The concept of participation in the preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council's Schema on the Liturgy

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In this paper, I shall examine the concept of lay participation as it was discussed during the preparatory work on the Schema on the Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council. The reality that compels us today to focus on this issue has been described as follows by Klaus Gamber: "Excessive emphasis was placed on the activity of the participants, thereby relegating the liturgical element to the background "[2]. The current problem also stems from the translation of *participatio actuosa* as "active participation", which in reality is more reminiscent of an exte rne[3]. As Dom Bernard McElligott pointed out, when, in the period following the Council, 'actuosa' was translated as 'active', 'there was a misunderstanding regarding the Church's intention and, generally speaking, perhaps unconsciously, this expression was given the meaning of physical activity; whereas what the Church truly calls for is a full and sincere mental activity, manifested externally through the body 4."

To better understand the discussions of the Council's Central Preparatory Commission (CPC), it will be helpful to present the broader context in which the question at hand arises. Throughout its history, the Church has always been concerned with the effective participation of the faithful in the sacred liturgy. This concern is evident in the bull **Transiturus** of Urban IV, dated 11 August 12645[5]. In this magnificent document, Urban IV decrees the celebration of the Feast of Corpus Christi throughout the Church. St Thomas Aquinas clearly teaches that a person derives spiritual benefits from their participation in the liturgy 'according to their devotion and fervour ur'[6]. In his motu proprio **Tra le Sollecitudini** of 22 November 1903, St Pius X teaches that the active participation of the faithful in the liturgy is the first and indispensable source of the true spirit

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[1] Lecture delivered at the 4th CIEL symposium, Poissy 1998.

[2] K. GAMBER, **La Réforme liturgique en question**, Editions Sainte-Madeleine: Le Barroux, 1992, p. 13.

[3] On this serious problem of our time, the following works are worth consulting: J. RATZINGER, **La Célébration de la foi**, Téqui: Paris, 1985; A. NICHOLS, O.P.: **Looking at the Liturgy – A Critical View of its Contemporary Form**, Ignatius Press: San Francisco, 1996, 65–69.

[4] B. MC ELLIGOTT, "Active Participation", in: C. FRANCIS and M. LYNCH (eds.), **A Voice for All Time – Essays on the Liturgy of the Catholic Church since the Second Vatican Council**, Ass. for Latin Liturgy: Bristol, 1994, 19.

[5] URBAN IV, **Transiturus**, *Mansi* 28, 484–489. In the view of James-T. O'Connor, "it can be said that this document is the finest document on the Eucharist ever composed by a successor of Peter". J-T. O'CONNOR, **The Hidden Manna* – A Theology of the Eucharist*, Ignatius Press: San Francisco, 1988, 192.

[6] S. T., III q. 79, a. 5.

Christianity [n7]. In the Apostolic Constitution **Divini cultus**, Pius XI, wishing for a more active participation of the faithful in divine worship, requested that those parts of Gregorian chant belonging to the people be sung by the peop [e8].

From the end of the last century, and in many cases even earlier, some very significant progress had been made in deepening the liturgical awareness of the faithful; an increasing number of people were able to follow Mass with the aid of bilingual missals. As Fr Conlon observed: "What is undeniable about this form of participation is that, although it was not always audible or vocal, it was prayerful [e9]." This practice corresponded to the most vital element of a properly understood participation by the laity in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, namely, interior participation; at the same time, this is something we cannot say of many of the more audible and visible forms of participation in our own time.

A fundamental element for interpreting the Schema on the Liturgy, which was submitted for the consideration of the CPC, was Pope Pius XII's encyclical **Mediator Dei**, dated 20 November 1947. On 3 April 1962, in his address to the members of the CPC, Pope John XXIII expressly emphasised the importance of this docume [nt10]. When he presented the Schema on the Liturgy, Cardinal Larraona, President of the Preparatory Liturgical Commission (CLP), stated that this encyclical constituted a veritable **summa theologica** as well as a juridical and pastoral compendium of the entire liturgy [e11]. With regard to genuine participation in the liturgy, this encyclical emphasises that "the essential element of worship must be the inter [r"12]. Further on, the Servant of God adds: "Let it therefore be clearly understood by all that God cannot be honoured worthily unless the soul strives for perfection in life, and that, in order to lead to holiness, the worship rendered to

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7 PIUS X, *Tra la Sollecitudine*, in: A. BUGNINI (ed.), *Documenta pontificia ad instaurationem liturgicam spectantia*, Rome 1953, 12–13.

8 PIUS XI, *Divini cultus*, in: BUGNINI, *Documenta pontificia…*, no. 9.

9 A. F. CONLON, "The participation of the faithful in the post-conciliar liturgy – a critical perspective on contemporary practice", in: *Christus lumen gentium – Eucharistia et evangelizatio, XLV Conventus Eucharisticus Internationalis*, Seville 7–13 June 1993, Pontificius Comitatus Curavit et Edidit, ex Aedibus Vaticanis, 1993, 563.

10 **Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando**, Series II, Volume II, Part III, printed by Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1968, 23.

11 **Acta et documenta...**, Series II, Volume II, Part III, 50. Cardinal Ferdinando Antonelli described **Mediator Dei** as "the Magna Carta of a healthy liturgical movement", and he asserted that this document would be the starting point for a true renaissance of liturgical piety - N. GIAMPIETRO, O.F.M. Cap., **Cardinal Fernando Antonelli and the Developments of Liturgical Reform from 1948 to* 1970***, Pontifical University of St Anselm: Rome, 1998, 32.

12 Pius XII, **Mediator Dei**, § 24. As for the way in which **Mediator Dei** was subsequently taken into account by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council, it is worth reading the observations made by W. Graf in his article: "The Encyclical Mediator Dei and Eucharistic Doctrine", in: *Veneration and Administration of the Eucharist – Proceedings of the Second Colloquium on Historical, Theological and Canonical Studies of the Roman Catholic Rite*, International Centre for Liturgical Studies: Paris, 1997, in particular pp. 177–181; see also A. M. STICKLER, "The Role of the Celebrant in *Mediator Dei*", in: **Una Voce**, January–March 1998, pp. 2–5.

"God, through the Church in union with her divine Head, possesses the greatest efficacy . 13." As for the faithful's participation in the Eucharistic sacrifice, the Pope states that they must regard it "as a primary duty and a supreme honour"; he then adds: "but with such attention and fervour that they are closely united to the High Priest, in accordance with the words of the Apostle: 'Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus '[14], offering with him and through him, sanctifying themselves in h ui[15]." As regards the use of Latin, the venerable pontiff teaches that "the use of the Latin language, in use in a large part of the Church, is a manifest and striking sign of unity, and an effective safeguard against any corruption of the original doctrine e 16." Dom Cipriano Vagaggini, O.S.B., one of the most influential members of the CLP, recognised the importance of the teachings of this encyclical with regard to the participation of the laity in the liturgy , e[17].

Another important precursor to the preparatory process for the Schema on the Liturgy was the work of the Pontifical Commission for Liturgical Reform. Originally, it was chaired by Cardinal Clemente Micara, Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, until 1954, when he was succeeded as chairman by Cardinal Gaetano Cicognani, the new Prefect of the S CR[18]. This commission held meetings from June 1948 to July 1960. A fundamental document on which its work was based was the *'Memorandum on Liturgical Reform*', drafted by Fathers Löw and Antonelli. The recent publication of this commission's minutes enables us to study the preparatory process for the Schema on the Liturgy in greater detail. Its mandate was to study a general reform of the liturgy because, in the view of its members, the liturgy is an organic whole that does not admit of partial reform e [19]. In its detailed examination of the reform of the Holy Week rites, the commission emphasised the need for more active participation by the faithful. With this in mind, it was decided that the renewal of baptismal promises, during the Easter Vigil, could be made in the vernacular; however, at the session of 13

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[13] Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, § 26.

[14] Phil 2:5.

[15] Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, § 80 [p. 54].

[16] Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, § 60 [p. 43]

[17] C. VAGAGGINI, *El Sentido Teológico de la Liturgia – Ensayo de Liturgia Teológica*, B.A.C.: Madrid, 1965, 788–789

[18] The members of this commission were: Bishop Alfonso Carinci, Secretary of the SCR; the Rev. Fr. Ferdinando Antonelli,
O.F.M. Cap, general rapporteur for the historical section of the SCR; Rev. Fr. Josef Löw, CSSR, deputy general rapporteur for the historical section of the SCR; Rev. Fr. Agostino Bea, rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute; Fr Anselmo Albareda, O.S.B., Prefect of the Apostolic Library, and Fr Annibale Bugnini, Director of *the *Ephemerides liturgicae**, who served as secretary to the commission. Subsequently, the following were added as consultants: Fr Joseph Jungmann, Dom Capelle and Monsignor Mario Righetti. In 1952, Monsignor Enrico Dante was in turn appointed a member of the commission by papal decree. See GIAMPIETRO, **Il Card Ferdinando Antonelli…**, 279. See also A. BUGNINI, **The Reform of the Liturgy 1948–1975**, The Liturgical Press: Collegeville (Minnesota), 1990, 7–10.

[19] In an appendix to his book, Giampietro publishes the minutes of this commission. See GIAMPIETRO, **Il Card Ferdinando Antonelli…*,* 278.

In November 1951, the commission rejected the proposal that some of the readings for this vigil should be read in the vernacular. During the discussions that led to this decision to reject the proposal, Fr Albareda, having vigorously defended the moral value of Latin as the sole language of the Church's official worship, spoke out against the option of using the vernacular to read the prophetic readings of the Easter Vigil, on the grounds that this would set a serious precedent for abandoning the use of Latin during such a solemn rite [20]. What prompted Fr Albareda to adopt this position was that permitting the use of the vernacular at certain points during this vigil would contribute to the abandonment of Latin in the Church's official worship. Subsequently, in February 1959, at the request of the German episcopate, the commission reversed its position and permitted the Passion narrative and the four readings of the Easter Vigil to be read in the vernacular [21].

In his encyclical **Musicae sacra disciplina** of 25 December 1955, Pope Pius XII, in order to emphasise the universal character of the Roman liturgy and the opportunity for Catholics throughout the world to experience the comforting sense of the unity of the Church, insisted that Gregorian chant should always be set to the Latin words of the liturgy [22]. At the same time, the Pope authorised the singing of hymns in the vernacular during non-solemn Masses to enable the faithful to participate in the Holy Sacrifice by accompanying the sacred action in spirit and voice, uniting their devotion with the priest's prayers, it being clearly understood that these hymns would be suitably adapted to the various parts of the Sacrifice [23]. In his address of 22 September 1956 to the participants at the First International Congress on Pastoral Liturgy, Pius XII emphasised that, whilst the Church was seriously concerned with the active and conscious participation of the faithful in liturgical celebrations, this should not lead to the abandonment of the Latin , [no. 24].

On the eve of the Council, two further documents deserve mention: the papal letter **Jucunda laudatio** by John XXIII, dated 7 December 1961, addressed to Monsignor H. Anglés, President of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of that institute, and in which the Pope praises the efforts made by the institute to cultivate and

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[20] GIAMPIETRO, **Il Card Ferdinando Antonelli…*,* 299.

[21] GIAMPIETRO, *Il Card Ferdinando Antonelli…,* 379.

[22] PIUS XII, **Musicae sacra disciplina**, n. 1192.

[23] PIUS XII, **Musicae sacra disciplina**, n. 1201.

[24] "It would, however, be superfluous to reiterate that the Church has serious reasons for firmly maintaining, in the Latin rite, the unconditional obligation for the celebrating priest to use the Latin language and, likewise, when Gregorian chant accompanies the Holy Sacrifice, that this be done in the language of the Church.", in: AAS 48, 1956, 725; cf. also: HERING, *Pius XII and the Liturgy*, 6; VAGAGGINI, *The Theological Meaning of the Liturgy*, 791.

defending Latin in the liturgy e [25]; and the Apostolic Constitution *Veterum sapientia*, signed by John XXIII on 22 February 1962, devoted to the study of Latin. In this document, the Latin language is presented as the universal and unchanging means by which the Church communicates its teachings, and the Pope reaffirms the need to preserve it in sacred rites , s[26]. These two documents must be considered in the light of the increasingly strong pressure, since the early 1950s, in favour of the use of the vernacular in the liturgy, particularly as they ran counter to the initiatives presented to the CLP.

The CLP, which was chaired by Cardinal Gaetano Cicognani and whose secretary was Annibale Bugnini, was largely dominated by members of the liturgical movemen que [27]. On Cardinal Cicognani's death, his role was taken over by Cardinal Arcadio Larraona. The commission's work was divided amongst thirteen sub-commissions. For the purposes of this study, those of greatest interest to us are the Sub-commission on the Participation of the Faithful in the Divine Liturgy, the Sub-commission on the Use of Latin and the Sub-commission on Sacred Music. In the first, the main stumbling block was whether participation should be based on the common priesthood of the faithful or on the ecclesial nature of the liturgi e[28]. The work of the second sub-commission proved difficult due to the controversies sparked by proposals aimed at increasing the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. Ultimately, the proposal included in the draft presented to the CPC established the general principle that "the use of Latin in the Western liturgy must absolutely be maintained." However, at the same time, this principle was seriously undermined insofar as it was added that the use of the vernacular was often very beneficial to the faithful, and that the episcopal conferences were given the option of introducing the vernacular with the permission of the Holy See , para. [29].

Although the Eastern Churches have different traditions and customs regarding the participation of the laity in the liturgy and the use of liturgical languages, it is worth examining the discussions that took place at the CPC concerning the use of vernacular languages

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[25] "In the solemn liturgy, both in the most illustrious basilicas and in the humblest country churches, Latin must always retain its royal sceptre and its noble sovereignty." AAS 53, 196, 812.

[26] AAS 54, 1962, 129–135. Cf. R. AMERIO, *Iota Unum – A Study of Changes in the Catholic Church in the 20th Century*, Sarto House: Kansas, 1996, 55–60.

[27] Among the members of this commission, the following are particularly noteworthy: C. Vagaggini, B. Capelle, B. Botte, A. Chavasse, P. Journel, G. Martimort and J. Jungmann, and P.-M. Gy; see J. A. KOMONCHAK, "The Struggle for the Council During the Preparation for Vatican II (1960–1962)", in: G. ALBERIGO (ed.), *History of Vatican II, vol. I: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II – Toward a New Era in Catholicism*, Orbis: Maryknoll 1995, 206–207; see also BUGNINI, *The Reform of the Liturgy*..., 14–16.

[28] KOMONCHAK, "The Struggle for the Council…", 207.

[29] *Acta et documenta*..., 38.

in the celebration of their liturgies. Generally speaking, it was considered at the time that the linguistic practices of the Eastern Churches could have a significant impact on the ongoing discussions regarding the introduction of vernacular languages into the Latin litur ne [30]. Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini pointed out that this matter required careful consideration, not only because it concerned the participation of the faithful but also, and primarily, because it was a question of preserving the integrity of the faith. He also emphasised that the proliferation of liturgical languages would lead to divisions and the rise of nationalism e [31]. Cardinal Jullien strongly urged caution on this matter, given the likely impact that this provision for the Eastern Churches would have on the question of the use of Latin in the Latin Church. "Otherwise," he remarked, "the Latins might say: 'If it is yes for them and for those, why not for us too ?[32]" Fr. Michael Browne, Master General of the Dominicans, feared that if, in the Schema on the Eastern Churches, the existing differences within the Eastern Church were praised, this might encourage some to likewise praise the differences within the Latin Church ne[33]; which was a way of alluding to the proposal to introduce different vernacular languages into the Latin Church. Cardinal Paolo Marrella supported Cardinal Ruffini's position and emphasised that he saw absolutely no point in translating the liturgical books of the Latin Church into vernacular languages , no. [34]. Several other members of this commission, such as Cardinals Siri, Godfrey, Richaud and Roberti, and Monsignors Lefebvre, Bazin and Ngô-Dinh-Thûc, as well as the Reverend Father Gut, agreed with Monsignor Jullien. Finally, it should be noted that, contrary to those who consider that, in the Eastern Churches, languages should not be mi , p. [35], His Beatitude Paul II Chiekho, Babylonian Patriarch of Baghdad, emphasised that the essential parts of the Mass, such as the words of consecration in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, should be pronounced in the liturgical language. This should also apply to the prayers recited under one's breath by the celeb nt[36].

When presenting the guiding principles used by the CLP in its work, the Cardinal

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[30] In December 1959, the bishops of the United States were informed by the Apostolic Delegate, acting on instructions from the Holy See, that priests of the Eastern Rite in their dioceses were to cease using English in the liturgy entirely. The Delegate gave the following reason: "But they must avoid causing confusion by introducing the vernacular into the Mass, for in doing so they provide those who advocate the abandonment of Latin in the sacred liturgy with an opportunity to cite as an example and a precedent what Eastern priests do in their own countries." – quoted in KOMONCHAK, "The Struggle for the Council…", 216.

31 Acta et documenta..., S. II, V. II, P. II, 251.

[32] *Acta et documenta...,* 251.

[33] *Acta et documenta...,* 251.

[34] *Acta et documenta...,* Series II, Volume II, Part II, 255.

[35] KOMONCHAK, "The Struggle for the Council…", 216–217.

[36] **Acta et documenta...***, S. II, V. II, P. II, 257.

Larraona stated that members of the clergy should be imbued with an ever-stronger liturgical spirit so that they might pass on this spirit and this knowledge to the faithful. The faithful should participate more fully in the liturgy, in accordance with two principles: firstly, to preserve the hierarchical nature of the liturgy, as taught *in *Mediator Dei**; and, secondly, to highlight the pastoral character of the liturgy so that the participation of the People of God in the living source of the Christian spirit might be deepened and their piety increased –[37]. In explaining the Schema he was presenting, the Cardinal emphasised the inner dispositions the faithful should possess in order to benefit from the sources of grace opened up by the liturgy. In the celebrations of the liturgical year, the faithful must correspond inwardly to what they do outwardly, for this is the only way for them to receive its full benefits , para. [38]. He pointed out that one of the main objectives of the Schema was to increase the active and conscious participation of the faithful in the sacred rites. For this reason, one of the principal duties of pastors was to make the liturgy as comprehensible as possible to the faithful and, consequently, it was necessary to avoid, in the liturgy, anything that might be obscure to them , [39]. Given the communal and hierarchical nature of the liturgy, it was important to emphasise the dynamic participation in the liturgy that everyone should have, so as to prevent anyone from being a silent and passive spectator, and so that all might actively take part in the sacred action with mind, heart and body.

The effort to inculturate the liturgy is very closely linked to the concern for the participation of the faithful; thus the Cardinal pointed out that the Schema sought to introduce into the liturgy all that is noble and worthy of value in a particular culture, without this necessarily being linked to superstitions and without wishing to encourage errors. Such adaptations should only be introduced with the express permission of the Holy See ge [40]. As we have seen previously, the text concerning the use of Latin contained restrictions; however, it should be noted that, in commenting on this section of the Schema, Cardinal Larraona emphasised that the teachings of *Veterum sapientia* were to be confirmed and upheld, and in particular the Pope's injunction against those who attacked the use of Latin , no. [41]. In presenting Chapter II of the Schema concerning the Most Holy Mystery of the Eucharist, Cardinal Larraona stated that it was the Church's desire that the faithful should gain a better understanding of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and that they should participate in the liturgy in a more active and conscious manner. He pointed out that recent liturgical studies and congresses had clearly demonstrated the communal nature of the Mass. In the celebration of the Eucharist,

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[37] **Acta et documenta...**, Series II, Volume II, Part II, 49.

[38] *Acta et documenta...,* 51.

[39] *Acta et documenta...*, S. II, V. II, P. II, 52.

[40] *Acta et documenta...,* 53.

[41] *Acta et documenta...,* Vol. II, Part II, Section II, 63.

The whole family of God is called to gather round the Aut , p. 142. In his explanations regarding the inclusion of ‘communal prayer’, or ‘prayer of the faithful’, he pointed out that this prayer would strengthen the spirit of communal participation amongst all those attending Mass. He proposed that the vernacular be used for the ‘prayer of the community’, the readings and the hymns. In presenting Chapter III of the Schema on the other sacraments and sacramentals, Cardinal Larraona clarified that the aim of the proposed changes was genuinely pastoral, that they were intended to foster a more conscious and active participation on the part of the faithful s43.

In several of his contributions, Cardinal Francis Spellman emphasised the need for the faithful to lead a more intense and fruitful liturgical life. However, he insisted that this matter be subject to careful consideration: efforts to achieve this objective must be accompanied by great circumspection and prudenc e44. He affirmed that the faithful should not be mere spectators but should participate in the sacrifice of the Mass with a proper understanding and in a conscious and active manner ve45. He emphasised that the fundamental participation of the faithful in the liturgy must be an inner one. Cardinal Spellman feared that the level of inner participation, ‘in spirit and in truth’, might often be far removed from what was expressed by outward behaviour ur46. Inner participation, he explained, should be encouraged by “appropriate liturgical formation of the clergy and the faithful [which] would lead to more intense and profound participation; otherwise, the liturgy would risk losing even its most mystical and mysterious character 47.” He also feared that experiments in liturgy might cause shock and confusion amongst the faithful, with harmful consequences. He emphasised how such experiments, rather than helping the faithful to participate more fully, could cause scandal amongst ordinary believers when they witnessed the transformation of the Church’s rites. Drawing on his experience as a military chaplain, he noted that American military personnel abroad admired the unity of the Church’s rite and language and always derived great benefit from i ge 48. He called for Latin to be retained in the Mass, citing in this regard several important passages from the Apostolic Constitution **Veterum sapientia** published by John XXIII shortly befor nt49. Cardinal Spellman criticised those who wished to reduce the

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42 **Acta et documenta...*,* 111.

43 *Acta et documenta...,* 286

44 *Acta et documenta...*, S. II, V. II, P. II, 65, 116, 294.

45 *Acta et documenta...,* 116.

46 *Acta et documenta...,* Vol. II, Part II, p. 65.

47 *Acta et documenta...,* 66.

48 *Acta et documenta...*, Vol. II, Part II, Section II, 67.

49 **Acta et documenta...*,* 67.

expressions of reverence during Mass – the sign of the cross, kissing the altar, genuflections and bows – wondering whether these innovations would be to the benefit of the faithful. He feared that simplifying the formula used for the distribution of the Holy Eucharist might have the effect of diminishing the reverence due to it [50]. Spellman also pointed out that the principle of increasing the number of biblical readings during Mass could not be disputed; he feared, however, that this might reduce the time devoted to the homily and prolong the Mass, which would make it more difficult to attend and would thus run counter to the daily participation of those who work [51].

Cardinal Giuseppe Siri emphasised that no changes should be made to the liturgy unless done with great caution and for obvious reasons, and he feared that, if changes were made to the liturgy that the faithful could not understand, this would have harmful consequences [52].

In his comments on the first chapter of the Schema, Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini emphasised that too much freedom was being granted to the episcopal conferences regarding inculturation, the liturgical language and the universal prayer. In his view, this freedom could lead to serious confusion and grave discrimination that would shock the faithful , p. [53]. As regards the proposals made in the Schema concerning the Most Holy Mystery of the Eucharist, he strongly opposed those relating to the reduction of prayers at the foot of the altar, the reception of the Eucharist under both species and concelebration, emphasising that all these proposals would cause scandal amongst the faithful p. [54]. Cardinal G.T. Heard expressed identical concern , p. [55].

Cardinal Paul Léger expressed a desire to strengthen the interior participation of the faithful, and proposed an amendment which, in the Schema, was intended to emphasise the importance of this concept. With regard to liturgical language, he welcomed the introduction of the vernacular and proposed that the rule contained in the Schema concerning the use of Latin be relaxed [56]. He urged that those parts of the Mass intended for the instruction of the faithful, as well as the prayers belonging to them, should all be in the vernacular [57].

Cardinal Julius Döpfner spoke in favour of the use of vernacular languages

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[50] *Acta et documenta...*, S. II, V. II, P. II, 117.

[51] *Acta et documenta...,* 117.

[52] *Acta et documenta...*, S. II, V. II, P. II, 69–70.

[53] *Acta et documenta...*, Series II, Volume II, Part II, 68.

[54] *Acta et documenta...,* 119.

[55] *Acta et documenta...,* 140.

[56] *Acta et documenta...,* 70–71.

[57] *Acta et documenta...,* 131–132.

within certain clearly defined limits, in order to foster a more fruitful participation of the faithful in the liturgy. At the same time, he upheld the need to preserve Latin, in view of the centuries-old traditions of the Western Church. He therefore proposed that, as a basic principle, Latin should be retained as the primary liturgical language and that the vernacular should be used when required for the salvation of souls and the active participation of the faithful. He would limit the use of the vernacular to the readings from Scripture, the prayers offered by the faithful and the hymns. He pointed out that it was possible to preserve the unity of the Latin Church through the vital and active participation of the faithful , p. [58]. As regards changes to the rites of the Mass, their aim, in his view, should be to improve understanding of the liturgy and to make participation more active. He also pointed out that the reception of the Eucharist under both kinds by the laity would intensify their active participation in the liturgy whilst increasing their devotion to the Precious Blood, but he urged that prudence be exercised in this initi , p. [59].

Cardinal Bernard Alfrink praised the proposal submitted by the CLP regarding the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. In his view, it was necessary to introduce it, particularly for the readings, the announcements and certain prayers and hymns. He also defended the bishops who wished to introduce the vernacular into the liturgy, clearly expressing his opposition to **Veterum sapienti* * [a60].

Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani took a clear stand and voted against Chapter II of the Schema on the Most Holy Mystery of the Eucharist. He pointed out that these proposals were of a revolutionary nature that would shock the faithful. The Cardinal emphasised that the liturgy is addressed to the people and not to scholars. As regards the vernacular, he could accept its introduction into the instructional parts of the Mass, but he requested that Latin be used from the Offertory to the Communion [on61]. These views were supported by Cardinals Mica [ra62], Spellma [n63],

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[58] **Acta et documenta...**, Series II, Volume II, Part II, pp. 72–74 and 123–124.

[59] **Acta et documenta*...,* 123–124.

[60] **Acta et documenta*...,* 75–76.

[61] *Acta et documenta...*, Series II, Volume II, Part II, 125.

[62] **Acta et documenta*...,* 129.

[63] **Acta et documenta*...,* 133.

Copello [64], Ruffini [65], and Heard [66], and by Bishops Antezana and Rojas [67], Beras [68], Lefebvre [69] and Rakotomalala [70].

Cardinal Achille Liénart championed the changes, arguing that they were proposed by bishops who advocated them not for the sake of change but for the spiritual well-being of their flocks. He emphasised that it was not enough to say: 'Educate your faithful well and they will surely come to love the liturgy.' In his view, experience showed that the more the faithful were educated in liturgical matters, the more they aspired to participate actively in liturgical ceremonies. In his view, bishops who had sought to renew the liturgical meaning in their dioceses could attest to an intensification of theological life amongst the faithful, as well as to a growth in community spirit and zeal for the apostolate, p. [71].

Cardinal Carlo Confalonieri, after emphasising that the guiding principle must be the pastoral good of the faithful, pointed out that the people should be led to rediscover the liturgy. In this regard, on the one hand, the use of Latin should be preserved as far as possible; on the other hand, the faithful should pray whilst understanding what they are praying, and thus be able to participate in the sacred rites [72].

Archbishop F. Seper upheld the principle that Latin should be retained as the liturgical language of the Western Church. In this regard, he pointed out that this is one of the signs of the unity of the faith. He also mentioned the problems posed by the constant evolution of modern languages. At the same time, he declared himself in favour of the use of vernacular languages for the readings from Scripture, the Collect, the prayer after Communion and the hymns that the faithful might sing, p. [73].

In his brief address, Cardinal Pizzardo stated that the possibility of using the vernacular in the liturgy should be neither extended nor left undefined, and that it should not conflict with the principle that Latin should be fully retained as the liturgical language of the Western Church. He admitted, however, that exceptions to this principle

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64 **Acta et documenta...**, 132.

65 *Acta et documenta...,* 133.

66 *Acta et documenta...,* 140.

67 *Acta et documenta...,* 141.

68 *Acta et documenta...,* 141.

69 *Acta et documenta...,* 142.

70 **Acta et documenta...**, 143.

71 *Acta et documenta...,* Series II, Volume II, Part II, 293.

72 *Acta et documenta...,* 137

73 *Acta et documenta...,* 178–79.

might be granted by the Holy See [ge] 74. Cardinal McGuigan emphasised the importance of retaining Latin and, in this regard, expressed his opposition to the granting of faculties to episcopal conferences, in order to avoid any confusion [75]. Cardinal William Godfrey concurred with the remarks made by Cardinals Spellman, Ruffini and Ottaviani regarding the first chapter of the Schema. He spoke out strongly in favour of retaining Latin in the liturgy and condemned those who wished to remove Latin from the Western liturgy [e76]. Cardinal J. D'Alton emphasised the importance of the principle that "the visible unity of the Catholic Church is manifested chiefly in the visible uniformity of its worship "[77]. In his view, there were two values that must be carefully preserved: the richness of local culture and the visible unity of the universal Church. Consequently, it should be the sole prerogative of the Holy See to make adaptations to the rites of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and other acts of worship. He further proposed that the Council should solemnly prohibit the use of the vernacular in the Offertory, the Preface and the Canon of the Mass, and in the formulae of the sacrament [s78]. Cardinal Fernando Quiroga y Palacios emphasised the need to maintain the use of Latin. He pointed out that, should the use of the vernacular appear necessary in any diocese, this should always be done with the involvement of the Holy See in order to preserve the unity of the Church , [p. 79].

Cardinal Giovanni Battista Montini became a staunch advocate of the use of the vernacular and had a study supporting this position included in the *Acta*. In this document, he emphasised the pastoral urgency of such use, so that the faithful might participate fully and be instructed during ceremonies. Cardinal Montini stated that language is not part of the essence of religion, but at the same time he pointed out that a single language is a sign of unity and an effective means of presenting the truth accurately. He therefore proposed that the Introit, the Collect, the Epistle, the Gospel, the *Creed*, the Offertory Antiphon and the Lord's Prayer should be recited in the vernacular. At the same time, he accepted that the use of Latin should be retained from the Preface right up to and including Communion. He also proposed that the vernacular be used for the sacraments and sacramenta [ux80].

Cardinal Franziscus König pointed out that the Schema elaborated on what was found in

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74 **Acta et documenta...*,* 80.

75 **Acta et documenta...*,* 116.

76 **Acta et documenta...*,* S. II, V. II, P. II, 91.

77 **Acta et documenta...*,* 82.

78 **Acta et documenta...*,* S. II, V. II, P. II, 133.

79 **Acta et documenta...*,* 83.

80 *Acta et documenta...,* S. II, V. II, P. II, 84–86. The document submitted by Cardinal Montini merits in-depth study, as in many respects it foreshadows the statements he would later make once elected Pope. Unfortunately, such an analysis is beyond the scope of this paper.

essence in the encyclical **Mediator Dei**. He explained how this *Schemata* aimed to increase effective participation, reduce ignorance, preserve the purity of the faith and maintain the unity of the Latin Church without affecting the principle of preserving the *lati * [n81].

Several members of the commission who were in favour of the use of vernacular languages in the liturgy emphasised the value that this change would have in mission countries. However, in this regard, it is worth mentioning the contribution of Archbishop T. B. Cooray of Colombo: he highlighted the difficulty faced in mission countries where multiple languages are spoken, which raises the problem of choosing a single language to the exclusion of other languages used in the same region. He also pointed out that, in certain languages, it is difficult to find appropriate expressions for the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals. In his view, many difficulties could be avoided if ordained ministers were able to explain the ceremonies in the vernacular. As regards the sacrificial parts of the Mass, he insisted that only Latin should be used . [82]. On the subject of inculturation, Archbishop Ngô-Dinh-Thûc of Saigon criticised the presumption of so-called experts who were quick to assert that a particular style of architecture or music would encourage conversions. He pointed out that restricting oneself to a single style of music or architecture was characteristic of idol worship.

Conclusions

1. Conscious participation

Some have presented a caricatured image of the liturgy as it was celebrated before the Second Vatican Council, saying, for example, that it consisted of "celebrations for vast, passive congregations at which the faithful essentially 'attended' as spectato urs[83]." In reality, as we have seen, the Church has never condoned such a state of affairs; she has always endeavoured to involve the faithful in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass with piety and devotion, lifting up their minds and hearts in adoration before the Real Presence of Christ in the Eucharist. Most of those who spoke at the CPC affirmed the fundamental importance of the faithful's interior participation in the liturgy. In order to improve this participation, several members of the commission emphasised that, by understanding the liturgy better, the faithful would participate in it more actively and consciously. To this end, three measures were proposed: 1) changes to the liturgy to

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81 **Acta et documenta...*,* 93.

82 *Acta et documenta...,* 98. This concern was shared by Archbishop Bazin of Rangoon. Cf. *Acta et documenta…,* 100.

83 L. MALDONADO, "Liturgy as Communal Enterprise", in: G. ALBERIGO, J.-P. JOSSUA and J. A. KOMONCHAK (eds.), *The Reception of Vatican II*, The Catholic University of America Press: Washington D.C., 1987, 310.

encouraging participation; 2) the use of the vernacular; 3) better formation of the clergy and the faithful in the liturgy.

2. Changes to the liturgy to encourage participation

The main reason put forward to justify the proposed liturgical reforms was the need to make the liturgy more intelligible in order to foster, as a result, greater participation by the faithful. However, many participants in the commission's discussions were not convinced that the proposed changes would genuinely benefit the faithful. Some also feared that they might cause confusion, shock and scandal amongst the faithful. Here, two types of scenario were envisaged: firstly, the shock that the changes themselves might cause; secondly, the confusion into which the faithful would be plunged upon seeing Mass and other sacred rites celebrated in different ways from one country to another, given the freedom that would be granted to the episcopal conferences.

The Schema proposed that the various episcopal conferences should be authorised to introduce adaptations to the liturgy in order to incorporate liturgical elements from a particular national culture. In this regard, several members of the commission pointed out that the uniformity of the liturgy was a sign of the Church's unity and universality.

3. The language of the liturgy

Several members of the commission regarded the use of the vernacular in the liturgy as a means of deepening the conscious participation of the faithful. That said, the first point to note in this regard is that not a single member of the commission proposed the abolition of Latin in the liturgy. Even the most ardent advocates of introducing the vernacular limited its use to the didactic parts of the Mass, the hymns and the communal prayers, and few of them proposed that it should be used for the prayers of the Mass. Still on the subject of vernacular languages, it was pointed out that dogma is expressed in linguistic formulas and that this always poses problems of translation.

4. Better liturgical formation for the clergy and the faithful

In the view of some members of the commission, this improvement in the liturgical formation of the clergy and the faithful should lead to more active external participation in the liturgy, which, in the long term, would foster a more intense internal participation. However, as one of them pointed out, more active external participation does not necessarily imply that it is truly indicative of a more intense internal participation.