: vigil
Aug 10: St Lawrence: **vigil**²³ & octave
Aug 15: Assumption: **vigil** & octave
Aug 24: St Bartholomew: vigil²⁴
Sept 8: the Nativity of Mary: octave
Sept 21: St Matthew the Evangelist: vigil²⁵
Oct 28: SS Simon and Jude, Apostles: vigil
Nov 1: All Saints: vigil and octave
Nov 30: St Andrew the Apostle: vigil
Dec 8: Immaculate Conception: vigil & octave
Dec 21: St Thomas the Apostle: vigil
Dec 25: Nativity of Our Lord: **vigil & octave**
Dec 26: Saint Stephen: octave
Dec 27: Saint John the Evangelist: octave
Dec 28: Holy Innocents: octave

Movable feasts:

Easter: vigil²⁶ & **octave**
Solemnity of St Joseph: octave²⁷
Ascension: **vigil** & octave
Pentecost: **vigil & octave**
Corpus Christi: octave
Sacred Heart: octave

²¹ The second feast of St Agnes on 29th January is not generally called an octave, but certainly resembles one. The two feasts, of great antiquity, are described respectively as of her 'passion' and her (heavenly) 'nativity' in the Gelasian sacramentary and the Würzburg gospel list; their designation as 'primo' and 'secundo', used in the 1962 calendar, comes from the Gregorian Sacramentary, where the feasts are also found. See W.H. Frere *Studies in Early Roman Liturgy* Vol. I: *The Kalendar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 89.

²² The same day as the feast of St Irenaeus.

²³ The same day as the feast of St Jean Vianney.

²⁴ The same day as the feast of St Philip Benizi.

²⁵ The same day as the feast of St Eustace and Companions.

²⁶ In 1955 the Easter Vigil was moved from the day before Easter Sunday to after midnight (unless anticipated) of Easter Sunday itself.

²⁷ This was celebrated on the third Wednesday after Easter; it was abolished, in favour of the feast of St Joseph the Worker on 1st May, in 1955; St Joseph the Worker does not have an Octave.

Local feasts

Titular of the church: octave

Dedication of the church: octave

Titular of the cathedral: octave

Dedication of the cathedral: octave

Patron Saint:²⁸ octave

All the vigils celebrated before 1956 called for the use of violet vestments, except the vigils of the Epiphany and the Ascension, which were celebrated in white vestments. The 1917 Code of Canon Law (canon 1252) called for fasting and abstinence on four vigils: those of Pentecost, the Assumption, All Saints, and the Nativity of Our Lord.²⁹

Between 1910 and 1955 octaves were ranked as Privileged (of the First, Second, or Third Rank), Common, or Simple: in the highest grade no other feasts were celebrated during the octave, in the lowest only the eighth day was marked. In each case the octave day sees a celebration related to the feast, either a repetition of the Mass of the feast, or with a Mass formulary proper to the octave.

Of the 15 feasts which had vigils before 1956, four vigils coincided with another important feast, as noted in footnotes in the above list. In these cases the vigil could be celebrated in private Masses, and in collegiate churches both feasts would be celebrated in different public Masses. The feasts which would clash with the five vigils retained after 1956 were moved. Similarly, efforts were made to reduce the number of feasts which were celebrated in the remaining octaves.³⁰

In the 1970 Calendar, the concept of a vigil Mass as the liturgy of the day preceding a feast is not found; instead, we find a 'Proper Vigil', 'which is to be used on the evening of the preceding day, if an evening Mass is celebrated'.³¹ With reference to 2008 *Missale Romanum*, the list of Proper Vigils is as follows:

Fixed feasts

6 January: Epiphany

24 June: Nativity of St John the Baptist

29 June: SS Peter & Paul

15 Aug: Assumption

25 Dec: Nativity of Our Lord

²⁸ As the liturgist J.B. O'Connell explains (in his Glossary of Liturgical Terms): 'The saint chosen by a place (country, province, diocese, city, town) or by a moral person (a society), and constituted by approbation of the Holy See, as an object of special honour, and as that place's or person's particular advocate with God.' J.B. O'Connell *The Celebration of Mass: a study of the rubrics of the Roman Missal* (Milwaukee WI: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1964). Cf. 1917 Code of Canon Law 1268.

²⁹ In addition, this canon mandated fasting and abstinence on Ash Wednesday, all Fridays and Saturdays of Lent, and Ember Days. Abstinence without fasting was required on non-Lent Fridays, and fasting without abstinence on all the other days of Lent, barring only days of precept. Should a feast fall on a Monday, the vigil was celebrated on the Saturday, but without fasting.

³⁰ Cf. Pius Parsch *op. cit.* Vol. 1 p232 'It used to be rather disturbing to celebrate the feasts of St Thomas and St Sylvester during the Christmas octave; they have no inherent connection with the feast. With the reform of 1960, however, they have been reduced to commemorations, allowing for a more prolonged meditation on the Christmas mystery.'

³¹ *General Instruction of the Roman Missal: Universal Norms on the Liturgical Year and the General Roman Calendar*, 11

Moveable feasts

Ascension of Our Lord

Pentecost

This differs from the list of vigils found in the 1962 Missal in excluding the feast of St Lawrence, and including the Epiphany. The Vigil of the Epiphany had been abolished in 1955.

A vigil in the sense of a Mass held during the night before the dawning of the feast day, which in practice are often celebrated on the evening before the feast, also exist for Easter and the Nativity of Our Lord (in the latter case, in addition to the 'Proper Vigil').

In the 1970 Calendar octaves exist for Easter and the Nativity of Our Lord, differing from the 1962 Calendar in excluding Pentecost.

Appendix B: Losses to the Chant Repertoire in the 1955 Reform

Most of the chants used for the vigils and proper octaves abolished in 1955 are found elsewhere in the Church's year, and so continue to form part of the Chant repertoire used in the Extraordinary Form, but others are not, unless they happen to be used for local feasts or those of religious orders. These are as follows.

Common of the Vigils of the Apostles

(used for the Apostles St Matthew, St James, St Bartholomew, and St Thomas)

Introit: *Ego autem sicut oliva*

Vigil of All Saints

Introit: *Iudicant sancti*

Gradual: *Exsultabunt sancti in gloria*

Vigil of St Andrew

Introit: *Dominus secus mare*

Communion: *Dicit Andreas Simoni*

Vigil of SS Simon & Jude

Gradual: *Vindica Domine sanguinem*

Octave of SS Peter & Paul

Alleluia: V. *Vos estis qui permansistis*

Vigil of the Immaculate Conception

Introit: *Venite, audite, et narrabo*

Gradual: *Sapientia aedificavit*

Offertory: *Ego dilecto meo*

Communion: *Quae est ista*

The chants for the feast of the Immaculate Conception are of relatively recent composition, but the other chants listed are nearly all from the oldest identifiable

stratum of the chant repertoire, before the year 800.³² Dom Dominic Johner, in his commentary on the Roman Gradual (which unfortunately does not treat the vigils and octaves directly), calls the Communion Antiphon of the Vigil of St Andrew, *Dicit Andreas Simoni*, ‘one of the gems of the Graduale’.³³

Five of these chants have been restored to use in the 1974 *Graduale Romanum*,³⁴ an example of the restoration of elements of the liturgy ‘to the vigour which they had in the days of the holy Fathers’³⁵ called for by the Second Vatican Council. Their absence from the books used for the Extraordinary Form is very regrettable.

³² The exception is *Alleluia V. Vos estis*. This is however found in fifteen chant books dating from before the end of the eleventh century: see Karl-Heinz Schlager *Thematischer Katalog der ältesten Alleluia-Melodien* (Munich: W. Rieke, 1965) pp217-8.

³³ Dom Dominic Johner *Chants of the Vatican Graduale*, translated from the German by the monks of St John’s Abbey (Collegeville MN: St John’s University Press, 1940) p356.

³⁴ Namely the Introits ‘*Ego autem*’, ‘*Iudicant sancti*’, and ‘*Dominus secus mare*’, the Gradual ‘*Exsultabunt sancti*’, and the Communion ‘*Dicit Andreas Simoni*’.

³⁵ Second Vatican Council, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 50: ‘elements which have suffered injury through accidents of history are now to be restored to the vigour which they had in the days of the holy Fathers, as may seem useful or necessary.’ (‘restituantur vero ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam nonnulla quae temporum iniuria deciderunt, prout opportuna vel necessaria videantur.’)



Fœderatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 22

HEADCOVERINGS IN CHURCH
IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

DECEMBER 2014

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Headcoverings in Church in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

The Apostolic custom of headcoverings for women is maintained by many Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form. St Paul laid down that women should cover their heads, and men uncover them, and explained this in terms of his analogy between the relationship between bridegroom and bride, and between Christ and the Church. As Pope St John Paul II taught, female members of the Church represent the Church in a particular way; thus they represent the bride, veiled, both as a symbol of obedience and sacredness. Appendices examine the claim that the custom of the primitive Church was taken from other cultures, and the experience of women recovering the tradition of head coverings today.

Comments can be sent to

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Introduction

1. The custom of women covering their heads, and of men uncovering them, as expressed in the 1917 Code (Canon 1262 §2),¹ is an Apostolic tradition stressed by St Paul.² The tradition is maintained in the Eastern Churches, and by many attached to the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite; in the Western cultural context, head coverings can take the form of hats, scarfs, hoods, or mantillas ('chapel veils').³ Although the 1983 Code makes no reference to it,⁴ the tradition has been described by Raymond, Cardinal Burke, then Prefect of the Apostolic Signatura, as an 'expectation' in celebrations of the Extraordinary Form.⁵ In the motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum* Pope Benedict XVI quotes the General Instruction of the Roman Missal:

As from time immemorial, so too in the future, it is necessary to maintain the principle that "each particular Church must be in accord with the universal Church not only regarding the doctrine of the faith and sacramental signs, but also as to the usages universally received from apostolic and unbroken tradition. These are to be observed not only so that errors may be avoided, but also that the faith may be handed on in its integrity, since the Church's rule of prayer (*lex orandi*) corresponds to her rule of faith (*lex credendi*)."⁶

¹ Canon 1262 §2: 'Men, in a church or outside a church, while they are assisting at sacred rites, shall be bare-headed, unless the approved mores of the people or peculiar circumstances of things determine otherwise; women, however, shall have a covered head and be modestly dressed, especially when they shall approach the table of the Lord.' ('Viri in ecclesia vel extra ecclesiam, dum sacris ritibus assistant, nudo capite sint, nisi aliud ferant probati populorum mores aut peculiaria rerum adiuncta; mulieres autem, capite cooperto et modeste vestitae, maxime cum ad mensam Dominicam accedunt.')

² 1 Corinthians 11:1-16

³ Practice at the Extraordinary Form varies between and within countries. Where the use of the mantilla or chapel veil specifically for church was established by the 1960s, it has proved easier to restore than the use of hats, which have gone out of fashion in almost all contexts.

⁴ The force of the obligation is already dismissed by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith in the 1976 Instruction *Inter insigniores*: 'Another objection is based upon the transitory character that one claims to see today in some of the prescriptions of Saint Paul concerning women, and upon the difficulties that some aspects of his teaching raise in this regard. But it must be noted that these ordinances, probably inspired by the customs of the period, concern scarcely more than disciplinary practices of minor importance, such as the obligation imposed upon women to wear a veil on their head (1 Cor 11:2-16); such requirements no longer have a normative value. However, the Apostle's forbidding of women to speak in the assemblies (1 Cor 14:34-35; 1 Ti 2:12) is of a different nature, and exegetes define its meaning in this way: Paul in no way opposes the right, which he elsewhere recognises as possessed by women, to prophesy in the assembly (1 Cor 11:15); the prohibition solely concerns the official function of teaching in the Christian assembly. For Saint Paul this prescription is bound up with the divine plan of creation (1 Cor 11:7; Gen 2:18-24): it would be difficult to see in it the expression of a cultural fact.' The question of the veiling of women at prayer being 'inspired by the customs of the period' is addressed below.

⁵ In a private letter, dated 4th April 2011, made available on

https://www.ewtn.com/expert/answers/head_coverings_in_church.htm (accessed 15th October 2014).

⁶ Pope Benedict XVI (2007) motu proprio *Summorum Pontificum*: 'Ab immemorabili tempore sicut etiam in futurum, principium servandum est «iuxta quod unaquaeque Ecclesia particularis concordare debet cum universali Ecclesia non solum quoad fidei doctrinam et signa sacramentalia, sed etiam quoad usus universaliter acceptos ab apostolica et continua traditione, qui servandi sunt non solum ut errores vitentur, verum etiam ad fidei integritatem tradendam, quia Ecclesiae lex orandi eius legi credendi respondet»' The internal quotation is from the General Instruction of the Roman Missal (2002) 397. Cf. Pontifical Commission Ecclesia Dei 2011 Instruction *Universae Ecclesiae*: '27. With regard to the disciplinary norms connected to celebration, the ecclesiastical discipline contained in the Code of Canon Law of 1983 applies. 28. Furthermore, by virtue of its character of special law, within its own area, the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* derogates from those provisions of law, connected with the sacred Rites, promulgated from 1962 onwards and incompatible with the rubrics of the liturgical books in effect in 1962.' ('27. Quoad

In light of all this it would seem that to maintain the tradition is both highly congruent with the ancient liturgy, and laudible in itself as an expression of fidelity to an Apostolic tradition. This paper seeks to provide this practice, which is almost completely unknown in the Ordinary Form, with a rationale.

St Paul on the Complementarity of the Sexes

2. St Paul's explanation of the practice he mandates turns on the complementarity of the sexes.⁷

But I would have you know that the head of every man is Christ: and the head of the woman is the man: and the head of Christ is God. Every man praying or prophesying with his head covered disgraceth his head. ... The man indeed ought not to cover his head: because he is the image and glory of God. But the woman is the glory of the man.⁸

3. The passage needs to be read in conjunction with St Paul's description of the relationship of marriage in his letter to the Ephesians:

Let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord: Because the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the Church. He is the saviour of his body. Therefore as the Church is subject to Christ: so also let the wives be to their husbands in all things.⁹

4. The authority of Christ over the Church, to which the authority of the husband over the wife is an analogue, suggests the further analogy of the relationship of the head to the body. The woman being the 'body' of the family, and by analogy the body of the Church, is related to the idea of Our Lady as the Icon, the image, of the Church, in a phrase of St Ambrose¹⁰ which is quoted in *Lumen Gentium*¹¹ and reiterated in Pope St John Paul II's *Mulieris Dignitatem*.¹² Again, the woman being the bride of her husband, the Church as bride is represented by the female. Pope St John Paul II taught:

This spousal dimension, which is part of all consecrated life, has a particular meaning for women, who find therein their feminine identity and as it were discover the special genius of their relationship with the Lord.¹³

regulas disciplinares ad celebrationem *formae extraordinariae* pertinentes, applicetur disciplina ecclesiastica Codicis Iuris Canonici anno. 1983 promulgati. 28. Praeterea, cum sane de lege speciali agitur, quoad materiam propriam, Litterae Apostolicae *Summorum Pontificum* derogant omnibus legibus liturgicis, sacrorum rituum propriis, exinde ab anno 1962 promulgatis, et cum rubricis librorum liturgicorum anni 1962 non congruentibus.)

⁷ See Positio 1: *The Service of the Altar by Men and Boys*

⁸ 1 Cor 11:3-4, 6: 'Volo autem vos scire quod omnis viri caput Christus est caput autem mulieris vir caput vero Christi Deus. Omnis vir orans aut prophetans velato capite deturpat caput suum. ... Vir quidem non debet velare caput quoniam imago et gloria est Dei mulier autem gloria viri est.'

⁹ Ephesians 5:22-24: 'Mulieres viris suis subditae sint sicut Domino, quoniam vir caput est mulieris sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae; ipse salvator corporis sed ut ecclesia subiecta est Christo. Ita et mulieres viris suis in omnibus.' The Greek word 'kephale' used in these passages was used to mean both 'head' and 'master' by the Fathers.

¹⁰ S. Ambrosius, Expos. Lc. II, 7: PL 15, 1555

¹¹ *Lumen Gentium* 63

¹² MD 27 'Mariam Nazarethanam Ecclesiae esse "figuram"' Cf. Pope St John Paul II Encyclical *Redemptoris Mater* (1987) 44: Mary is a 'model and figure of the Church' ('exemplar ac typus Ecclesiae')

¹³ Vita consecrata 34: 'Hac in sponsali ratione quae praecipua est omnis consecratae vitae, mulier, propriam quasi indolem detegens suae cum Domino coniunctionis, se reperit ipsa.' This could be rendered more

5. Summarising this long tradition, Manfred Hauke notes, having referred to the Blessed Virgin Mary as ‘archetype of “Mother Church”’:¹⁴

In an analogical way, therefore, women, too, are representative *and* embodiments of the Church. As opposed to men and the male priesthood, they symbolise a reality with which they are themselves identical.¹⁵

6. In short, the head covering of women in church is a symbolic assertion both of the complementarity of the sexes within marriage, and also of the subordination of the Church to Christ. The Church, represented by the female members of the congregation, effaces her own glory—the natural beauty of the head—to give glory to God. The uncovered heads of the male members of the congregation are an assertion of Christ’s authority, to which, as members of the Church, the men are themselves subordinate.

Veiling and the Sacred

7. St Paul’s understanding of the meaning of veiling is indicated in a later passage of 1 Corinthians, which returns to the analogy of the Church as a body.

And such as we think to be the less honourable members of the body, about these we put more abundant honour: and those that are our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.¹⁶

Although the veiling of the head is a symbol of being under authority—St Paul writes that a woman should ‘have a power over her head’ (I Cor 11:10)¹⁷—veiling is nevertheless a way of giving honour to what is veiled. The Church, as represented by the female, is veiled as subordinate and as holy: the spotless Bride of Christ.¹⁸

8. The veiling of the holy is something very familiar to those attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition. While hiding a thing, veiling also, in a certain sense, draws attention to it, underlining its importance. Thus, most obviously, the Blessed Sacrament is veiled in the Ciborium inside the Tabernacle; the use of the Chalice veil is another example.¹⁹ The Church as Bride is veiled to underline not only her submission to Christ, but her purity and holiness.
9. In the modern West, as in other cultures, this symbolism remains in use, notably in the wedding ceremony. Veiling indicates the Bride’s reserve, and at the same time her purity and beauty. Veiling as an indication of sacredness is emphasised by Alice von

literally: ‘In this spousal way of thinking, which is the foremost consideration of all consecrated life, woman, discovering the as it were particular character of her union with the Lord, finds herself.’

¹⁴ Manfred Hauke *Women in the Priesthood? A systematic analysis in the light of the Order of Creation and Redemption* (San Francisco CA: Ignatius Press, 1986) p322

¹⁵ Hauke *ibid.* p324; emphasis in the original.

¹⁶ 1 Cor 12:23: ‘Et quae putamus ignobiliora membra esse corporis his honorem abundantiorum circumdamus et quae inhonesta sunt nostra abundantiorum honestatem habent.’

¹⁷ ‘debet mulier potestatem habere supra caput’.

¹⁸ Ephesians 5:22: ‘Because the husband is the head of the wife, as Christ is the head of the church. He is the saviour of his body.’ (‘Quoniam vir caput est mulieris sicut Christus caput est ecclesiae ipse salvator corporis.’) Cf. 2 Cor 11:2: ‘For I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.’ (‘Despondi enim vos uni viro virginem castam exhibere Christo.’); and Rom 7:3-4.

¹⁹ Another scriptural example is the veiling of Moses to hide the radiance of his face, after he had been speaking with the Lord, from the people: Exodus 34:33f.

Hildebrand,²⁰ and this understanding is also found in the Islamic world.²¹ By contrast, embarrassment, shame, or degradation are symbolised by stripping: to expose is to dishonour and shame.²²

Headcoverings and men

10. From a cross-cultural perspective, the practice of male Christians uncovering their heads in church is far more surprising than the practice of females covering them. The fact that men and women in the West no longer commonly wear hats or other head coverings has obscured the fact that, on entering a church, it was men who needed to take off their hats, for most of Christian history, and not women who had to cover them, since they were already covered.
11. A related issue worth mentioning is that, while Protestants generally followed St Paul's instructions on head coverings into the 20th century²³ (and a minority still do), a noticeable contrast in practice was that, rejecting the theological category of a consecrated building, Protestant men would not uncover their heads in church unless actually praying.²⁴

The modern relevance of veiling

12. The maintenance of this Apostolic tradition in the West, even if only in the context of the Extraordinary Form, is a valuable link with the primitive Church, and a mark of solidarity with the Eastern Churches.²⁵ As the Instruction *Il Padre* expressed it:
For historical and cultural reasons, they have maintained a more direct continuity with the spiritual atmosphere of Christian origins, a prerogative that is ever more

²⁰ Alice von Hildebrand *Man and Woman: a Divine invention* (Ave Maria FL: Sapientia Press, 2010) p41 and *passim*.

²¹ The ethnographer Fadwa El Guindi comments that, although the word 'modesty' has been appropriated by Muslim women in the West as expressing their aim in veiling, a more accurate formula would be 'Sanctity—Reserve—Respect.' Fadwa El Guindi *Veil* p82. She notes the veiling of the Ka'ba, the holiest site in the Muslim world and the centre of the Haj pilgrimage (p95).

²² In the Biblical tradition, this is most notable in Numbers 5:18, when the veil of a woman suspected of adultery is removed by the priest; cf Song of Songs 5:7. In Islam, as the dress of a respectable woman, veils often become more elaborate for women of higher status, and simpler or non-existent for women of lower status, and sometimes even forbidden for the latter: see Guindi p104.

²³ The Church of England formally abolished the requirement for women to cover their heads when approaching Communion in 1942 (Canon 18 of the Canons Ecclesiastical of the Church of England).

²⁴ They would, for example, put their hats on to hear the sermon; they can be seen in many paintings of the 17th century visiting fine churches with their hats on. Doffing a hat on approaching a church door could even be, within Anglicanism, a sign of a Catholic mentality.

²⁵ Pope St John Paul II Apostolic Letter *Orientalis Lumen* 8: 'Today we often feel ourselves prisoners of the present. It is as though man had lost his perception of belonging to a history which precedes and follows him. This effort to situate oneself between the past and the future, with a grateful heart for the benefits received and for those expected, is offered by the Eastern Churches in particular, with a clear-cut sense of continuity which takes the name of Tradition and of eschatological expectation.' ('Captivos hodie saepius nos temporis praesentis esse sentimus: quasi si notionem homo amiserit sese esse particulam alicuius historiae praecedentis et subsequentis. Huic magno labori, quo contendit quis ut se inter praeteritum colloquet futurumque tempus cum grato sane animo tam de acceptis quam de donis postmodum accipiendis, clarum praestant Orientales Ecclesiae sensum continuationis, quae sibi Traditionis atque eschatologicae expectationis nomina sumit.')

frequently considered even by the Occident not as a sign of stagnancy and backwardness but of precious fidelity to the sources of salvation.²⁶

The fidelity of the Oriental Churches, and of those attached to the Extraordinary Form in the Latin Church, can be a sign and an inspiration for the whole Church, as the Rechabites' fidelity to tradition was a sign to Israel in the time of the prophet Jeremiah.²⁷

13. In the West, the counter-cultural nature of the tradition amplifies its power, as a witness to tradition and to the sacredness of the context in which it is worn.²⁸
14. In relation to non-Christian societies, which have maintained or rediscovered the use of head coverings, the traditional Catholic practice presents an opening for genuine dialogue. It was in the context of a drive for 'modest and respectful' dress in places of worship of all faiths in Sri Lanka that head coverings for women were again enforced in St Lucia's Cathedral, Columbo, in 2011.²⁹
15. Throughout Europe, as well as in traditionally Islamic countries, the sight of Muslim women³⁰ veiled in public has become commonplace, and the Islamic critique of Western women as lacking in reserve, and therefore dignity, is well established. The veiling of Catholic women in church is an indication, however small, that the concerns of Islamic critics of the West are not entirely incomprehensible to Catholics, and that we do not endorse the loss of feminine dignity, the loss indeed of the sense of feminine sacredness, which has followed the Sexual Revolution.

²⁶ Congregation for the Oriental Churches: Instruction *Il Padre, incomprensibile* (1996) 9

²⁷ See Jeremiah 35

²⁸ See Appendix B, and Positio 11: *Evangelisation and Western Culture*.

²⁹ 'Colombo Cathedral requires women to use a veil during Mass': photograph caption in a news report by UCA News, 20th January 2011. The story added: 'The Catholic National Association of Laity (CNAL) in Sri Lanka has backed calls for people of all faiths to dress modestly in places of worship.' ...In an appeal to worshippers, Victor Silva, secretary of CNAL, noted "with great sadness and dismay the unfortunate trend among some Catholic lay faithful to be dressed in an immodest and most disrespectful manner when participating in liturgical services, with scant attention to the sense of the sacred."...The Sri Lankan government has set up a panel of different faiths to prepare a dress code for places of worship.' <http://www.ucanews.com/news/sri-lankan-lay-catholics-call-for-dress-code/3230> accessed 21st October 2014.

³⁰ Veiling in Islam is most associated with women, although head coverings are worn by both sexes in public and for prayer, and veiling of the face is not unknown among men.

Appendix A: Head coverings in St Paul's cultural context

The claim that the practice of the primitive Church in relation to head coverings reflects the wider cultural context is widely made, and generally regarded as undermining the authority of St Paul's mandate: it is dismissed, for example in the 1976 Instruction of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith *Inter insigniores*, as simply a 'cultural fact'.³¹ The difficulty for this approach, however, lies in identifying any culture with which the primitive Christians were in contact as making use of the practice described in 1 Corinthians 11.

Depictions of pagan sacrifice, as well as literary references, make it clear that the Roman custom was for a person, of either sex, to cover the head while performing sacrifices, for example with a part of the toga. It does not appear that onlookers, or those in the sacrificial procession, did the same thing, although they are often depicted wearing garlands. It should be remembered that sacrifices (including libations) were carried out not only by priests in temples, but in a domestic context on a daily basis.

When we consider the no less numerous depictions of the pagan sacrificial cult in a Greek cultural context, commonly shown on Greek vases, it is evident that head coverings were not used, though again garlands, for both sexes, are often in evidence.

In neither case can we find a precedent for the insistence that women cover their heads in the context of worship, and that men should uncover them.

Turning to the Jewish practice, the traditional practice maintained today by Orthodox Jews, and universal until the 20th century, is for men to cover their heads, and even to use a double head covering.³² The yarmulke (or kippah: a skullcap) is worn throughout the day, by men and boys,³³ and a tallit (prayer shawl), in addition to the yarmulke, during prayers, especially the Shema, by married men.³⁴

Women are not obliged to wear these coverings,³⁵ and for this reason it is traditionally regarded as inappropriate for them to do so. Married women are obliged to cover their heads as a matter of modesty,³⁶ but this is not tied either to times of prayer or to a specific ritual garment.³⁷

³¹ Quoted in context in note 3 *supra*.

³² This is maintained by the Ultra-Orthodox, with a hat over the yarmulke, and during prayers a tallit over it.

³³ Most commonly, from the age of three.

³⁴ This is connected with the commands of Deuteronomy 22:12 and Numbers 15:37-8. The latter passage forms part of the Shema, which makes the use of the tallit particularly appropriate. The large tallit is related to the small tallit worn under the shirt, which does not cover the head, and is worn all day. For married men, the large tallit is worn over the head when praying the Shema in addition to this. The Shema is said during both morning and evening prayers.

³⁵ As a 'time bound' commandment (since it does not apply at night), it applies only to men. This general interpretive principle is found as early as the first century: "All positive commandments that are time-bound, men are obligated but women are exempt. And all positive commandments that are not time-bound, the same holds for men and women, they are both obligated. And all negative commandments, whether or not time-bound, the same holds for men and for women, they are obligated." (Mishnah Kiddushin 1:7)

³⁶ This may take the form of a wig (sheitel) among Orthodox Jews in public.

³⁷ Although the requirement of modesty is naturally heightened in a religious context.

It is impossible to establish definitively what was observed in the first century, but it seems clear that then, as for Jews in later centuries, head coverings during prayers were more closely associated with, and ritually significant for, men than with women.

Priests who officiated in Temple worship were commanded to wear a linen mitre or turban, the High Priest having an additional, gold ornament on his.³⁸ Moses³⁹ and Elijah⁴⁰ veiled themselves in the presence of the Divine. Scriptural references to the veiling of women, such as Rebecca when she first sees her betrothed,⁴¹ and the beloved in the Song of Songs,⁴² are outside a specifically religious context.

Midrash references to the covering of the head in the context of prayer are to men: Mordechai,⁴³ Nakdimon ben Gurion,⁴⁴ and in general Rabbis and Sages.⁴⁵ The last point is reflected in the reference to the phylacteries and tassels of the Pharisees in Matthew 23:5, and the depiction of Moses closely wrapped in a tallit among the murals in the third century synagogue at Dura Europos.

To conclude, what is striking about the primitive Christian custom is the contrasting practices of men and women. This is not found, in this context, in contemporary pagan practice, and Jewish custom tended in a direction directly opposite to the Christian one. It would seem perverse to insist, in light of this, that the Christian practice simply reflected a widespread cultural norm, and thus that St Paul's theological explanation was a mere rationalisation. On the contrary, there is every indication that the Christian practice was distinct from that of the surrounding cultures, and that it was new and deliberately chosen.

If a further explanation is needed, beyond St Paul's theological account, it would be natural to relate it to the conscious differentiation from the practice of others characteristic of Judaism itself, on the principle 'do not walk in their ways.'⁴⁶ Other examples of Christian differentiation from Jewish practice would include the direction of prayer,⁴⁷ weekly days of fasting,⁴⁸ and the suppression of Jewish feast days.⁴⁹ This differentiation itself has enduring theological, and not merely passing cultural, significance, and has given us the mixture of continuity and discontinuity which characterises the relationship between Judaism and Christianity.

³⁸ Ex 28:4, 36-7. Cf. Ex39:26, 30; Lev 16:4

³⁹ Exodus 34:33f.

⁴⁰ 1 Kings 19:13

⁴¹ Genesis 24:65

⁴² Song of Songs 4:1. See also the passages already noted on the removal of head coverings: Numbers 5:18 and Song of Songs 5:7

⁴³ Mid. Rab. *Leviticus* 23:6

⁴⁴ See Juday Goldin, trans. *The Fathers According to Rabbi Nathan* [*Abot deRabbi Natan*], (Yale, 1995), 45

⁴⁵ Mid. Rab. *Ecclesiastes* 2:15; 4:1. The Midrash examples are discussed by Tim Hegg, 2001: "Should I remove my Kippah? A Jewish perspective of 1 Corinthians 11:2-16"

http://www.torahresource.com/EnglishArticles/1Cor11_Kippah_Final.pdf accessed 29th October 2014

⁴⁶ Proverbs 1:15. The Douai translation has: 'My son, walk not thou with them, restrain thy foot from their paths.'

⁴⁷ Christian prayer was directed towards the Mount of Olives, and later the East, rather than the Temple. See Fr Uwe Michael Lang *Turning Towards the Lord* (San Francisco CA: Ignatius Press, 2004) pp37-8.

⁴⁸ From the pious Jewish practice of fasting on Mondays and Thursdays (see Luke 18:12), still observed by Ashkenazi Jews, to a practice of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays. (Although a short fast on Friday is also found in the Jewish tradition: see Talmud Pesachim 99b.)

⁴⁹ See Galatians 4:10

Appendix B: The Testimony of Young Women on Veiling today.

The use of head coverings for women in church, particularly at the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, has generated a great deal of discussion, and many blog and video explanations and defences of head coverings are available online.⁵⁰ These tend to focus on the experience of young women who have adopted the use of head coverings in church, generally in the form of a lace mantilla or ‘chapel veil’. The symbolic connection with the bridal or spousal nature of women is often noted in these explanations, something emphasised by the connection between the mantilla and traditional (and still very popular) bridal attire. These also make a number of points not made in this Position Paper, which are worth noting, specific to the cultural context in which these women find themselves.

The use of a head covering is a strongly counter-cultural sign for a modern Western woman, and this is particularly so when a mantilla is used, since today this is identified as something specifically religious. The presence of women wearing mantillas at Mass is therefore a highly effective witness to the sacredness of the Mass and to the Real Presence of Our Lord in the Blessed Sacrament. This witness is more powerful than in a cultural situation where women would wear the same head covering in church as elsewhere.

It is also an effective witness to the wearer’s fidelity to tradition; a putting aside of both personal preferences and the pressures of contemporary fashions, in favour of the immemorial wisdom of the Church.

In terms of fashion, the emphasis today on women having loose hair, and its connection with modern notions of beauty and sexuality, underlines the significance of covering the head. This is connected with the idea sometimes expressed that young women covering their heads in church are less distracting to men.

Many young women also testify that a mantilla helps to free them from distractions during Mass, and creates an enhanced sense of privacy. The act of covering the head on entering church, like that of crossing oneself with holy water, can, again, help to focus the mind on the sacredness of the building, the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, and the liturgy.

In these ways, the young women recovering the tradition of headcovering today are responding to the words of Pope Benedict XVI:

The Greek word for converting means: to rethink—to question one's own and common way of living; to allow God to enter into the criteria of one's life; to not merely judge according to the current opinions. Thereby, to convert means: not to live as all the others live, not do what all do, not feel justified in dubious, ambiguous, evil actions just because others do the same; [to] begin to see one's life through the eyes of God; thereby looking for the good, even if uncomfortable; not aiming at the judgment of the majority, of men, but on the justice of God—in other words: to look for a new style of life, a new life.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Examples of videos can be found at the following urls: http://youtu.be/lFqSae_ZwRY ; <http://youtu.be/Q9d4eLBAPFA> ; <http://youtu.be/zoNovGyyuKI> : accessed 21st October 2014. Many more can be found using suitable search terms within video-sharing websites.

⁵¹ Pope Benedict XVI (Joseph, Cardinal Ratzinger) ‘Address to Catechists and Religion Teachers’, Jubilee of Catechists, 12th December 2000.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 23

THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM
AND CHINA

JANUARY 2015

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Extraordinary Form and China: Abstract

Because of the unique recent history of the Catholic Church in China, the Extraordinary Form has continued to be said alongside the Ordinary Form. The paper argues that the affinity between classical Chinese culture, and notably Confucianism, and the Faith, continues to be relevant in the context of the Extraordinary Form, as the values of continuity, discipline and respect for the sacred continue to be valued, and needed, in the China of today. The Extraordinary Form is moreover helpful in many of the difficulties facing the Church in China today, including linguistic pluralism, poor catechesis, and liturgical indiscipline.

Comments can be sent to

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POSITIO 23: THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM AND CHINA

1. The complex recent history of the Church in China has resulted in the survival of the Extraordinary Form, alongside the Ordinary Form, which was not introduced until the 1980s.¹ This raises the question of the relationship between the Extraordinary Form and Chinese culture; evangelisation; the attitude of the state; and the needs and resources of the Church in China today.
2. The ‘Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association’ (CPCA), part of the Religious Affairs Bureau of the State, was created in 1957, as an officially approved organisation for the Catholic Faithful, in contrast to the ‘underground’ Church. Today most bishops of the CPCA exercise a legitimate ministry,² and the Faithful of the underground Church may attend their services. However, it remains impossible to establish an Episcopal Conference recognised by the Holy See.³
3. Between them, the CPCA and the underground Church have, on a conservative estimate, about 15 million Faithful. Despite the many difficulties of the Church in China, the Church is growing rapidly, although less rapidly than some Protestant groups.

The Jesuit Mission and Chinese Culture

4. The Jesuit mission of the 17th and 18th centuries, faced with the highly sophisticated culture of Imperial China, made remarkable strides in inculturation, making use of these aspects of European culture of interest and value to the Chinese, and incorporating Chinese culture into the life of the nascent Church in China.
5. One central idea of the Jesuit approach, particularly associated with the work of the Servant of God, Fr Matteo Ricci SJ (1552-1610), was the affinity of Confucianism with the Faith.⁴ Fr Ricci adopted the Confucian term ‘Lord of Heaven’ to refer to God,⁵ and began the translation of key Confucian texts. Confucianism stresses the individual’s duties towards family and society, and a profound respect for tradition.
6. Confucius’ concept of ‘*li*’, often translated ‘the rites’ but encompassing social as well as religious ritual, connects the idea of the objective importance of cultural and religious behaviour to the moral life, as is illustrated by two Confucian texts reproduced in Appendix A. Strikingly, while not shying away from the importance of the pagan sacrificial cult in the first of these texts, in the second the Jesuits render *li* as ‘*primaevum temperamentum naturae rationalis*’,⁶ a reflection of its wide range and connection with self-control and the moral life. Confucian ideas find many echoes in the Catholic tradition: the integration of culture as a whole, including art, music, letters, and manners, in a Catholic society; the role of the liturgy

¹ The Ordinary Form began to be considered by the CPCA in 1984. The first Mass in Chinese in Shanghai Diocese was said in the Seminary of Sheshan on the feast day of St. Jerome (September 30th) in 1989. A similar delay in the implementation of the reform occurred in some countries of the Soviet bloc in central Europe.

² In recent years, the Holy See has agreed in advance to the ordination of some bishops of the CPCA, and others, ordained without Papal mandate, have been reconciled to the Holy See following their ordination.

³ Pope Benedict XVI, 2007: *Letter to Chinese Catholics* 7

⁴ In contrast with other philosophico-religious systems found in China, such as Taoism and Buddhism.

⁵ *Tiānzǔ*; the term is still used by Chinese Catholics today. Protestants use another term, *Shangdi*.

⁶ ‘youthful moderation of rational nature’.

as the foundation for the Christian life,⁷ and the stress on the objective importance of the rite, as performative, and not merely didactic, something manifested notably by the use of silent liturgical prayer.⁸

7. The Jesuit mission was seriously impeded by the long controversy over the 'Chinese Rites',⁹ whose compatibility with the Faith was long disputed, leading to a prolonged persecution of the Church. In 1939 Pope Pius XII ruled that Catholics could licitly assist at them.¹⁰

The Church under Communism

8. From 1949, however, the new, Communist government rejected classical Chinese culture, and anything savouring of foreign interference. This policy applied with special ferocity during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Christians of all kinds continue to face restrictions and persecution in China today, something illustrated by the fact that there are only eight Catholic churches¹¹ in central Beijing, a city of more than 21 million souls.
9. In recent years the state has softened its attitude to classical culture and traditional religions, even setting up 'Confucius Institutes' around the world to promote Chinese culture and the teaching of the Chinese language. The ideology of Communism being undermined by the collapse of the Soviet Union and rapid economic development, 'lack of belief' is regarded as a major social problem, even at official levels.
10. The question arises of whether Catholicism could come to be viewed officially as a source of social stability, rather than of (particularly foreign) subversion.¹² One hopeful historical parallel is Bismark's ending his attack on the Church, the 'kulturkampf', in 1878. Whereas he had regarded the Catholic Church as an affront to the power of the state, he came to see her as a bulwark against socialism.¹³ The traditional liturgy expresses, through its language and ritual, the values of continuity, integrity, and respect for the sacred, which are widely recognised as sorely needed in the China of the 21st century.¹⁴

⁷ See Second Vatican Council Decree on the Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 14: the liturgy is 'the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to derive the true Christian spirit.'

⁸ See Positio 9: 'Silence and Inaudibility in the Extraordinary Form', especially 10.

⁹ Ceremonies honouring family and community ancestors and Confucius himself, carried out in domestic and civic contexts.

¹⁰ Pius XII, 8th December 1939, Decree *Plane compertum*.

¹¹ Including the chapel of the diocesan seminary, but not including non-public places of worship. The underground Church often uses private homes for the celebration of Mass. Another indication of the lack of places of worship is that resort has to be made to ticket-only admittance to Midnight Mass at Christmas. The tickets are distributed, free of charge, at Masses on the third and fourth Sundays of Advent to the Faithful who want them, but with a limitation on numbers.

¹² In an article dated 1st November 2014, *The Economist* reported: 'In recent years the [Chinese Communist] party's concerns have shifted from people's beliefs to the maintenance of stability and the party's monopoly of power. If working with churches helps achieve these aims, it will do so, even though it still frets about encouraging an alternative source of authority.' The article noted government officials asking for help from Hong Kong Christians to set up NGOs and charities, and local government in some parts of China sponsoring the construction of some favoured Christian churches, even while in other places churches are forcibly demolished. It also noted the disadvantage faced by Catholics deriving from the Chinese State's hostility to adherence to the Holy See.

¹³ Something manifested in electoral terms by the increasing importance of the Catholic Centre Party.

¹⁴ A recognition manifested not only the state's evolving attitude to traditional religions and Confucianism, but by initiatives such as the 'Oxford Consensus', a statement of common concerns by Chinese intellectuals of the New Left, Neo-Confucian, and Christian traditions at a meeting in Oxford, England, in 2013.

The use of the vernacular in the Church in China today

11. One early Jesuit project was the translation of the Roman Missal into Mandarin,¹⁵ whose role in classical Chinese culture appeared to make it suitable as a liturgical language, even, or perhaps especially, since it was not the language of everyday speech. In the context of the Chinese Rites controversy and the persecution of the Church, the use of this Missal never became established.
12. Vernacularisation since the Second Vatican Council has proceeded without the same connection with classical culture. The Mandarin of the Ordinary Form in China today is modern in style and vocabulary, makes use of ‘simplified’ characters,¹⁶ and long-used vernacular prayers have also been revised.¹⁷
13. Mandarin is not, however, the only language of mainland China, and the other vernaculars, for which there are no special Missals, present a number of difficulties. One problem is that there are no translations of the liturgy into non-Chinese languages spoken by large populations, such as Hmong, Tibetan, Uighur, and Mongolian.¹⁸
14. Other problems arise in the case of the Faithful who speak Chinese dialects or regional languages. The most important of these is Cantonese, which is also the language of Hong Kong and Macau, and the most widely used language of the Chinese diaspora. The method employed for congregations dominated by the speakers of such languages, which are mutually incomprehensible, is to read the Mandarin text using the local pronunciation. This may render the words intelligible, but it is far from being the case that the words, as locally understood, are necessarily what would be chosen by a competent translator of the original text. Furthermore, the grammar remains that of Mandarin.
15. The overall result may be understood by its hearers to the degree that the local language is close to Mandarin, and the Faithful have a Mandarin education. For Cantonese speakers, especially those in the diaspora who have not benefitted from a Chinese education, and whose second language, if any, is more likely to be English than Mandarin, the result is often entirely incomprehensible. The problem could not be solved simply by translating the Missal into Cantonese and the other regional languages, since these languages do not have a formal written form.¹⁹
16. The delivery of a Mandarin text with a non-Mandarin pronunciation cannot, in fact, be described as a natural language. The Chinese method of writing traditionally assisted non-Mandarin speakers to understand a text composed by a Mandarin speaker, and even to compose

¹⁵ It was translated by Fr Ludovic Bugli SJ, and permitted for use by Pope Paul V in 1615.

¹⁶ Traditional Chinese characters are used in Missals, as in other contexts, in Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan. The ‘Simplified’ writing system has been promoted by the Chinese state since the 1950s, and the Ordinary Form Missal using it was produced by the authority of the Chinese Patriotic Catholic Association, starting in 1992.

¹⁷ Traditional versions remain in use alongside the new translations.

¹⁸ Korean is also spoken, both by the ethnic Korean Chinese of the Northeast and by visitors and immigrants. Although a Korean Missal exists, Korean congregations in China tend to be faced with a liturgy conducted mainly in Mandarin, to which the Faithful make responses in Korean. Such linguistic confusion can also be seen with congregations comprising both Mandarin and Cantonese speakers, even in Masses organised for the Chinese community in London.

¹⁹ With some effort, Cantonese can be written informally with the use of homonyms: that is, using a Mandarin character to represent not the Mandarin word or what that word means, but a Cantonese word which sounds the same.

one which would be understood in turn; the reading aloud of a Mandarin text with local pronunciation is not the use of a language anyone would actually speak. The question arises of the suitability of such an artificial language for the liturgy; it is certainly far from ideal.²⁰

17. A final difficulty is that the Church is in danger of presenting herself as an ally of the State policy of the promotion of Mandarin.²¹ This is inevitably at the expense, not only of minority languages, but of the cultures which are expressed in them, cultures already under pressure from rapid economic development and urbanisation.
18. For all these reasons, the use of Latin in the liturgy has obvious advantages.²²

The Needs and Resources of the Church in China

19. The celebration of the Extraordinary Form in China today is limited most of all by a lack of Latin among the younger clergy. Deficiencies in seminary formation were noted in Pope Benedict XVI's 2007 *Letter to Chinese Catholics*.²³ The absence of Latin from the liturgy reinforces its absence from the study of theology,²⁴ even while the academic study of Latin is growing in China.²⁵
20. Pope Benedict's other concerns, in his *Letter*, are inadequate catechesis, including of adult converts to the Faith,²⁶ and problems of discipline, notably in the area of priestly celibacy.²⁷ The discipline and theological content of the Extraordinary Form has special advantages in this context, and can give effective witness to many of the Church's teachings, even if it is not the Form most often celebrated.

²⁰ The use of artificial languages such as Esperanto in the liturgy is more restricted than the use of natural languages. Cf. the Instruction of the Congregation for Divine Worship *Liturgiam Authenticam* (2001) 17: 'As for the use of "artificial" languages, proposed from time to time, the approval of texts as well as the granting of permission for their use in liturgical celebrations is strictly reserved to the Holy See. This faculty will be granted only for particular circumstances and for the pastoral good of the faithful, after consultation with the Bishops principally involved.' ('Circa usum linguarum «artificiosarum» qui interdum temporum decursu est propositus, textuum approbatio, necnon facultatis concessio, eos in actionibus liturgicis adhibendi, Sanctae Sedi stricte reservatur, quae facultas solummodo in peculiaribus rerum adiunctis atque pro bono pastoralis fidelium tribuitur, collatis consiliis cum Episcopis quibus maius interest.') The passage concludes with a footnote reference to the permission given for the use of Esperanto in the liturgy. As a language deliberately created for written and verbal use, Esperanto, though more artificial, is at any rate more linguistically coherent than the languages considered here.

²¹ 'Standard Chinese'—Mandarin—is for example often the language of instruction in schools in preference to local dialect.

²² Cf. St Pope John XXIII Apostolic Constitution *Veterum Sapientia* (1962) 3. 'Of its very nature Latin is most suitable for promoting every culture among diverse peoples, for it gives no rise to jealousies, it does not favour any one group, but presents itself with equal impartiality, gracious and friendly to all' ('Suae enim sponte naturae lingua Latina ad provehendum apud populos quoslibet omnem humanitatis cultum est peraccommodata: cum invidiam non commoveat, singulis gentibus se aequabilem praestet, nullius partibus faveat, omnibus postremo sit grata et amica.')

²³ *Letter to Chinese Catholics* 8

²⁴ Positio 12: *Latin in Seminaries*

²⁵ Notably the Latinitas Sinica or the Beijing Latin Centre, in Beijing Foreign Studies University; centres of Latin teaching have also been established in Renmin University in Beijing, Sun Yat-san University in Guangzhou, and in Fudan University in Shanghai.

²⁶ *Letter to Chinese Catholics* 17

²⁷ *Letter to Chinese Catholics* 14

21. Unauthorised liturgical developments have also made an appearance, such as the reception of Holy Communion standing and in the hand.²⁸ The liturgical discipline associated with the Extraordinary Form is particularly useful in this context.
22. Important resources for learning the Extraordinary Form have recently become available in China,²⁹ and Gregorian Chant is also undergoing a revival.³⁰

Conclusion

23. This paper has argued for a particular affinity of the ancient liturgical tradition with Chinese culture and the needs of Chinese society today, and its usefulness in meeting the challenges facing the Church in China. China's unique situation derives both from its diversity, including a linguistic diversity; its extraordinarily rapid development; and the loss of continuity in relation to its own classical culture and values, as a result of Communist rule. The qualities of stability and universality, represented by the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite, its reassertion of the importance of reverence, and the theological richness of its ceremonies and texts, seem particularly suited to this situation. By a chance of Chinese history, the Extraordinary Form is today available and appreciated by the Chinese Faithful, more widely than in almost any other country in the world. For this to continue, however, special attention must be given to the training of a new generation of priests to celebrate it.

²⁸ Without an Episcopal Conference recognised by the Holy See, permission for this cannot even be requested for China. The practice has spread in both Forms of the Roman Rite since the late 1990s, and particularly during the SARS (Atypical Pneumonia, 'Bird Flu') epidemic of 2003, although it is still far from universal.

²⁹ Most notably, Bishop Li Jingfeng of Fengxiang Diocese in Shaanxi Province has on his own initiative published an edition of the 1962 Missal with a parallel translation for study purposes. Also noteworthy is the launch in the Summer of 2014 of a version of the instructional video for teaching the Extraordinary Form produced by the Priestly Fraternity of St Peter, with commentary in Mandarin and Cantonese, an initiative of the Traditional Catholic community in Hong Kong.

³⁰ It is promoted notably in the Guang Qi Music School run by the Diocese of Shanghai, whose courses are attended by musicians from all over China.

Appendix A: Two Confucian Texts

The affinity of Confucianism with the Catholic Faith claimed by Fr Matteo Ricci and his successors, and their own achievement in entering into Chinese culture, can be illustrated with two passages from Confucius' *Analects*, with reference to the translation into Latin produced by Fr Ricci's Jesuit successors. This was published in 1687 under the title *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus sive Scientia Sinensis Latine Exposita*.

<i>Translation from the Latin</i>	<i>Latin text</i>	<i>Modern translation</i> ³¹	<i>English</i>
VIII 21: Confucius said: As to the Emperor Yu, I do not have nor can I discover anything to blame. He was sparing and remarkably moderate in drink and in food: but he was exceptionally generous, splendid, and elegant where the Spirits were concerned. Generally his dress was quite plain; but whenever he carried out sacred rituals there was a kind of exquisite adornment and splendour about his priestly vesture and head covering. The Palace was humble and far from lavish; but he deployed and exhausted all the resources of his mind and treasury in channelling water that needed routing down to the sea, and in making reservoirs against times of drought. So in Yu I do not have nor can I discover anything to blame.	VIII 21: Confucius ait: Quod attinet ad <i>Yu</i> Imperatorem, ego non habeo nec invenio, quod arguam. Parcus erat ac mire temperans potus et cibi: Idem tamen maxime liberalis, magnificus, ac mundus erga spiritus. Admodum vulgaris passim erat ei vestitus: Eiusdem tamen summus quidam ornatus ac splendour erat in veste sacerdotali et tiara, quotiescumque sacris operabatur. Humile erat minimeque sumptuosum Palatium: Idem tamen exerebat et exhauriebat omnes animi, et aerarii facultates in aquarum in mare derivandarum ductus et earumbem receptacula pro siccitatis tempore. In <i>Yu</i> ergo non habeo ego nec invenio quod arguam.	VIII 21: The Master said, With Yu I can find no fault. He ate and drank the meanest fare while making offerings to ancestral spirits and to gods with the utmost devotion proper to a descendant. He wore coarse clothes while sparing no splendour in his robes and caps on sacrificial occasions. He lived in lowly dwellings while devoting all his energy to the building of irrigation canals. With Yu I can find no fault.	
XII 1: To overcome oneself, and so to return to that youthful moderation of rational nature [li], is to have acquired innocence of heart and perfection [ren]. If all mortals were to overcome themselves for but a single day and get back to that moderation, then the whole world would return to its innate innocence and perfection.	XII 1: Vincere seipsum, atque ita reidire ad primaevum illud temperamentum naturae rationalis [li], hoc est obtinuisse cordis innocentiam et pefectionem [ren]. Mortales universi vel unico die si vincerent seipsos et redirent ad temperamentum illud; tunc orbis universis redirect ad innocentiam nativam et perfectionem.	XII 1: To return to the observance of the rites [li] through overcoming the self constitutes benevolence [ren]. If for a single day a man could return to the observance of the rites by overcoming himself, then the whole Empire would consider benevolence to be his. ³²	

³¹ Confucius *Analects* trans D.C. Lau (London: Penguin, 1979)

³² Other modern translations of this passage concur with the Jesuits in understanding the final result to be the conversion of the world (or Empire). The power of good example of the ruler, in performing the 'rites', to convert the ordinary people, is affirmed in many other passages of the *Analects*. Cf. *Analects* IX 14, XII 17-18, XIII 1-2, 6, 13, XIV 41 and *passim*.

Appendix B: Prayers for the Church of Silence

Composed by Pope Pius XII; promulgated, with an indulgence, 16th July 1957.³³

O Lord Jesus, King of martyrs, Thou art the comfort of the afflicted and firm support of all who suffer for love of Thee and by reason of their loyalty to Thy Spouse Holy Mother the Church. In Thy mercy give ear to our fervent prayer in behalf of our brethren of the 'Church of Silence' that they may never be disheartened in the struggle nor waver in the faith; rather may they taste the sweetness of the consolations reserved by Thee for those souls whom Thou dost vouchsafe to number among Thy companions on the hill of the cross.

To those who must suffer torment and violence, hunger and fatigue, be Thou the invincible strength sustaining them in their trials and assuring them of the rewards pledged by Thee to those who persevere to the end.

Many, on the other hand, are exposed to moral constraints, which oftentimes prove much more dangerous inasmuch as they are more deceitful; to such then be Thou the light to enlighten their mind, so that they may clearly see the straight path of truth; be Thou also to them a source of strength for the support of their will so that they may triumph in every crisis and never yield to any vacillation or weakness.

Finally, there are those who find it impossible to profess their faith openly, to lead a normal Christian life, to receive the holy sacraments frequently, and to converse familiarly with their spiritual guides. To such be Thou Thyself a hidden altar, an invisible temple, a plenitude of grace and a fatherly voice, helping and encouraging them, providing a remedy for their aching hearts and filling them with joy and peace.

May they be helped by our fervent prayer; let our fraternal solidarity assure them that they are not alone. May their example redound to the edification of the whole Church; especially may it be profitable to us who regard them with no small affection.

Grant, O Lord, that their period of trial be shortened and that very soon all, including also their converted oppressors, may enjoy the freedom of serving and worshipping Thee, who with the Father and the Holy Spirit livest and reignest for ever and ever. Amen.

Composed by Pope St John XXIII; promulgated, with an indulgence, 23rd January 1959.

O Jesus, Son of God, who out of love for Thy Church didst deliver Thyself up for her in order to sanctify her and cause her to appear in Thy presence glorious and without spot (Eph. 5:23-27), behold with eyes of pity the afflictions which Thy mystical Spouse is suffering in certain parts of the Catholic world, particularly now in the vast country of China.

Thou art fully aware, O Lord, of the traps that endanger the souls of Thy faithful; Thou knowest the calumnies uttered by innuendo against Thy Shepherds, Thy ministers and Thy faithful followers, who are eager for the spread of the Gospel and Thy kingdom, which is not of this world! How persistent and pernicious are the efforts to tear asunder the seamless garment of Thy Spouse, the one, holy, catholic, Roman Church, by separating the local hierarchy and community from the one centre of truth, authority and salvation, the See of Peter!

Confronted with such an evil spectacle, we first of all ask Thee to pardon the offenses inflicted on Thee. Indeed, the words addressed by Thee to Saul of Tarsus on the way to

³³ The indulgences for these prayers were not renewed in the 1968 *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* and its later editions.

Damascus: 'Saul, Saul, why dost thou persecute Me' (Acts 9:4), so true in olden and recent history, can be applied also in our own day.

We however, will always trust in the power of Thy Father when lifted up on the Cross: 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they are doing' (Luke 23:24). As Thy sacrifice was the source of universal salvation, so by Thy grace, may the martyrdoms which the Church, Thy Spouse and our Mother, suffers in various places, redound to the salvation of all men!

O Prince of peace, grant that the bishops and priests, the religious and laity may everywhere and always be 'careful to preserve the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace' (Eph 4:3). May Thy almighty power overcome every human contingency so that the Shepherd's and the flocks may remain obedient to the voice of the one universal Shepherd, the Bishop of Rome, who feels in his heart a sense of responsibility from that supreme aspiration of love: 'Holy Father, keep in Thy name those whom thou hast given Me, that they may be one even as We are.' (John 17:11).

Finally, O Redeemer, look graciously upon the merits and prayers of Thy Mother and our Mother, the majestic Queen of the Missions and of the universal Church; regard also the labours, the sacrifices and the blood of the countless martyrs for the Faith who everywhere have borne and still bear witness to Thee. Above all, however, be mindful of Thy precious Blood, shed for many unto the remission of sins, and grant Thy peace to China and to the whole world inasmuch as hope, victory and peace are had only through Thee, our Lord and immortal King of ages and nations.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 24

PRAYERS FOR THE PERSECUTED CHURCH
AND THE
LEONINE PRAYERS

FEBRUARY 2015

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

Prayers for the Persecuted Church and the Leonine Prayers: Abstract

In the context of the persecution of Christians around the world, and particularly in the Middle East, to which Pope Francis has frequently drawn attention, Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form will naturally wish to make use of public and liturgical prayer to address this problem. The Middle Ages saw the widespread use of various versions of the ‘Holy Land Clamor’ for the liberation of the Holy Land for three centuries from 1188, and the ‘Leonine Prayers’ for the ‘liberty and exaltation’ of the Church were introduced for another specific crisis, first by Pope Pius IX in 1859. The use of Votive Masses and Commemorations for persecuted Christians is to be commended; these can also be facilitated by the Holy See and local Ordinaries, by giving permission for them to be used on a larger number of days.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV Position Paper 24: PRAYERS FOR THE PERSECUTED CHURCH, & THE LEONINE PRAYERS

1. This Position Paper responds to the heartfelt appeal of Pope Francis:

We are witnessing a phenomenon of terrorism of previously unimaginable dimensions. So many of our brothers and sisters are being persecuted and have had to leave their homes, even in a brutal manner. It seems that awareness of the value of human life has been lost. It seems that the person does not count and can be sacrificed for other interests. And all this, unfortunately, with the indifference of so many.

This unjust situation also requires, in addition to our constant prayer, an appropriate response on the part of the International Community. I am certain that, with the Lord's help, today's encounter will result in valid reflections and suggestions in order to help our brothers and sisters who are suffering and in order to face even the tragedy of reduced Christian presence in the land where Christianity was born and from which it spread.¹

The current persecution of Christians, which has been likened to a 'Global War on Christians',² is of particular gravity in the Middle East, but is also acute in parts of Africa and South East Asia.

2. As well as private prayer,³ Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form will naturally wish to make use of public and liturgical prayer, the most perfect form of prayer ceaselessly offered to God by the whole Church. There are a number of options here, in relation to the Extraordinary Form, which need not be mutually exclusive.⁴

Precedents for the Leonine Prayers

3. An noteworthy phenomenon of the Medieval liturgy was the 'Holy Land *Clamor*' ('cry') for the liberation of the Holy Land, versions of which were initiated by local initiatives and by Papal mandate, following the Battle of Hattin in 1187 and continuing for three centuries.⁵ It took place immediately after the *Pax Domini* and before the *Pater Noster*, or else after the *Agnus Dei*; a version could also be said in the Office. It was composed of the psalm *Deus venerunt gentes*, with versicles and a collect. It was omitted on Feast Days. During the Middle Ages clamors existed for a number of intentions.

¹ Pope Francis Address to the Ordinary Public Consistory, 20th October 2014.

² John Allen *The Global War on Christians: dispatches from the front lines of anti-Christian persecution* (Image Books, 2014)

³ The Collect of the Commemoration 'For Holy Church Against Persecutors' was enriched with an indulgence for private recital in 1934: 'Graciously hear the prayers of Thy Church, we beseech Thee, O Lord: that her enemies and all heresies be brought to nought, and that she may serve Thee in perfect security and freedom. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.' ('Ecclesiae tuae, quaesumus, Domine, preces placatus admitte: ut, destructis adversitatibus et erroribus universis, secura tibi serviat libertate. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.') This prayer is not included in the *Enchiridion Indulgentiarum* of 1968 or subsequent editions, which are very much shorter than their predecessors. Older collections of indulgenced prayers include a number of other suitable private prayers.

⁴ In England and Wales processions are authorised 'In time of war against enemies of Holy Church', with special prayers at their conclusion (see Appendix C).

⁵ The first recorded use of a form of this Clamor was in London in 1188. For a full discussion see Amnon Linder *Raising Arms: liturgy in the struggle to liberate Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2003) pp1-95. For the two most widely used collects for the Holy Land Clamor, see Appendix D.

4. A longstanding precedent for adding prayers to the end of Mass are the Prayers for the Sovereign, *Domine savlum fac*, which continue to be said in certain countries after Mass.⁶

The History and Intentions of the Leonine Prayers

5. The Prayers After Low Mass (*Orationes post Missam*) or 'Leonine Prayers'⁷ were first instituted by Pope Pius IX in 1859, for use in the Papal States. In their original form they focused on the petition (of the Collect) 'for the liberty and exaltation of Holy Mother Church' ('pro libertate et exaltatione sanctæ Matris Ecclesiæ'), the intention being the preservation of the Papal States, whose remaining territories were in fact seized by the Kingdom of Italy in 1870.
6. Pope Leo XIII made the prayers universal in 1884, and in 1886 he added the phrase 'for the conversion of sinners' ('pro conversione peccatorum') to the Collect, also adding the Prayer to St Michael. (A threefold invocation of the Sacred Heart was added by Pope St Pius X in 1904.)⁸
7. In this way Pope Leo widened the intention of the prayers, but the sense of necessary defence, for the Church and for her members, remained, and Pope Leo directed the prayers be said for the resolution of the problem created by the loss of the Temporal Power. Following the creation of the Vatican City State in 1929, Pope Pius XI ordered that they henceforth be said 'to permit the tranquillity and freedom to profess the faith to be restored to the afflicted people of Russia',⁹ an intention with continuing relevance.¹⁰
8. When mandating them for universal use, Pope Leo reiterated that the prayers could be said in the vernacular. However, the task of translation was left to local ordinaries, with the result that small variations exist between, for example, different English and German versions used in different places.
9. In the rules in force in 1962, the Leonine Prayers may be omitted on certain occasions.¹¹ They were abolished in 1964 by the Instruction *Inter Oecumenici* 14.

⁶ In the countries where they are said, generally speaking Catholic monarchies but also England and Wales, they are said after the principal Mass on a Sunday, whether this is Low, Sung, or Solemn, led by the celebrant before he leaves the sanctuary.

⁷ Also, but less accurately, called the 'Prayers for the Conversion of Russia'.

⁸ See Appendix A.

⁹ See Appendix B.

¹⁰ Following the annexation of Crimea by the Russian Federation, said Bishop Bohdan Dzyurakh, secretary-general of the Ukrainian Catholic Synod of Bishops, commented to the *Catholic Herald* (8 Apr 2014) "Greek Catholic communities like ours are denied rights in the Russian Federation, which we see as a violation of freedom of conscience and religion... We hoped these restrictions wouldn't be applied to our Church in Crimea, but we've been told all religious communities must now re-register there. This means the local government usurps the power to reject those it sees as a threat. After the recent ethnic cleansing, this will amount to religious cleansing."

¹¹ The liturgist J.B. O'Connell lists the occasions on which the Leonine Prayers may be omitted as follows. When Low Mass is celebrated with 'some solemnity', e.g. a Nuptial Mass or one preceded by the Asperges; when Mass is 'immediately and duly' followed by other function, such as Benediction; when a homily is preached, during, before, or after the Mass; when Low Mass is said with a 'dialogue' on Sundays or Feast Days; and when another Mass follows immediately without the celebrant leaving the Altar (e.g. on All Souls Day). O'Connell cites a series of decisions of the Sacred Congregation for Rites in support of these principles: SCR 3705, 3855, 3936, 3682, 3805. See J.B. O'Connell *The Celebration of Mass* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Company, 1963) pp121-2.

10. Pope St John Paul II commented on the Prayer to St Michael as follows:

May prayer strengthen us for the spiritual battle that the Letter to the Ephesians speaks of: ‘Be strong in the Lord and in the strength of his might’ (Ephesians 6:10). The Book of Revelation refers to this same battle, recalling before our eyes *the image of St Michael the Archangel* (cf. Revelation 12:7). Pope Leo XIII certainly had this picture in mind when, at the end of the last century, he brought in, throughout the Church, a special prayer to St Michael: “Saint Michael the Archangel, defend us in battle. Be our protection against the wickedness and snares of the devil...” Although this prayer is no longer recited at the end of Mass, I ask everyone not to forget it and to recite it to obtain help in the battle against the forces of darkness and against the spirit of this world.¹²

11. On 24th January 2012, Bishop Daniel Jenky, of Peoria in the United States of America, ordered that the Prayer to St Michael be said in the General Intercessions (Prayers of the Faithful, or Bidding Prayers) at Sunday Mass in his diocese, ‘for the freedom of the Catholic Church in America’, in the context of the problem created by the Affordable Care Act (2010).¹³

12. The Leonine Prayers are clearly not part of the Mass, and have never been included in the Missal. Nevertheless, they are said by the celebrant, vested, before leaving the sanctuary,¹⁴ and are intimately bound up with the liturgy and the Faithful’s liturgical experience of Low Mass. The Collect and the Prayer to St Michael are both fine examples of prayer composition, and are much loved by Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite.

13. In practice the Leonine Prayers form a thanksgiving after Mass, and help to form an important habit of immediate thanksgiving for Mass and, when applicable, the reception of Holy Communion, in the Faithful.

Masses for Particular Intentions

14. A Mass itself can, of course, be said for an intention such as persecuted Christians; furthermore, the Missal includes Votive Masses and Commemorations¹⁵ for this intention.

15. Under the rules in force in 1962, Votive Masses can in general only be said on ferias and on 4th Class Feasts;¹⁶ Commemorations can in general only be used at Low Mass.¹⁷ However, the Holy See and local Ordinaries can and historically have encouraged specific Votive Masses and Commemorations to be said by granting wider permission for, or mandating, their use. The best known example of favoured Votive Masses are those for the Sacred Heart on First

¹² Pope St John Paul II, *Regina Caeli* Address on Sunday 24 April 1994.

¹³ The occasion was the demand that Catholic institutions pay for ‘abortifacients, sterilization, and contraceptive services’ under the US Government’s health care insurance mandate, under the Affordable Care Act, a demand later lifted from dioceses.

¹⁴ Some priests take off the maniple before saying the Leonine Prayers, as for preaching.

¹⁵ Whereas a Votive Mass is a complete Mass formulary, a Commemoration adds an additional Collect, Secret, and Post Communion prayer to those which are being said for the Mass of the day. There are numerous Votive Masses and Commemorations in the 1962 *Missale Romanum*, and Votive Masses and Commemorations are also found in the Missal of the Ordinary Form.

¹⁶ See *Novum rubricarium* (1960) 306-389

¹⁷ *Ibid.* 106-114

Fridays;¹⁸ Commemorations for the Propagation of the Faith, the Bishop, and the Pope, also have a privileged status, allowing them to be used more often.¹⁹ Ordinaries have the authority to institute '*Oratio imperata*', Commemorations which must be added to Masses for a period of time under specified rules.²⁰ The 1960 rules on Commemorations are more restrictive than the rules they replaced.²¹

16. In addition to Masses, public processions are another very long-standing form of public prayer for a particular intention. In England and Wales processions are authorised 'In time of war against enemies of Holy Church', with special prayers at their conclusion (see Appendix C).²²

Conclusion and Practical Proposals

17. The Leonine Prayers, which call for the 'liberty and exaltation' of the Church, remind us of the need to implore the assistance of heaven for the Church, which continues to be persecuted today just as she was in the days of Pope Pius IX and Pope Leo XIII, even as the geographical focus of these and their predecessor prayers has shifted from the Holy Land, to Rome, and to Russia, as world events have unfolded.
18. Furthermore, priests and Faithful can say and attend Masses offered for the intention of the persecuted, especially, where possible, using appropriate votive Masses and commemorations, and the *Foederatio Internationalis Una Voce* urges all Catholics to take advantage of these opportunities. As noted above, the use of these could also be facilitated by mandate of the Holy See or local Ordinary.

¹⁸ 'First Thursday', 'First Friday' and 'First Saturday' Votive Masses, or a Requiem on 3rd, 7th or 30th day after death or burial, have 3rd Class status, meaning that they can be said on feasts of the 3rd Class, as well as 4th Class and ferial days.

¹⁹ Commemorations for the Pope, the Bishop, and the Propagation of the Faith, can be said at Sung and Solemn Masses, and not only at Low Masses.

²⁰ On *Oratio imperata*, *Novum rubricarum* states (459): 'During a public calamity or need which of its nature continues for a long time (e.g., war, plague and such like), the local Ordinary may indeed impose a suitable *oratio imperata* for the whole period of the disaster; but this prayer ... is said only on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays,' and not on feasts of the 1st and 2nd Class. For short-term occasions, the restriction to Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays does not apply (see 457).

²¹ Before 1960 the rules can be summarised as follows. In terms of 'private' commemorations celebrants of Masses of simple feasts and lesser ferial days were free to add votive orations as long as the total number in each Mass was five or seven. On semi-double days when the third collect had to be chosen such celebrants were free to add the oration of their choice. In Collegiate churches, parochial Masses and in religious houses the Rector or superior could specify the additional oration. Even public Sung or Solemn Masses on important feasts would allow the celebrant to add a third oration of his choice.

²² In the *Manual of Prayers*, the official guide to paraliturgical devotions authorised by the Hierarchy of England and Wales, in successive editions, up to the edition of 1954.

Appendix A: the Prayers After Low Mass

V: Ave María, grátia plena, Dóminus tecum; benedicta tu in muliéribus, et benedíctus fructus ventris tui, Iesus.

R: Sancta María, Mater Dei, ora pro nobis peccatóribus, nunc et in hora mortis nostræ. Amen. (*ter*)

Salve Regína, Mater misericórdiæ; vita, dulcédo et spes nostra, salve. Ad te clamámus, éxsules filii Evæ. Ad te suspirámus, geméntes et flentes in hac lacrimarum valle. Eia ergo, advocáta nostra, illos tuos misericórdes óculos ad nos convérte. Et Iesum, benedíctum fructum ventris tui, nobis, post hoc exsílum, osténde. O clemens, o pia, o dulcis Virgo María.

V: Ora pro nobis, sancta Dei Génatrix.

R: Ut digni efficiámur promissionibus Christi.

V: Orémus

Deus, refúgium nostrum et virtus, pópulum ad te clamántem propítius réspice; et intercedénte gloriósa et immaculáta Virgine Dei Genetrice María, cum beáto Ioseph, eius Sponso, ac beátis Apóstolis tuis Petro et Paulo, et ómnibus Sanctis, quas pro conversióne peccatórum, pro libertáte et exaltatióne sanctæ Matris Ecclésiæ, preces effúndimus, miséricors et benígnus exáudi. Per eúndem Christum Dóminum nostrum.

R: Amen.

V: Sancte Michaële Archángele, defénde nos in proélio, contra nequítiam et insídias diabóli esto præsídiu. Imperet illi Deus, súpplices deprecámur: tuque, princeps milítiae cæléstis, Sátanam aliósque spíritus malignos, qui ad perditionem animárum pervagántur in mundo, divína virtúte in inférnum detrúde.

R: Amen.

V: Cor Iesu sacratíssimum,

R: Miserére nobis. (*ter*)

Appendix B: Allocution of Pope Pius XI on the Leonine Prayers

Extract from Pope Pius XI Allocation, 30th June 1930.²³

Venerable Brethren, you certainly remember that when, because religion is in turmoil in the Russian regions, we prescribed a day sacred to the Patriarch [St] Joseph, with us giving the lead, common prayers were employed in the Vatican Basilica to God the Best, the Greatest; and that a very numerous and very pious people was present with us, and that the example of Roman citizens - and moreover of others of these who had come together to pray in other sacred churches of the City - was followed in a praiseworthy manner by others from nations nearly everywhere.

As you know, universal consent for our purpose was received, not only from catholic people but also from many of those separated from us. In their temples, as if in brotherly agreement, supplications were held; a welcome spirit was publicly and privately displayed towards us.

²³ *Acta Apostolicis Sedis* 1930, Vol XXII pp300-1

But we ascribe it to the supreme kindness of merciful God that this so great harmony of prayers has not turned out devoid of fruits or useless. We are allowed to hope that it will turn out more fruitful in the future, even though quite recently the enemies of God's name and worship have flared up more violently for the persecution of the Church.

Therefore we must press upon Christ the Redeemer of the human race that he allow tranquillity and the freedom to profess the faith to be restored to the afflicted children of Russia. And so that everyone can press [upon him], with, to be sure, little trouble and inconvenience, we desire that those same prayers which our predecessor of happy memory Leo XIII ordered priests to recite with the people after Holy [Mass] is finished should be said for this same intention, namely for Russia. Let bishops and both [secular and regular] clergy be very diligent in advising their people, or anyone at all who attends Holy [Mass], and let them very frequently recall it to their memories.

Appendix C: Procession 'In Time of War against Enemies of the Church'

The *Manual of Prayer* for England and Wales has prayers for a procession with this intention. The Great Litany is to be followed by these prayers:

Grant unto thy Church, we beseech Thee, O merciful God, that She, being gathered together by the Holy Ghost, may be in no wise troubled by attack from her foes.

O God, who by sin art offended and by penance pacified, mercifully regard the prayers of thy people making supplication unto Thee, and turn away the scourges of thine anger which we deserve for our sins.

Almighty and Everlasting God, in whose hand are the power and the government of every realm: look down upon and help the Christian people that the heathen nations who trust in the fierceness of their own might may be crushed by the power of thine arm. Through our Lord Jesus Christ, thy Son, who liveth and reigneth with Thee in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God, world without end.

R. Amen.

Appendix D: Collects of the Holy Land Clamor²⁴

With certain textual variations, the following two collects were the ones most widely used in the Middle Ages to implore heaven to grant the liberation of the Holy Land and the Christians who lived there.

Deus, qui ad nostrae redemptionis exhibenda mysteria terram permissionis elegisti, libera eam quaesumus ab instantia paganorum, it gentile incredulitate confuse populus in te confidens de rue virtutis potentia glorietur.²⁵

O God, who chose the Land of Promise to display the mysteries of our redemption, free it, we pray, from the presence of the heathen, that with the disbelief of the gentiles being confounded, the Christian people may boast about the power of your strength.

²⁴ The translations were commissioned for this Paper and were undertaken by RPD.

²⁵ Linder *op. cit.* p37

Deus qui ammirabili providentia cuncta disponis, te suppliciter exoramus, ut terram, quam unigenitus filius tuus proprio sanguine consecravit, de manibus inimicorum cruces eripiens restituas culti christiano, vota fidelium ad eius liberationem instantium misericordia dirigendo in viam salutis eternae. Per.²⁶

O God, who arrange all things with wonderful foresight, we suppliantly entreat you to restore to Christian worship, wresting it from the hands of the enemies of the cross, the land that your only-begotten Son consecrated with his own blood, by mercifully directing the prayers of the faithful who are pressing for its delivery into the way of everlasting salvation. Through.

²⁶ Linder, *op. cit.* p40



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 26

THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM AND MEN

JULY 2015

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics 'attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition', and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgment of the Church.

The Extraordinary Form and Men: Abstract

Sociologists of religion have observed that Catholic congregations are lacking in men; a 2005 survey found 37% of congregations to be male. The Extraordinary Form is more successful in attracting and retaining men, typical congregations comprising about 55% males. The importance of fathers in Catholic families underscores the importance of the effect, and the contribution to the evangelisation of men which can be made by this Form of the Mass. This phenomenon fits into a wider pattern of the more demanding religious groups, making use of formal liturgies which emphasise the transcendent, having more success attracting men than liturgically informal, community-oriented groups. The Extraordinary Form is also connected with a set of traditional devotions, notably the walking pilgrimage, particularly attractive to men and to the young.

Comments can be sent to

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 26: THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM AND THE EVANGELISATION OF MEN

1. Since the 1970s, in the developed world, the ratio between Catholic men and women attending Mass, and committed in other ways to the Church, has changed noticeably. The size and resources of the Church in the United States enable us to consult carefully researched statistics for this phenomenon, which can be seen throughout the West. For example, in 1974, 46% of men and 45% of women surveyed regarded themselves as ‘strong Catholics’; in 2012, 24% of men and 30% of women did so.¹ In 2005 a survey reported that only 37% of regular worshippers at Masses in the United States were men.² A study published in 1985 showed that 70-90% of parish activities (catechesis, service, bible studies groups) were led by women.³
2. The phenomenon has particular dangers for the Church. Not only does the Church need men to replenish the ranks of the clergy, but in general fathers appear to be markedly more influential than mothers in passing on the Faith to their children.⁴ The simplest explanation for this may be the father’s greater association with the adult world, which children seek to join as they grow up.
3. The role of fathers in the formation of their children was underlined by Pope Benedict XVI, in addressing African fathers:

In manifesting and in living on earth God’s own fatherhood (cf. *Eph* 3:15), you are called to guarantee the personal development of all members of the family, which is the cradle and most effective means for humanizing society, and the place of encounter for different generations.⁵
4. It is therefore very significant that the ratio of men and women attending the Extraordinary Form tends to be more favourable to men, a fact which has not yet caught the attention of professional researchers, but can easily be verified by casual observation. Appealing for observations from around the world, the FIUV has found nothing to contradict the accuracy and world-wide applicability (in the Latin Rite) of the figure noted above, of about 37% of Ordinary Form congregations being male. At the Extraordinary Form, a figure of about 55% appears to be typical, in a range from 50% to 75%.

¹ Statistics reported in the National Catholic Reporter: ‘Losing their religion’ by Cathy Lynn Grossman, 20th February 2015; research was published by the Centre of Research in the Apostolate (CARA), based in Georgetown in the United States.

² Gallup Poll of Catholics (2005), Question 75.

³ David C. Leege and Thomas A. Tozzolo “Participation in Catholic Parish Life: Religious Rites and Parish Activities in the 1980s” *Notre Dame Study of Catholic Parish Life*, 3 (1985) p14.

⁴ A major study in Switzerland in 1994 showed that in a family with a non-practising mother and a practising father, about two thirds of the children will, on average, go on to practise their religion. In a family with a practising mother and a non-practising father, only one third of the children will practise the faith; the sex of the children themselves makes little difference. See Werner Haug and Phillipe Warner of the Federal Statistical Office, Neuchâtel: “The demographic characteristics of the linguistic and religious groups in Switzerland.” *Population Studies No. 31: The Demographic Characteristics of National Minorities in Certain European States* ed. Werner Haug et al. (The Council of Europe Directorate General III, Social Cohesion, Strasbourg 2000)

⁵ Pope Benedict XVI Post-Synodal Exhortation *Africae munus* (2011) 53

Men and Religion

5. Women outnumber men in most Protestant congregations throughout the West, and there is evidence of this being a long-term characteristic of many Protestant denominations.⁶ In other religions, however, this is not so. The balance in the Catholic Church in the United States as recently as 1974 has already been noted. Orthodox Judaism and Islam appear to attract more men than women, even in the West; Eastern Orthodoxy seems to attract a balanced group of Western converts.⁷ The imbalance in the Catholic Church in the West of today demands special explanation.
6. One important issue seems to be the role of the emotions: it is widely observed that men are less comfortable with the expression of emotion than women.⁸ The emotionalism of many Protestant denominations could explain a long-term problem in attracting men. As the English apologist Mgr Hugh Benson observed at the eve of the First World War:

[A]mongst Catholics emotionalism and even strong sentiment is considerably discouraged, and ... the heart of religion is thought rather to reside in the adherence and obedience of the will. The result is, of course, that persons of a comparatively undevout nature will, as Catholics, continue to practice their religion, and sometimes, in ungenerous characters, only the barest minimum of their obligations; whereas as Anglicans they would give it up altogether.⁹

Benson related this to the balance between the sexes, and testified that, if anything, more men than women were to be seen at Catholic services in his own experience.¹⁰
7. In addition to a discomfort with emotionalism, a preference for a wider range of forms of communication, as opposed to verbal communication alone, has been associated with men, and an interest in the 'vertical' as opposed to the 'horizontal' dimension of worship: the connection with God, as opposed to the community. All these are at work in a preference for a more formalised and sacral form of worship, as noted by the Jesuit sociologist Patrick Arnold:

⁶ The results of the 1936 United States Census give us the following statistics, quoted by Leon Podles *The Church Impotent: the feminization of Christianity* (Dallas: Spence Publishing Company, 1999) p11: 'in Eastern Orthodoxy the ratio of women to men is .75-.99 to one; Roman Catholics, 1.09 to one; Lutherans, 1.04-1.23 to one; Mennonites, 1.14-1.16 to one; Friends [Quakers], 1.25 to one; Presbyterians, 1.34 to one; Episcopalians, 1.37 to one; Unitarians, 1.40 to one; Methodists, 1.33-1.47 to one; Baptists, 1.35 to one; Assembly of God, 1.71 to one; Pentecostals, 1.71-2.09 to one; Christian Scientists, 3.19 to one.'

⁷ See note 12 *infra*, and Podles *op. cit.* p.ix

⁸ A parallel and easily observed issue is the relative unwillingness of men to submit their medical problems to doctors. 'The crude consultation rate [of General Practice doctors in the UK] was 32% lower in men than women. ... The greatest gender gap in primary care consultations was seen among those aged between 16 and 60 years. Gender differences in consulting were higher in people from more deprived areas than among those from more affluent areas. Accounting for reproductive-related consultations diminished but did not eradicate the gender gap.' British Medical Journal Open 2013 Health services research: "Do men consult less than women? An analysis of routinely collected UK general practice data" by Yingying Wang, Kate Hunt, Irwin Nazareth, Nick Freemantle, Irene Petersen: Abstract.

⁹ Mgr Hugh Benson *Confessions of a Convert* (London: Longmans, 1913) pp111

¹⁰ *Op. cit.* p.110: 'There is no "alienation of the men" [in the Catholic Church]; on the contrary, in this country, as also in Italy and France, I am continually astonished by the extraordinary predominance of the male sex over the female in attendance at Mass and in the practice of private prayers in our churches. At a recent casual occasion, upon my remarking to the parish-priest of a suburban church of this phenomenon, he told me that on the previous evening he had happened to count the congregation from the west gallery and that the proportion of men to women had been about as two to one. This, of course, was something of an exceptional illustration of my point.'

Even more central to masculine worship is the notion of the Transcendent. In deemphasizing in recent generations a concern with absolutes and ultimates, heaven and hell, and eternity and infinity, modern Christianity has taken a decisive turn towards feminine religion, which is typically interested in the immanent and the incarnational, in finding God in the small things, the everyday, and the mundane. ... As liberal religion stresses increasingly the immanent and “horizontal” dimension of faith to the exclusion of the transcendent and “vertical” reality, it inadvertently ignores the voracious appetite of men for the Great, the Wholly Other, and the Eternal.¹¹

Again:

A liturgy that appeals to men possesses a quality the Hebrews called *kabod* (‘glory’) and the Romans *gravitas* (‘gravity’); both words at root means ‘weightiness’ and connote a sense of dignified importance and seriousness.

8. While there may be other factors, approaching the question in this way appears to explain the variable success of different religions in attracting and retaining men. Orthodox Judaism, Islam, and Eastern Orthodoxy have, either in theology or liturgy, or in some combination of both, an emphasis on the transcendent and the mysterious, and on formal ritual.¹² Protestant denominations with a more liberal theology and informal liturgy tend to have proportionately greater problems retaining men,¹³ and liberal Judaism is less successful than Orthodox Judaism. The success of the Extraordinary Form in attracting and retaining men fits into this wider pattern.

The Extraordinary Form and Men

9. The sacral formality and lack of spontaneity of the Extraordinary Form, its orientation to the transcendent, and its expression of profound truths without demanding an openly expressed verbal or emotional response from the congregation, are features which do not make demands upon men with which they are uncomfortable. At the same time, they provide something particularly attractive to men: the expression of ideas through action, the drama of the ceremonies. The content of the ritual, and of many of the liturgical texts, further stresses the transcendent, the sacrificial nature of the Mass, and the necessity of reverence before Christ made present upon the Altar. Finally, it provides men with the kind of challenge with which they are comfortable, indeed can find attractive: the call to a conversion of life, in the context of a clear expression of the reality of sin and the need for grace.

¹¹ Patrick Arnold: *Wildmen, Warriors, and Kings: Masculine spirituality and the Bible* (New York NY: Crossroad, 1992), p77-78

¹² Cf. Frederica Matthewes-Green *Facing East: A Pilgrim's Journey into the Mysteries of Orthodoxy* (New York NY: Harper Collins, 1997) p.xii: ‘Something about Orthodoxy has immense appeal to men, and it’s something that their wives—especially those used to worshipping in the softer evangelical style—are generally slower to get. The appeal of joining this vast, ancient, rock-solid communion must be something like the appeal of joining the marines. It’s going to demand a hell of a lot out of you, and it’s not going to cater to your individual whims, but when it’s through with you you’re going to be more than you ever knew you could be. It’s going to demand, not death on the battlefield, but death to self in a million painful ways, and God is going to be sovereign. It’s a guy thing. You wouldn’t understand.’

¹³ See the statistics quoted in note 6 *supra*.

10. It is useful to note a related remark by John, Cardinal Heenan about an early version of the reformed Mass demonstrated in 1967.

At home, it is not only women and children but also fathers of families and young men who come regularly to Mass. If we were to offer them the kind of ceremony we saw yesterday in the Sistine Chapel [a demonstration of the Normative Mass] we would soon be left with a congregation mostly of women and children.¹⁴

11. The Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite is, moreover, commonly associated with an interest in and practice of many traditional devotions, to a greater extent than in the rest of the Latin Church, devotions which can also be attractive to men. The most striking example of these is the walking pilgrimage, which has been taken up by Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form in many countries,¹⁵ inspired by the success of the annual pilgrimage from Paris to Chartres organised by Notre Dame de Chretianité, in which 8,000-10,000 people regularly take part. The physical challenge of a long walking pilgrimage—the pilgrims of the Chartres Pilgrimage cover 100km in three days—is a particular draw to men, and also to the young. In this respect Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form are again responding to a wider phenomenon, which has seen the number of people tackling the even longer road to Santiago de Compostella—many with little or no religious faith—increase enormously in recent decades.¹⁶ The spiritual need of these ‘pilgrims’, taking the term in a wide sense, is addressed by the physicality of many traditional devotions.

Conclusion

12. The features of the Extraordinary Form attractive to men are not, necessarily, unattractive to women. While it seems natural to describe certain liturgical tendencies, such as emotionalism, creativity, spontaneity, and an emphasis on the community, as ‘feminine’, it does not follow necessarily that women want to see these features incorporated into their worship. What does seem to be the case, however, is that as a religion moves in the direction of the ‘feminine’, understood in this way, this causes particular problems for the retention of men.
13. Men have a role in the economy of salvation, just as women do, and the question of the evangelisation of men should not be ignored. To quote Pope Benedict XVI’s address to African men again:

I encourage Catholic men, within their families, to make a real contribution to the human and Christian upbringing of their children, and to the welcoming and protection of life from the moment of conception. I invite them to adopt a Christian style of life, rooted and grounded in love (cf. *Eph* 3:17). With Saint Paul, I exhort them once more: “Love your wives, as Christ loved the Church and gave himself up for her ... husbands should love their wives as their own bodies. He who loves his wife loves himself. For

¹⁴ Quoted in Michael Davies *Pope Paul’s New Mass* (Kansas City MI: the Angelus Press, 1980) p111

¹⁵ Notably the Christus Rex Pilgrimage in Australia, the Walsingham Pilgrimage in England, and the Auriesville Pilgrimage in the United States.

¹⁶ The number of pilgrims completing the Camino is recorded and the statistics are available from the mid-1980s. In 1985 there were only 690; this increased to 4,910 in 1990, 55,004 in 2000, 179,919 in 2011 (the year after a holy year, when numbers are enormously increased), and 237,886 in 2014.

no man ever hates his own flesh, but nourishes and cherishes it, as Christ does the Church” (*Eph* 5:25, 28).¹⁷

¹⁷ *Africae munus* 52



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 27

TRADITION, REFORM, AND RESTORATION

AUGUST 2015

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

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Tradition, Reform, and Restoration: Abstract

The restoration of the ancient form of the Roman Rite to the altars of our churches might be criticised on two grounds: that such ‘restoration’ is contrary to the spirit of ‘reform’ called for by the Second Vatican Council; and that the notion of ‘tradition’ implies continuity, not the restoration of what has been lost or discontinued. On the first question, the language of the Council, in accord with the language of the Magisterium over many centuries, is always of ‘restoration’—*instauratio*—although this is also translated as ‘reform’. To make ready for the needs of the day is always to ‘restore’, going back into the tradition. On the question of tradition and continuity, the Second Vatican Council is again a source indicating the possibility of restoring what has been discontinued, ‘*ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam*’, and the restoration of the Extraordinary Form to renewed use is in fact a much more modest project of restoration than the restoration to use of texts and ceremonies in the context of the Holy Week reform of 1955, and the creation of the 1970 Missal.

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POSITIO 27: TRADITION, REFORM, AND RESTORATION

1. This paper seeks to address two possible objections to the revival of the Extraordinary Form: that such a project is contrary to the spirit of reform called for by the Church, particularly by the Second Vatican Council; and that such a project is contrary to the nature of tradition itself, which should not be ‘rediscovered,’ but only ‘passed on’.
2. For the purposes of this paper it is necessary to distinguish between the concepts of reform and restoration, and individual projects of reform or restoration. There have been many such projects, both proposed and implemented, in the history of the Church, some sponsored by the Papacy or by Councils, others by individual bishops, religious superiors, movements, or by individual scholars. These projects may be in tension with each other, and each must be assessed on its own historical and theological merits. In this series of Position Papers we have addressed past projects (such as the Pian Psalter¹ and the Holy Week reform of 1955),² and we have ourselves proposed some modest reforms (such as changes to Holy Days of Obligation³ and the Eucharistic Fast).⁴ The purpose of the present paper, however, is not to argue for or against specific proposals, but to clarify the concepts of reform and restoration themselves.

Reform and Restoration: *Instauratio*

3. The spread of the Extraordinary Form can be described as the recovery and restoration of tradition, and closely related movements can be identified in relation to sacred music, popular devotions, theological sources, and so on. The question to be considered first is whether a movement of *restoration* is appropriate in the light of the call for *reform* often made in the Church, and particularly in the Second Vatican Council. Simply put, the objection is that the concepts of *restoration* and of *reform* are opposed.
4. There is, however, in the language of the Church no tension between the concepts. On the contrary, we see in the Second Vatican Council’s Decree on the Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and its official English translation that the English nouns ‘reform,’ ‘revision,’ and ‘restoration’ are all used to translate the Latin *instauratio*; the corresponding verbs are used to translate *instaurare*.⁵ The verbs *restituere*, ‘to restore’,⁶ and *recognoscere*, consistently translated ‘revise’, are frequently used in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* to stand for the same idea.

¹ Positio 5: The Vulgate and Ancient Latin Psalters

² Positio 14: The Holy Week Reform of 1955, Parts 1 and 2

³ Positio 13: Holy Days of Obligation

⁴ Positio 10: The Eucharistic Fast

⁵ Examining the English translation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* from the Vatican website, we find the following translations for *instauratio* and *instaurare* (emboldened): ‘a general **restoration** of the liturgy’ (21), ‘recent liturgical **reforms**’ (23); ‘the **restoration**, progress, and adaptation of the sacred liturgy’ (24); ‘the **revision** of the liturgy’ (33); ‘the rites for the baptism of adults are to be **revised**’ (66); ‘the **restoration** already so happily begun’ (87); ‘when the office is **revised**’ (89); ‘In **revising** the Roman office’ (90); ‘**restoration** by St. Pius X’ (117); ‘the **reformed** liturgy’ (128).

⁶ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* uses the word five times, and the Vatican website’s translation always used ‘restore’ to render it. Thus: ‘other elements which have suffered injury through accidents of history are now to be restored’ (50); ‘there is to be restored, after the Gospel and the homily, "the common prayer" or "the prayer of the faithful." (53); ‘hymns are to be restored to their original form’ (93); ‘the discipline of the sacred seasons shall be preserved or restored to suit the conditions of modern times (107); ‘some of them, which used to flourish in bygone days, are to be restored as may seem good’ (109, a)

5. What, then, is the kind of change called for by this language? *Sacrosanctum Concilium* clarifies the meaning, in conformity with the usage of the terms over many centuries (see the Appendix), when it mandates that

the rites be revised (*recognoscantur*) carefully in the light (*mens*, ‘mind’) of sound tradition, and that they be given new vigour to meet the circumstances and needs of modern times.⁷

Recognoscantur here means ‘be checked for authenticity and accuracy’; the translation ‘revise’ is misleading.⁸ Like *instauratio*, it implies a checking that something is correct, in light of tradition.
6. Thus, the primary concept at work here is that of *restoration*. The translation of any of these Latin terms with the English ‘reform’ is inaccurate, given the way the English term is generally used; ‘revise’ and ‘revision’ is also questionable.⁹ *Instauratio* is the seeking out of the genuine, correct, and old form of things, aiming at making something vital again, for its original purpose.¹⁰
7. A notable example in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* is the *instauratio* of Gregorian Chant;¹¹ other examples are the references to the charism of the founders as the key to the reform of a religious community or order, as demanded by the Second Vatican Council’s Decree on the Religious Life;¹² another would be the emphasis on the teaching of the Fathers given by the Council’s Decree on Priestly Training.¹³ In each case, ‘reform’ is a matter of restoration.¹⁴

⁷ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 4: ‘Lastly, in faithful obedience to tradition, the sacred Council declares that holy Mother Church holds all lawfully acknowledged rites to be of equal right and dignity; that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way. The Council also desires that, where necessary, the rites be revised carefully in the light of sound tradition, and that they be given new vigour to meet the circumstances and needs of modern times.’ (‘Traditioni denique fideliter obsequens, Sacrosanctum Concilium declarat Sanctam Matrem Ecclesiam omnes Ritus legitime agnitos aequo iure atque honore habere, eosque in posterum servari et omnimode fovendi velle, atque optat ut, ubi opus sit, caute ex integro ad mentem sanae traditionis recognoscantur et novo vigore, pro hodiernis adiunctis et necessitatibus, donentur.’)

⁸ The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* gives, for *recognoscere*: ‘1. To examine, review, inspect. ...b to examine, check (a document) in order to establish authenticity, accuracy, etc.’ ‘2. To give recognition to, acknowledge.’ ‘3. To recall (something previously known), to recognise.’ Clearly it is the meaning given in 1 b which is relevant here. Other uses of the word as translated in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* are as follows: ‘careful investigation is always to be made into each part of the liturgy which is to be revised’ (23); ‘The liturgical books are to be revised as soon as possible’ (25); ‘when revising the liturgical books’ (38); ‘The rite of the Mass is to be revised’ (50), and so on (the word appears nineteen times).

⁹ The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* is not aware of ‘reform’ as a meaning of the Latin noun or verb, giving as the primary meanings the notion of repetition,⁹ though ‘renew’ and ‘restore’ are also given for the verb, and an *instaurator* is ‘a person who renews or restores’.

¹⁰ See the Appendix for a comprehensive account of the usage of the term.

¹¹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 117

¹² *Perfectae caritatis* 2: ‘let their founders’ spirit and special aims they set before them as well as their sound traditions—all of which make up the patrimony of each institute—be faithfully held in honour.’ (‘Ideo fideliter agnoscantur et servantur Fundatorum spiritus propriaque proposita, necnon sanae traditiones, quae omnia cuiusque instituti patrimonium constituunt.’)

¹³ *Optatam totius* 16: ‘Dogmatic theology should be so arranged that these biblical themes are proposed first of all. Next there should be opened up to the students what the Fathers of the Eastern and Western Church have contributed to the faithful transmission and development of the individual truths of revelation.’ (‘Theologia dogmatica ita disponatur ut ipsa themata biblica primum proponantur; quid Patres Ecclesiae Orientis et Occidentis ad singulas Revelationis veritates fideliter transmittendas et enucleandas contulerint necnon ulterior dogmatis historia -considerata quoque ipsius relatione ad generalem Ecclesiae historiam- alumnis aperiat’)

¹⁴ Cf. Pope Benedict XVI: Address to the Roman Curia, 22 December 2005: ‘On the one hand, there is an interpretation that I would call ‘a hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture’; it has frequently availed itself of the

8. Again, when it comes to specifics, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy states (50):
elements which have suffered injury through accidents of history are now to be restored to the vigour which they had in the days of the holy Fathers, as may seem useful or necessary.¹⁵
9. The specific proposals of the Second Vatican Council's Decree on the Liturgy, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, historically led to the publication of what is now known as the Ordinary Form of the Roman Rite. Pope Benedict XVI authorised the use of the 'previous liturgical tradition'¹⁶ as an Extraordinary Form of the Roman Rite. If the Ordinary Form represents one attempt at an *instauratio* of the Roman Rite, the renewed use of the Extraordinary Form represents, for today, another attempt: the restoration to use of rites which were used formerly, in light of the needs of today. We have not attempted to consider the validity of the liturgical principles involved in each case, how they might relate to each other, or what authority they may have. It is enough for present purposes to establish the centrality of the notion of *instauratio* in the Church's self-understanding, and its continuing relevance in the development of the liturgy.

The Problem of Discontinuity

10. The etymology of 'tradition' (*traditio*) reminds us that tradition is what is passed on, most clearly when each generation hands on to the next what it received from the previous generation.¹⁷ The *instauratio* of making the Extraordinary Form more widely available goes beyond merely preserving what has been given us by those who passed it to us as our parents and teachers: it includes the bringing back of things which have actually been lost, or nearly lost, for a period of time. In this, however, it remains a more modest form of *instauratio* to those envisaged by the Second Vatican Council and the 1955 reform of Holy Week, which sought to restore to use rites and texts which had entirely fallen out of use, not for decades, but for centuries.
11. In his 1947 Encyclical *Mediator Dei* Pope Pius XII urges caution on those who seek the restoration of things lost in distant centuries, pointing out that the organic development of the liturgy in the Middle Ages and later was guided by Providence.¹⁸ Nevertheless, the restoration

sympathies of the mass media, and also one trend of modern theology. On the other, there is the 'hermeneutic of reform', of renewal in the continuity of the one subject-Church which the Lord has given to us. She is a subject which increases in time and develops, yet always remaining the same, the one subject of the journeying People of God.'

¹⁵ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*: 'restituantur vero ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam nonnulla quae temporum iniuria deciderunt, prout opportuna vel necessaria videantur.'

¹⁶ 'Traditio liturgica antecedens:' a phrase used by Pope Benedict XVI (2007) Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* (2007) 5.1. Cf. 'the ancient Latin liturgical tradition' ('antica tradizione liturgica latina') in Pope Benedict's *Letter to Bishops* (2007) which accompanied the Motu Proprio.

¹⁷ Cf. 1 Corinthians 15:3: 'For I delivered unto you first of all, which I also received', noting the Latin: 'Tradidi enim vobis in primis quod et accepi'

¹⁸ Pope Pius XII Encyclical *Mediator Dei* 1947 61: 'The liturgy of the early ages is most certainly worthy of all veneration. But ancient usage must not be esteemed more suitable and proper, either in its own right or in its significance for later times and new situations, on the simple ground that it carries the savour and aroma of antiquity. The more recent liturgical rites likewise deserve reverence and respect. They, too, owe their inspiration to the Holy Spirit, who assists the Church in every age even to the consummation of the world. They are equally the resources used by the majestic Spouse of Jesus Christ to promote and procure the sanctity of man.' ('Utique vetustae aetatis Liturgia veneratione procul dubio digna est; verumtamen vetus usus, non idcirco dumtaxat quod antiquitatem sapit ac redolet, aptior ac melior existimandus est vel in semet ipso, vel ad consequentia tempora

of tradition from decay or misdevelopment is certainly not ruled out, and there are important precedents for such projects.

12. First, and most radical of all, is the restoration of tradition by Our Lord in the Gospels. Our Lord criticises the Pharisees for ‘making void the word of God by your own tradition’;¹⁹ again, on the subject of divorce, He says ‘from the beginning it was not so’.²⁰ By sweeping away the human tradition, in one case, and the dispensation,²¹ in the other, Our Lord recovers the true tradition.
13. This appeal to the most ancient elements of tradition, against the practice of many centuries, is appropriate to the Kingdom established by Our Lord, and is made possible by His authority. It is not often that such a radical restoration would be possible without that authority, even if the Church’s indefectibility were not sufficient to render it unnecessary.
14. In a second category, less radical in terms of the length of the discontinuity, but involving more complexity and detail, are the restorations of the Temple cult recorded in the Old Testament, following periods of apostasy or foreign occupation.²² These are important illustrations of the possibility of *instauratio* from written records.²³ These restorations were rendered necessary and urgent by the fact that the Temple cult and other regulations were enjoined as a matter of Divine Law.
15. In the era of the Church, we find liturgical practices and texts current in one place influenced or replaced by those of another, where the former were for one reason or another regarded as corrupt or otherwise inferior. Examples would include the influence of the Roman liturgy in the Frankish dominions in the 8th century,²⁴ and the influence of German liturgical practices in Rome in the 10th century.²⁵
16. A third kind of *instauratio* is that of the many religious who have sought to bring back their orders to the spirit of their founders, from which the order had gradually departed, and the restoration of Chant in the late 19th and early 20th centuries at Solesmes.²⁶

novasque rerum condiciones quod attinet. Recentiores etiam liturgici ritus reverentia observantiaque digni sunt, quoniam Spiritus Sancti afflatu, qui quovis tempore Ecclesiae adest ad consummationem usque saeculorum (cfr. *Matth.* 28, 20), orti sunt; suntque iidem pariter opes, quibus inclita Iesu Christi Sponsa utitur ad hominum sanctitatem excitandam procurandamque.’)

¹⁹ Mark 7:13 ‘Rescindentes verbum Dei per traditionem vestram quam tradidistis’: the issue is the use of the category of ‘corban’ to avoid using goods to maintain one’s parents.

²⁰ Matthew 19:8: ‘ab initio autem non sic fuit.’

²¹ Cf. Deuteronomy 22:1.

²² By Hezekiah (2 Chron 29-30); by Josiah (2 Chron 34-35); by Ezra (Ezra 6; Nehemiah 8-9); and by Judas Maccabaeus (2 Macc 10). This is to say nothing of major programmes of physical restoration which had to take place from time to time, and the complete rebuilding of the Temple under Herod the Great.

²³ The finding of the Book of the Law and its renewed proclamation and implementation is a key theme in the restorations carried out both by King Josiah (2 Chron 34:13f) and by the Prophet Ezra (Nehemiah 8:1-3). Nevertheless, many details of the restored Temple cult must have been preserved, if at all, in secondary documents and by word of mouth.

²⁴ Josef Jungmann Vol I pp74-5

²⁵ Goddard *Festa Paschalia* pp57-8

²⁶ Benedictine monasticism itself was being restored at St Peter’s Abbey in Solesmes, France, at a time (1830) when the Benedictine tradition had worn thin. The contemporary practice of the chant was felt to be unsatisfactory, and thus began a major programme of research with a view to a restoration.

17. It is interesting to note that, as well as a reliance on manuscripts, the Solesmes chant scholar Dom Joseph Pothier was directly concerned with its value for his own day, considering how the chant could be sung with ease and beauty, while also attempting to discern, in the practice of chant of his day, ‘the feeble echo of a powerful tradition’.²⁷ While fallible,²⁸ the attempt at restoration was necessary, if the riches of the Chant tradition were to be made available for the Church in their fullness.

The Extraordinary Form: Conclusion

18. The *instauratio* represented by the spread of the celebration of the Extraordinary Form is an example of the seeking, in the Church’s treasury, for those things whether old or new, which can be of benefit to the Faithful and the Church’s evangelising mission.²⁹
19. At a practical level, this project has many things in its favour. It is not necessary to rely solely on book-learning, as there has not been a complete discontinuity in the celebration of the older Form.³⁰ When wide permissions for the celebration of the Extraordinary Form were given by Pope St John Paul II in 1984 and 1988, it was well within the lifetimes of those who had been expert in the liturgy prior to 1962. Furthermore, the written records of the former liturgical tradition are remarkable for their detail.
20. The aim of this work of *instauratio*, and related projects in the area of chant, devotions, and theology, is not a wholesale return to a former era, any more than was the attempt by the creators of the Missal of 1970 to restore certain older liturgical practices.³¹ It is, rather, a matter of putting the Church’s liturgical patrimony to work, in relation to modern conditions.

²⁷ Quoted by Katherine Bergeron *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes* (Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 1998) p15.

²⁸ In the case of Chant the debate about the meaning of ancient manuscripts, and the practical possibilities of restoring things to modern use, shows no signs of abating.

²⁹ Cf. Matthew 13:52: ‘Therefore every scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven, is like to a man that is a householder, who bringeth forth out of his treasure new things and old.’ (‘ideo omnis scriba doctus in regno caelorum similis est homini patri familias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera.’)

³⁰ Notably thanks to the permissions immediately given to older priests to continue to use them when the 1970 Missal was promulgated, and the English Indult of 1971.

³¹ Such as the Prayers of the Faithful, the people’s direct participation in the Kiss of Peace, and certain ancient liturgical texts.

Appendix: the Language of Reform and Restoration in the Documents of the Church

Throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, efforts to combat injustice and corruption were commonly presented, with or without historical justification, as efforts to return to the just and authentic practice of the past. The rhetorical importance of the virtues and institutions of the Roman Republic, throughout the Imperial period, is just one illustration of this. In the language of the Church, the language of restoration, to combat decay, decadence, and corruption, is similarly found.

Vulgate: 2 Chronicles (2 Paralipomenon) uses the verb *instaurare* of the physical repair and restoration of the Temple by Hezekiah (29:3) and Josiah (34:8, 10; 35:20). In **Nehemiah** 8 we find that to *convert* ('eos conversique sunt et clamaverunt ad te', 9:28) is to *revert*, to the law ('contestatus es eos ut reverterentur ad legem tuam', 9:29), a theme also implicit in the finding of the Book of the Law in the reign of Josiah (2 Chron 34:14).

St Pius V Quo primum (1570). St Pius V records that Trent ordered him to publish and correct (*edere; emendare*) the Roman Missal and Breviary. Accordingly he corrected (*castigare*) the Breviary. Then he restored (*restituere*) the Missal to the pattern (*normam ac ritum*) of the Holy Fathers. St Pius V declares: 'Quod recognitum iam et castigatum:' *recognitum* here means 'checked'. The experts appointed to the task (*eruditi delecti viri*) looked at all the manuscripts they could find in order to check the texts.

The terminology used in *Quo primum* is found throughout subsequent documents on liturgical reform. *Recognitio* is the term used in all areas of the Church's life for the process of texts (such as locally produced translations) being approved by the Holy See; successive editions of the Roman Missal indicate on their title pages the Popes who granted them *recognitio*.

Clement VIII Cum sanctissimum (1604) lists liberties taken with the text of the Roman Missal by printers and others; his *recognitio* is an indication of fidelity to the text approved by St Pius V.

Urban VIII Si quid est (1634) refers to St Pius and Clement VIII as having done a *recognitio* and *instauratio*. Following their example the rubrics have been restored to 'the old usage and rite' and clarified, and the biblical passages have been carefully checked.

St Pius X Divino afflatu (1911) speaks of making a step towards the *emendatio* of the Roman Missal and Breviary, and sets up a 'Consilium seu Commissionem' of scholars to do this, but, meanwhile, speaks of taking a more immediate task of *instauratio* a good number (*nonnulla*) of things in the present books.

Pius XII Maxima redemptionis nostrae (1955) (on the revision of Holy Week): the document is headed 'Decretum ... quo liturgicus Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Ordo instauratur'. The order is called an 'Ordo Instauratus'.

Second Vatican Council: Sacrosanctum Concilium (1962) 4 speaks of *recognoscere*, in this case 'ex integro', thoroughly, and 'to the mind of healthy tradition'. While recognising the more radical nature of the proposed reform, it is still emphatically linked to the norms of past tradition. The document goes on to use the term *instauratio* of what is intended, as noted above, echoing *Quo primum* ('ad pristinam ...sanctorum Patrum normam ac ritum restituerunt') in

paragraph 50 ('restituantur ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam nonnulla quae tempora iniuria deciderunt').

Paul VI *Missale Romanum* (1970) uses the terms *instauratio* with *renovatio* and *novitas*, including the phrase 'instaurationis novitas'. This takes a further step in recognising that that what is being promulgated includes what is new (*novitas*), but it is still justified by reference to the notion of 'restoration'. Thus the Apostolic Constitution quotes *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 50 with a list, including (perhaps surprisingly) the Penitential Rite, of things being restored 'ad pristinam sanctorum Patrum normam'.



Foederatio Internationalis *Una Voce*

Positio N. 28

THE GOOD FRIDAY PRAYER FOR THE JEWS
IN THE
EXTRAORDINARY FORM

FEBRUARY 2016

From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics ‘attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition’, and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Good Friday Prayer for the Jews in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

In 2008, Pope Benedict XVI composed a new prayer ‘Pro Conversione Iudæorum’, to be used in celebrations of the Good Friday Liturgy in the Extraordinary Form. The prayer’s petition for the conversion of the Jews should be understood in the eschatological context offered by Pauline and Patristic, as well as more recent, theology, which foresees the corporate conversion of the Jews taking place in the final stage of history. It is in this way that the most recent official documents reconcile the Church’s universal missionary mandate with the circumstances of today, in the shadow of the Shoah, in which a targeted mission to the Jewish people is not envisaged.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 28: THE GOOD FRIDAY PRAYER FOR THE JEWS IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

1. The Prayer ‘Pro conversione Iudæorum’, one of the *Orationes sollemnes* in the Solemn Liturgy of Good Friday, has caused controversy for many years, and the appropriateness of the wording used in the Extraordinary Form today is again under discussion. This Position Paper aims to set the prayer into its historical and theological context, and to defend its appropriateness in light of its correct understanding.

The Development of the Prayer up to 2008

2. The nine *Orationes sollemnes* of the Good Friday service date from the oldest stratum of Roman liturgical texts, perhaps from the third century.¹ The scholar Bl. Ildefonso Schuster remarks of the series:

In reciting a prayer of such venerable antiquity, we seem to enter into a closer spiritual relationship with those early generations of martyrs and confessors for the faith, who used the self-same words before us, and thus obtained the graces needful to enable them to correspond to their high vocation of witnessing to this faith with their own blood.²

3. The series forms a coherent whole, in intention and tone, covering the different ‘orders’ within the Church, and different categories of those outside the Church.³ The prayer for the Jews differed from the other intercessions in not including a genuflection, until the reform of Holy Week in 1956.
4. The prayers remained unchanged until very recent times.⁴ The pre-1956 version of the Prayer for the Jews and its rubrics are discussed in Appendix C; its modern history is given in detail in Appendix A.

¹ Josef Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1955: English Edition, trans Francis Brunner C.S.S.R.) Volume I pp481-2: Jungmann remarks that in these Prayers, ‘whose echo goes back to the first century, we have the general prayer of the Church in the exact wording in which it was performed ... since the third century.’ The footnotes explain the phrase ‘echo of the first century’ with a quotation from St Clement of Rome *Ad Corinth.*, (c59-61), whose list of petitions strikingly anticipates the *Orationes sollemnes*. Jungmann explains that these prayers were originally said throughout the year. Cf. the discussion by Philip Goddard *Festa Paschalia* pp174f. The Anglican scholar G.G. Willis observed that the collects employ the rhythmical prose called the ‘cursus’, a style in use from the 4th to the 7th centuries, though the bidding prayers, for the most part, do not, and speculated accordingly that the bidding prayers might have been composed before the 4th century: “The Solemn Prayers of Good Friday” in his *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, SPCK: 1964) pp1-48, at pp45-47.

² Bl. Ildefonso Schuster *The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal* (English translation: London: Burns Oats, 1925) trans Arthur Levelis-Marke Vol II p211.

³ Specifically, the prayers are: for Holy Church [‘pro Sancta Ecclesia’], for the Pope [‘pro Summo Pontifice’], for Every Grade of the Faithful [‘pro Omnibus ordinibus gradibusque fidelium’], for Rulers [‘pro republicas moderantibus’], for Catechumens [‘pro catechumenis’], for the Necessities of the Faithful [‘pro fidelium necessitatibus’], for the Unity of the Church, i.e. for heretics and schismatics [‘pro unitate Ecclesiae’], for the Conversion of the Jews [‘pro conversione Iudæorum’], and for the Conversion of the Pagans [‘pro conversione infidelium’].

⁴ The ancient Prayer for the Emperor was adapted to apply to rulers in general in 1956. It had over the centuries been applied to the Holy Roman Emperor, and then the Habsburg Emperor. It was not said after 1918. The revised prayer (‘Pro republicas moderantibus’) used phrasing from the Prayer for the Emperor and another collect, from

5. Pope Benedict XVI replaced the ancient text of the Prayer for the Jews with a new composition in 2008. Criticisms made of the Benedictine composition also apply to the text it replaced. The meaning of the texts must be considered in light of the theology of the Fathers of the Church, which was current at the time of the original prayer's composition, as well as the most recent magisterial documents. As this is a large topic, the treatment here will necessarily be summary.

The Fathers and the Middle Ages

6. The central question is the meaning of the petition, in the ancient and the 2008 prayer, for the conversion of the Jews. The theological context is given by the Patristic consensus on the topic, itself based on St Paul,⁵ of which Pope St Gregory the Great gives a typical example:

a day will come when he [*sc.* Christ] will make himself known to the Synagogue as well. This will doubtless be at the end of the world.⁶

The eschatological focus of the Prayer for the Jews is underlined by its reference to the Jews as a corporate body, 'that people' ('*illius populi*').⁷

7. Another element of the Patristic view is particularly associated with St Augustine of Hippo, who attributed great significance to the continuing existence of the Jewish community, in their fidelity to the Law of Moses:

The unbelief of the Jews has been made of signal benefit to us, so that those who do not receive these truths in their heart for their own good nevertheless carry in their hands, for our benefit, the writings in which these truths are contained.⁸

8. Thus, the Jews' failure to accept the Gospel is not a matter of indifference, but rather, on the one hand, their conversion is something devoutly to be desired, presaging the Second Coming, and on the other, that their unbelief in the meantime makes more credible the prophecies of Christ, which they preserve in their Scriptures. This formed the theological underpinning for a practical policy of toleration and charity towards the Jews, despite the harsh language sometimes employed by the Fathers in relation to Jewish lack of belief.

the Leonine Sacramentary, 'Auxiliare, domine temporibus nostris' (Mohlberg *Sacramentarium Veronense* (1966) p. 64, no 480).

⁵ Throughout the history of the theological discussion, the words of St Paul in Romans (11:25-29) have been central: '...blindness in part has happened in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles should come in. And so all Israel should be saved, as it is written: There shall come out of Sion, he that shall deliver and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. And this is to them my covenant: when I shall take away their sins. As concerning the gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sake: but as touching the election, they are most dear for the sake of the fathers. For the gifts and the calling of God are without repentance.'

⁶ St Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob*. See also St Augustine, *Questions on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, bk 2 q. 33, talking about the parable of the prodigal son: 'He [the elder brother] is angry even now also, and still is unwilling to enter. When then the fullness of the Gentiles shall have come in, his father will go out at the fit time that all Israel also may be saved.' St John Damascene *On the Orthodox Faith*, book 4, 26: 'But Enoch and Elias the Thesbite shall be sent and shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, that is, the synagogue to our Lord Jesus Christ and the preaching of the apostles.' This understanding also lies behind St Bede's commentary on the Book of Tobit.

⁷ This is not the case in the otherwise parallel prayers for heretics and schismatics, and for pagans.

⁸ Quoted in Steven Boguslawski OP *Thomas Aquinas on the Jews* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 2008) p68

9. Pope St Gregory the Great himself affirmed such a policy,⁹ and it was reiterated, in the face of violence against the Jews occurring in the context of the Crusading movement,¹⁰ in Pope Callixtus II's 1120 Bull *Sicut Iudeis*.¹¹ This threatened excommunication to any who stole Jews' property, interfered with their religious services, or compelled their baptism. In 1146 St Bernard of Clairvaux, 'the last of the Fathers', echoed St Augustine in condemning attacks on the Jews, calling them 'the living words of Scripture' and 'living witnesses of our redemption'.¹²
10. This official theological resistance to anti-Semitic violence was itself challenged, however, in the 13th century. Notably, in 1238 Nicholas Donin¹³ attacked the Talmud as leading the Jews into error and blasphemy, undermining the notion of the Jews as bearing witness to the truth.¹⁴ In the following centuries Jewish religious writings were seized for examination or destruction, sometimes by Papal mandate; synagogue services were disrupted and aggressive proselytization attempted by members of religious orders; mass expulsions were carried out from many European countries; and theological justification was sought even for forcible baptism.¹⁵
11. It must be underlined that this tragic phase in the Church's history cannot be blamed on the theology of the Fathers, from which the Prayer for the Jews derived, but precisely from the rejection of that theology. Throughout the period attempts were made to defend the Patristic view, notably by St Thomas Aquinas, and to refute Donin's claims about the Talmud,¹⁶ a refutation definitively accepted following the Council of Trent,¹⁷ in contrast to the views of

⁹ St Gregory approved of the conversion of Jews provided it was not done under compulsion. He ordered that they must be left free to celebrate their festivals without interference, and he also forbade the demolition of synagogues in order to build churches, prescribing that where this had already happened the Jewish community must be compensated for their loss of their property and, if their holy books had been confiscated, they must be returned to them (See R.A. Markus *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp.76-80).

¹⁰ Other factors in the wave of anti-Semitic violence included legislation obliging Jews to earn their living from banking and usury, which contributed to their unpopularity.

¹¹ The Bull is also known as the 'Constitution of the Jews'.

¹² Letter of St Bernard to the English, quoted by Boguslawski *op. cit.* p22

¹³ Nicholas Donon of La Rochelle was a Jewish convert to Christianity and a Franciscan friar.

¹⁴ Another Jewish convert, a Dominican friar, Paul Christian, pursued a complementary line of theological attack on the former consensus, by accusing the Jews of Deicide (in 1269 or 1270), inferring that 'They deserve to be killed, and woe to those creatures that tolerate them'. This claim was effectively demolished by St Thomas Aquinas in his commentary on 1 Corinthians 2:8. See David Decosimo *Ethics as a Work of Charity* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2014) p25.

¹⁵ The claim that, notwithstanding the anti-Semitic violence of the previous century, the 13th century saw a marked deterioration of conditions for European Jews, in connection with these critiques of the previous consensus of the role of the Jews in salvation history, is the thesis of the influential study by Jeremy Cohen *The Friars and the Jews: A study in the development of medieval anti-Semitism* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). His implication of St Thomas Aquinas in this development has been overtaken by more recent scholarship, notably Boguslawski *op. cit.* and Decosimo *op. cit.*. The defence of forcible baptism was made by Duns Scotus, who made only a symbolic concession to the Patristic view of the importance of the conversion of the Jews before the Second Coming, suggesting that a group of Jews be allowed to exist on an island, in complete isolation from the Christian community. See Henry A. Krop 'Duns Scotus and the Jews: Scholastic theology and forced conversion in the 13th century' *Netherlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 69 (1989) pp161-175.

¹⁶ Notably by Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei*, published c.1270.

¹⁷ The Congregation for the Index asked only that a very small number of verses referring to Our Lord be removed. Their ruling meant that the Talmud could be freely printed and distributed, as far as the Church was concerned.

Martin Luther.¹⁸ It is the Patristic, Thomistic, and Tridentine position which, with the later Magisterium to be considered in the next section, constitutes the perennial teaching of the Church, which is the proper context for the interpretation of the Prayer for the Jews on both historical and theological grounds, and which is definitive for Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form.

Vatican II and after

12. In *Lumen gentium* 16 and *Nostra aetate* 4, the Second Vatican Council addressed relations with the Jews in continuity with the teaching of the Fathers. *Nostra aetate* expressed the eschatological hope for the conversion of the Jews:

In company with the Prophets and the same Apostle, the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and “serve him shoulder to shoulder” (Soph. 3:9).¹⁹

At the same time, *Lumen gentium* reaffirmed the Church’s mission:

Wherefore to promote the glory of God and procure the salvation of all of these, and mindful of the command of the Lord, “Preach the Gospel to every creature,” (Mark 16:15) the Church fosters the missions with care and attention.²⁰

13. The Ordinary Form Good Friday ‘Prayer for the Jews’ calls for them to come to ‘the fullness of redemption’. The lack of specification as to the means of their salvation²¹ has caused controversy, with some contending that the Old Covenant is a means of salvation for the Jews today. Other prayers of the Ordinary Form are clear, however. The Vespers of Easter Sunday includes the prayer ‘Let Israel recognize in you [sc. Christ] the Messiah it has longed for’; other examples are given in Appendix B.²² The Patristic view outlined above (6-8) is illustrated in many passages given in the Ordinary Form Office of Readings.

See John Lamont “Why the Jews are Not the Enemies of the Church” *Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, published online 6th March 2014 at <http://www.hprweb.com/2014/03/why-the-jews-are-not-the-enemies-of-the-church/>

¹⁸ Martin Luther’s mature views on the Jews are set out in his 1543 German tract *On the Jews and their Lies* (*Von den Jüden und iren Lügen*). As well as attacks on the integrity of Jews and of their religion, Luther proposes the destruction of their synagogues, their expulsion, and even their murder. In 1998 the Lutheran Church of Bavaria issued a statement dissociating itself from Luther’s views: ‘It is imperative for the Lutheran Church, which knows itself to be indebted to the work and tradition of Martin Luther, to take seriously also his anti-Jewish utterances, to acknowledge their theological function, and to reflect on their consequences. It has to distance itself from every [expression of] anti-Judaism in Lutheran theology.’ (*Christians and Jews: A Declaration of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria*, November 24, 1998)

¹⁹ Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra aetate*: ‘Una cum Prophetis eodemque Apostolo Ecclesia diem Deo soli notum expectat, quo populi omnes una voce Dominum invocabunt et “servient ei humero uno” (Soph 3,9)’

²⁰ The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium*: ‘Qua propter ad gloriam Dei et salutem istorum omnium promovendam, Ecclesia, memor mandati Domini dicentis: “Praedicate evangelium omni creaturae” (Mc 16,15), missiones fovere sedulo curat.’

²¹ The Bidding of the 1970 prayer is almost identical to the version promulgated as a stop-gap reform in 1965, but the Collect has been changed: the 1965 version petitioned that the Jews ‘may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord as the Redeemer of all’ (see Appendix A).

²² See also Acts 4.5-12: St. Peter, a Jew addressing Jews (the chief priests and their families), tells them that ‘of all the names in the world given to men, this [the name of Jesus Christ] is the only one by which we can be saved’ (‘Et non est in alio aliquo salus nec enim nomen aliud est sub caelo datum hominibus in quo oportet nos salvos fieri.’)

14. Nor are such prayers surprising, reflecting as they do God's desire for the salvation of all,²³ and Christians' desire for the return of the Lord in glory.²⁴ Indeed, in at least one standard version of their daily prayers,²⁵ Jews similarly pray for the conversion of 'all of the impious of the earth'. Rabbi Jacob Neusner, responding to criticisms of the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, pointed out the parallel with the Prayer for the Jews, remarking:

The Catholic prayer manifests the same altruistic spirit that characterizes the faith of Judaism.²⁶

15. It has been found necessary, in official documents of the Holy See, repeatedly to condemn the view that the Jews could be saved other than through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.²⁷ The recent statement of the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews expressed itself emphatically:

The theory that there may be two different paths to salvation, the Jewish path without Christ and the path with the Christ, whom Christians believe is Jesus of Nazareth, would in fact endanger the foundations of Christian faith. Confessing the universal and therefore also exclusive mediation of salvation through Jesus Christ belongs to the core of Christian faith.²⁸

²³ For example: 'As I live, saith the Lord God, I will not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live' (Ezech. 23:11). 'It is not the will of our Father Who is in heaven that one of these little ones should perish' (Mat. 18:14). 'God dealeth patiently for your sake, not willing that any should perish, but that all should return to penance' (2 Pet. 3:9). 'God will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth' (1 Tim. 2:4).

²⁴ For example, this is called for in the Lord's Prayer in the petition 'Thy kingdom come' (Matthew 6:10; Luke 11:2), and also by the acclamation 'Maranà tha': 'Come, Lord Jesus, come soon' (1 Corinthians 16:22; Revelation 22:20; Didachè 10:6)

²⁵ Rabbi Neusner refers to the *Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire* (London, 1953). The call for the conversion of the 'impious' does not form part of the prayer as used today by British Jews, and the history of the prayer is a complex one.

²⁶ *Die Tagespost*, 23rd Feb 2008 The full text of the article can be seen in English here:

<http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/193041?eng=y>

²⁷ Thus the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews: *Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church* (1985) 7. 'In virtue of her divine mission, the Church, which is to be "the all-embracing means of salvation" in which alone "the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained" (*Unit. Red.*3); "must of her nature proclaim Jesus Christ to the world" (cf. *Guidelines and Suggestions*, I). Indeed, we believe that it is through him that we go to the Father (cf. Jn. 14:6) "and this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (Jn17:33).

'Jesus affirms (*ibid.* 10:16) that "there shall be one flock and one shepherd". Church and Judaism cannot then be seen as two parallel ways of salvation and the Church must witness to Christ as the Redeemer for all, "while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty in line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council (Declaration *Dignitatis Humanae*)" (*Guidelines and Suggestions*, I).'

See also the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith Declaration *Dominus Iesus* (2000) 13: 'It was in the awareness of the one universal gift of salvation offered by the Father through Jesus Christ in the Spirit (cf. *Eph* 1:3-14), that the first Christians encountered the Jewish people, showing them the fulfilment of salvation that went beyond the Law'

²⁸ Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews: *The gifts and the Calling of God are Irrevocable* (Rom 11:29): *A reflection on theological questions pertaining to Catholic-Jewish relations on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of Nostra aetate* (no.4) (2015) 35.

Criticisms of the 2008 Prayer

16. Criticisms of the 2008 Prayer for the Jews refer to three different aspects of the prayer.²⁹ First, a criticism is made of the use of the language of ‘enlightenment’, suggesting as it does that the Jews are currently in a state of darkness. It is difficult to sustain such criticism, however, given that the phrase reflects the language of St Paul (2 Corinthians 4:3-6).³⁰ St Paul’s use of vivid and even harsh language itself continues the tradition of the Prophets of the Old Testament and of Our Lord.
17. Second, some critics of the prayer do not appear to accept that all salvation is through Christ. As noted, the Church can never allow the validity of such criticism, which strikes at the heart of the Christian faith.
18. Third, there is the question of mission to the Jews. Here, historical context is of special significance. The renewed debate on relations with the Jews which was sparked by the Second Vatican Council took place under the shadow of the Shoah, in which the survival of the Jewish people had been brought into question as never before in history. The rapid assimilation of some Jewish communities since the Second World War may seem to raise the same question through non-violent means. A systematic attempt to convert Jews to Christianity, if successful, would seem a similar threat.
19. In light of the teaching of the Fathers on the role of the Jews in salvation history, there is no justification for the view that the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, or its predecessors in earlier Missals of the Roman Rite, implies a commitment to a systematic project to make Judaism disappear. The Fathers, with St Paul before them and Aquinas after, expected a non-Christian Jewish community to continue in existence until the last days, and attribute an important symbolic role to this community up to then, and also during that final phase of history. Equally to be emphasised is the compatibility of this expectation with the universal missionary imperative, with the conversion of individual Jews to Christianity, and with the desire for the complete conversion of the Jews, connected as it is with the desire for the return of Christ in glory.
20. The Church must acknowledge the sensitivities of the current era, following the Shoah. She must also remain true to the mission entrusted to her by Christ, her Head. As a matter of logic,

²⁹ Initial criticisms, in 2007, came from groups outside the Church, notably the Anti-Defamation League of the USA, as well as from inside. The publication of the Benedictine prayer in 2008 took place shortly before the start of the 2008 German Katholikentag which took place in Osnabrück, an important biennial gathering of German-speaking Catholics. A number of Jewish collaborators withdrew from the event in protest, and many criticisms of the prayer were articulated at the gathering, which were then reported in the German press. More recently, the Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales approved a statement critical of the Benedictine prayer, which included this passage: ‘The 1970 Prayer, which is now used throughout the Church, is basically a prayer that the Jewish people would continue to grow in the love of God’s name and in faithfulness of his Covenant, a Covenant which—as St John Paul II made clear in 1980—has not been revoked. By contrast the Prayer produced in 2008 for use in the Extraordinary Form of the liturgy reverted to being a prayer for the conversion of Jews to Christianity.’ (Bishops’ Conference of England and Wales, *Resolution on the Good Friday Prayer for the Jews*, published 24th November 2015).

³⁰ ‘And if our gospel be also hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine unto them.’ (‘Quod si etiam opertum est evangelium nostrum in his qui pereunt est opertum, in quibus deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infidelium ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriae Christi qui est imago Dei.’)

commitment to ‘targeted proselytism’ does not follow from the Church’s universal missionary vocation, since it is not possible for the Church to target every group at once, and it is reasonable to take account of historical, political, and cultural factors in choosing where missionary efforts should be focused. The correct response to the latest criticisms of the Prayer for the Jews must be, with the documents quoted in the last section, to continue to explain the teaching of the Church, and not give way to pressure to hide it.³¹

³¹ In defending the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, Walter, Cardinal Kasper, reflected on the need for honesty in all theological dialogue: ‘A sincere dialogue between Jews and Christians, ...is possible only, on the one hand, on the basis of a shared faith in one God, creator of heaven and earth, and in the promises made to Abraham and to the Fathers; and on the other, in the awareness and respect of the fundamental difference that consists in faith in Jesus as Christ and Redeemer of all men.’ *L'Osservatore Romano* 10th April 2008. The full text can be found in English here: <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/197381?eng=y>

Appendix A: The texts of the Prayer for the Jews

The form of the prayer used up to 1956

Bidding

Let us pray also for the faithless Jews: that Almighty God may remove the veil from their hearts so that they too may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord.

Rubric

(‘Amen’ is not responded, nor is said ‘Let us pray’, or ‘Let us kneel’, or ‘Arise’, but immediately is said:)

Collect

Almighty and eternal God, who dost not exclude from thy mercy even Jewish faithlessness: hear our prayers, which we offer for the blindness of that people; that acknowledging the light of thy Truth, which is Christ, they may be delivered from their darkness. Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, for ever and ever. Amen

Oremus et pro perfidis Judæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum; ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum.

(Non respondetur ‘Amen’, nec dicitur ‘Oremus’, aut ‘Flectamus genua’, aut ‘Levate’, sed statim dicitur:)

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui etiam judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis: exaudi preces nostras, quas pro illius populi obcæcatione deferimus; ut, agnita veritatis tuæ luce, quæ Christus est, a suis tenebris eruantur. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

In 1948, the Sacred Congregation of Rites declared that ‘perfidi iudaei’ and ‘iudaica perfidia’ could be translated into the vernacular, in books for the laity, in the sense of ‘infidelitas, infideles in credendo’.³²

In the 1956 reform of Holy Week, the ‘Amen’ and genuflection were inserted in line with the other prayers of the Orationes sollemnes.

In 1959 the Sacred Congregation of Rites directed that the words ‘perfidis’ and ‘perfidiam’ be removed, so the bidding reads ‘Let us pray for the Jews’ and the collect ‘Almighty and eternal God, who dost also not exclude from thy mercy the Jews.’³³

The ancient prayer, with the changes just noted, is the version found in the 1962 Roman Missal, used for the Extraordinary Form.

³² Sacred Congregation of Rites, decree of 10th June 1948, (AAS 40, 1948: p342)

³³ Sacred Congregation of Rites, decree of 19th March 1959.

In 2008 Pope Benedict XVI substituted the bidding and collect in the Extraordinary Form as follows:

Bidding

Let us also pray for the Jews: That our God and Lord may illuminate their hearts, that they may acknowledge Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men.

Collect

Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.
Almighty and eternal God, who will that all men be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, propitiously grant that even as the fullness of the peoples enters Thy Church, all Israel may be saved. Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.

Oremus et pro Iudaeis: Ut Deus et Dominus noster illuminet corda eorum, ut agnoscant Iesum Christum salvatorem omnium hominum.

Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui vis ut omnes homines salvi fiant et ad agnitionem veritatis veniant, concede propitius, ut plenitudine gentium in Ecclesiam Tuam intrante omnis Israel salvus fiat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

As part of the liturgical reform which followed the Second Vatican Council, a number of changes were made to the 1962 Missal in advance of the promulgation of the new Missal of 1970. **In 1965 the Prayer for the Jews was substituted as follows:**³⁴

Bidding

Let us pray also for the Jews: that our God and Lord may be pleased to shine the light of his face over them; that they too may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord as the Redeemer of all.

Collect

Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.
Almighty ever-living God who conferred your promises on Abraham and his seed, mercifully hear the prayers of your Church, that the people whom you anciently acquired may merit to come to the fullness of Redemption. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.³⁵

Oremus et pro Iudæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster faciem suam super eos illuminare dignetur; ut et ipsi agnoscant omnium Redemptorem, Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.

Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui promisiones tuas Abrahae et semini eius contulisti: Ecclesiae tuae preces clementer exaudi; ut populus acquisitionis antiquae ad Redemptionis mereatur plenitudinem pervenire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. R. Amen.

Archbishop Annibale Bugnini, the architect of the reforms, remarks of this and other, smaller changes made at the same time to the *Orationes sollemnes*:

It is always unpleasant to have to alter venerable texts that for centuries have effectively nourished Christian devotion and have about them the spiritual fragrance of the heroic

³⁴ Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia: Instruction, *Variationes in Ordinem hebdomadae sanctae inducendae* (1965)

³⁵ Translation by RPD.

age of the Church's beginnings. It was nevertheless thought necessary to face up to the task, lest anyone find reason for spiritual discomfort in the prayer of the Church.³⁶

The Prayer for the Jews in the Ordinary Form (1970 Missal, 2011 English translation)

Bidding

Let us pray for the Jewish people, the first to hear the word of God, that they may continue to grow in the love of his name and in faithfulness to his covenant.

Rubric

Prayer in silence. Then the priest says:

Collect

Let us pray. [Let us kneel. Rise.]
Almighty and eternal God, long ago you gave your promise to Abraham and his posterity. Listen to your Church as we pray that the people you first made your own may arrive at the fullness of redemption. We ask this through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Oremus et pro Iudæis, ut, ad quos prius locutus est Dominus Deus noster, eis tribuat in sui nominis amore et in sui fœderis fidelitate proficere.

Oratio in silentio. Deinde sacerdos:

Oremus. [Flectamus genua. Levate.]³⁷
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui promissiones tuas Abrahæ eiusque semini contulisti, Ecclesiæ tuæ preces clementer exaudi, ut populus acquisitionis prioris ad redemptionis mereatur plenitudinem pervenire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

³⁶ Annibale Bugnini *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975* (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990) trans Matthew J. O'Connell, p119.

³⁷ 'Flectamus genua. Levate' ('Let us kneel. Rise') is optional.

Appendix B: Prayers for the Conversion of the Jews in the Ordinary Form Liturgy of the Hours

Morning Prayer, December 31st (VII Day within the Christmas Octave)³⁸

Christ, Son of David, fulfilment of the prophecies, may the Jewish people accept you as their awaited Deliverer [Messiah].

Christe, Deus et homo, qui Dóminus es David et fílius eius, prophetías adímplens, te rogámus, ut Israel te Messíam agnóscat.

Lauds, January 2nd

Simeon and Anna proclaimed you as the Saviour; grant that the Jewish people may accept your message [Gospel] so long foretold.

Christe, quem, ab ángelis glori ficátum et a pastóribus annuntiátum, Símeon et Anna conféssi sunt et prædicavérunt, te rogámus, ut Evangélium tuum a pópulo promissionis recipiátur.

Evening Prayer, during the Easter Season (i.e. for seven weeks)

May all the nations praise you as their king and Lord; make Israel the people whom you call your own [possession].

Omnes gentes tibi regi et Deo psallant, et Israel fiat posséssio tua.

Evening Prayer on Wednesday of the II and IV weeks of Easter

From the Jewish people you chose Christ's first disciples; show the children of Israel that your promises are fulfilled.

Tu, qui primítias discipulórum Fílii tui ex Iudáico pópulo elegísti, fíliis Israel repromissionem revéla, quæ ad patres eórum facta est.

℞ Save your people through the victory of Christ.

℞ Per victóriam Christi salva redéptos tuos.

Evening Prayer, Easter Sunday and its Octave, and on 3rd and 5th Sundays of Eastertide

Let Israel recognise in you the Messiah it has longed for; fill all men with the knowledge of your glory.

Israel in te Christum spei suæ agnóscat et omnis terra cognitióne tuæ glóriæ repleátur.

℞ Victorious king, hear us.

℞ Victor Rex, exáudi nos.

Discomfort about these prayers in German-speaking countries is reflected in the way some of them are translated. Thus, the prayer quoted above from the Morning Prayer of the 31st December runs, in German:³⁹

In dir erfüllt sich alles, was die Propheten verkündet haben; - hilf uns, dass wir auch in unserem Leben die Hand Gottes erkennen.

In thee everything proclaimed by the prophets is fulfilled, help us to recognise God in our lives.

³⁸ The English translations are those currently in use in England and Wales.

³⁹ This German translation was approved by the bishops of the German-speaking Conferences in 1978. The English given is a literal translation of the German.

Similarly, the prayer quoted above from the Morning Prayer of 2nd January runs, in German:

Christus, von den Engeln besungen, von
den Hirten kundgemacht, von Simeon und
Anna gepriesen; - gib, dass wir deine Frohe
Botschaft annehmen.

O Christ, who was sung of (about) by the
angels, made known by the shepherds,
praised by Simeon and Anna; - give, that
we may accept your Good News.

Appendix C: the Pre-1956 Prayer

The Prayer for the Conversion of the Jews, in the form used up to 1956, has been criticised in three ways: for the use of the words *perfidus* /*perfidia*; for other excessively harsh language applied to the Jews; and for the rubric omitting the genuflection used in the other *Orationes sollemnes*. To facilitate a correct understanding of the prayer, and by extension of the liturgical tradition of which it is part, these three points should briefly be considered. Such a clarification does not address the question of the justification of the successive changes made to the prayer noted in Appendix A.

The use of *perfidus* (-a, -um, adjective) and *perfidia* (-ae, noun)

In Classical Latin the meaning of ‘*perfidia*’ and its cognates is close to the English ‘perfidy’ and ‘perfidious’: Juvenal uses *perfidus* to mean ‘scoundrel’. The 1948 decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the meaning of the terms in the context of the prayer has already been noted: it was claimed that the phrases could legitimately be translated not as ‘perfidious Jews’ and ‘perfidy of the Jews’, but ‘unfaithful Jews’, and the ‘unfaithfulness in belief (of the Jews)’.⁴⁰ This declaration followed an enquiry about translations into modern languages which (as the Congregation expressed it) ‘sound offensive’.⁴¹

The Latin words were officially defended in the context of the reform of 1956 Holy Week, with the *Ordo Hebdomadae Sancte* recording that:

Jews of our time also have complained about the terms *perfidis Iudaeis* and *iudaicam perfidiam*; [but] the employment of this term most certainly did not arise from anti-Semitism, since it quite simply and in no pejorative sense indicates the absence of faith.⁴²

⁴⁰ Sacred Congregation of Rites Declaration: ‘In that double prayer wherein holy Mother Church in the solemn prayers of Feria VI in Parasceve [Good Friday] implores God’s mercy also for the Hebrew people, there occur these words: “*perfidi Iudaei*” and “*Iudaica perfidia*”. Furthermore there has been an inquiry concerning the true sense of this Latin locution, especially since in various translations made into vulgar languages for the use of the faithful those words have been expressed in locutions which seem to be offensive to the ears of that people.

Questioned on this matter, this Sacred Congregation has resolved to declare these things only: that “In translations into vulgar languages, locutions whose sense is “*infidelitas*,” “*infideles in credendo*” are not censured”. Rome, 10 June 1948, C. Cardinal Micara, Bishop of Velletri, Prefect, f. A. Carinci, Archbishop of Seleuceia, Secretary.’ (‘In bina illa precatatione qua sancta Mater Ecclesia in orationibus solemnibus feriae sextae in Parasceve etiam pro populo hebraico Dei misericordiam implorat, haec verba occurrunt: <<*perfidi iudaei*>>, et <<*iudaica perfidia*>>. Porro quaesitum est de vero sensu istius locutionis latinae, praesertim cum in variis translationibus, ad usum fidelium in linguas vulgares factis, illa verba expressa fuerint locutionibus quae auribus istius populi offensivae videantur.

‘Sacra haec Congregatio, de re interrogata, haec tantum declarare censuit: <<Non improbari, in translationibus in linguas vulgares, locutiones quarum sensus sit: “*infidelitas*, *infideles in credendo*”>>.’)

⁴¹ Eugenio (Israel) Zolli, the Chief Rabbi of Rome who converted to Catholicism in 1945, reported a private conversation with Pope Pius XII in which he raised the issue; it is natural to see the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as a result of this. See Robert Weisbord and Wallace Sillanpoa *The Chief Rabbi, the Pope, and the Holocaust: An Era in Vatican-Jewish Relations* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Productions, 1992) p171.

⁴² ‘Etiam Iudaei moderni agebant contra voces *perfidis Iudaeis* et *iudaicam perfidiam*: usus huius vocis omnino ortus non est ex antisemitismo, nam simpliciter et non sensu peiorativo significat *absentiam fidei*.’ H.A.P Schmidt SJ in *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae*, p790.

Such an understanding of the words was defended later by the Latinist Augustin, Cardinal Bea,⁴³ writing:

Although to modern ears, this adjective has a pejorative ring, in the medieval Latin of the time of the prayer's composition it simply meant 'unbelieving'.⁴⁴

This contention has support from dictionaries of Late Latin;⁴⁵ the key Latin author establishing this usage being St Cyprian of Carthage, who consistently used *perfidus* as a variant for *incredulus* (unbelieving), and *perfidia* in opposition to *fides* (faith), as set out in detail by the scholar Antoon Bastiaensen.⁴⁶

It is regrettable that, when removing the adjective 'perfidus' in the bidding and the noun 'perfidia' from the collect, Pope St John XXIII did not replace them with another word, since it would be natural to read the Latin of the 1959 version as applying to all Jews, regardless of their state of belief.

The Preface to the decree promulgating the reformed, 1956 Holy Week, in which the original wording was unchanged, notes the problem,⁴⁷ and goes on to remark:

In the new version of the psalms [i.e. the 1947 Latin psalter] expressions are avoided which have acquired another sense in modern languages.

This unintentionally exposes a fundamental problem. For an attempt to avoid Latin expressions in the liturgy and Scriptures which suggest (through etymology or by chance) a misleading expression in some modern language or other, would clearly be as impractical as it would be damaging to Latin's role in maintaining stability over time in the Church's prayer.

Other harsh language

Other aspects of the prayer which caused difficulty were its use of the imagery of 'blindness' and the 'veil' over the hearts of the Jewish people. These do not appear in the 2008 prayer, although a reference to 'enlightenment' does.

This language, however, is taken directly from St Paul's own discussion of the rejection of Christ by the Jews. The phrase 'take the veil from their hearts' is a direct quotation from 2

⁴³ Cardinal Bea was in charge of producing the new Latin translation of the Psalms which was promulgated by Pope Pius XII in 1947: see Positio 5: *The Vulgate*.

⁴⁴ August, Cardinal Bea *The Church and the Jewish People: A Commentary on the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions* (New York NY: Harper and Row, 1966) trans Philip Loretz, p22.

⁴⁵ The standard work is J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), which gives (p788): 'perfidia': 'unbelief, disbelief, heresy'; 'perfidus': 'unbelieving, disbelieving, disbelief, heretical.' See also: Alexander Souter *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford: OUP, 1949) p295: 'perfidus': 'infidel, unbelieving (Cyprian onwards)'; 'perfidia': 'unbelief, disbelief, heresy, e.g. the Jewish faith, Cyprian on'. Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-français des Auteurs chrétiens* (Paris: Librairie des Méridiens, 1954) p. 673: 'perfidus': 'the Infidels, the Musulmans'. Adverb 'perfide': 'in a manner contrary to the faith'.

⁴⁶ Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen "Les vocables *perfidus* et *perfidia* et leur application aux Juifs dans la Chretienté Latine des premiers siècles" *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 60, 215-229 (2008) pp218ff.

⁴⁷ A. Bugnini and C. Braga *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus* (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" Sectio Historica, Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1956) column p 115 footnote 14. The authors regret the retention of *perfidia*/*perfidus* since they 'sound badly', because they have 'developed an offensive sense'.

Corinthians 3:15, and the imagery of ‘blindness’ and ‘light’ are drawn from 2 Corinthians 4:3-6.

Other prayers of the series, for the conversion of pagans, and of heretics and schismatics, also employ vivid and powerful language,⁴⁸ which as already noted find a place in a tradition of the use of such language going back to the Prophets of the Old Testament. On the other hand, comment on those outside the Church is rare in the ancient Latin liturgical tradition as we have received it today.⁴⁹ The far more usual objects of unflattering language in the Extraordinary Form are the Faithful, both clerical and lay. The expression of our sinfulness and need for grace is a constant theme of the liturgical tradition, a ‘negative’ theme reformers sought to downplay in preparing the 1970 Missal.⁵⁰ This language of sinfulness is used invariably in the context of the hope for conversion: it is never an expression of condemnation, but of charity.

The genuflection

The lack of a genuflection between the bidding and the collect in the pre-1956 rubrics goes back to the earliest liturgical documents, though not quite unanimously.⁵¹ It is explained in the *Ordo Lateranensis* (c.1120) and the *Ordo Romanus XII* (c.1190), by reference to the fact that the Jews bent their knees in mockery of Christ during the Passion.⁵² This is the explanation given in the modern liturgical commentaries by Dom Prosper Guéranger⁵³ and Pius Parsch.⁵⁴

Although kneeling in mockery is more associated, in devotional art, with the Roman soldiers during the Crowning with Thorns, Jewish leaders are described as mocking Christ during or after his trial at Mark 14:65 and Luke 22:63, and during the Crucifixion itself, by the chief priests amongst others at Matthew 27:42, and by one or more other crucified criminals at Matthew 27:44, Mark 15:32, and Luke 23:39. This accords with a pattern found in the Synoptic gospels, in which first the Jews, and then the Gentiles, and then both together, mock Our Lord

⁴⁸ The Prayer for the Unity of the Church (for heretics and schismatics) immediately precedes the Prayer for the Jews in the *Orationes sollemnes*, and calls on God to ‘look upon the souls deceived by diabolical fraud, that abandoning all heretical depravity, the hearts of the erring may regain sanity and return to the unity of truth.’ (‘ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas: ut omni haeretica pravitate deposita, errantium corda resipiscant, et ad veritatis tuae redeant unitatem.’) The Prayer for the Conversion of Pagans, which immediately follows the Prayer for the Jews, calls upon God to ‘remove iniquity from their hearts’ (‘auferat iniquitatem a cordibus eorum’), and ‘deliver them from the worship of idols’ (‘libera eos ab idolorum cultura’). It is clear from these prayers that it is the objective state of those referred to which is addressed, and not their subjective blameworthiness for being in that state.

⁴⁹ Such comment is found occasionally in the Lectionary, and for example in the Collect of the votive Mass for the Defence of the Church (pro Ecclesiae defensione), which refers to the ‘pagan peoples who trust in their savagery’ (‘gentes paganorum, quae in sua feritate confidunt’).

⁵⁰ The excision of ‘negative theology’ from liturgical texts in the post-Conciliar reform is clearest in the revision of the Collects, and the principles are explained by Consilium member Matias Augé CMF: “Le Collette del Proprio del Tempo nel Nuovo Messale” *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 84 (1970), pp275-98, at p275-8. The disappearance of references to God’s anger, human sinfulness, and related themes is illustrated by Anthony Cekada *Work of Human Hands: a theological critique of the Mass of Paul VI* (West Chester OH: Philothea Press, 2010) pp224-234.

⁵¹ Goddard *op. cit.* p176. The exception is the Old Gelasian sacramentary, of which only one manuscript survives; the later Gelasian sacramentaries, which derive from it, do omit the genuflection at this point, and Goddard suggests the inclusion of the genuflection in the earlier manuscript is a mere oversight (p.177).

⁵² As Goddard, remarks ‘There is no reason to doubt that this was the reason for the practice’: *ibid.* p177.

⁵³ Vol 6 p485

⁵⁴ Vol. II p334

during the Passion. This mockery is in fulfilment of many prophecies; notably, Psalm 21 (22):7-8⁵⁵ and Isaiah 53:3⁵⁶ refer to the rejection and mockery of his own people.

There is a parallel in the Mass of Holy Thursday, when from the earliest times the Pax (Kiss of Peace) is omitted.⁵⁷ Medieval liturgical commentators explain that it would not be fitting to use the kiss, since on this day we remember Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Our Lord with a kiss.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ 'But I am a worm, and no man: the reproach of men, and the outcast of the people. All they that saw me have laughed me to scorn: they have spoken with the lips, and wagged the head.' ('Ego autem sum vermis et non homo obprobrium hominum et dispectio plebis. omnes videntes me subsannant me dimittunt labium movent caput.')

⁵⁶ 'Despised, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity: and his look was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed him not.' ('Despectum et novissimum virorum virum dolorum et scientem infirmitatem et quasi absconditus vultus eius et despectus unde nec reputavimus eum.')

⁵⁷ See Goddard *op. cit.* p.145

⁵⁸ Goddard cites John of Avranches (d.1079) *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*: see Goddard *op. cit.* p165 n.110. See R. Delamare, *Le De officiis ecclesiasticis de Jean d'Avranches, archévêque de Rouen (1067-79): étude liturgique et publication du texte inédit du manuscrit H. 304 de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Montpellier*, Bibliothèque liturgique, 22 (Paris, 1923), 32. The same work reiterates the interpretation of the missing genuflection in Good Friday Prayer for the Jews (in the edition just noted, p34).