

DARE TO PRAY, DARE TO BE CHURCH: THE IMPACT
OF LITURGY ON ECCLESIOLOGY SINCE VATICAN II

A dissertation submitted to the Caspersen School of Graduate Studies
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Joseph Gus Farias
Drew University
Madison, New Jersey
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ABSTRACT

Dare to Pray, Dare to Be Church: The Impact of Liturgy on Ecclesiology Since Vatican II

Doctor of Letters Dissertation by

Joseph G. Farias

The Caspersen School of Graduate Studies
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“If the Church alone makes the Eucharist, it is also true that the Eucharist makes the Church” appeared as a footnote in a preliminary draft that resulted in Vatican II’s Constitution on the Church. This statement, influenced by Henri de Lubac echoes the maxim of Prosper of Aquitaine, “*ut legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi.*” “*Lex orandi, lex credendi*” teaches that the manner of prayer constitutes the manner of belief.

Lex orandi, lex credendi is the foundational principal of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, the first debated conciliar. Sacrosanctum Concilium offered an ecclesiological framework to the Council as a Church of Prayer. Using the Constitution and the ecclesiology that permeates the Rite of Initiation of Adults, this study shows the influence of Sacrosanctum Concilium and the RCIA on the other Conciliar documents and the Church during its post-conciliar reform.

Debate over the Liturgy increased since the Fortieth anniversary of the Council. In addition to these discussions, there was a restructuring of liturgy and its text translations; permission was granted for a more extensive use of the 1962 Missal and its companion Ritual. A cry for a “Reform of the Reform” arose and adult initiations have dwindled in the last fifteen years, according to a U.S. survey. Very often, instruction replaced formation in the RCIA process. These liturgical changes also had an effect on ecclesiology, evidence, again of *Lex orandi, lex credendi*.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

As Joseph Ratzinger wrote at the time, the bishops at Vatican II “had taken a giant step beyond being a mere sounding board for propaganda,” to become, as an “independent body of bishops,” a force that the papal Curia had to reckon with. And perhaps nowhere was this giant step more evident than in the vexed issue of liturgical reform. Within the church as it was experienced “from below” by Catholics of the so-called Latin Rite, the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council would be particularly unexpected.

*Ludwig Hertling, a Jesuit historian at the Gregorian . . . emphasized the central role of the concept of *communio* in the early church, depicting the church not as a pyramidal structure, but rather as a large circle containing many smaller circles, the local churches presided over by bishops. The Church of Rome was at the center of a web of communion, a sacramental relationship uniting all the churches. Hertling’s lectures drew me into reading the *Didache*,¹ the letters of Ignatius,² Irenaeus,³ and many other patristic sources that revealed how differently the organizational structures of the early church had functioned from those of the second millennium. This attempt to reclaim a long-neglected patristic inheritance found expression both in the council’s Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy and in the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, both of which reflect Vatican II’s revival of the ancient understanding that the Catholic or universal church is actualized in and through the community of a particular locale, especially when assembled in prayer.⁴*

On January 25, 1959, just three months after his election, Pope John XXIII astonished a group of seventeen cardinals, and the world. He was convoking a world-wide council. In his announcement, his two goals seemed rather vague. He proposed the Council for “the enlightenment, edification and joy of all Christian people,” and for “a

¹ “The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” an early Church document dating to the first century by most scholars. Sections deal with Church organization, initiation and Christian way of life.

² Ignatius, ca.35–107, Bishop of Antioch. His early writings on the relations of Bishops and the Church remain important today.

³ Irenaeus, ca.130-200, Bishop of Lyons, considered the first great Catholic theologian.

⁴ Reflections of Bernard Prusak of his experience of Vatican II while studying at the Pontifical Gregorian University. Prusak was the high school religion teacher of the writer of this study and is presently teaching at Villanova University, Philadelphia. Bernard P. Prusak, “Turning Point: A Theologian Remembers the Council,” *Commonweal* 39.16 (2012): 20-25.

renewed invitation to the faithful of the separated communities, that they may participate with us in this search for unity and grace to which so many souls aspire in all parts of the earth.”¹

Much has been written in the last decade about the Second Vatican Council, and the first Conciliar document, the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (SC). The fortieth and subsequent fiftieth anniversaries of the opening of the Council and its Closing prompted this surge of attention. The anniversaries of the Council’s premier document, the Liturgy Constitution, and the other important Conciliar texts also achieved attention from both their supporters and their critics.

One creation of the Liturgy Constitution was the Roman Missal of 1970,² ordinarily known as the *Missal of Paul VI*. This composition, along with its slight revision in 1975, was accomplished by twelve study groups of theologians, pastors and other experts.³ However, the work was not without difficulty. During the years after the Council, the dissenting traditional minority, which stood against the liturgical reform continued to reject the decisions of the Council and the work of the study groups (i.e. Consilium). Tito Casino slandered the work of the Consilium and its leader, Cardinal Lercaro, with a book, *La tunica stracciata: Lettera di un cattolico sulla ‘Riforma liturgica’* (The shredded Tunic: A Letter from a Catholic on the Liturgical Reform).⁴ In 1969, Cardinal Ottaviani, the former Secretary of State, and Cardinal Bacci sent a letter to Pope Paul VI,

¹ Allocuzione con la quale il Sommo Pontefice annuncia il Sinodo Romano, il Concilio Ecumenico e l'aggiornamento del Codice di Diritto Canonico (25 gennaio 1959), Italian. http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1959/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19590125_annuncio.html

² Revision of the Liturgical Books was mandated at Vatican II in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, art.25.

³ Cf. Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948-1975)* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990).

⁴ Archbishop Piero Marini, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007), 137.

saying that “the New Order of Mass . . . represents . . . an alarming divergence from the Catholic theology of the Holy Mass.”⁵ These two Cardinals had been part of a Study Group with Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre⁶ that criticized the work of the Consilium and denounced the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. They went as far as stating that the new Missal was a departure from Catholic theology of the Eucharist.

Pope John Paul II published a third edition of the Roman Missal in 2002. He promulgated the Missal with significant changes and a more conservative interpretation of the Conciliar reform. Its official English edition was published in 2010. The appearance of this Missal created much controversy, this time by the supporters of the liturgical reform of Vatican II. The English translation was almost a literal rendering of the Latin text, with its classic syntax and subordinate clauses. Many prayers had exceptionally long sentences, with technical and archaic ecclesiastical vocabulary.

John Paul II had also issued an Apostolic Letter, *Ecclesia Dei* in 1992⁷ that gave bishops the right to allow the use of the pre-Vatican II Missal of 1962 in certain circumstances. In 2007, Pope Benedict XVI issued an Apostolic Letter, *Summorum Pontificum*⁸, which extended the use of this pre-conciliar Missal much more widely. The Pope also granted permission for priests to celebrate the other sacraments and rites contained in the Roman Ritual that was in use before 1970. By ways of this papal document, the use of the pre-conciliar Missal and Ritual was designated an official “extraordinary form” of the Catholic liturgy.

⁵ Ibid., p.143.

⁶ Lefebvre was later excommunicated for ordaining illegal bishops for his Pius X Society.

⁷ Pope John Paul II, “Apostolic Letter ‘Ecclesia Dei’ Given Motu Proprio.” (1988): http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_jp-ii_motu-proprio_02071988_ecclesia-dei.html.

⁸ Pope Benedict XVI, “Summorum Pontificum, on the Use of the Roman Liturgy Prior to the Reform of 1970, Apostolic Letter Given Motu Proprio.” (2007): http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_ben-xvi_motu-proprio_20070707_summorum-pontificum.html.

The anniversaries of the Council and these later papal actions strengthened the “traditional minority” and magnified the debate between themselves and those who supported the early liturgical work of the Consilium. With a stronger voice and seeming papal sensitivity, some instrumental Church leaders and conservative theologians called for a ‘Reform of the Reform,’ which complicated the debate. Within this discourse many have pointed to the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* as the basis for their platform and critique. This was the first document that was debated at the Council; the Council Fathers passed this Constitution by an almost unanimous vote. More importantly, this seemed to set the direction of the Council and much of the theology found in the other documents, especially the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church and the Pastoral Constitution on the Church.⁹ The effect of this first document is rarely disputed either by the Council’s supporters or its detractors.

Another important factor in this debate centers around a well known maxim of Prosper of Aquitaine,¹⁰ *Lex orandi, Lex credendi*, the law of prayer constitutes the law of belief; in other words, our manner of worship establishes our manner of believing, or liturgy constitutes theology. This axiom was an integral part of SC, so it would be natural to have affected the other theological and pastoral documents of the Council. “If the Church alone makes the Eucharist, it is also true that the Eucharist makes the Church.”¹¹ This appeared in a footnote of an earlier draft of the Dogmatic Constitution

⁹ Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* [The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church], November 24, 1964. Ed. Austin Flannery, O.P., in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*. (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1987), 350-426; *Gaudium et Spes* [Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World], December 7, 1965, 903-1001.

¹⁰ A fifth-century Christian writer from the south of France who was a student of St. Augustine.

¹¹ McPartlan, Paul, “Ressourcement, Vatican II, and Eucharistic Ecclesiology, in *Ressourcement: A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology*, ed. Gabriel Flynn and Paul D. Murray, (New York: Oxford University Press Online, 2012), accessed April 10, 2017, DOI:10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199552870.003.0026:1.

on the Church. It is an indication of the importance of a Eucharistic Theology in the Church. It also affirms the axiom, *Lex orandi, lex credendi*—the way the Church prays constitutes the Church’s beliefs.

In recent studies of the Council, some scholars, notably Massimo Faggioli, Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak, recognize the importance of this maxim, and have show how this premier liturgical Constitution of the Second Vatican Council impacted the other Council documents.

This study is an attempt to demonstrate that the axiom, “*lex orandi, lex credendi*” was instrumental in establishing the ecclesiology or “theology of Church” at the Council and in the post–conciliar years. Likewise, the liturgical changes during the last twenty years—the attempts to curb the liturgical reform, the “Latinizing of the vernacular,” the promotion of the pre-conciliar liturgy and similar measures, the stress of catechetics over formation—all had a similar impact on ecclesiology.

The Reform of the Reform Movement” and affiliated attempts have affected Church life, locally and globally. The intentions, which produced the latest edition of the Roman Missal and subsequent liturgical books have influenced the theology of Church for Latin (Western) Catholics considerably.

The Eucharist has often been used to study the condition or development of theology within the parameters of the liturgical experience. This paper will assess the impact of liturgy on ecclesiology at the time of the Council and its implementation, using the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA). As it will be explained in this work, Aidan Kavanagh, a liturgist and scholar of the RCIA believed this rite could have a larger impact on the life of the Church than most people would have imagined. At the time the

adult catechumenate began to reappear in parts of the world, those regions were still unknown to most of the Church. The impact of the catechumenate was much more than the formation new Christians. The missionaries and the adult catechumenate formed a Church that continues to live, for some, more than three centuries.

This study will attempt to show how the liturgical changes over the last twenty years and the cry for a “Reform of the Reform” was much more than a liturgical reassessment. It was also a reorienting or re-positioning of ecclesiology with implications of Church life much more aligned to a pre-conciliar time. These changes will become evident by exploring their development over the last two and one-half decades and display how the inversion of *lex orandi*, *lex credendi* was used and abused during this conversion. Liturgy was altered to accommodate a determined theology.

There is a new piece to the ongoing conversation about the Church in this post-conciliar time and that factor is called Pope Francis. In January 2017, *Commonweal* reported that Pope Francis ordered a review of the document, “*Liturgiam Authenticam*,”¹² which changed the parameters and the process for translating liturgical texts. It also removed a large amount of the translation responsibility from bishops’ conferences and transferred it to the central Vatican offices.

The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults presumes a vibrant Christian community and promises to build up the Christian community. When preparing someone for initiation, an important question is, “Into what kind of Church is this person initiated?” The RCIA can be successful only when it is celebrated in a community that had adopted and lives the vision of the Rite, the vision of Vatican II.

¹² Rita Ferrone. “Reform of the Reform: Rome Revisits ‘*Liturgiam Authenticam*’.” *Commonweal* (2017), accessed April 4, 2017, <https://www.commonwealmagazine.org/reform-reform-0>.

The initiation of catechumens is a gradual process that takes place within the community of the faithful. By joining the catechumens in reflecting on the value of the paschal mystery and by renewing their own conversion, the faithful provide an example that will help the catechumens to obey the Holy Spirit more generously.¹³

Joyce Zimmerman, editor of *Liturgical Ministry*, commented on RCIA in her Editorial Notes of the Spring 2006 issue. She wrote:

When the RCIA is truly a guided process of conversion with the whole parish involved, it is truly one of the bright stars of the liturgical reform. No longer are adults individually instructed and privately sprinkled and brought into the church. They now are invited to enter a process of conversion including the care, support, and love of both the professional parish staff with the catechists and sponsors but also of the entire parish community. Indeed, parish participation in this conversion process prepares all members to renew their own baptismal promises, reminding all of us that baptism isn't a once-and-over brief ceremony but is a lifelong commitment to grow more deeply into the light of risen life.¹⁴

However, reports have shown an almost fifty percent reduction of adult initiations in the last fifteen years. Some analyses attribute this decline to the change in liturgy and ecclesiology since the pontificate of Benedict XVI. Joyce Ann Zimmerman is connected to reports that many adult initiates are no longer “practicing Catholics just a few years after their baptism.”¹⁵ She speculates that it may be due to too many RCIA *programs* rather than *conversion processes*—what she calls “the worst of renewal.” If that is correct, then the initiate suffers and the Church suffers.

The direction of Pope Francis has altered the environment the atmosphere in the Vatican and in the global Church. This includes the area of liturgy. His “group of eight” advisory panel was formed as a move toward further dialogue with the governing Curia

4. ¹³ Roman Ritual, *Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1988), art.

¹⁴ Joyce Ann Zimmerman, “Editor Notes,” *Liturgical Ministry* 15 (Spring 2006): 117.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

and the Church around the world.¹⁶ He has appointed cardinals from parts of the world that have done unnoticed.¹⁷ Papal liturgy have reflected the “noble simplicity” promoted by the Liturgy Constitution.¹⁸ The announcement to review “*Liturgiam Authenticam*” shows his pastoral sensitivity in the area of liturgy. It also displays his commitment to episcopal responsibility and collegiality. This was also evident at the gathering and the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops on the Family. Bishops’ Synods have progressively moved to the domain of the pope since the Council. The pope chooses the topics for discussion and even the amount of time each speaker is permitted. Finally, the summaries and reports of the bishops are written and published by the pope.¹⁹ Despite tension that existed at the meetings and among the hierarchy who were not present, the pope listened to both the laity and the Bishops in that same spirit of collegiality.²⁰

The authority of the Second Vatican Council can never be ignored. However, its interpretation is significant, and as history and the news indicate, papal personality is often a key element. In the spirit of Pope John XXIII, Pope Francis has “opened the window” to focus on liturgical reform once again, with the consequence of attending to the ecclesiology of the Church—*Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi*.

¹⁶ Cf. <http://www.nytimes.com/2013/04/14/world/europe/pope-francis-names-advisory-panel-at-vatican.html>.

¹⁷ Cf. <https://www.wsj.com/articles/pope-names-15-new-cardinals-1420373306>.

¹⁸ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 34. “The rites should be distinguished by a noble simplicity. They should be short, clear, and free from useless repetitions. They should be within the people’s powers of comprehension, and normally should not require much explanation.”

¹⁹ Gregory Baum, “The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II.” *Historical Studies* 77 (2011): 12

²⁰ Cf. <http://www.catholicnewsagency.com/news/pope-francis-says-media-missed-the-real-family-crisis-in-coverage-of-communion-and-divorce-47379/>.

CHAPTER 2: WE PRAY AND BELIEVE

It is madness to wear ladies' straw hats and velvet hats to church; we should all be wearing crash helmets. Ushers should issue life preservers and signal flares; they should lash us to our pews. For the sleeping god may wake someday and take offense, or the waking god may draw us out to where we can never return.

The eighteenth-century Hasidic Jews had more sense, and more belief. One Hasidic slaughterer, whose work required invoking the Lord, bade a tearful farewell to his wife and children every morning before he set out for the slaughterhouse. He felt, every morning, that he would never see any of them again. For every day, as he himself stood with his knife in his hand, the words of his prayer carried him into danger. After he called on God, God might notice and destroy him before he had time to utter the rest, "Have mercy."

Teaching a Stone to Talk¹

With hundreds of thousands of young people from around the world looking on, Pope John Paul II baptized ten young people from five continents during the 1997 World Youth Day activities in Paris. The August twenty-third baptisms were part of Pope John Paul II's night-time vigil during this fifth international gathering of young Catholics. He addressed these neophytes, these new learners in the faith along with all the young disciples:

You have been called, chosen by Christ to live in the freedom of the children of God; you have been confirmed in your *baptismal* vocation by the Holy Spirit who dwells in you, in order that you may proclaim the Gospel all your lives. In *Confirmation*, you commit yourselves to using all your strength in order to make the gift, which you have received grow step by step through the reception of the sacraments, particularly the Eucharist and Penance which sustain in us the life received at Baptism.

As baptized individuals, you bear witness to Christ by your concern for a life that is upright and faithful to the Lord, maintained by means of a

¹ Annie Dillard, *Teaching a Stone to Talk: Expeditions and Encounter* (New York: Harper Collins, 1988), 40-41.

spiritual and moral struggle. Faith and moral behavior are linked. In fact, the gift received leads us to a permanent conversion, so that we might imitate Christ and be worthy of the divine promise.

The word of God transforms the lives of those who accept it, because it is the rule of faith and action. In their lives, in order to respect fundamental values, Christians also experience that suffering which can result from moral choices opposed to worldly behavior and which therefore can be heroic.

But this is the price of the life of blessed happiness with the Lord. Dear young people, this is the price of your witness. I count on your courage and fidelity.¹

These new Christians underwent the ancient ritual of rebirth into the Body of Christ, which has been the experience of every disciple of Jesus at least since Peter addressed the crowds on Pentecost, as recorded in the Book of Acts.² This once hidden ceremony ritually expounded the significance of new believers' decision to choose Christ with a great depth of faith offered to them by means of this ordeal. They would encounter symbols of darkness and light, fire and water; while sequestered, they would be challenged to choose good over evil, with words such as Adherence and Renunciation. Bathing in cleansing and refreshing springs of creation, they would take on both new clothing and a name; they would smell and enjoy the smooth sweet scent of ointment, moving from a liminal time in the dark of night and arriving with the new identity of Christian in the light of dawn.

This "awe-inspiring" rite profoundly signified the depth of one's newly acquired identity as a Christian, with the gravity of that commitment more thoroughly than any catechism or instruction. The rite teaches; the rite itself is formative. And through the

¹ Pope John Paul II, "12th World Youth Day, Address, Baptismal Vigil with Young People," Vatican Website, August 23, 1997, accessed March 23, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/travels/1997/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_23081997_vigil.html.

² Acts 2:37-43.

rite, the participant encounters God and grows in an intense understanding of the divine. One could only imagine this mystical experience — prayer at its height.

Prayer Forms from Apostolic Times

Prayer has had an integral place in a person's life well before the beginning of Christianity. As part of the Sermon on the Mount, in the Gospel according to Matthew, Jesus tells the disciples, "Pray then in this way."³ In Luke's Gospel, after Jesus himself had finished praying, the disciples asked him to teach them how to pray. He said, "When you pray, say..."⁴ In both instances, the personal prayer began and was directed to Abba. Abba is often thought to be an endearing child's nickname for a father, equivalent to 'daddy,' but it is a mistaken claim for Abba was used by children and adults alike.⁵

The prayer Jesus offered would not have been entirely foreign to the disciples when they heard it. It is stylized Jewish prayer form with an introduction, followed by petitions, and it closes with a doxology. In the first century, C.E., Judaism was diverse, and that reflected the prayer forms at the time. There was no tension among the variety of prayer forms. Therefore, the early Christians would not have experienced any conflict with inserting elements in the prayers which referred to Christ.⁶

³ Matthew 6:9 (New Revised Standard Version)

⁴ Luke 11: 1-2 (New Revised Standard Version)

⁵ In his work, *New Testament Theology* (London: SCM-Canterbury Press Ltd, 1971), the New Testament scholar, Joachim Jeremias wrote that *Abba*, the word used in the beginning of the prayer in both Gospels, referred to God in the same familial way that a child would speak to a father, as children would use papa or daddy today. This interpretation became to be known extensively. In 1988, James Barr published an article, "'Abbā' isn't 'daddy'" in *Journal of Theological Studies* 39.1 (1988, 28-47), why it would be inappropriate to translate this Aramaic title as 'Daddy.' Abba is a term used by both children and adult. Barr points out that there is no evidence of this word's Aramaic roots. However, it would not have been an infant's nickname for a father since adults also used it. Also, early translators would have used a Greek equivalency for a child's term, if this were the case (p. 38). It would seem, however, that Abba was a more familiar or colloquial term rather than a more formal address such as the Hebrew 'Adonai' (46).

⁶ Andrew B. McGowan, *Ancient Christian Worship: Early Church Practices in Social, Historical, and Theological Perspective* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016), 185.

The first and primary form of Jewish prayer was *berakah*. This prayer form began with praise and thanksgiving and was followed by petitions. When prayed corporately as a liturgical prayer, it concluded with blessing or doxology, repeating the opening and inviting an ‘Amen’ from the assembly.⁷

Another type of fixed Jewish daily prayer at the time of the apostolic church was merely known as ‘The Prayer’ or *Tefillah*. Later it became known as Semoneh ‘Esreh’ or ‘Eighteen Prayers.’⁸ These were fixed prayers and petitions, to which the prayer was allowed to include individual petitions. Even when recited within a group, it was prayed by a single person on behalf of the worshipping body.⁹ So, it follows, that the Lord’s prayer, which has spanned the centuries as the “official” prayer of Christians, with its structure of praise followed by petitions, would not have been a foreign form for the disciples of the New Testament.

Christian worship has used this form since the time of Jesus. It was a combination of praise and petition. The first and most important component was to give thanks and praise (*berakah* or *hodayah*).¹⁰ Some have separated the two Hebrew words to match the English words, linking “to praise” with *barak* and “to thank” with *hodeh* but they are also interchangeable. To bless God is to praise God; to praise God is to thank God.

Additionally, the Greek word for Eucharist is “*eucharistein*,” meaning, “to give thanks.”

Eucharist is so called because it is an action of thanksgiving to God. The Greek words *eucharistein* and *eulogein* (to praise) recall the Jewish blessings that proclaim –

⁷ Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* (London: Alcuin Club / SPCK Publishing, 1981), 12-13.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 17.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 33

especially during a meal – God’s works: creation, redemption, and sanctification.¹¹ This action of thanksgiving is apparent in the Roman Catholic Liturgy. The beginning of the Liturgy of the Eucharist begins with the dialogue, “Let us give thanks to the Lord our God,” with the response, “It is right to give God thanks and praise.” Just before this as the presider is preparing the bread and wine gifts, he prays, “Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation...”

A fourth dimension of these Hebrew and Greek praise words is a confession of faith. The one who prays stands unworthy before God, seeking forgiveness. We have evidence of confession in the Matthean account of the Lord’s prayer, “Forgive us our debts, as we also have forgiven our debtors.”¹²

The second component of early Christian prayer was remembering – the Hebrew word, *Zakar*. “to remember.”¹³ The Psalms constantly remember the goodness of God. (They also remember their own disloyalty.) Remembering in Jewish and Christian worship is not a mere recalling of something, but rather making something present in the remembering. This act of remembering can be the freedom from slavery during the Passover meal, or the saving event of the life, death and resurrection of Jesus for Christians at the Eucharistic meal. In the Roman Catholic Eucharist, as part of the institution narrative, the priest says the words of Jesus, recorded in the Gospel according

¹¹ The Vatican, *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, art. 1328, Libreria Editrice Vaticana (Morristown: Silver Burdett Ginn, 1994), 335.

¹² Matthew 6:12, NRSV.

¹³ *Zikkaron* is the noun form of *Zakar* or memorial. In the Greek is *anamnesis*. In his study of the mystery cults, the liturgical pioneer Odo Casel came to this important discovery within the Eucharist. Christ’s death and resurrection become actualized for all in the celebration of the sacrament. All are saved; all in the assembly participate in the liturgy; Susan K. Roll, “The Cornerstones of Liturgical Renewal: Sacrosanctum Concilium” in *Vatican II Facing the 21st Century: Historical and Theological Perspectives*, eds. Dermot A. and Brendan Leahy Lane (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2006) 90.

to John, “Do this as a memorial [a zikkaron] of me.” In the action, the saving event becomes present¹⁴

The third component of prayer for Christians is petition or supplication. This component is evident in the Lord’s Prayer and, as explained above, it was an element of Jewish Daily prayer, from Tefillah. In Christian liturgy, the most important supplication is the calling down of the Spirit. In Initiation, it is upon the water, in the consecration of Chrism it is a calling down of the Spirit upon the sacred oil. However, it is not solely a calling down upon elements. In Eucharist, the epiclesis, or the invoking of the Spirit, is not only upon the bread and wine but also upon the assembly. In Confirmation and Baptism, the spirit is invoked to come upon the candidates celebrating those sacraments.

For the Jews and early Christians, people regularly gathered for prayer. Jews gathered in synagogues, in homes and when possible, at the temple. A significant number of scholars have done extensive work on the antecedents of early Christian prayer and worship.¹⁵ Lawrence Johnson assembled the findings of many scholars and collected the following prayer types that affected prayer and worship since the early church.

- *Qaddish* was a prayer of praise and a petition of God’s consolation and peace. Later on, mourner’s qaddish became more prevalent. Some suggest that qaddish inspired the first two petitions of the Lord’s Prayer.¹⁶
- *Kiddush* is a domestic Sabbath rite of bread, wine, and blessing. Birkat Ha-Mazon is a daily meal blessing. Gregory Dix believed this was the pattern for the last supper

¹⁴ Max Thurian, *The Eucharistic Memorial, Part I: The Old Testament*. Vol. 7. Ecumenical Studies in Worship, ed., trans., J.G. Davies (Richmond: John Knox Press, 1968) 20-26.

¹⁵ Cf. Gregory Dix, Louis Bouyer, Joseph Jungmann, Paul Bradshaw, Lucien Deiss, Louis Ligier, William Oesterly, to name a few.

¹⁶ Lawrence J. Johnson, *Worship in the Early Church: An Anthology of Historical Sources*. Vol. 1 (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2010), 2.

and early Christian Eucharist, however, subsequent scholarship has shown that there is not enough evidence to substantiate his claim¹⁷

- The *Passover Haggadah* is the story of the Passage out of Egypt into freedom, during a meal and a good example of Zakar.¹⁸

Each of these prayer experiences is one of praise and memorial, and all are in the context of an assembly. Christian liturgy evolved from this experience. It was communal worship with designated roles. It was remembering, and this memory was centered on the salvific covenant made with God through the Jesus event. Christian liturgy centered around praise to God for the blessings of the earth, for salvation, for forgiving love, for life.

It is not within the scope of this study to pursue the evolution of assembly worship through particular liturgies. However, this concept will be raised within the context of the catechumenate later on in this study. Where and how these elements may have flourished, diminished or even disappeared will be recognizable in Chapter 5 on the history of the catechumenate. History demonstrates that the communal nature and the sharing of roles in liturgical prayer eventually disappeared. Liturgy was no longer the work of the people¹⁹ but rather the domain of the clergy. The laity took on a purely passive role and silent voice. They were recipients of whatever grace was passed down through the actions of the clergy. There had been some attempts to change this in the past, but with little success. The pre-Reformation period was a time of questioning in the Church, but unfortunately, the reaction of Church leaders to the Reformers influenced

¹⁷. Bryan D. Spinks, "The Eucharistic Prayer Today," *Liturgy* 16.1, (2000): 36.

¹⁸ Lawrence Johnson, *Worship*, 7.

¹⁹ *Leitourgia* is a Greek word for a public duty, a service by a citizen. It is commonly defined as "the work of the people."

decisions and decrees that arose from the Council of Trent, many of which extended to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Prayer In the Early Church

Evagrius Ponticus (345-399) was a fourth-century ascetic and writer, who lived in Jerusalem and Egypt. He believed that praying was a necessary expression of faith; he wrote among his many entries, “A theologian is one who truly prays, and one who truly prays is a theologian.”²⁰

This statement may seem to be outlandish for many, except perhaps for an emaciated monk hallucinating from constant praying and severe hunger. Theology is often regarded as a study for scholars and others who spend a large part of their lives surrounded by bibles and books. At the other extreme, prayer is a formula learned in childhood and repeated at bedtime. It is stereotypically centered in the lives of the elderly and kindly women. It is invoked at times of crisis, important meetings, inaugurations and graduation. It is a series of structured choruses of words recited in Church. The woman in the Ivory Tower is the theologian; the simple man in the street is the pray-er.

Evagrius, with a completely different worldview than today, was keenly aware of the connection of prayer and theology. Praying was truly “doing” theology. Participating in the liturgy was becoming profoundly conscious of the presence and the power of the divine.

²⁰ Evagrius of Pontus, “Chapters on Prayer 60-65”, #60, in *Evagrius Ponticus: The Praktikos. Chapters on Prayer (Cistercian Studies)*. Trans. John Eudes Bamberger, OCSO (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 4, 1972), 65.

Not all prayer is liturgy, but all liturgy is prayer. At the time of Evagrius, prayer would have been much more connected to liturgical prayer.

Three respected theologian pray-ers in recent times are Aidan Kavanagh²¹, a monk; Robert Taft²², a Jesuit; and Alexander Schmemmann²³, an Orthodox priest. For Fr. Taft, “liturgy is an object of theological investigation because it is just as much an expression of belief as are the verbal monuments of tradition,”²⁴ including scripture. Liturgy is more than a solemn structure expressing faith. It is first the act of God in Christ who saves us and reconciles with God and one another. Liturgy is also the act of the Church, the community of faith with Christ as its Head. The Church responds to the action of God with thanks and praise.²⁵ While this action exists in the present, it is rooted in the full tradition of the Church. In his work *On Liturgical Theology*,²⁶ Aidan Kavanagh posits that liturgy is *theologia prima*, prime theology, or ‘theology as liturgical act.’ Secondary theology is reflection on the act of liturgy. This does not negate what is commonly known as “theology.” Nor does ‘secondary’ connote theology of lesser value. For this reason, Fr. Taft would explain that all true theology must be connected to the liturgical act.²⁷ Kavanagh explains,

The law of belief does not constitute the law of worship. Thus the creeds and the reasoning which produced them are not the forces which produced baptism. Baptism gave rise to the Trinitarian creeds. So too the Eucharist

²¹ Aidan Kavanagh (d. 2006) was a prominent liturgical pioneer of Vatican II in the United States. An artist, musician and scholar. His seminal work, *On Liturgical Theology*, was significant for capturing the importance of the liturgy as the primordial theology of Church.

²² Robert Taft is expert in Oriental liturgy and a professor emeritus of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome. Fr. Taft was elevated to the rank of mitred archimandrite by the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. He is the author of over 800 publications.

²³ Alexander Schmemmann (d. 1983) taught in Paris and New York. He was dean of St. Vladimir’s Orthodox Seminary. He was an Orthodox observer at the Second Vatican Council from 1962-1965. He is the author of numerous publications. *For the Life of the World* has been translated into eleven languages.

²⁴ Robert Taft, “Liturgy as Theology,” *Worship* 56 (1982): 113.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 114.

²⁶ Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo, 1990).

²⁷ Taft, *Liturgy as Theology*, 116.

produced, but was not produced by, a scriptural text, the Eucharistic prayer, or all the various scholarly theories concerning the Eucharistic real presence . . .²⁸

Prosper of Aquitaine is credited with creating the axiom, *lex orandi, lex credendi*.

Considering the many variations of his quote, Aidan Kavanagh believes the exact phrasing was “ut legem credendi, lex statuat supplicandi.”²⁹ “The manner (or law) of praying establishes the manner of believing.” This principle is conveyed in the Catechism of the Catholic Church:

When the Church celebrates the sacraments, she confesses the faith received from the apostles – whence the ancient saying: *lex orandi, lex credendi* (or: *legem credendi, lex statuat supplicandi*, according to Prosper of Aquitaine [5th cent.]). The law of prayer is the law of faith: the Church believes as she prays. Liturgy is a constitutive element of the holy and living Tradition.³⁰

Kavanagh refers to theologian Urban Holmes, that good liturgy borders on the vulgar and that liturgy leads regularly to the ends of chaos, and that from this regular flirt with doom comes a theology different from any other.³¹

Reflecting upon Holmes’s portrayal, Kavanagh explains that theology is not the very first result of an assembly being brought to the ends of chaos by liturgical experience. Rather, what results in the first instance is deep change in the lives of those who participate in the liturgical act. This act affects their next liturgical activity even if the change is slight. Detecting that change in the subsequent liturgical act is discovery of where theology has passed, “rather as physics detects atomic particles in tracks of their

²⁸ Aidan Kavanagh, *Liturgical Theology*, 91,92.

²⁹ This is the wording that is recorded in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 50: col. 555. See *Liturgical Theology*, note 1, p. 181.

³⁰ Catholic Church, *Catechism of the Catholic Church* (Washington, DC: United States Catholic Conference, 1997), 1124. Aidan Kavanagh, *Liturgical Theology*, 73; Urban T. Holmes, “Theology and Religious Renewal,” *The Anglican Theological Review* 62 (1980) 19

³¹ Aidan Kavanagh, *Liturgical Theology*, 73, note 14; Urban T. Holmes, “Theology and Religious Renewal,” *The Anglican Theological Review* 62 (1980):19.

passage through a liquid medium.”³² The act of Liturgy is never a smooth event. It is continued rupture; it is continued conversion for those engaged in ritual. It is the image that author Annie Dillard portrays about liturgy at the beginning of this chapter. Liturgy had become a comfortable set of rites for too long. The Liturgy Constitution brought the genuine character of liturgy back into focus.

Secondary theology, or orderly, systematic theology then is reflection on primary theology. Theology is organic, and it changes as the liturgy evolves. Kavanagh points out that the continuous change, conscious and unconscious, on the part of those who partake in liturgy is displayed in the gradual evolution of the liturgical rites themselves. This is how liturgies grow, as gradual evolution.³³ Kavanagh would say, then, that the theology, which we normally regard as theology, that is, secondary theology, can never evolve independently of the liturgical action of the Church.

Icebergs are astonishing phenomena. Floating in a lake or the ocean, they look stately, pillars or mountains of beauty. At the same time, the tragedy of the ship, Titanic, reminds us they are a tremendous threat and a danger to vehicles of the sea. Even if we don't know the facts or are not interested in the dynamics of mass and volume, the casual referencing we use of “the tip of the iceberg” reminds us there is a whole lot more hidden than revealed. Depending on mass, the amount of an iceberg 61% to 95% of an iceberg may lie under the surface of the water.³⁴ The depth and makeup of an iceberg is a proper representation of the depth and gravity of the liturgical act. What is symbolized in ritual

³² Ibid., 74.

³³ Ibid., 74.

³⁴ *The Tip of the Iceberg*, <http://beyondpenguins.ehe.osu.edu/issue/icebergs-and-glaciers/all-about-icebergs>.

and word can never adequately convey the depth of the mystery of the Church and the saving event of God in Christ.

Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi is the foundation principle of *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* (SC), regarding its reform in the west. In its commitment to *ressourcement*,³⁵ SC recaptured the tradition of the early church as its liturgical spirit. This axiom has been fairly accepted in most Christian worship. The way we pray (*orandi*) is integrally connected to the way we believe (*credendi*). The image of an iceberg is an apt likeness for liturgy and worship in light of the adage, *Lex orandi, lex credendi*.

The ritual and words, though powerful and grace-giving are only the tip of liturgy. Under the surface is faith and tradition, conversion and stability, personal and corporate relationship with God and God's people, history and hope, forgiveness and fracture, personal family as well as membership in a lineage of disciples. And it is here that the place of doing theology occurs. It is here that the locus of theology occurs. Theologians and liturgical theologians are correct when they point out that liturgy is not the right words and actions of a rite. It is ritual that connects Christ and his redemptive act and the life of the church with the faith and life of the worshipper.

There is a clearer understanding of this dimension of liturgy in eastern Christian worship. Robert Taft recounts a European gentleman who asked Patriarch of Moscow and all the Russias, Alexi, how he would define the Russian Orthodox Church. His

³⁵ *Ressourcement* is a French term, part of the Theologie Nouvelle Movement. This component of theology is a returning to the sources of Christianity, not to duplicate these course, but to capture their meaning and adapt their truth for present time.

Holiness replied, “A Church that celebrates the Divine Liturgy.”³⁶ All liturgy is the defining act of faith of the Church.³⁷ In Fr. Taft’s words, “the Eastern Church is before all else a Church that keeps vigil before God, celebrating the mysteries of his Son in the age-old rites passed on by the fathers of the faith.”³⁸ The eastern Church has maintained the liturgical essence of the time of the great patriarchs of the East in the fourth and fifth centuries. To be defined as a Liturgical Church does not imply that liturgy is the only function of the church, but rather that which defines the Church, and that the liturgy pervades the whole of Church life with all its various functions. Fr. Taft points to the Church’s attachment to tradition that is witnessed in the totality of Church life but especially in the liturgy.³⁹

Fr. Kavanagh agrees with Fr. Taft who observes, “there has been a contrary shift from structure [of the liturgy] to symbolic interpretation.”⁴⁰ Since the Middle Ages, commentators have attended to meaning in the absence of liturgical structure. Liturgy began to serve theology; *Lex orandi, Lex credendi* became a more useful phrase than *Legem credendi lex statuat supplicandi* since the short phrase could be used in reverse. “Theology determined rather than interpreted liturgical text and form. Recently more respect has been paid to history and text, but not to structure . . .”⁴¹

Olivier Rousseau pointed out that unlike the Western, the Orthodox Church preserved the liturgical spirit of the early Church and Church life and continued to be

³⁶ Robert Taft, *Beyond East and West: Problems in Liturgical Understanding* (Portland, OR: Pastoral Press, 1984), 111.

³⁷ “The Divine Liturgy” for the Eastern Church is what the western Christian Church would refer to as Mass or Eucharist.

³⁸ Taft, *Beyond East and West*, 111.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 115.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 152.

lived through the ‘lens’ of liturgy. He wrote, “Her piety was never separated from her official prayers, to which she has always remained uniformly faithful.”⁴²

In deference to Dom Rousseau, Fr. Schmemmann confessed that the Church of the East had indeed maintained “its structure, form and content” as they have always been, but the form and its understanding were not always connected.⁴³ He continues,

Christian worship, by its nature, structure and content, is the revelation and realization by the Church of her own real nature. And this nature is the new life in Christ—union in Christ with God the Holy Spirit, knowledge of the Truth, unity, love, grace, peace, salvation . . . In this sense the Church cannot be equated or merged with “cult”; it is not the Church which exists for the “cult,” but the cult for the Church, for her welfare, for her growth into the full measure of the “stature of Christ” (Eph 4:13). Christ did not establish a society for the observance of worship, a “cultic society,” but rather the Church as the way of salvation, as the new life of re-created [hu]mankind. This does not mean that worship is secondary to the Church. On the contrary, it is inseparable from the Church and without it there is no Church.⁴⁴

The two parts of the phrase often have continued to be reciprocal at least since the Middle Ages. Kavanagh points out that the liturgical act no longer served as the source for secondary theology. Instead, it was “reduced to a doxological *envoi* which concludes the secondary enterprise and is wholly controlled by it.”⁴⁵ Prosper of Aquitaine’s axiom had become reversed. The law of belief or doctrinal theology formed and governed the law or worship.

The faith and doctrine of the church always guide its official liturgy. At the same time, the Church at worship impacts the faith and life of the universal Church as well. Both are equally necessary for the life of the Church. The designations of *prima* and

⁴² Dom Olivier Rousseau, *The Progress of the Liturgy. A Historical Sketch From the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Pontificate of Pius X* (Westminster, MD: Newman Press, 1951), 140.

⁴³ Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (Crestwood, NY: St Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1966), 28.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁵ Kavanagh, *Liturgical Theology*, 83.

secunda need to stand correctly in their arrangement in the process of doing theology. It is when doctrine directs the liturgy exclusively, or vice versa, difficulty occurs. Anyone who knew Aidan Kavanagh as orator, as well as author, could hear him addressing a group of students and learned scholars:

Philologists do not set the laws which permit language. They study its acts as formalized in words. Editors do not create language. They arrange its acts as formalized in words. Philosophers do not originate language. They formulate intelligibility tests to clarify and bring greater precision to the implications of its acts as formalized in concepts and words. All three of these honorable activities represent not first but second order enterprises. It was, after all, not Aristotle who spoke the first word, but some nameless creature we today might be hard pressed to identify as human . . . And when speech and society began to exist, all the arts took their inception as well: music in the first word's pitch and tone; politics in the mutual relationships which both caused and were enabled by the first word; crafts in the common needs to which those relationships gave rise; and all the arts we call fine in the symbolic ambiguity of the first word, an ambiguity which lifted it entirely beyond the static precision of the first bark of the first dog. All this might suggest to us that the effect of doctrine upon liturgy, like the effect of philology upon language, is a truth but not the whole truth.⁴⁶

In Liturgy, the Church responds in blessing, praise, thanksgiving, humility, and petition, before the ineffable God with Christ in its midst. It is a response to God's call and grace. Liturgy is a holy action that is *anamnetic*, a memorial of that primal invitation that makes the graced experience present. The action of prayer today is the same as the early Christians and the Jewish people of the first century, C.E., *theologia prima*.

⁴⁶ Kavanagh, *Liturgical Theology*, 84.

CHAPTER 3: PREPARING FOR THE COUNCIL

“It is no exaggeration to say that if the Council had produced nothing else, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, promulgated on December 4, 1963, would have made it all worthwhile... Needless to say, for many of those Protestants who have troubled themselves to read it carefully — and quite a few have — it ranks as the most significant statement the Roman Church has made since the Council of Trent.”¹

Coming to the Council

In 1964, Rev. Lewis A. Briner, professor of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago authored an article in the Liturgical Studies Yearbook where he wrote the above quote. He explained that recognizing the importance of early Church practice, the principal thrust in Protestant liturgical renewal in recent years, had been a more frequent celebration of Eucharist and greater lay participation in worship. He found it heartening that paragraph 14 of the Constitution² spoke of “full, conscious and active participation” of the faithful.³ The author confessed that Protestant worship had been reduced to a “program directed at people in pews” at the expense of the notion of corporate worship.

Rev. Briner applauded the fact that the majority of the citations in the document were scriptural, that there was an impressive emphasis on the importance of the Word, recognizing that Christians are People of the Word. Since the Word of God needed to be

¹ Lewis A. Briner, “A Protestant Looks At the New Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,” in *Yearbook of Liturgical Studies, Vol. 5*, ed., John H. Miller C.S.C. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1964), 8.

² “Mother Church earnestly desires that all the faithful should be led to that full, conscious, and active participation in liturgical celebrations which is demanded by the very nature of the liturgy, and to which the Christian people as ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people’ (1 Pt 2:9, 4-5) have a right and obligation by reason of their baptism.”

³ *Ibid.*, 9.

understood, a wider use of vernacular was to be allowed. Nonetheless, it seemed no one realized how much that paragraph (36) would impact the future of western Catholic liturgy.

News reports in both Church journals and popular magazines were readily devoured by church goers and non-believers alike. Many of the visible changes which appeared so quickly seemed impressively new. However, these revisions had been evolving in Europe and other parts of the world since the end of the nineteenth century.

During that last century, great strides had taken place in the liturgical world. Prosper Guéranger in Solesmes (d. Jan. 30, 1875) was the founder and abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Solesmes, France. Until recently, he was popularly acclaimed ‘father’ of the Liturgical Movement and was the first to use that phrase—“liturgical movement.” However, he lost that title when scholars discovered that some of his work proved counter to the liturgical development. He believed that the ritual of the liturgy was the domain of the clergy with no ownership of the liturgy on the part of the laity.⁴ Guéranger promoted a return to Gregorian chant as the official liturgical music in place of the popular church music that had crept into the churches of France. Still today, Solesmes abbey is world renowned for its study and use of Gregorian chant. The abbot also fought against some of the liturgical innovations which eventually became part of official liturgical development in the beginning of the 20th century with Pius X’s liturgical reform.⁵ Despite being stripped of his title, Abbé Guéranger offered a significant contribution to the liturgical movement. He authored *L'Année Liturgique*, a fifteen-volume work on the Church Year, which helped popularize the historical

⁴ Keith Pecklers, *Worship: A Primer in Christian Ritual* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 88.

⁵ Keith Pecklers, *The Unread Vision: The Liturgical Movement in the United States of America* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1998). 6.

development of the liturgies of the Latin and Eastern Rites, as well as an explanation of the Prayer of the Church and the Eucharist.

Lambert Beauduin (d. January 11, 1960) was a Belgian Benedictine monk at Mont César Abbey in Leuven when he published his first liturgical work, *La Piété de l'Église*, in 1914.⁶ Unlike Guéranger, Beauduin realized that liturgy was a communal act of the people, and not exclusive to the priest celebrant. Louis Bouyer recognized the contribution of Guéranger and recorded that Beauduin continued the important work of Guéranger,

That we must not try to provide an artificial congregation to take part in an antiquarian Liturgy, but rather to prepare the actual congregations of the Church today to take part in the truly traditional Liturgy rightly understood.⁷

In Germany, Maria Laach Benedictine Monastery continued the already productive liturgical work of its parent monastery of Beuron. When Idelfons Herwegen became abbot of Maria Laach Monastery in 1913, he was fortunate to live with Kunibert Mohlbart and Odo Casel. Together with Romano Guardini, a diocesan priest and professor Anton Baumstark, not just the monastery but Germany became a fertile garden for the liturgical movement to grow.⁸ Many followed in England, Holland, Italy and the United States. Both World Wars offered monks who were relegated to their monasteries the time and opportunity to pursue research in the area of worship.

⁶ Lambert Beauduin, *La Piété de l'Église : principes et faits*, (Louvain: Monastery of Mont César, 1914); published in English translation by Virgil Michel as *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1926).

⁷ Louis Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy* (Sheed & Ward, London 1956), 14-15.

⁸ Pecklers, *Unread Vision*, 5.

Pope Pius X encouraged liturgical reform. In 1903 he issued a document of his own accord (*motu proprio*) entitled *Tra le Sollecitudini*, an Instruction on Sacred Music.⁹ Here, he teaches “active participation in the sacred mysteries” is the Church’s “primary and indispensable source.”

Pope Pius XII continued the work of Pius X by encouraging the participation of worshippers in the act of liturgy. He had been seriously considering a reform early on in his pontificate. Papers for a project for liturgical reform that was dated February 2, 1942 were found in the papers of Fr. Pio Alfonzo, a member of the Congregation of Rites. The “Wednesday Commission” of the Congregation had requested this two-page proposal.¹⁰ Evidently, nothing came of this proposal. Continuing the work of Pius X, Pius XII urged greater reception of communion by reducing dietary fasting before communion. Fr. Augustin Bea headed a commission that produced a new Latin version of the Psalms in 1945, which helped advance the idea of reform.¹¹ In 1947, Pius XII’s encyclical on the Sacred Liturgy, *Mediator Dei*, encouraged active participation of the faithful, Eucharistic adoration, participation in the daily Prayer of the Church.¹² It is often called the “magna carta” of the liturgical renewal of the 20th century. The “Pian Commission,” was appointed in 1948 under the presidency of Cardinal Micara, prefect of the Congregation of Rites.¹³ Through the Commission’s work, the liturgies of Easter Vigil and Holy Week were reconstructed in 1950 and 1955. Also, at this time, the vernacular was introduced in

⁹ Pope Pius X, *Tra le Sollecitudini* (Instruction on Sacred Music) in *Acta Apostolica Sedes* (1903): 329; translation in Dupuis, Jacques, ed., *The Christian Faith: In the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*. 7th rev. ed. (Staten Island, Alba House, 1998), 477.

¹⁰ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948-1975)*, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990), 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹² Pope Pius XII, *Mediator Dei* (Encyclical on the Sacred Liturgy) in *Acta Apostolica Sedes* 39 (1947): 521; translation in Dupuis, Jacques, ed., *The Christian Faith*, 483.

¹³ Bugnini, *The Reform*, 8.

this ancient liturgy during the renewal of baptismal promises.¹⁴ The Pian Commission was no longer needed with the announcement of the new ecumenical council.

These are a few of the major forerunners, and the research and practices which set the stage, not only for a renewed liturgy but also a restored theology of church based on the early church's experience of worship. Active participation offered the image of incorporation into the Mystical Body of Christ through initiation. The mystery of God as "fascinans et tremendum"¹⁵ is revealed as the Trinity, a loving God who continues to create, to redeem and to enspirit. As the Scriptures are now heard and understood, they not only continue to form the corporate memory of God in the world and the Church but also challenge the hearers of the Word to continued baptismal conversion as lifestyle. As changes occurred through the liturgical movement, communication expanded tremendously, which set the stage for increased use of the vernacular in the liturgy.

The vernacular debate had become ripe. It had existed as early as the 16th century, but since the reformers opted for the vernacular, the Fathers of the Council of Trent would not budge. Before Vatican II convened, the vernacular was already used in bilingual editions of the Roman Ritual, which included Initiation, and of the lectionary by indult.¹⁶ Also, the Holy See gave permission for particular situations and locations at various times.¹⁷ Nevertheless, Latin remained as the liturgical language of the Roman Rite. The issue was larger than the use of language; it was theological. Since the Reformers voted on the use of the vernacular, and they had been considered apostates,

¹⁴ Cf. Catechumenate in the revised Holy Week in this study.

¹⁵ Cf. Rudolph Otto, *The Idea of the Holy: An Inquiry Into the Non-Rational Factor in the Idea of the Divine and Its Relation to the Rational* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966).

¹⁶ Bernard Botte, *From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal*. Trans. John Sullivan (Portland, OR: Pastoral Press, 1988), 119.

¹⁷ Cf. Keith F. Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Living Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), especially pp. 31-37.

Latin was maintained to preserve orthodoxy.¹⁸ Four centuries after Trent, the language problem had moved well beyond European polemic. It now affected Church expansion in Asia and Africa. It was a global question which was begging to be resolved. Bernard Botte was a consultor on the language committee. In his “Recollections” he talked about an impasse in the deliberations of the group, and he chose to take the initiative. Having heard the position that Hebrew, Aramaic, and Latin were three sacred languages. In a letter to the committee, he wrote, “Pilate had no competence to determine a sacred language.”¹⁹ Through his thorough argument, he convinced the committee; a report was sent to Rome, but there, the report was merely filed in the archives without discussion. That ended any future work of the vernacular committee. Dom Botte noted that in the text of SC, the vernacular is never treated “with competence,” and only shows up casually in reference to the sacraments.²⁰ The use of the vernacular was approved on December 8, 1962, at the closing of the First Session of the Council, one year before the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (SC) was promulgated.

A New and Different Council

On January 25, 1959, just three months after his election as pope, John XXIII astonished a group of seventeen cardinals and the world. He was convoking a world-wide council. In his announcement, his two goals seemed rather vague. He proposed the Council for “the enlightenment, edification, and joy of all Christian people,” and for “a renewed invitation to the faithful of the separated communities that they may participate

¹⁸ Botte, *From Silence*, 119.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 120.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 121.

with us in this search for unity and grace, to which so many souls aspire in all parts of the earth."²¹

Dermot Lane recounted the beginning plans for the Council.²² Pope John XIII had sent out an inquiry to bishops, religious orders and Catholic faculties asking what they expected from the Council. He received 8972 responses. These varied, but many hoped that the unfinished work of Vatican II would be completed. If so, the main topic of the Council would deal with Church. However, that was not the direction the council would move. Lane offered Pope Benedict XVI's own recollection of those days, when he, as young Father Ratzinger, served as *peritus*²³ to Cardinal Frings. The Cardinal had told him that as they discussed the central topic of the Council, the German bishops were also focusing on Church as the heart of the Council. During their discussion, Archbishop Buchberger said, "My brothers, at the Council you must above all talk about God. This is what is most important."²⁴ Unfortunately, the Archbishop did not live to see the opening of the Council, but his hopes lived through Frings, from his first intervention along with Cardinal Liénart at the beginning of the Council, and through his valuable involvement

²¹ Allocuzione con la quale il Sommo Pontefice annuncia il Sinodo Romano, il Concilio Ecumenico e l'aggiornamento del Codice di Diritto Canonico (25 gennaio 1959), Italian. http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1959/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19590125_annuncio.html

²² Dermot A. Lane, *Vatican II Facing the 21st Century: Historical and Theological Perspective*, ed., Brendan Leahy (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2006), 1.

²³ A *peritus* was a theological expert at the Council. Some *periti*, like Yves Congar, were general experts invited by John XXIII and took part in the debates during the sessions. Individual bishops or groups of bishops would bring their *peritus* with them to assist them in their study and deliberations. There is an account that a group of conservative bishops asked Pope John to remove the famed theologian, Karl Rahner from the Council. The Pope responded by saying he could not uninvite Fr. Rahner because he never invited him; the bishops had. Rahner was the personal *peritus* of Cardinal König of Vienna.

²⁴ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger and Pope Benedict XVI, *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith: The Church as Communion*, ed., Stephan Otto Horn, and Vinzenz Pfnur (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), Kindle edition location 1539.

during many sessions.²⁵ Despite compromises, debates, and disagreements, the outcome of the council and the intent of Pope John XXIII was about God: relationship with God and God's people, the Church's relationship with God, and the Church's relationship with the world. John XXIII addressed the Council Fathers at its opening on October 11, 1962. Rather than a series of directions about protocol or structure, his address, written in his own hand, was an expression of his own vision of the Council. The heart of the Council's work was Christ. The Fathers' task was to bring the Church "up to date where required," and "to make individuals, families, and peoples really turn their minds to heavenly things."²⁶ This allocution has been cited for the pope's decrying of the "prophets of doom, neglecting this wonderful and positive vision of humankind, and the value of the presence of the Church in the world:

If we are to achieve God's purpose in our regard, we have a twofold obligation: as citizens of earth, and as citizens of heaven. That is to say, all men without exception, both individually and in society, have a life-long obligation to strive after heavenly values through the right use of the things of this earth. These temporal goods must be used in such a way as not to jeopardize eternal happiness.

True enough, Christ our Lord said: "Seek first the kingdom of God and His justice," and this word "first" indicates what the primary direction of all our thoughts and energies must be. Nevertheless, we must not forget the rest of Our Lord's injunction: "and all these things shall be given you besides." Thus the traditional, as well as the contemporary Christian approach to life, is to strive with all zeal for evangelical perfection, and at the same time to contribute toward the material good of humanity. It is from the living example and the charitable enterprise of such Christians as

²⁵Cf. some important accounts of the Council sessions: Giuseppe, Alberigo and Joseph A Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 1: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996); Congar, Yves, *My Journal of the Council* (Adelaide: ATF Theology, 2012); Xavier Rynne, *Vatican Council II*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1999); John W. O'Malley, *What Happened At Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010).

²⁶ Alberigo, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 1, 15.

these that all that is highest and noblest in human society takes its strength and growth.²⁷

The opening of the council was that of high drama and imperial court; it displayed triumphalism at its best. This spectacle, however, dismayed some theologians, liturgists, and bishops. Yves Congar wrote in his journal,

“My God, who have brought me here by ways that I did not choose, I offer myself to you to be, if you will, the instrument of your Gospel in this event in the life of the Church, which I love, but would like to be less ‘Renaissance’! less Constantinian . . .”

There is nothing here except for the eye and the musical ear: No spiritual word. I know that in a few minutes a Bible will be placed on a throne in order to preside over the Council. BUT WILL IT SPEAK? Will it be listened to? Will there be a moment for the Word of God?²⁸

Congar left the basilica quickly, perhaps before the pope spoke. He did not record anything of John XXIII’s opening talk in his journal. Nevertheless, the address did bring the Church back into reality in the midst of the splendor. This talk was the first formal indication of the direction of the Council, “the spirit of Vatican II.” It was the Council’s official announcement of reform, of *aggiornamento*. John O’Malley points out that the word “reform” exists only once in the Council documents, perhaps because the word evoked difficult memories from the 16th century and sounded more Protestant than Catholic.²⁹ Appropriately, *Reformation* was only used in the decree on Ecumenism. The difficulty with the word is so connected to history and evoked emotions much deeper than a late medieval rupture. In discussing reform and *aggiornamento*, O’Malley reaches back to the Fifth Lateran Council.

²⁷Pope John XXIII, *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia* [Address on the Occasion of the Solemn Opening of the Most Holy Council], Vatican website, October 11, 1962, 5.3- 5.4, accessed April 3, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/it/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19621011_opening-council.html; English trans, <http://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?RecNum=3233>.

²⁸Yves Congar, “My Journal,” 87.

²⁹John W. O’Malley, “Reform, Historical Consciousness and Vatican II’s *Aggiornamento*,” *Theological Studies* 32.4, (1971): 586.

Two distinguished historians of religious reform, Hubert Jedin and the late Delio Cantimori, have independently ventured the opinion that the perennial spirit of Catholic reform was accurately epitomized by a prior general of the Augustinian order, Giles of Viterbo (1469-1532), in his inaugural address at the Fifth Lateran Council: “Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men.” What Vatican II’s *aggiornamento* called for was precisely the opposite. It determined that religion should be changed by men, in order to meet the needs of men. Today, some years after the close of the Council, a minimalist interpretation of Vatican II’s “accommodation to the times no longer seems possible, no matter what the intentions of the Council fathers were. In the breadth of its applications and in the depth of its implications, *aggiornamento* was a revolution in the history of the idea of reform.”³⁰

O’Malley explains that the Council took its direction from John XXIII, using *accommodation* rather than *reform* when referring to *aggiornamento*. It was never a breach with the past but pastoral accommodation to the twentieth century. However, the scope of the “accommodation” was much more extensive than what was anticipated. The most recognized example was the worldwide call for the full use of the vernacular in liturgy. Some of the more reforming interventions came from the Fathers in less developed areas and bishops from countries suffering from outside repression. At the same time, as the bishops considered reform, a weighty responsibility of the Council was also continuity of faith and the tradition rooted in the early church. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* begins with these words:

The sacred Council has set out to impart an ever increasing vigor to the Christian life of the faithful; to adapt (*accommodare*) more closely to the needs of our age those institutions which are subject to change; to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call all mankind into the Church’s fold. Accordingly it sees particularly cogent reasons for undertaking the reform (*instaurrandam*) and promotion of the liturgy.³¹

³⁰Ibid., 575.

³¹Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy] December 4, 1963, art. 1, in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 1.

The Council Begins with Sacrosanctum Concilium

During the summer of 1962, bishops received seven drafts (schema) from the Council's Preparatory Commission in order to prepare for the Council. Council participants were expected to read a countless amount of material. Fr. Joseph Ratzinger recalled that while,

the preparatory commissions had undoubtedly worked hard, . . . their diligence was somewhat distressing. Seventy schemas had been produced, enough to fill 2,000 pages of folio size. This was more than double the quantity of texts produced by all previous councils put together.

He recorded that in the beginning,

there was a certain discomfoting feeling that the whole enterprise might come to nothing more than a mere rubber-stamping of decisions already made, thus impeding rather than fostering the renewal needed in the Catholic Church.³²

The fifth schema dealt with the liturgy. This indicated that the Commission intended to address the doctrinal topics before attending to the liturgy.³³ In addition to its priority placement, a Central Commission and a special “sub-commission for changes” had significantly altered the liturgy document from its original form.³⁴ Through some covert reporting of this surreptitious act and some clandestine editing, the Fathers at the Council received the original schema. The Liturgical Movement, Pius X's teachings about “active participation,” the work of the Vernacular Society³⁵ and the liturgical reforms of Pius XII would all naturally indicate that the liturgy schema should move to the forefront. However, it remained as a latter document. John XXIII had other wishes.

³² Joseph Ratzinger, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 5; recorded in Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 2: The Formation of the Council's Identity, First Period and Intersession, October 1962—September 1963*, (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 69.

³³ Alberto Melloni, *Vatican II: The Complete History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), 134.

³⁴ Bugnini, *Reform*, 26-27.

³⁵ Keith F. Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence*, 55-63.

The liturgy document, *De Sacra Liturgia*, was transferred as the lead debate even if it was only in obedience to the pope,³⁶ even though he did have support from Council Fathers. The first four subjects on the agenda were the sources of revelation; the preservation of the deposit of faith—the Christian moral order; chastity, marriage, family, media.³⁷ The Principal Council Fathers and many bishops were not pleased with these first four topics and feared that liturgy would become lost in a quagmire of theological debate. They made their feelings known. The result is that the first document for discussion became *De Sacra Liturgia*.³⁸

After much discussion and a minority resistance, The Fathers approved the document on December 7, 1962, as 1,992 Fathers voted in favor and 11 opposed, and 180 voted yes with reservations.³⁹ At the closing of the First Period of the Council on December 14, 1962, Pope John commented on the Liturgy document and the developing vision of renewal:

“It was by no accident that the council began with the draft of *De Sacra Liturgia*; the relationship between man and God. That is, the highest order of relations that should be established on the solid foundation of revelation and of the apostolic teaching.”⁴⁰ Pope John XXIII died on June 3, 1963.

The schema was presented with suggested changes during the second session of the Council. Then on November 22, 1963, the Fathers of the Council formally voted and approved *Sacrosanctum Concilium* as the first document of the Second Vatican Council.

³⁶ Melloni, *Vatican II*, 135.

³⁷ Bugnini, *Reform*, 29, note 1.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 29.

³⁹ Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 2: The Formation of the Council's Identity, First Period and Intersession, October, 1962-September, 1963* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1998), 166.

⁴⁰ Melloni, *Vatican II*, 136.

The vote was 2158 for 19 against and one invalid.⁴¹ The world changed a bit that day. The liturgy of the Catholic Church was renewed and President John F. Kennedy was assassinated on the same day. Some have said that on that day, both the world and the Church lost some of its innocence. 2147 fathers voted for the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy with four against, on December 4, 1963, at a public session of the Council on the 400th anniversary of the Closing of the Council of Trent.

⁴¹ Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 3: The Mature Council, Second Period and Intersession, September 1963-September* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000), 219.

CHAPTER 4: THE CHURCH FORMS THE CONSTITUTION

*“The question is whether the wonderful opportunities now open to the liturgy will achieve their full realization; whether we shall be satisfied with just removing anomalies, taking new situations into account, giving better instruction on the meaning of ceremonies and liturgical vessels or whether we shall re-learn a forgotten way of doing things and recapture lost attitudes.”*¹

Romano Guardini, Essence of the Liturgical Act

At the last session of the Second Vatican Council, Pope Paul VI, addressed the Council Fathers and posed the questions, “What then was the Council? What has it accomplished?”² Since he realized that those questions were much too overwhelming for such a short timed gathering, he narrowed his thoughts to one: the religious value of the Council. He explained the Council was religious, “because of its direct relationship with the living God, that relationship which is the *raison d’etre* of the Church, of all that she believes, hopes and loves; of all that she is and does.” He spoke of the Council Fathers’ quest for the knowledge and love of God, their experience of contemplating and honoring God, and their role as shepherds of proclaiming God to the world. Fifty years after the Council, it is nearly impossible to seek their impressions of this event, but through the years, during interviews, many have explained their experience as “awakening,” a

¹ Romano Guardini was a major figure in the Liturgical movement. In April of 1964, wrote an open letter to Johannes Wagner in conjunction with the Third German Liturgical Conference held in Mainz. His questions remain vitally relevant nearly fifty years later. Paul Bradshaw & John Melloh, eds. *Foundations in Ritual Studies: A Reader for Students of Christian Worship* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 5.

² Pope Paul VI, “Address of Pope Paul VI During the Last General Meeting of the Second Vatican Council,” December 7, 1965, accessed March 18, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/paul_vi/speeches/1965/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19651207_epilogo-concilio_en.html.

“retreat.” A bishop once recalled the Council to this writer as “a discovery of God in a new and exciting way.”¹ A university professor who was invited as a United Church of Christ observer recalled his time at the Council as one of the most exciting religious experiences of his life.² It is widely acknowledged that the Second Vatican Council had an impact well beyond the boundaries of the Catholic Church. In the United States, TIME magazine covered the Council extensively through its correspondent, Robert Blair Kaiser, a former Jesuit seminarian.³ The people of the world had its eyes on the Bishops of the world. The first document, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, produced noticeable external changes to Catholics and Non-Catholics alike. It was a remarkable coincidence that the Fathers of the Council approved this text on the same day that the president of the United States was assassinated, as noted above. Both events had astonished the world.

The ecclesiology that formed Sacrosanctum Concilium

We have seen that the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy began as a grass roots study, followed by experimentation. This study included the use of the vernacular. The chapters on the Catechumenate will show the increased use of the vernacular in adult initiation before the Council. Keith Pecklers’ *Dynamic Equivalence* includes a thorough history of the quest and the use of the vernacular in the liturgy since the time of the

¹ Charles Buswell, of the Diocese of Pueblo, Colorado.

² Bard Thompson (d. 1987) was an ordained minister of the United Church of Christ. He was invited as an official observer at the Council in 1964. He made these remarks when serving as Dean of Drew University Graduate School.

³ Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 3: The Mature Council, Second Period and Intersession, September 1963-September* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000), 181.

Council of Trent.⁴ In the early days of our country, Bishop John Carroll, the first bishop of the United States, believed the vernacular was necessary for important reasons, lest “the congregations be entirely ignorant of the meaning and sense of the publick offices of the Church.”⁵ In this same letter to a fellow priest in England, he became even bolder, as he wrote:

“It may have been prudent, for aught I know, to refuse a compliance in this instance with the insulting and reproachful demands of the first reformers, but to continue the practice of the Latin liturgy in the present state of things must be owing either to chimerical fears of innovation or to indolence and inattention in the first pastors of the national Churches in not joining to solicit or indeed ordain this necessary alteration.”⁶

There was an implicit understanding of participation of the assembly in Archbishop Carroll’s thought, even at a time when the laity was considered recipients of the graces granted to them by the actions of the priest.

Use of the vernacular for the scriptures began very quickly, along with the dialogue. In an address at Marquette University, Fr. Gy recalled the First Sunday of Lent 1964 when the priest at the church in Rome turned to the people and said, “Il Signore sia con voi,” instead of “Dominus vobiscum.”⁷ That did more than to get the ball rolling. It was more like a snowball and created a natural snow mound, or some might say an avalanche. Fr. Gy continued that both priests and members of the congregation wondered why, after turning to the people, the priest needed to re-turn and pray the prayer, now with his back to the people.

⁴ Keith F. Pecklers, *Dynamic Equivalence: The Living Language of Christian Worship* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003).

⁵ *Ibid.*, 26.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ P-M. Gy, “The Reception of Vatican II Liturgical Reforms in the Life of the Church,” *The Pere Marquette Lecture in Theology 2003* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 2003): 26.

The one area that seemed too sacred to “vernacularize” was the Roman Canon (Eucharistic Prayer 1). It was the prayer that all liturgists studied intently and revered. The Consilium, the Commission mandated to implement the Council document on the Liturgy, felt that the Canon should never be translated.⁸ Nevertheless, there was a realization that the entire liturgy would need to be open to vernacular translations. This permission was given eventually in 1975. Kevin Magas quoted Fr. Bugnini and Consilium’s rationale for allowing vernacular translation of the Eucharistic Prayer, in his article on translating the Roman Canon. It is an excellent example of working in the spirit and the ecclesiology of Sacramentum Concilium (Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, (SC)).

If the rest of the Mass were to be celebrated in the vernacular while the Canon remained in Latin, it would have been like opening all the doors of the house to a guest and then excluding him from its heart. It is in the heart that the life is to be found; it is in the Canon that the mystery resides. The Canon is a vital part of a living liturgy. It did remain in Latin for over two years from the beginning of the reform, but pastoral experience showed that a situation in which the celebration was half in the vernacular and half in Latin was intolerable. *This, then, is a classic example of a legitimate post-conciliar development. It was a logical consequence of premises set down by the Council itself.* In fact, even if the extension of the vernacular to the entire liturgy can be called a broad interpretation . . . it cannot be said to contradict the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.⁹

We will return to the revisions of the Roman Canon towards the end of this study.

We have seen that the schema on the liturgy moved to the first agenda item of the conclave. Its choice was based on the fact that the previous four schemas were not thought to be suitable to the direction of John XXIII’s vision of the council and the responses to his earlier solicitations. “Unlike these, which smelled too much of the stale

⁸ Kevin D. Magas, “Issues in Eucharistic Praying: Translating the Roman Canon,” *Worship* 89, (2015): 487.

⁹ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform*, 110. Emphasis added by Magas.

polemics of theology classrooms, the document on liturgy seemed to embody the pastoral thrust which promised fresh air from open windows.”¹⁰ The premier position of the liturgy document was advantageous since it provided a direction for the rest of the council. At the same time, however, there is always speculation over what the document would include if the schema on the Church were debated first. Did the ecclesiology of SC direct the ecclesiology of the two other constitutions and decrees? Or, how would the Constitution on the Church have affected the liturgy schema if the bishops had worked on the Mystery of the Church first?

The Ecclesiology From the Early Church to the Eve of Vatican II

Before a further consideration of the ecclesiology of SC, a brief review of the ecclesiological roots and development in liturgy is important. Yves Congar’s article, “*The Ecclesia or Christian Community as a Whole Celebrates the Liturgy*,” is an excellent survey.¹¹ Congar was a member of several committees that prepared conciliar documents. One might say that he was primarily an ecclesiologist who recognized the intricate relationship between liturgy and doctrine. He kept a journal of the Council, which was published in French in 2002 and translated as *My Journal of the Council* in 2012¹². Unless noted, the following survey is a synopsis of his article.

Congar believed the primary concern of the entire document of SC was active participation as outlined in SC # 26,

¹⁰ Godfrey Diekmann, “The Constitution on the Liturgy in Retrospect,” *Worship* 40, (1966): 408.

¹¹ Yves Congar, “The Ecclesia or Christian Community as a Whole Celebrates the Liturgy,” in *At the Heart of Christian Worship: Liturgical Essays of Yves Congar*, Yves Congar, Paul Philibert, trans, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2010), Kindle Edition, Location 55.

¹² Yves Congar OP, *My Journal of the Council*, ed., Denis Minns (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2012).

“Liturgical services are not private functions but are celebrations of the Church which is “the sacrament of unity,” namely, “the holy people united and arranged under their bishops.” Therefore, liturgical services pertain to the whole Body of the Church. They [rites] manifest it [the Body], and have effects upon it. But they also touch individual members of the Church in different ways, depending on their orders, their role in liturgical services, and their actual participation in them.”¹³

He points out that promoting active participation in the liturgy was the primary concern of the Constitution. Active participation is also evident in *Lumen Gentium*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (LG). Article 11 shows how the nature and structure of the “priestly community” exist through its sacraments. Then, the paragraph continues to illustrate how all the sacraments signify the mystery and unity of the Church in the lives of the entire body of the faithful.

Strengthened by so many and by such great means of salvation, all the faithful, whatever their condition or state—though each in his own way—are called by the Lord to that perfection of sanctity by which the Father himself is perfect.¹⁴

The New Testament manifests this understanding of worship and Church. Christ is the high priest (cf. Hebrews), but the church, his Body, is where he operates through the Spirit, and where he makes the Christian mystery actual, especially through the celebration of baptism and Eucharist (1 Cor. 10:16-17)¹⁵ In the Jewish scriptures, the covenant was between God and the whole people of Israel. “The twelve tribes were gathered into a single people by God’s free choice and so consecrated”¹⁶ as the People of

¹³ Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy] December 4, 1963, art. 26, in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 10.

¹⁴ Second Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* [the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church] November 21, 1964, art. 11, in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 363.

¹⁵ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 618.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Location 595.

God. This theme carries over into 1 Peter 2.¹⁷ Through the community, he makes the Christian mystery actual especially through the celebration of baptism and Eucharist.¹⁸

This understanding of a collective body sharing the celebration in worship continues in the apostolic Church and is found in the oldest existing description of the Eucharist in the writings of Justin¹⁹, in Irenaeus²⁰ and in *Apostolic Tradition*.²¹ The Letter to the Hebrews refers to Christ as the High Priest and the community as his Body. Augustine understood the Church as the Body of Christ. It was the whole Church who presented children for baptism, not just parents; in the forgiveness of sins, “it is the ecclesia, or rather the corporate unity of the ecclesia, that has received the keys and that exercises them.”²² Throughout these early centuries, Church constituted people, not institution. The Church offered, and sinners were not allowed to take part in the offering.

This understanding of Church and liturgy continued into the ninth century. Congar points out that when Felix, Bishop of Urgel (+ 818), writes “the church makes its offering to the Lord through the priests” (*Ecclesia per sacerdotes Domino offert*), it is the Church that offers, which is because the church is the Body of Christ. The priesthood is first of all the priesthood of the ecclesia by the very fact that it is the priesthood of Christ.²³

¹⁷ “. . . like living stones, let yourselves be built into a spiritual house, to be a holy priesthood, to offer spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ . . . But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God’s own people, in order that you may proclaim the mighty acts of him who called you out of darkness into his marvelous light. Once you were not a people, but now you are God’s people; once you had not received mercy, but now you have received mercy.” 1 Peter 2:5, 9-10 (NRSV).

¹⁸ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 618.

¹⁹ Apologia 1, 65 (PG 6: 427f); Henry Bettenson, ed., and trans., *The Early Christian Fathers: A Selection From the Writings of the Fathers From St. Clement of Rome to St. Athanasius* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 62.

²⁰ Adversus Haereses, IV, 127, 5 (PG 7: 1023); Johannes Quasten, *Patrology: The Beginnings of Patristic Literature From the Apostles Creed to Irenaeus*, Vol. 1., ed., Walter J. Burghardt, S.J. (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1986), 306.

²¹ G.J. Cuming, *Hippolytus: A Text for Students* (Bramcote Notts: Grove Books Ltd, 1991), 10-11.

²² Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 651.

²³ *Ibid.*, Location 692.

It was at this time that things began to change in the liturgy, and therefore in the Church. The norm of worship affected the rule of belief (*lex orandi, lex credendi*). During the Carolingian era, commentators such as Amalarius of Metz began to attribute allegorical meaning to gestures in the liturgy, often connecting them to scenes and actions of Jesus in the Gospels. The ritual took on the appearance of ritual drama; gestures were given mystical meaning. Many continued to the twentieth century. The washing of the priest's hands at the presentation of the gifts remained after the priest no longer collected the physical offerings of the people. An allegorical meaning, which continues to be popular, is that it points to Pilate's washing of his hands in the Gospel account of Jesus' trial. During this time, the bread and wine took on cultic independence from the liturgical action in the Eucharist.²⁴ Eucharistic controversies grew in the 9th and the 11th centuries concerning the nature of the change of the bread and wine in the Eucharist.²⁵ Political interference also had an effect on Church and theology. Charlemagne's desire for ritual unity created a hybrid rite and a plethora of private and devotional prayers in the liturgy.²⁶ William the Conqueror became involved in the Eucharistic controversy between Berengarius and Llanfranc.²⁷

Private masses were becoming more popular in monasteries; the language of the liturgy had become foreign to the people. The priest recited the Eucharist Prayer (Canon of the Mass) in silence. The people did not even acclaim, "Amen" at the end of the prayer. A greater number of private prayers to enhance the piety of the priest entered the liturgy as the participation of the faithful diminished. The altar moved further away from

²⁴ Thomas O'Loughlin, "Liturgical Evolution and the Fallacy of the Continuing Consequence," *Worship* 83.4, (2009): 313-314.

²⁵ Cf. Nathan Mitchell, O.S.B., *Cult and Controversy: The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1982), esp. ch 3, 66-128.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 68.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 150.

the assembly. In the Memento for the Living in the canon, the formula “who offer to you” was replaced with “for whom we offer or who themselves offer to you (pro quibus tibi offerimus vel qui tibi offerunt).”²⁸

The offering of the people had now become spiritualized, and this offering was made *for* them, whether or not they were present.²⁹ Texts continued to speak in the first person plural, such as “we offer;” the Church taught that the priest offered the sacrifice in the name of the Church. Congar describes these prayers and explanations as ways that are “moral rather than truly liturgical.”³⁰ The understanding of Church had evolved from community to institution. This change affected much more than liturgy. Doctrine, or secondary theology, was forming and shifting the liturgical experience, primary theology to the side. The pope was understood as head of the Church, representing Christ. Sacraments became actions with the power within themselves to dispense grace, rather than actions of the Church as the Body of Christ. Unlike the teaching of Augustine, in the sacrament of penance, it is the power of the priest and not of the church that forgives. Liturgy had changed because the notion of Church had changed. Church no longer was the *qahal*, the assembly gathered in faith. The priestly role of the faithful had become diminished.

Candidates for ordination were no longer elected by the community from among themselves to lead them in prayer. Rather, they were men choosing ecclesiastical careers by interning in lower positions with the hope of advancing to higher offices. Some clergy

²⁸ Ibid., 980.

²⁹ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 766.

³⁰ Ibid., Location 785.

found themselves ‘elected’ by a relative of high rank, either ecclesiastical or political.³¹ At the other extreme was John Wycliffe and others who attacked the privilege of the clergy. Wycliffe should be a forerunner of the 16th-century reformers. The reformers looked to the New Testament and held minister above ordination. The clergy were ministers of word and sacrament. The Reformers did not have an agreed understanding of ministry and orders, and some retained more of the clerical statuses of their day than others. But they all seemed to agree that the *sacrificial priesthood*, which had emerged, required radical revision.³² The reformers attempted to recapture the priestly role of the faithful in various degrees and extremes.

During a class on Eucharist, Fr. Thomas Talley was confronted with a statement that the Catholic Church “had missed the theological mark” regarding liturgy and Eucharist. The Episcopal cleric responded with his jovial Texan accent, “they might not have known why they were doing what they were doing, but at least they never discarded the form. We threw it out.” Congar would be pleased with Talley’s response as he writes:

“The liturgy conserves within itself, even during periods that can barely understand it, the full substance of the mystery of God. Wherever the Latin liturgy was celebrated, people continued to say each day, “Orate, fratres, ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium— Pray, brothers [and sisters], that my sacrifice and yours ...,” “Haec dona, haec munera, haec sacrificia— these gifts here present, this offering, these sacrifices,” pointing in this way to the offering of the faithful people. They continued to say “qui tibi offerunt— who themselves offer,” “oblaciones servitutis nostrae, sed et cunctae familiae tuae— gifts of our loving service, but also of your whole family,” “nos servi tui et plebs tua sancta— we your servants and also your holy people ...”³³

³¹ Paul Bradshaw, “Medieval Ordinations,” in “Ordination” of *The Study of Liturgy*, ed., Cheslyn Jones et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 377-78.

³² Paul Bradshaw, “Reformation Churches,” in “Ordination” of *The Study of Liturgy*, ed., Cheslyn Jones et al. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 379-91.

³³ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 996.

Nevertheless, despite the words in the text, the place of the priest in liturgy, was a place of power. The Church was regarded as institution; the priest was an agent of the institution, and through his actions, grace was dispensed. The Church had lost its sense of communion, at least experientially. The relationship of the priest was with Christ and not the people.

Yves Congar addresses the same concern as Josef Jungmann when asked

"What is liturgy?," his response was "first, one must ask 'What is Church?'" Congar asks, "With what idea of church are we operating? We might also ask ourselves: "Pro quo supponit vox 'Ecclesia,'" what meanings do we give to the word "church" when we say the church offers the Eucharist; and who is the subject of the church's liturgical actions?" He goes on to explain that SC took its lead from Pius X's *Mediator Dei*.³⁴ This papal document promoted active participation of the people, but the notion of Church remained at least partially rooted in late medieval ecclesiology. For instance, Congar points out that paragraphs 26-32 of SC state, "the liturgy is an action that is at once hierarchical and communitarian."³⁵ Returning to the speculation towards the beginning of this chapter, Congar wonders what the constitution might have stated if it had appeared on the agenda after *discussing Lumen Gentium*. It must also be recognized that since the understood ecclesiology at the time of *Mediator Dei* and SC did not match, the same words would be nuanced differently in each document. *Mediator Dei* spoke of a hierarchical institution, and the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ was attached to that image of Church. By the time that the Council had begun, the ecclesiology had evolved from the teachings of

³⁴ Pope Pius XII, "Mediator Dei [on the Sacred Liturgy]," http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html.

³⁵ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 1049.

Pius XII to a greater understanding of communion. The way that Congar illustrates this by clarifying that *Mediator Dei* passes directly from the ordination of the apostles by Christ to the hierarchical priesthood, whereas SC passes from the mission of the apostles to the gathered assembly, the Church.³⁶ Additionally, the notion of the People of God from LG also refines the direction of SC in retrospect.

The Ecclesiology of Sacrosanctum Concilium

First, the liturgy is indispensable to the life of the Church. The celebration of the mysteries of redemption is central and necessary for the life of the Church.³⁷

. . . it is through the liturgy, especially, that the faithful are enabled to express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church. . . The liturgy daily builds up those who are in the Church, making of them a holy temple of the Lord, a dwelling-place for God in the Spirit, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ. At the same time it marvelously increases their power to preach Christ and thus show forth the Church, a sign lifted up among the nations, to those who are outside, a sign under which the scattered children of God may be gathered together until there is one fold and one shepherd.³⁸

The beginning of the Liturgy Constitution is clear about liturgy's relationship to the Church. It is "indispensable." Not only is liturgy essential to the life of the Church, it is the primary means for manifesting the nature of Church.³⁹

The Second Vatican Council recognized participation in liturgical celebrations as "the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to derive the true

³⁶ Ibid., Location 1107.

³⁷ Cardinal Francis Arinze, "Positive Results of Vatican II's Liturgy Constitution and Challenges Posed By Them," *Origins* 33.21 (2003): 341-346. [http://originsplus.catholicnews.com/plweb-cgi/fastweb?state_id=1492785023&view=originsplus&docrank=5&numhitsfound=7&query=33%3AVolume%2021%3A%20issue&query_rule=%28\\$query%29&docid=2582&docdb=origins&dbname=originsall&sorting=byfield%3A-date&operator=AND&TemplateName=predoc.tmpl&setCookie=1](http://originsplus.catholicnews.com/plweb-cgi/fastweb?state_id=1492785023&view=originsplus&docrank=5&numhitsfound=7&query=33%3AVolume%2021%3A%20issue&query_rule=%28$query%29&docid=2582&docdb=origins&dbname=originsall&sorting=byfield%3A-date&operator=AND&TemplateName=predoc.tmpl&setCookie=1)

³⁸ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 2.

³⁹ John H. Miller, C.S.C., "The Church-Mystery in the Liturgical Constitution," in *Yearbook of Liturgical Studies* 7 (1966): 3.

Christian spirit.”⁴⁰ The liturgy is also indispensable for the renewal of the life of the Church. As the liturgy is renewed, the Church is renewed. For the liturgy is the “summit toward which the activity of the church is directed; at the same time it is the fountain from which all her power flows.”⁴¹ Pope John Paul II, on the First Sunday of Lent wrote, “the church draws her life from the Eucharist.”⁴² This understanding of the importance of liturgy for the life of the Church is seen in LG, “Taking part in the Eucharistic sacrifice, which is the fount and apex of the whole Christian life, they [the People of God] offer the Divine Victim to God, and offer themselves along with it.”⁴³

While the “People of God” is first seen in LG, the Liturgy document is infused with this same image of Church, which has its roots in the Hebrew scriptures. From the time of Abraham, God continued in covenant with his descendants, gathering them as the “Chosen ones.” Each time God intervened in their history, God assembled them once again. These assemblies of God, or *qahal Yahweh*, gathered to hear God’s word, to worship God and to live that word.⁴⁴ Qahal was translated into Greek as *ekklesia*, or *ecclesia* in Latin. The Church is the assembly or *ecclesia* of God’s Holy People. *Lumen Gentium* expands extensively on this image of Church as People of God.

In addition to the image of the People of God, the Church also includes the concept and ecclesiology of the Body of Christ. Very often when People of God is presented as the only or even primary Vatican II image of Church, it is incomplete. The images of

⁴⁰ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 14.

⁴¹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 10.

⁴² Pope John Paul, II, “Letter Dominicae Cenaе (on the Mystery and Worship of the Eucharist),” (1980): https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/letters/1980/documents/hf_jp-ii_let_19800224_dominicae-cenae.html.

⁴³ *Lumen Gentium*, 10.

⁴⁴ John H. Miller, C.S.C., *The Church*, 5.

People of God and Body of Christ are not exclusive of each other, but together they complete the image of Church.

Despite the progress of the Liturgical Movement, and official documents such as *Mediator Dei* and *Mystici Corporis*, on a popular level liturgy was a series of ancient words and gestures. For the typical priest and perhaps bishop, liturgy was a structure of prayers and rubrics, which must be performed exactly and efficiently for the sacrament to be effective. According to Article 7 of SC, Liturgy is not an exercise of words and actions but:

an exercise of the priestly office of Jesus Christ. It involves the presentation of man's sanctification under the guise of signs perceptible by the senses and its accomplishment in ways appropriate to each of these signs. In it full public worship is performed by the Mystical Body of Jesus Christ, that is, by the Head and his members.⁴⁵

What is accomplished in the liturgy is not rites and words but the worship of God and the re-creating of human beings towards holiness. Article 7 not only situates liturgy but it extends itself to the church and the world. It presumes that the world and humanity is both redeemed and redeemable through the action of Jesus Christ. The action of the liturgy is performed by the whole Church, the Body of Christ, with Christ as its head. It is by nature a structure by a structured community. It is not mere obeisance, giving what is due God, but a giving and receiving, truly dialogic, with active participation of its members. It is entering the presence of God as Church and leaving, touched by God, an experience of rebirth.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 7.

⁴⁶ Reiner Kaczyski, "Toward a Reform of the Liturgy," in *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 3: The Mature Council, Second Period and Intersession, September 1963-September*, ed., Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2000), 229-232.

The image of the Body of Christ is discussed in detail by St. Paul in many of his letters. The more known pieces of scripture are his two letters to the Church in Corinth, which he had founded. The community had become plagued with division. Many of the Christians shared nothing in common with their neighbors. Life was terribly contentious. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor offers a description of this thriving city-state:

The potential for dissension within the community is evident. Most members had in common only their Christianity. They differed widely in educational attainment, financial resources, religious background, political skills, and above all in their expectations. A number were attracted to the church, because it seemed to offer them a new field of opportunity, in which the talents whose expression society frustrated could be exploited to the full. They were energetic and ambitious people, and there was little agreement among their various hidden agendas. A certain competitive spirit was part of the ethos of the church from the beginning.⁴⁷

The description is offered to illustrate that Church life was a mixture of godly intentions and human nature, then as now. Paul addresses the divisions and its impact on the Supper of the Lord, “Whoever, therefore, eats the bread or drinks the cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner will be answerable for the body and blood of the Lord.”⁴⁸ From the lived worship experience, emerges the theology. Following this, Paul begins to explain the Theology of the Body:

“For just as the body is one and has many members, and all the members of the body, though many, are one body, so it is with Christ. For in the one Spirit we were all baptized into one body—Jews or Greeks, slaves or free—and we were all made to drink of one Spirit”⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, *Paul: A Critical Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 273.

⁴⁸ 1 Corinthians 11:27 (NRSV).

⁴⁹ 1 Corinthians 12:12-13.

As the Body of Christ, the church is *ecclesia*, assembly. This assembly is not only local but also global and pan-temporal. It is the Church of “Jerusalem, throughout Judea and Samaria, and to the ends of the earth.”⁵⁰

It is a Church of disciples, commissioned by the risen Lord,

“Go, therefore, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the holy Spirit, teaching them to observe all that I have commanded you. And behold, I am with you always, until the end of the age.”⁵¹

The Church is universal, as expressed as the Church prays, “In union with the whole Church.”⁵² The Church is local. At each Eucharist the assembly prays “for our pope and our bishop . . .”

Following the importance of assembly, both as Body of Christ and People of God, the next ecclesiological area concerns the majority of the members of the assembly, the dignity of the laity. This includes a multiplicity of ministries in the liturgy and in the Church. The entire Church celebrates. Earlier, in the Middle Ages, only the priest had permission even to pray the Pater Noster since only a public person could speak in the name of the people.⁵³ The word Celebrant was used exclusively for the priest only since the twelfth century, at the time of Innocent III. After the Council, the priest is referred to as the ‘Priest Celebrant’ for all are celebrants at the liturgy.⁵⁴

Paragraphs 27-30 of SC emphasize how rites are meant to be celebrated in common with the faithful present and actively participating. Each person whether ordained or lay are to perform the parts pertinent to their office. The document lists some liturgical

⁵⁰ Acts 1:8

⁵¹ Matthew 28: 19-20.

⁵² Eucharistic Prayer 1

⁵³ Gy, P-M. “The Reception of Vatican II Liturgical Reforms in the Life of the Church,” *The Perse Marquette Lecture in Theology 2003* (2003): 22.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

functions, such as choir members, servers, readers and commentators. All should be encouraged to take part by means of acclamations, hymns, “actions, gestures and bodily attitudes.”

Baptism gives every Christian the right and responsibility to live fully in the Church and partake in the liturgy “to which the Christian people, ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people’ (1 Pet. 2:9, 4-5) have a right and obligation by reason of their baptism.”⁵⁵ It is baptism, not ordination, commissioning or adulthood that gives all that right. Through baptism we share in the life of Jesus as priest, prophet and king.⁵⁶ It is said that among the pictures Pope John XXIII held dear, one in his room was that of Padre Francesco Rebuzzini, the priest who baptized him on the very day of his birth. It is faith and baptism that unites us and draws us to the Table of the Lord. Cardinal Suenens is quoted as having said, “A pope’s finest moment is not that of his election or consecration, but that of his baptism.”⁵⁷ During the Council, Bishop Franjo Seper of Zagreb noted, that the ordained never cease being members of the people of God after ordination.⁵⁸

It is the liturgy that “builds up those who are in the Church, making of them a holy temple of the Lord, a dwelling-place for God in the Spirit, to the mature measure of the fullness of Christ.”⁵⁹ “It is in the liturgy that the deepest reality of the Church is

⁵⁵ Sacrosanctum Concilium, 14.

⁵⁶ Baptismal Rite of Infants.

⁵⁷ Richard Gaillardetz, “Vatican II’s Liturgy Constitution: The Beginnings of a Liturgical Ecclesiology,” *Origins* 33.21, (2003): 347-352. [http://originsplus.catholicnews.com/plweb-cgi/fastweb?state_id=1492785023&view=originsplus&docrank=5&numhitsfound=7&query=33%3AVolume%2021%3A%20issue&query_rule=%28\\$query%29&docid=2582&docdb=origins&dbname=originsall&sorting=byfield%3A-date&operator=AND&TemplateName=predoc.tmpl&setCookie=1](http://originsplus.catholicnews.com/plweb-cgi/fastweb?state_id=1492785023&view=originsplus&docrank=5&numhitsfound=7&query=33%3AVolume%2021%3A%20issue&query_rule=%28$query%29&docid=2582&docdb=origins&dbname=originsall&sorting=byfield%3A-date&operator=AND&TemplateName=predoc.tmpl&setCookie=1)

⁵⁸ Richard Gaillardetz, *Vatican II’s Liturgy Constitution*.

⁵⁹ Sacrosanctum Concilium, 2.

manifested.”⁶⁰ Baptism also refers to the Church’s call to mission. Initiation is also covered in the Council’s Decree on Missionary Activity.

Another important ecclesiological dimension found in SC is the importance and rediscovery of the local Church. The worshipping community, whether it is parish, diocese or its equivalent is much more than a geographic delineation and subdivision of a structure. The local life of the diocese centers around the bishop and its central church, the cathedral. The preeminent sign and life of the local church is the “full, active participation of all God’s holy people,” celebrating Eucharist in union with the bishop and clergy at one altar.⁶¹ Since this physical unity is not realistic, there needs to be an understanding of the unity among local parishes where the church is made visible on a local level and joined to the local church, under the bishop. It may be significant that there is no mention of the Bishop of Rome or the Pope in the Constitution. It merely highlights the importance of the local church.

Fr. Godfrey Diekmann recounts one of the most moving moments while he worked as part of the Preparatory Liturgical Commission. A bishop from behind the Iron Curtain described that it was from Sunday worship that his people were able to find the strength of the Christian community to empower them to live through the rest of the week without despair. “In strict truth,” he said, “we now know that eucharistia facit ecclesiam—the Eucharist makes, creates the church.” The strength of the local Church is as significant as the apostolic Church in Corinth or in Ephesus. That same bishop pleaded for extensive liturgical reforms, of language especially, but also of rite, so that the local Eucharist

⁶⁰ Richard Gaillardetz, *Vatican II’s Liturgy Constitution*.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

might even more effectively transform his scattered flock into strong local assemblies.⁶² While the translations of liturgical books is subject to “examination or confirmation” by the Holy See, Article 36 states that the primary competency over such translations lies with the regional episcopal conference.

Liturgical Adaptation is another important aspect of Church, which affected the life of the Council and is found in SC. Articles 37-40 of the Constitution are some of the more radical principles of the Council. Unity need not mean uniformity! There is a clear respect and a need to “foster the qualities and talents of the various races and nations.”⁶³ More than adaptation, there is an allowance to insert things into liturgy that harmonize with the rite’s authentic spirit. There is a recognition that an even more *radical* adaptation of liturgy is needed. While the Holy See has authority over liturgy and these adaptations, it gives permission to local Church authority to direct temporary preliminary experiments when necessary. Fr. Diekmann wonders what the contemporary political scene might look like had the Chinese rites controversy been resolved more amicably.⁶⁴

The Church as sacrament is another theme implicitly found in the document, though never named.⁶⁵ SC teaches, “To accomplish so great a work Christ is always present in his Church, especially in her liturgical celebrations”⁶⁶ and “. . . for in some way they [pastors who take the place of the bishop in parishes] represent the visible Church constituted throughout the world”⁶⁷

⁶² Godfrey Diekmann, “The Constitution on the Liturgy in Retrospect,” *Worship* 40, (1966): 413.

⁶³ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 37.

⁶⁴ Godfrey Diekmann, *The Constitution*, 414.

⁶⁵ The theology of Church as Sacrament was addressed by three eminent theologians at the time of the Council. Cf. Edward Schillebeeckx, *Christ the Sacrament of the Encounter With God* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1963); Otto Semmelroth, *Church and Sacrament*. Notre Dame: Fides, 1965; Karl Rahner, *The Church and the Sacraments* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1968).

⁶⁶ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 7.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

Lastly, Paragraph 26 defines Church as the “sacrament of unity,” namely, “the holy people united and arranged under their bishops.”⁶⁸ The church is a priestly body, vowed to the worship of God, a structured and ordered People of God.⁶⁹

Impacts on the Council

The documents of the Second Vatican Council are more than a series of manuscripts, which attended to individual themes. There is a definite coherence among them. Without explicit footnotes, the texts refer to one another and borrow from each other. It is this essential relation to one another that one can allude to as the “Spirit of the Council.”⁷⁰ There is an obvious relationship among all the writings of the Fathers towards a Church in dialogue with the People of God and with the world. Yet there is definite compromise. The minority left their mark in the documents and in their control of John XXIII’s successor, Pope Paul VI.⁷¹ This minority gained strength over the years, with the help of Paul VI’s two successors. Their attention has focused primarily on the liturgy and its document. Through the accusations of abuse and the redirection of post-conciliar reforms, there is evidence that the redirection of the rule of prayer has altered the rule of belief and the ecclesiology of the Church. This will be supported at the end of this study.

Faggioli has shown that the major theological concepts of Vatican II have traces in the liturgical constitution: the rediscovery of the Word of God, ecclesiology, ecumenism, relations with the Jews, the Church and the modern world.⁷² This was begun with the

⁶⁸ Ibid., 26.

⁶⁹ Yves Congar, *The Ecclesia*, Kindle Edition, Location 1124.

⁷⁰ John W. O’Malley, *What Happened At Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010), 310-311.

⁷¹ Ibid., 311.

⁷² Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle Loc. 2469.

work of the liturgical movement and the development of pastoral theology before the Council. As an example he quotes Father Gelineau:

“To pray for real needs of the church and the world is to show that one is intimately concerned with political realities, that the word and the sacramental point to the salvation of the world in which we live.”⁷³

One strong permeating ecclesiology in the Constitution on the Liturgy, which seemed to influence the other documents of the Council is Church as *communio*. The People of God is to be “a sign and instrument, that is, of communion with God and of unity among humankind,”⁷⁴ with the source and summit of this communion is the Paschal Mystery celebrated in the Eucharist.⁷⁵ Pope Benedict wrote:

“‘Communion’ ecclesiology is in its inmost nature a Eucharistic ecclesiology...In the Eucharist, Christ, who is present in bread and wine and is ever anew giving himself in them builds up the Church as his body, and through his body that rises again he unites us with God the Trinity and with each other. The Eucharist takes place at whatever place is in question and yet it is at the same time universal, because there is only one Christ and only one body of Christ. The Eucharist includes the priestly ministry of *repraesentatio Christi* and, thereby, also the network of service and ministry, the coexistence of unity and multiplicity, which is already suggested in the term ‘communion’. There is thus no doubt we can say that this concept carries in it an ecclesiological synthesis that links talk about the Church with talk about God and with living with God’s help and living with God; a synthesis that comprehends all the essential points that the ecclesiology of Vatican II intended to express and correctly relates them to each other.”⁷⁶

The relationship within the Trinity is a key to understanding Church as ‘*communio*.’ The relationship between God and the Church and among the People of God was highly accented in the Liturgy Constitution and the other conciliar documents.

⁷³ Ibid., Kindle Loc. 2472, note 22.

⁷⁴ *Lumen Gentium*, 9.

⁷⁵ Brendan Leahy, “People, Synod and Upper Room: Vatican II’s Ecclesiology of Communion,” In *Vatican II Facing the 21st Century: Historical and Theological Perspectives*, eds., Dermot A. Lane and Brendan Leahy (Dublin: Veritas Publications), 56.

⁷⁶ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger (Pope Benedict XVI), *Pilgrim Fellowship of Faith: The Church as Communion* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005), 14-15.

The document on divine revelation, *Dei Verbum*, and *Lumen Gentium* both present a picture of God that is not distant or remote. God is a God who entered into our lives and journeyed among us. Our God is a ‘God who has initiated a dialogue and increasingly communicated his identity and life to us, promising us a future.’⁷⁷

SC presented an ecclesiology shaped by doxology. As Nathan Mitchel pointed out, the challenge of Vatican II was not a new way of worshipping, but a new way of being church in *and* for the world.⁷⁸ There are two Constitutions on the Church. One is the Dogmatic Constitution and the other is a Pastoral Constitution. It is a Church Constitution without demands, without rules, without damnation. “Here, there is no emphasis on hierarchy and power, no insistence on the Church’s “rights” and “privileges.” Instead, there is a humble openness to the Spirit’s promptings and a recognition that Church and humanity have much to learn from each other.”⁷⁹ Mitchell sees the true gift of SC is that the *lex orandi (supplicandi)*, the norm of prayer establishes the law of belief. For the majority of the Council, the majority of the bishops, worship and initiation guided the council. Pope John XXIII must have been keenly aware of the power of this axiom when he demanded that every day of the council would begin with a common celebration of the liturgy, utilizing the spectrum of rites in the church. At the end of this study, we will investigate how the post-conciliar church struggled to abide by this same axiom.

The joy and hope, the grief and anguish of the people of our time, especially of those who are poor or afflicted in any way, are the joy and hope, the grief and anguish of the followers of Christ as well. Nothing that is genuinely human fails to find an echo in their hearts. For theirs is a

⁷⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁷⁸ Nathan Mitchell, O.S.B., “Liturgy and Ecclesiology,” In *Handbook for Liturgical Studies, Volume II: Fundamental Liturgy*, ed., Anscar J. Chupungco (Collegeville, MN: Pueblo Books, 2016), 118.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

community composed of men and women, of people who, united in Christ and guided by the Holy Spirit, press onwards towards the kingdom of God and are bearers of a message of salvation intended for all.⁸⁰

Finally, Yves Congar was not the only theologian who wondered what form the Liturgy Constitution might have taken if one or both Constitutions on the Church had been debated before SC. An International Theological Conference on Vatican II was held at Notre Dame one year after the closing of the Council. During a discussion period, Godfrey Diekmann was asked if the Liturgy Constitution might have been written differently if it had been composed after schema 13, *The Church in the Modern World*. Diekmann answered positively. He believed it would have been different. He pointed out that the mentioning of the role of the Spirit is minimal in the document.⁸¹ That is one dimension of ecclesiology that is lacking in the text of the document. But just as this premier text influenced the writings of the subsequent documents, they in turn nuance the first Constitution and each other. This is the reason why authors like John O'Malley stress that the Council needs to be understood as an event rather than a series of texts and actions.⁸²

Pope Paul VI reopened the Second Vatican Council on September 29, 1963 as the newly elected pope. He said that the “principal concern” of this second session would be to “examine the intimate nature of the Church.” In this opening address he said, “The time has come, it seems to us, when the truth about the Church of Christ must be explored, expressed and orderly, perhaps not with the solemn statements that are called

⁸⁰ Second Vatican Council, “*Gaudium et Spes* [Pastoral Constitution on the Church]”, December 7, 1965, In *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 903.

⁸¹ John H. Miller C.S.C., ed., “Session II: Discussion,” in *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 32.

⁸² Cf. John W. O'Malley, *What Happened At Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2010), 309-313.

dogmatic definitions, but with those statements with which the Church with more explicit and authoritative magisterium says what she thinks about herself.”⁸³ Faggioli believes:

There is no doubt that the pope was thinking not only about the ecclesiological constitution but also about the liturgical constitution that was to be approved in the second conciliar period.⁸⁴

Johannes Wagner, in his introduction to the second volume of *Concilium* dedicated to liturgy writes:

The liturgical movement, which has brought about a new awareness of all this, is ultimately but a part, the specific expression and an important interpretation of a much greater and more comprehensive process that has been going on in the Church irresistibly for a long time: the image of the Church is seen in a new light; it is seen and made a reality in a new and more profound manner.

Thus, it should not be considered a mere accident, or, worse, a way out of an embarrassment that Vatican Council II, whose special purpose according to Pope Paul VI is a deeper and more comprehensive self-awareness of the Church, devoted so much time to the discussion of divine worship and approved the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy as the first fruit of its labor. With the discussion of the schema on the liturgy the council was from the first day dealing with its proper object: De Ecclesia.

⁸³ Acta Synodalia, vol. 2, bk. 1, 183-200, quotation at 190, in Massimo Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2012), Loc. 3117, Kindle.

⁸⁴ Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle Loc. 3120.

CHAPTER 5: HISTORY OF THE CATECHUMENATE

*The Church, a pilgrim now on earth, is necessary for salvation; the one Christ is mediator and the way of salvation; he is present to us in his body which is the Church—Fully incorporated into the Church are those who, possessing the Spirit of Christ accept all the means of salvation given the Church . . . Even though incorporated into the Church one who does not persevere, in charity, is not saved. Catechumens who moved by the Holy Spirit, desire with an explicit intention to be incorporated into the Church are by that very intention joined to her.*¹

Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, art. 14

Development of Initiation Structure

The reform promulgated by the Second Vatican Council was unprecedented. Critical historical and linguistic tools were now available to investigate ancient documents that were discovered and studied, some only within the end of the 19th century.¹ Sophisticated sciences of psychology, sociology and ritual studies were utilized in studies to situate the Church and its members to live and thrive in the modern world.² The environment and relationship between the Church and world at the time of Vatican II was conciliatory rather than the former adversarial or separatist stance. From its beginnings in the 19th century, the task at the beginning of the Liturgical Movement was to discover the rich liturgical tradition of the Church. As a result, scholars strove toward contemporary expressions of these same truths found in earlier Church experience. It

¹ Just as the Historico-Critical method was used in the study of Scripture it is an important method for non-scriptural, liturgical texts. Wilhelm Grimm's study of folklore led to the development of Form Criticism for religious texts. Source Criticism is as important in the investigation of layers in worship texts as it was in the study of the Pentateuch. Additionally, scientific analysis of language, paper and ink all contribute to the study of liturgical texts.

² The contributions of scholars, the likes of Arnold Gennep, Clifford Geertz, Mircea Eliade, Emile Durkheim, Victor Turner and Ronald Grimes in the areas of ritual, sociology, anthropology and symbols have been invaluable in the studies of liturgical texts and sources.

was recognized that true liturgical renewal can never disregard its past. At the same time, both liturgical scholars and the Fathers of the Council realized that it would be irresponsible license to preserve the rites solely due to their historical significance. One's past must be a springboard for inspiration rather than setting a museum-like trap. John Gallen noted that "reform inspires us, rather to be enriched by the lived experience of Christian men and women, reaching all the way back to the touch of Jesus himself."¹

The reform of the rite of initiation of adults and the reintroduction of the full catechumenate in the Church was not the result of laboratory-like studies of theology; nor was it due to a narrow reverence of the past by Church historians and patristics enthusiasts. It was a contemporary answer to a pastoral plea of the twentieth century made during Vatican II. *The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity* (*Ad Gentes*) was the obvious place for such a request.² The adult catechumenate had been utilized in Mission Ministry in one way or another for many years. A revised rite of adult initiation with an extended catechumenate was issued in 1962 as a result of its need in Africa, Asia and parts of Europe.³ However, prior to *Ad Gentes*, *The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC)⁴ and the "Dogmatic Constitution on the Church"⁵ affirmed the need for a revised initiatory process for the whole Church. The Working Committee charged with the mandate to produce a rite of Adult Initiation realized they

¹ John Gallen, "The Pastoral Celebration of Initiation," *New Catholic World*, Vol. 222, No. 1329 (July/August 1979), 148.

² Second Vatican Council, *Ad Gentes* [Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church], Par. 13-15, December 7, 1965, ch. 61, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1987).

³ Cf. Section on rites of Initiation before RCIA (this study), Chapter 5, 10-16.

⁴ Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy], Par. 64-66, December 4, 1964, par. 35, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1987).

⁵ Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* [The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church], Par. 14-15 & 17, November 24, 1964. Ed. Austin Flannery, O.P., in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1987).

needed to study the catechumenal journey of the early Church, an analysis of its reason for existence, as well as the causes of its near extinction. They realized this path back in history was crucial to help them meet the needs of the Church in the present and future. The chair of that working group was Fr. Balthasar Fischer, a professor of the seminary in Trier, Germany. In an interview with Fr. William Cieslack, Fischer explained,

“It was not our intention to keep ancient texts merely because they were old or for nostalgic reasons, but because these texts, while they linked us with the past, still answered contemporary needs. The ancient texts treated Christian initiation as what it really is, a process, and [they] related that process to human nature.”⁶

The committee understood that only after such an inquiry could a revised rite of the catechumenate be established. The result was a dynamic initiatory process which recognized Baptism as the foundation and means for the continued life of the Church. In light of the importance of the knowledge of the development of the catechumenate, a sketch of the lived experience of the catechumenate as well its ecclesiological theology is in order for the sake of a proper perspective of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults.

At the time of Jesus, Non-Jewish teachings proposed that one’s religion was acquired at birth and became the means for a solitary or vertical relationship with one’s God. Religion was experienced as an escape from daily life and time, a way to meet one’s God apart from the world. Perhaps one might move to other gods when moving to a different location or due to conquest or invasions.⁷ Cultic waterbaths, inaugurated as cleansings from the activities of the world, were preparations for an after-life. If there was a journey of any sort it was vertical, out of time and history, into a life with God

⁶ Walter Ciesak, “RCIA: Looking Back—an Interview with Fr. Balthasar Fischer,” *Modern Liturgy* 11 (June–August, 1984), 7.

⁷ Nock, A. D. *Conversion. The Old and New in Religion From Alexander the Great to Augustine of Hippo* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1961), 5.

alone. These waterbaths were performed by mystery cults and were the means to instant salvation or preliminary cleansings to make one suitable for initiation.⁸ Members of these cults and mystery religions believed that the waterbaths themselves caused or repaired this vertical relationship with God, reflecting a type of esoteric quality about them. The human being manipulated the relationship with the gods through the water ritual. Philosophers and other critics were vocal about the misuse of these washings and the superstitions attached to them. Some examples of washings were ablutions necessary before visiting temples of goddesses and gods and washings after warfare or any type of killing. Critics included Plutarch as well as Philo who quoted the Hebrew prophets' denunciations of those who washed clean while living with defiled souls.⁹ The affiliation was one-to-one and lacked any sense of an ecclesiology or social association.

The relationship with the God of the Hebrew world (and throughout the teachings of Jesus) differed from that of mystery cults and other ancient religions. This covenant was both initiated and sustained by God. Adherence to the covenant entailed a conversion and a commitment to that covenant.¹⁰ Though vertical, it was not individual. God chose a people and they were free to accept to live out that relationship. Unlike the mystery cults, the interaction was with God, God's people and history. Baptisms became the rituals signifying this association with God and with the "remnant People of Israel" throughout history.¹¹

For Christians, religion was an entrance into every-day experience rather than an escape from it. Religious initiation became a means of entering into life but with a new

⁸ Ferguson, Everett, *Baptism in the Early Church* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans Pub Co, 2009), 25-37.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 28.

¹⁰ Nock, 11-14.

¹¹ Cf. 1 Kings 6:12-13; 2Kings 14:27; Isaiah 59:21; Jeremiah 31:31-34; 2 Corinthians 3:6; 1 Peter 2: 9-10.

identity, which involved conversion. John the Baptist appears in each of the three parallel Gospels, announcing repentance and proclaiming, “Prepare Ye the Way of the Lord.”¹² John’s call was an invitation to journey, to be part of a pathway of life, not alone but in a community within the world. The element of ritual purity and forgiveness of sins may be elements attributed to Jewish proselyte baptism and the Essene community.¹³

Pauline literature speaks of baptism as incorporation into the death, burial and resurrection of Jesus, into “life with him.”¹⁴ It is an expression of belief and purification, causing one to live for God in Jesus Christ.¹⁵ Baptism did not remove the believer and set each one apart but imploded them into a lifetime communal existence in its fullest.¹⁶ Baptism gave one a uniqueness to be lived and could not be shed without the repercussion of exiling oneself from the community. Baptism was not a one-time ritual of purification but rather a continued day-to-day lifestyle. In one instance, Paul feared that the Corinthians no longer understood their Christian commitments as ongoing once they had ‘won’ their Baptism. In his letter to them, he explains that the ritual bath, the meals, the professions alone do not constitute a being a Christian. The desert experience of the Hebrews was a form of Baptism but they too were struck down by God because they did not live out the covenant afterwards.¹⁷ Part of Christian initiation in the apostolic church was a journey with one another living the “Way of the Teaching,” according to the call of the Gospel.¹⁸

¹² Matthew 3:1-6| Mark 1:1-6; Luke 3:1-6.

¹³ Ferguson, 85.

¹⁴ Colossians 2:12; Ephesians 2:1, 4-6; Philippians 3:10-11.

¹⁵ Romans 6:11.

¹⁶ McBrien, Richard P., *Catholicism* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1979), 587.

¹⁷ 1 Corinthians 10.13.

¹⁸ Quasten, Johannes. *The Didache: The Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the Fragments of Papias, the Epistle to Diognetus (Ancient Christian Writers)* (Paulist Press, 1948) 15-19.

Besides the theology extrapolated from such examples and exhortations, there is definite evidence of initiatory structures in place in the Acts of the Apostles, as well as Pauline and other non-biblical apostolic literature.¹⁹ Whether or not Jesus baptized as a transition from John continues to be debated. If Jesus did not baptize, there is no clear indication of a transition from John to a more stylized ritual. The beginning of the Book of Acts has no mention of baptism for the 120 believers present to select a replacement of the betrayer, and it merely says that the 3,000 were baptized after hearing Peter's testimony. Adela Yarbro Collins describes the development of baptism in apostolic times in much more in detail that could be explained here.²⁰ With few exceptions, evidence in the New Testament shows that the proclamation of the Word of God always precedes Baptism as the first stage.²¹ According to scripture, Paul was baptized, perhaps as the only non-disciple who had received a direct revelation from the Lord himself rather than a proclamation of the scriptures.²²

The second stage of apostolic initiation is the response to the hearing of Scripture, as an initial experience of conversion. The third stage in this conversion process is the waterbath itself. By means of the baptismal rite, the candidate is welcomed into the community as one of the faithful and entitled to partake in the full life of the community: in its preaching and teaching, in community or koinonia, and finally in the breaking of the bread and in prayers of the Church.²³

¹⁹ Acts 1:15; Acts 2:22-42.

²⁰ Adela Yarbro Collins, "The Origin of Christian Baptism," in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*, ed., Maxwell E. Johnson, (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 47-49.

²¹ Acts 2:22-42.

²² Acts 9.1-19.

²³ E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson. *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition (Pueblo Books)*. Revised ed.(Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 3.

Some evidence of conversion and a willingness to fully participate in the life of the community on the part of the candidate was necessary before partaking of the waterbath. Throughout this formation period, there was continuous interaction and familiarity with the existing community and its communal life, but with the exclusion of the hidden rituals. During this period, the community expressed support and welcome to their prospective members. Nevertheless, it was also a period of testing and witnessing whether or not the prospective member was committed to living the lifestyle of a Christian. As was explained earlier, unlike membership in other tribes or cults it was understood that one was not born into Christianity. One was ‘made’ and the ‘making’ was a series of continued conversions. These formation processes were a critical component of the life of the early church community and play an important role today. This corporate dimension of Church was emphasized in the last century as the theme of the encyclical *Mystici Corporis* of Pius XII.²⁴ Later it was joined with the communal image of Church as the People of God, in the Constitution on the Church of Vatican II. The Catechism of the Catholic Church teaches the Church as “The People of God, “The Body of Christ,” and the “Temple of the Holy Spirit.”²⁵

There is little to no evidence of a formal initiatory process until the second century of Christianity, in Didache, “The Teaching of the Apostles.” Didache is an ancient Church Order whose dating and location is debated. Joan Hazelden Walker began a study on the earliest Christian liturgy and believed it was the oldest Christian text, predating the letters of Paul. However, her manuscript and proof remains unfinished.

²⁴ Pius XII, *Mystici Corporis Christi* (Encyclical on the Mystical Body of Christs), Vatican Website, June 29, 1942, accessed March 13, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_29061943_mystici-corporis-christi.html.

²⁵ John Paul II, *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, Vatican Website, August 15, 1997, accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/archive/ccc_css/archive/catechism/p123a9p2.htm, Art. 9, Par. 2.

Other scholars believe the text stands as late as the fourth century. Current scholarship shows that it is a Syrian document from the late first or early second centuries.²⁶

It is recently well recognized that there is no uniform process of initiation in the early church, neither theology, structure or text. Extensive research since the last quarter of the twentieth century has shown that scholarship cannot point to a definitive initiatory process in the church, perhaps until the later Middle Ages. Since the end of the nineteenth century, scholars believed they had located formative text, revealing standard liturgical practices until Gabriele Winkler's study of Syrian and Armenian liturgy in 1978.²⁷ Paul Bradshaw's critical work concerning *Apostolic Tradition*, traditionally prescribed to Hippolytus, Presbyter of Rome in the early third century, has shattered even more assumptions concerning "authoritative texts" of the early centuries. His work has made a tremendous impact on initiation considering the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults was designed based on the belief that this was one of the earliest church orders pertaining to initiation. Bradshaw created a short explanation of these assumptions and his subsequent research in *Liturgy*.²⁸ Nevertheless, these documents do offer important materials about initiation and other sacrament rites prior to the fifth century and are still invaluable, even if they are revisions and products of redactors. In Maxwell Johnson's article on the contemporary study of Initiation,²⁹ he points out Martin Connell's study of footwashing in John's Gospel. Connell's hypothesis is that footwashing and not a

²⁶ Niederwimmer, Kurt. *The Didache (Hermeneia: A Critical & Historical Commentary on the Bible)*. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1998. For a thorough study of Didache.

²⁷ Gabriele Winkler, "The Original Meaning of the Prebaptismal Anointing," in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995) 58-81.

²⁸ Paul Bradshaw, "Hippolytus Revisited," *Liturgy* 16:1 (2000): 6-11.

²⁹ Maxwell E. Johnson, "The Role of *Worship* in the Contemporary Study of Christian Initiation: A Select Review of the Literature," *Worship* 75.1 (2001): 23.

waterbath might have been the ritual of initiation in Johannine communities. If true, this would show an even greater diversity of initiation rituals.³⁰

Didache gives us an explanation of baptism as a waterbath following exhortations on “The Two Ways.” The rest of the ensemble consisted of fasting, prayer and spiritual food. This food (Eucharist) could not be taken except by those who have been “baptized in the name of the Lord.”³¹ Justin Martyr’s First Apology to the Roman emperor is written about 160 C.E. and is one of the earliest pieces of Christian apologetics. In his text, he likewise mentions that the bath is followed by prayers and concludes with an account of the Eucharist. Both his account and Didache mention that the community joins the candidates in the preparation fast.³² In Didache, both the baptizer and the candidate must fast before the baptism, along with any others who accept the invitation to join.³³ Justin states that the whole community fasts with the candidates. The new Christians are gathered with the faithful, where all pray together. Then the prayer concludes with a welcoming and kiss of peace among the members and the neophytes.³⁴ Didache does not set the day of Baptism. Since Eucharist is celebrated on the Lord’s Day, we may presume that baptism takes place on Sunday, or a day in proximity to Sunday.³⁵ Justin states that the Eucharist follows immediately after the waterbath.³⁶

³⁰ Cf. Martin F. Connell, “Nisi Pedes, Except for the Feet: Footwashing in the Communities of John’s Gospel,” *Worship* 70.6 (1996): 516-531.

³¹ James Kleist, S.J., trans., “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” in *The Didache: The Epistle of Barnabas, the Epistles and the Martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the Fragments of Papias, the Epistle to Diognitus*, ed., Johannes Quasten, Ancient Christian Writers, No. 6 (New York: Paulist Press, 1948) 15-19.

³² Justin Martyr, “First Apology,” in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Pueblo Books) ed., E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003) 3.

³³ Didache., No. 7.4.

³⁴ Justin, No. 65.

³⁵ Didache, No. 9

³⁶ Justin, No. 65.

Apostolic Tradition — Traditionally Attributed to Hippolytus of Rome

As noted above, Apostolic Tradition was thought to be authored by a traditional presbyter and anti-pope of Rome, Hippolytus, around 225 C.E. Because of his own traditional position in religion, it was believed, that the text had been well established in Rome. While the sources and traditional dating have proved to be much later, the text remains an invaluable source for baptismal and other rites, at least by the fifth century.³⁷ In the given text as it has remained, those who wish to be received into the Church are presented to the teachers who examine their intentions and their manner of living. They are then accepted as catechumens and are instructed in the faith. A period of preparation takes place, usually lasting three years. However, the catechumen's Christian maturity stood to be more important than the designated time.³⁸ The preparation period included instruction as well as formation for a Christian style of life. Candidates were expected to live lives of charity and "active well-doing." They were separated from the body of believers. It is noted that the catechumens were not allowed to join in the prayers and the kiss of peace, which implies some interaction between them and the community.³⁹ Their teachers laid hands on them, prayed and dismissed them before the Eucharist.⁴⁰

Before Easter, the catechumens' lives were again examined as their sponsors testified on their behalf. They were then allowed to hear the Gospel for the first time. The bishop exorcised them daily until Easter. After two days of fasting with the entire

³⁷ For a thorough treatise on the study of this text, see Paul Bradshaw, "Redating the Apostolic Tradition: Some Preliminary Steps," in *Rule of Prayer, Rule of Faith: Essays in Honor of Aidan Kavanagh, o.s.b.*, ed Nathan Mitchell and John Francis Baldovin (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1996) 3-17; P. Bradshaw, M. Johnson and L.E. Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Hermeneia, 2002).

³⁸ G.J. Cuming, trans., "Apostolic Tradition," in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition (Pueblo Books)* ed., E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), No. 17.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 18.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 19.

community, they were baptized at cockcrow on Easter. The rite consisted of a waterbath between two anointings. A type of welcoming ceremony followed, by the bishop who was waiting and praying with the rest of the community. The welcome consisted of a laying on of hands, an anointing and sealing by the bishop, and a kiss of peace with the community. The neophytes were then invited to pray with the Church for the first time and share in the Eucharist. A mixture of milk and honey, and a cup of water were offered along with the Eucharist.⁴¹ The new Christians “advanced in the service of God,” and received further instruction from the bishop, when necessary.

Tertullian, Cyprian, Didascalia Apostolorum⁴² and others offer narratives and references to initiation, however, the ecclesial nature of their rites are not as clear as in The Apostolic Tradition. The revised Roman Rites as well as most subsequent revisions of the Anglican and Protestant Churches have used *Apostolic Tradition* extensively. Parallels to The Apostolic Tradition did exist in other Churches outside of Rome is testified to in the writings of Egeria. Egeria was probably a Spanish nun and a pilgrim of the later fourth century. She visited Jerusalem while Cyril was still bishop and recorded her findings there, sending at least two letters to her sisters in what may have been northern Spain. She mentions a “recording” of the names of the candidates for Baptism before the first day of Lent. The Lenten season lasted eight weeks. Their lives are examined by the bishop and then they begin a daily catechesis of three hours for forty days. After five weeks they receive the creed. After their Easter baptism, they return for

⁴¹ Ibid., [Chapter 21].

⁴² Tertullian was a member of the Church of North Africa, writing at the beginning of the third century; Cyprian was bishop of Carthage, North Africa, writing in the middle of the third century; Didascalia Apostolorum is a mid-third century Syrian church order.

eight days to learn about the Easter mysteries they have experienced. The teaching is centered around scriptures.⁴³

There seem to be two common expectations of the adults who were invited to join the Christian community. They underwent a stipulated conversion process in which the whole Church participated. They were also called to give up their old life. It should be noted that this rejection of a previous life is easily understood as an adult decision, especially with first generation Christians. However, this did not eliminate the baptizing of children. There is evidence of paedobaptism in the early Church. In addition, since children were baptized because their parents were baptized, or at the same time their parents were baptized, there was also ‘family baptism.’ Apostolic Tradition casually mentions baptizing “the little ones first.”⁴⁴

There is no extensive explanation of interrogation by the community. Perhaps there were stylized forms of examination but rather a continued inspection by the believing community.

By the fourth and fifth centuries, this extended catechumenal period was reasonably shortened to coincide with the Lenten Season. In the year 313, Constantine ended the persecution of Christians, but this brought new problems. Michel Dujarier writes,

The Peace of Constantine, inaugurated in 313, marks an important turning point in the history of the Church. From an illegal religion, Christianity became legally tolerated, and this position was soon transformed into one of privileged liberty. The Christians rejoiced, and rightly so, in being able to profess their faith without being harassed. But this change brought with it grave new pastoral problems, especially when it became the official religion instead of being only a permitted religion.⁴⁵

⁴³ John Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1999), 161-163, Nos. 45-47.

⁴⁴ Apostolic Tradition, No. 21.

⁴⁵ Michel Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries* (New York: William H Sadlier, 1979), 78.

Becoming a Christian then became a standard part of life and the motivation often moved away from conversion. Perhaps it helped the possibility of marriage, or a way to please a superior or master. It may have also facilitated sought after positions in society. As was seen above, the catechumenal process became more stylized and eventually truncated into a period of enlightenment during the Lenten Season. At this same time, a post-baptismal period of catechesis, referred to as Mystagogia, developed. Throughout Easter Week Cyril addressed the newly baptized about the sacraments they had experienced as patriarch of Jerusalem.⁴⁶ At the same time in Milan, Bishop Ambrose was responsible for similar practices of Mystagogy during Easter Week.⁴⁷ After a catechumenate period of three decades, active and inactive, Augustine was initiated in Milan under the oversight of Ambrose. There, he also served as one of the *competents*.⁴⁸ He doesn't record much about the rites there which may indicate that they were similar to his experience in Africa.

Initiation during the era of the Great Fathers of the Church in the fourth century was short lived. The catechumenate as a conversion/initiation ensemble principally for adults began to disintegrate and decline sharply. The longer catechumenate recorded in Apostolic Tradition was reduced to the Pre-Paschal preparation. Augustine only mentions catechumenate formation once but does not indicate any rites celebrated during that period:

⁴⁶ Cyril of Jerusalem, "The Sermons," in *The Awe—Inspiring Rites of Initiation: Baptismal Homilies of the Fourth Century*, ed., Edward Yarnold, S.J. (Middlegreen: St. Paul Publications, 1971), 65-96.

⁴⁷ Ambrose, "The Sermons," 97-154.

⁴⁸ Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation*, Revised ed. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007), 185.

"What is it that happens during the time when the catechumens keep their place and their name? They are taught what the faith and conduct of a Christian should be."⁴⁹

While Augustine doesn't fully describe the formation process, there was a catechumenate. He does say that catechumens were catechized, exorcized and scrutinized in the above address, *De fide et operibus*. Catechumens were present at Augustine's Lenten Sermons. He believed that they needed to be instructed in what to believe and how to live the faith. There were exorcisms during Lent. The preparation concluded with a final catechesis on baptism which took place on Saturday.⁵⁰ After the initiation rite, Augustine convened the neophytes for further catechesis during the Octave of Easter. By Augustine's references, it seems that there would be larger numbers of infants at times.⁵¹

The lack of adults available for baptism, the increased number of infants being baptized, the scarcity of western bishops available for the anointing with chrism (the Oil of Thanksgiving), as well as the various theologies and controversies which arose due to these situations led to the reduction and redefinition of the catechumenate and the dismemberment of the Rite of Initiation into three separate sacramental events of Baptism, Confirmation and Eucharist.⁵² Ecclesiology as the relationship between Church and State changed. Christians ceased to be a minority; they began to enjoy social and political status of some privilege. During this time, membership was important.

⁴⁹ Augustine, "De fide et operibus" (Of Faith and Works) in *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Historical and Pastoral Reflections*, Michel Dujarier (New York: William H Sadlier, 1979), 62.

⁵⁰ Ferguson, 782-85.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 788.

⁵² For a more detailed account of the history, theology and reasons why the Western Church could not maintain the integrity of Christian Initiation: Nathan Mitchell, "Christian Initiation: Decline and Dismemberment," *Worship* 48.8 (October 1974): 458-479.

Christendom was the political environment. Alan Krieder, in his work on Conversion and history writes that conversion was attached to “belonging.” He writes,

The result is a homogenous Christian society. People are Christians, not because of what they believe (which may wander wildly) nor because of how they behave (which may resemble the ancient Teutons more than the early Christians), but rather because they belong — and their belonging is rooted in the primal realities of genes and geography.⁵³

As an accepted religions, members increased, though as converts there was much less of an awareness of conversion. Bishops became beholden to these new members since they might have been influential benefactors. Doctrinal controversies caused a further shift away from the emphasis of scripture and Christian lifestyle as the agenda of the competents and catechists, who now taught doctrine.

The Christian east faced a similar situation in regard to infant baptism but retained the unity of the initiation rite even at the expense of the presence of the bishop. The anointing or consignation was not removed in the east. Instead, the act was relegated to the presbyter so that the local Church could continue to baptize, “confirm,” and celebrate the Eucharist in a single rite. The Church of the “pure and few” became a Church of the many. Augustine referred to it as *corpus permixtum*,⁵⁴ a mixed group. The Church as a counter-cultural entity was significantly weakened.⁵⁵

A unified process of Initiation became virtually extinct with the decline of adult catechumenate in the west. Although children were initiated at least since the time of Terullian, there seemed to be no attempt to develop a rite of baptism for infants. The liturgy remained the same while the theology changed to fit the ritual. Augustine began

⁵³ Alan Kreider, *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2007), 94.

⁵⁴ A body of godly and ungodly members, a mixed group.

⁵⁵ William Harmless, S.J., *Augustine and the Catechumenate* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995), 55.

to question the effect of baptism and stated that the waterbath had to remove something (as was the case with the “previous life” belief). This change in theology continued for a duration of about two hundred years.⁵⁶

A letter of Innocent I to Decentius, bishop of Gubbio in 416, indicates the baptism of infants and a conflict when the bishop is not present for a laying on of hands and a post-baptismal anointing. These gestures resemble the gestures of the bishop in Apostolic Tradition but the letter indicates that it is now connected with a giving of the Spirit and is postponed until a bishop is present. It is also a certain breakdown of the initiatory ensemble outlined in Apostolic Tradition. There is no indication that this is widespread, but it is still significant.⁵⁷

Decline of Adult Initiation

Not until the sixth century with the writing of John the Deacon in Rome are we certain that the majority of the baptisms involved infants.⁵⁸ John the Deacon is an important figure in the development of Initiation in the West, but we know nothing about him other than he was a deacon during the Pontificate of Pope Symmachus (498-514). He corresponded with Senarius, perhaps a nobleman, describing the rites and meaning of initiation. John stated that the period of preparation was considerably shortened to a few weeks before Easter since the catechumens were infants who were not able to understand what was happening. They are presented by their parents and he points out that

⁵⁶ Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B., *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1978), 90. (Augustine’s document is “De Catechesandis Rudibus.”)

⁵⁷ Maxwell E. Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 162.

⁵⁸ Nathan Mitchell, “Dissolution of the Rite of Christian Initiation,” in *Made, Not Born: New Perspectives on Christian Initiation and the Catechumenate*, ed., The Murphy Center for Liturgical Research (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 54.

salvations should come from the profession of others since their damnation came from another's fault.⁵⁹

For the most part adult initiation had dwindled to a small number from the early Middle Ages. The Gelasian Sacramentary is the second oldest surviving liturgical book of western liturgy.⁶⁰ It is a Gallican-Roman hybrid text that dates from the eighth century. The initiatory structure is similar to that of Apostolic Tradition, but the candidates are now primarily infants. There is an enrollment into the catechumenate and an election for Baptism which takes place on the Third Sunday of Lent.⁶¹ There are seven exorcisms with other rites attached to some of them. These include the handing over of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Gospels, along with the Ephpheta rite. The final rites were performed Saturday morning and the baptism took place at the Easter Vigil. Ordo Romanus XI followed the Gelasian Sacramentary. This text is clear that the whole composite still exists for infants:

When the prayer has been said he [pontiff] makes the sign of the cross with his thumb and chrism on the forehead of each one...

Great care must be taken that this is not neglected because it is at this point that every baptism is confirmed and justification made for the name of Christianity.

After this they go to mass and all the infants receive communion. Care is to be taken lest after they have been baptized they receive any food or suckling before they communicate.

⁵⁹ John the Deacon, in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed., E. C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 221, No. 7.

⁶⁰ Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development, Vol. I* (New York: Benziger, 1955), 63.

⁶¹ The Gelasian Sacramentary, in *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition*, ed., E.C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 212-243.

Afterwards let them come to Mass every day for the whole week of the Pascha and let their parents make oblations for them.⁶²

From that time and through the Middle Ages several practices were evident involving infants to be baptized. The three sacraments remained intact in Rome where there was a surplus of bishops. The rites were celebrated as though the infants understood what was being said (including the scrutinies). In other parts of Italy and other European countries, infants were baptized and received communion with the local priest present. The bishop would visit parishes and confirm all who have been baptized since his last visit.⁶³

The rites in the Gelasian Sacramentary were already simplified. Likewise, the baptismal rites were shortened in Gaul and Germany and included, among other things, an anointing by the presbyter.⁶⁴ The Gothicum Missal, a Gallican Missal, makes mention that those baptized seek the chrism, presumably at a later time.⁶⁵ The arrival of Charlemagne was a second major external impact on initiation after the Edict of Milan in 313 C.E. Charlemagne sought to unify the empire and the Church. Two of the results of his campaign was the reordering of liturgical rites and mass baptism.⁶⁶ The initiation of adults increased at this time, however, due to the disuse of a formational process for so many years, there was no catechumenal process.⁶⁷ Also the numbers prohibited such attempts. An in depth presentation of the of the initiatory sacraments in the Middle Ages are not within the scope of this study. The work of J.D. C. Fisher and Maxwell Johnson

⁶² Whitaker, Nos. 101-104, p. 251.

⁶³ Gerard Austin, *Anointing With the Spirit: The Rite of Confirmation* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1986), 17-18.

⁶⁴ Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 230.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 242.

⁶⁶ Cheslyn Jones, et al., *The Study of Liturgy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). 148.

⁶⁷ Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 259-265.

are both recommended.⁶⁸ From the fifth century, monasticism not only became the guardian of the liturgical life of the church. Monasticism was an experience of conversion, the catechumenate and “the mystical equivalent of baptism.”⁶⁹

The theology supporting initiation changed more drastically than the rite. Augustine’s theology of original sin was the result of his experience of the ritual and the baptism of infants. The development and theology(ies) of Confirmation were caused by the short absences of bishops during the initiation rites. Then later, when some bishops did not reside in their own territories, the relationship between the rites was shattered. This situation is another example of the axiom “lex orandi, legem credendi statuat.”⁷⁰

With the instruction of scholars of the early Middle Ages beginning with Augustine, the meaning of baptism as the beginning of a new life in Christ had changed. Baptism was regarded as a sacrament that seemed divorced from existing teaching at the time, since infants were baptized predominantly. Since the Church had, in fact, been baptizing babies *quamprimum*, there had to be a reason. A natural conclusion was there had to be an immediate effect as well. The teaching evolved from the practice of the Church at hand. Infants were already being washed in the baptismal rite, so something had to be washed clean or taken away. Baptism had evolved from inheriting a new life in Christ to washing away inherited guilt. The doctrine of original sin dominated the theology of initiation. Reference to this sacrament was no longer initiation. It was baptism, baptizein, to wash. This theology prevailed at least on a popular for almost fifteen

⁶⁸ J. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London: SPCK, 1965); Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation*, Revised ed., (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007).

⁶⁹ Alexander Schmemmann, *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 1966), 147.

⁷⁰ Cf. Introduction to this study.

centuries, even though an integrated initiation rite continued in Rome as late as the twelfth century.⁷¹

Religious instruction replaced Christian formation, whether it took place before baptism or as a post-baptismal instruction. The political and social environment was Christian. Church rituals and traditions were often intertwined with social events and practices. Religious instruction was basic since any formation usually occurred through a social or familial osmosis or modeling. Any formal catechesis was situated as the second phase of a two stage baptismal process.⁷² Even where society might not have been gospel centered, the ethos was predominately Christian Church. At the turn of the millennium in most places in the west, Jews were the only non-Christians.

The difference in the age of the candidates as well as the change of theology caused the loss of a full understanding of initiation into the church throughout the western Christian world. Three individual events were celebrated as separate sacraments. Again, theology followed practice. Nonetheless, the notion of the catechumenate did not die completely. Giulio Antonio Santorio was charged with the task of compiling the Roman Ritual after the Council of Trent. Santorio studied the origins of the catechumenate and attempted a recovery of the catechumenate. His Ritual was too grandiose and never promulgated.⁷³ Fortunately, Santorio's research and proposal influenced missionary activity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁷⁴ Carmelite Thomas of Jesus published an extensive work, *On the Manner of Procuring Salvation for All Pagans* in 1613, which maintained Easter as the date for adult baptism as well as a period of

⁷¹Mark Searle, *Christening: The Making of Christians* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1980), 15.

⁷²Alan Kreider. *The Change of Conversion and the Origin of Christendom* (Eugene: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2007), 93.

⁷³Balthasar Fischer, "The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: Rediscovery and New Beginnings," *Worship* 62.2 (1990): 99.

⁷⁴Cf. "Missions and Ministry before the Council," Ch. 5 of this study.

Mystagogy. His text was widely distributed to missionaries through the Propagation of the Faith.⁷⁵

Although the scope of this study does not include infant baptism, a brief look at this development is important since the adult rite of initiation was being used for children. The original intent of the structure of the rite had become foreign to both minister and candidate. Confirmation became a distinct sacrament with the imposition of hands and the anointing with chrism by the bishop. The spirit was bestowed on the candidate through the anointing, and eventually *ad robur*, for strength. Using the life experiences of the time, it was also taught that confirmation made one a soldier of Christ. Considering the life of a young person from the seventh to the tenth centuries, “soldier” imagery is not foreign. The rites were still linked as closely in time as possible to the baptism during these centuries. However, the fragmentation was well underway by the tenth century.⁷⁶ The gap between infant baptism and confirmation continued to grow with fewer visits by the bishop, neglect of parents, and a poor attitude toward confirmation. In 1280, the Council of Cologne set the age for Confirmation as seven or older.⁷⁷ Eventually, the age for Confirmation coincided with the age of civil majority (13 to 16 years old), linking its meaning to a rite of passage toward maturity.

The Church in the West continued to commune infants. Eventually, as fear of disrespect to the host occurred, the presbyter began to dip his finger in the wine so that the infant would receive the Eucharist under one species.⁷⁸ For awhile, this seemed to satisfy those with scrupulosity. Baptism took place at the Easter Vigil and the infants

⁷⁵ Fischer, *The Rite of Christian Initiation*, 100.

⁷⁶ Nathan Mitchell, “Christian Initiation: Decline and Dismemberment,” *Worship* (48.8, 1974): 464.

⁷⁷ J.D.C. Fisher, *Christian Initiation: Baptism in the Medieval West* (London: SPCK, 1965) 185.

⁷⁸ Maxwell Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 262-263.

came to Church daily to receive communion during Easter Week. Communion from the cup had decreased considerably by the thirteenth century. Since infants received communion from the cup or not at all by this time, communion at baptism steadily declined. The Fourth Lateran Council which commanded communion during the Easter Season and confession before communion also forbade communion before the age of reason.⁷⁹

Council of Trent

The Council of Trent ended the practice of communion of infants, stating that those without the use of reason need not receive the Eucharist since they were continually in the state of grace. However, the practice was not condemned. Infant baptism was still being celebrated within the context of the Eucharist at least during the Easter Season.⁸⁰

Until the twelfth century, baptism was still reserved for the time between Easter and Pentecost, but the practice was quickly changing. Any continuance of this practice ended with the fourteenth and fifteenth century councils in Spain, France and Italy which required baptism as quickly as possible after birth.⁸¹

After seven to ten centuries of very slow and perhaps almost unnoticeable change, the result was the effective elimination of the catechumenal process in the Church. There was no longer a need for conversion of any sort, whether on the part of the candidate or the parents. A capsulized rite of baptism, known only as the waterbath before, stood in

⁷⁹ Ibid., 265.

⁸⁰ Council of Trent, "*Parvules non obligari ad communionem sacramentalem*," July 16, 1562, Sess. XXI, cap. iv, in *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, ed., Henricus Denzinger (Freiburg: Herder, 1965), 933 p. 406. For English see Jesuit Father of St. Mary's College, Kansas, *The Church Teaches*, p. 289.

⁸¹ Nathan D. Mitchell, "Dissolution of the Rite of Christian Initiation" in *Made, Not Born: New Perspectives on Christian Initiation and the Catechumenate*, ed., Murphy Center for Liturgical Research (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 62-63.

place of the whole rite of initiation. Baptism alone was necessary for salvation, and it was baptism alone through which one was fully initiated into the Body of Christ. The local presbyter was the ordinary minister of this shortened rite. His representation of the Church was taught in the remotest sense. The bishop was no longer visible since he played no part in the initiation rite. Confirmation, which may be rare, was seen as a separate sacrament. Very little representation from the local Church could have existed due to the effort to have infants baptized as soon as possible after birth, save the presence of godparents. The value of witness was long removed, whether on the part of the candidate ministering to the community or vice versa.

The Church had traveled full circle in its approach to the water baths. It began with Jesus experiencing the baptism of John and charging the disciples to increase the community through baptism, not as the vertical dimension the rites of the mystery cults. His baptism was incorporation to the community of disciples. The result after the evolution of centuries was a baptism that mirrored more of the mystery rites than the teachings of Jesus. Any recognition of incorporation into the community was greatly reduced or non-existent. The original belief that God was responsible for one's vertical relationship and that baptism initiated a horizontal one, had been replaced by the notion that it was baptism, which caused the vertical relationship and the community interaction was ignored. The tragedy of this evolution was that it was not due changing theology of Church or even of self. Rather, it occurred due to outside factions, efficiency, neglect and rationalizations.

**CHAPTER 6: MISSIONS AND MINISTRY BEFORE THE COUNCIL:
BAPTISM OF ADULTS WITH A CATECHUMENATE BEFORE RCIA**

*They devoted themselves to the apostles' teaching and fellowship, to the breaking of bread and the prayers. Awe came upon everyone, because many wonders and signs were being done by the apostles. All who believed were together and had all things in common; they would sell their possessions and goods and distribute the proceeds to all, as any had need. Day by day, as they spent much time together in the temple, they broke bread at home and ate their food with glad and generous hearts, praising God and having the goodwill of all the people. **And day by day the Lord added to their number those who were being saved.** (emphasis added)¹*

The religious landscape of the sixteenth century in Europe had ruptured in an atmosphere of questioning, discovery, and fragmentation. Martin Luther initiated a schism which was seismic. The western Christian church would remain divided and these factions would continue to be fiercely antagonistic until the twentieth century with an appeal toward respect and dialogue among Christian bodies and with non-Christian religions at the Second Vatican Council.²

At the same time, missionaries from Spain and Portugal, and other parts of Europe were ministering in parts of the world in what is now Mexico and Latin America (New Spain), in Africa and Asia. Christianity already had European roots in India and China

¹ Acts 2.42-47 (New Revised Standard Version).

² Second Vatican Council. "Decree on Ecumenism—Unitatis Redintegratio," accessed March 10, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decree_19641121_unitatis-redintegratio_en.html; "Declaration on the Relation of the Church to non-Christian religions—Nostra Aetate," accessed March 10, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

since the fourteenth century. There, various orders had accompanied conquerors who traveled both east and west.

The European baptismal experience had been almost exclusively infant baptism since at least the eighth century. The notion of a catechumenate had appeared in texts since that time, but there could be no connection between ritual and life. Often, godparents answered questions of interrogation such as scrutinies or made affirmations of faith in the name of the infant. Exorcisms and the lesser rituals formerly used for adults were retained but not adapted for infants. Very often theologies grew out of customs and rites which had lost their original intent.

The omissions and syntheses of rites in various Pontificals, Sacramentaries and Rituals give evidence of the evolution of practices and customs through the centuries.¹ The Roman-Germanic Pontifical of the tenth century shows that the Rite of Baptism used mainly for infants. This rite continues to include scrutinies, although, this same ritual has truncated the confirmation portion for the bishop. The entire ritual ensemble is a unity of “the entrance into the catechumenate, the exorcisms, the celebration of Holy Saturday morning and the three sacraments.”² By the thirteenth century, infant mortality necessitated the conferral of baptism *quam primum*, that is, immediately after birth.³ The fifteenth century produced the first printed edition of the Roman Pontifical, but it merely included rites relating to the bishop, removing those of the priest. Adrien Nocent notes

¹ A Pontifical is a book which contains the text for the rites performed by Bishops. A Sacramentary is a collection of texts used by a priest for Eucharist and other rites. A Ritual Book is a book that includes texts, notes, gestures, etc. which are part of a particular rite or a compilation of a number of rites. The latter manual is often much more useful to ascertain the format of Initiation and the Catechumenate. However, it is the first two which predominately survive.

²Adrien Nocent, O.S.B., “Christian Initiation in the Roman Church From the Fifth Century Until Vatican II,” in “Sacraments and Sacramentals,” *Handbook for Liturgical Studies*, Vol. 4, ed., Chupungco, O.S.B. (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1997), 60-61.

³ *Ibid.*, 62.

that as the church ended the fifteenth century, “we might wonder how a priest was able to celebrate a baptism . . . All that existed in this regard were some scattered books.”⁴

Now, in most of these missionary situations, priests may have used rituals recorded and preserved by their religious orders. The rites were probably one of the texts applied to infants even though these missionaries faced mainly adults who were seeking entry into the Church, in large numbers.

There was a baptismal rite for adults in the Roman Ritual of 1614 published by Pope Paul V.⁵ This rite truncated the extended catechumenate of earlier centuries into one continuous format, ending with baptism. The scrutinies were condensed and performed without interruption. Confirmation and Eucharist were not necessarily connected with the rite and performed separately at later dates. Regarding the baptism of children, the three sacraments were clearly separated. Confirmation was often being delayed until after the age of seven.⁶ This rite continued until Vatican II. It was this ritual which was extended into separate stages in the 19th century by individual groups, which then became the approved rite of Adult Baptism in 1962.

New Spain

In 1524 Brother Toribio de Benavente arrived in New Spain to begin an evangelization effort. Through his ministry diary, scholars can learn how these missionaries baptized and catechized natives of the lower portion of the present North

⁴ Ibid., 63.

⁵ Aidan Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation (Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Church)* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1978), 104-105.

⁶ Ibid., p. 64.

American continent.⁷ Brother Toribio believed that between 1521 and 1536, forty Franciscan missionaries baptized more than four million natives.⁸ As noted above, there were no ritual books available for an adult catechumenate. Missionaries were forced to adapt the ritual and catechesis available to them to their situations since they faced two to three thousand baptisms a day.⁹ The need for a longer catechesis became evident. One solution came from the Council of Lima in 1552, requiring a thirty-day catechetical period.¹⁰

In 1560, the Mexican bishops published a Manual of Sacraments. Adult baptism followed the Ordinary rite in one unitive ceremony. This included exsufflation (breathing of the Spirit onto the candidate), signing with the cross, salt, exorcisms, Creed, Lord's Prayer, ephphetha (touching the ears and nostrils), renunciation of previous beliefs and life, adherence to the faith, expression of intent for baptism and the baptism itself—by pouring, not by immersion. Then the crown of the head was anointed with chrism and a white garment and lighted candle followed. Before Baptism, the candidate learned the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, The Ten Commandments and the Commandments of the Church, and the sacraments.¹¹

Japan

The Jesuit missionaries in Japan also recognized the need for a prolonged catechetical period in the sixteenth century. Like their predecessor, Francis Xavier, they

⁷ Cf. Toribio Motolinia, *History of the Indians of New Spain*, trans., Elizabeth Andros Foster (New Mexico: Cortés Society, 1950).

⁸ Paul Turner, *Hallelujah Highway: A History of the Catechumenate* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2000), 118-155. Fr. Paul Turner has investigated and compiled information about the development of the catechumenate among a variety of mission endeavors in this published work.

⁹ Catherine Vincie, The RCIA and the Liturgical Movement, *Liturgy*, 31, No. 2 (2016), 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 122.

sought adaptations to meet the needs of the people. For instance, respecting Japanese reservation, missionaries would not place salt on a person's tongue; the sponsor would touch the person instead of the priest, and they would respect any nudity connections with the anointing with oil on the breast. Often, the cleric would administer oil with the feather of a bird rather than imposed by hand.¹² Japan experienced the same situation as New Spain. These sixteenth-century missionaries met with hundreds and thousands of people seeking baptism. One method of baptism was to catechize by families. Within the feudal system of Japan in the 14th to 16th centuries, a family might not be determined by marriage by any number of reasons to group people. One's vassal was part of the family, so that families might total as many as 400 members.¹³ By utilizing a dialogue method used in Japanese Buddhist schools, the missionaries were highly successful, and the catechumens gained great clarity.¹⁴ At times when a full catechesis was not possible, at least prayers were put in writing and instruction continued after baptism.

In 1567, in Decree No. 37, the First Council of Goa, India recommended three months of preparation before baptism. This decree was an important decision since many converts had received only two or three days of catechesis before baptism and it influenced baptisms in Japan.¹⁵ The catechetical process eventually evolved into a textbook for catechumens. It was first called "The Ten Chapters," revised to "The Eleven Chapters" after adding Eucharist to the Catechism of Nagasaki in 1600.¹⁶ A

¹² Ibid., 128.

¹³ Jesús López Gay, *El Catechumendo en la misión del Japon del s. XVI* (Roma: Libreria dell'Università gregoriana, 1966), 52.

¹⁴ Ibid., 54.

¹⁵ Ibid., 41.

¹⁶ Ibid., 63.

reconstruction of the Catechism of Nagasaki of 1600 by Jesús López-Gay, SJ in 1966 contains the eleven topics to be taught.¹⁷

Rome (Council of Trent)

The ecumenical Council of Trent (1545-1563) issued no canons concerning a catechumenate, perhaps because no missionary bishops were in attendance. In 1575, Pope Gregory XIII appointed Cardinal Antonio Santori to edit a new Roman Ritual.¹⁸ Santori had a keen interest in preserving historical texts. He also proposed to restore the ancient catechumenal period and liturgical rites, which had been omitted through the years. He also composed essays, which explained the meaning of the catechumenate. Unfortunately, Santori died before the ritual was printed and the subsequent editor removed the catechumenate and created a single rite of adult baptism.¹⁹ However, Santori's work had not gone unnoticed. Thomas de Jesus, O.Carm. recovered some of Santori's writings and included it in a personal publication, which recommended pre-baptismal catechesis in the missions.²⁰

China

In China, a three stage-catechumenate had been developing since the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1722 Fr. Johann Müllener, CM asked the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith about the development of a four-stage catechumenate. Unfortunately, as in the case of the other missions, numbers often forced adaptation and a shortening of the catechumenate and the initiation. In a report to Rome, in 1865, Bishop

¹⁷ Ibid., 64.

¹⁸ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 130.

¹⁹ Ibid., 131.

²⁰ Ibid., 132.

Louis-Simon Faurie noted that many priests were confirming candidates at baptism. He recorded that some priests had delegation to confirm, but they often delayed the sacrament until the age of seven. The most important portion of his report was the success with the three-stage formation program, including the separation of the catechumenate from baptism. Unfortunately, the Congregations replied that the Order of Baptism could never be separated. Such a practice “cannot be approved in any fashion. This usage is contrary to the practice of the Roman Church.”²¹

France

During the years before World War I, the Catholic Church was in a stagnant state in France. In 1906, Dom Fernand Cabrol, abbot of St. Michael’s Abbey in Farnborough, Hampshire and co-founder of *Dictionnaire d’archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* bemoaned what he called “the apostasy of Christians of his day.”²² He pointed out that few infants were being baptized by a remnant of families who were genuinely Christian. As a result, he speculated that such a situation would necessitate adult baptism in the future. In 1930 France, a missionary movement existed whose slogan was, “We must make our brothers Christians again.”²³ During World War II, numbers of Parisians became interested in Church life and sought baptism. During this time, Paulette Gouzi, of the Paris Mission, became interested in the catechumenate. She coordinated

²¹ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 142.

²² Bernard Guillard, “Evangelization and the Catechumenate in France,” in *Liturgy: Adult Baptism and the Catechumenate*, ed., Johannes Wagner (Volume 22, Concilium; Theology in the Age of Renewal) (New York: Paulist Press, 1967), 150-158.

²³ *Ibid*, p. 151.

candidates together, and adult baptism was celebrated in common, rather than privately. In addition to the official Latin text, she began to include the vernacular in the ritual.²⁴

Candidates continued to grow in other regions of France after the war, although most of the time they were prepared individually. By the early 1950s, efforts expanded to establish a catechumenate in some locations of Paris and other dioceses. During this same time, the Liturgical Movement had begun to impact worship on an official level. In 1951, Pope Pius XII proposed a restored Easter Vigil for experimental use.²⁵ In 1955 the Congregation of Rites produced further Holy Week reforms, promulgated for use by all churches.²⁶ These allowed baptisms of adults at the Easter Vigil to be divided into parts, beginning Holy Saturday morning.²⁷

Africa

Evangelization efforts were taking place in Africa by missionaries since the middle of the sixteenth century. In 1645, the Congregation for Propagation of the Faith sent Capuchins to the Congo who found it challenging to catechize the residents due to many challenging conditions. The Congregation informed the missionaries that baptism merely required a sure consent, especially in light of the fact the Church regularly baptizes infants.

Bishop Charles Martial Allemand Lavigerie, a Sorbonne scholar of Church history, founded the Society of Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) and the Missionary Sisters

²⁴ Paul Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 151

²⁵ The decree is *Dominicae Resurrectionis Vigiliam*, February 9, 1951. Published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 43 (1951), 128-129.

²⁶ *Nostra Hac Aetate*, March 23, 1955. Published in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 47 (1955) 218-224.

²⁷ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 151.

of Our Lady of Africa in 1868 and 1869. In 1894 he was named primate of Africa.²⁸ Bishop Lavigerie developed a structured catechumenate of three stages: postulants, catechumens and faithful. After baptism, the neophytes in this third stage learned the meaning of the sacraments. The first two periods normally lasted two years each. Postulancy was a time of education and moral formation. After abandoning former ways and learning prayers, the candidate moved to the second stage by participating in a ceremony. Catechumens continued with education and moral formation. Their lifestyle, capability to persevere, marital status and knowledge of Christianity were all examined. When they were ready for baptism, their names were published, and they made a three-day retreat before baptism. This catechumenate process spread throughout Africa and became a universal prototype.²⁹

Similar interest in the catechumenate grew in other parts of Africa, but all these efforts were due to the initiates of European orders and bishops, Jesuits as well as White Fathers and not by native clergy.³⁰ Bishop Joseph Blomjous was the bishop of Mwanga in Tanganyika³¹ He was impressed by the effectiveness of the catechumenate that he witnessed. He sensed that its stages could be enhanced further with liturgical rites if only the Church could separate the existing Order of Baptism for Adults into distinct periods.

²⁸ John G. Beane, *Cardinal Lavigerie: Primate of Africa* (Baltimore: St. Joseph's Seminary for the Colored Missions, 2016), 121.

²⁹ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 148.

³⁰ An example of the development of the catechumenate in Africa from the 19th century is Marinus Rooijackers, *The beginning of the White Fathers' Mission in Southern Uganda and the organization of the catechumenate, 1879-1914*, vol. 2, Society of Missionaries of Africa-History Series N° 9 (Rome: Society of Missionaries of Africa, 2008).

³¹ Tanganyika became part of Tanzania in 1964.

Xavier Seumois chronicled the development of the catechumenate in Africa and analyzed the problems and the methods that existed in the first half of the 20th century.³² Having studied the catechumenate in the fourth century, he recognized key elements, some of which paralleled the African experience. For instance, *postulancy* was analogous to the *audientes* or inquirers.³³ He recognized the power of ritual as an experiential teaching tool, especially since ritual was intricately part of their culture already. Rites of puberty, ceremonies into adulthood, clan initiation were not only part of the lives of the people, very often they emphasized similar symbolisms (life-death, dark-light, etc.)³⁴ There were stages for doctrinal teaching as well. The Traditio or handing over the Apostles Creeds was an example of transitioning to the second state. He points out that the signing with the cross signifies the adherence to Christ, just as tattoos or other marks showed consecration to the Spirit in their former beliefs.³⁵

In 1959, Bishop Blomjous submitted a proposed plan for the restoration of the catechumenate rites to the Apostolic See.³⁶ This plan included seven steps drawn from the Ritual: inscription, three scrutinies, combined ceremonies of presenting the Creed and Lord's Prayer, exorcisms and then baptism at the Easter Vigil.³⁷

Adult Baptism Just Before the Council

As a result of the missionary activity since before the sixteenth century, on April 16, 1962, the Sacred Congregation of Rites published the prevailing Order of Baptism of

³² Xavier Seumois, "The Roman Baptismal Liturgy and Missionary Catechumenate," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 26, No. 3 (1959), pp. 207-230.

³³ *Ibid.*, 223.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 220.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 226.

³⁶ Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, p. 150.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 151.

Adults as a catechumenate, separated by individual steps.³⁸ This revision was six months before the opening of the Second Vatican Council. The document provided for a reworking of the current baptismal rite of adults and allowed for seven distinct stages over an extended period of instruction. The prayers and rubrics of the current baptism were not changed, however, the ritual dimensions were quite deliberately altered. In his commentary on the rite, Fr. Frederick McManus wrote that the text “almost revolutionizes the ordinary plan of catechetical instruction of converts.”³⁹ This new Rite of Adult Baptism allowed for a variety of members of the church in the preparation process of the candidate; sponsors were able to take a more active role in particular elements of the rite. Candidates participated in the stages of the rites with others unless they objected, and they actively partook in the spiritual life of the church before baptism. When possible, the ceremonies and rites should take place in the presence of the Church community.⁴⁰ More significantly, following the desires of both Pope Pius XII⁴¹ and John XXIII, it provided for adaptations and a greater use of the vernacular. The more important elements of the rite remained in Latin, while the secondary components could be translated into the vernacular. McManus believed the opposite would be more fruitful

³⁸ Sacred Congregation of Rites, *Norms for the New Rite for Baptism of Adults in Rite for Baptism of Adults Arranged for the States of the Catechumenate* (Rituale Romanum, Ch. 4), Sancta Missa Website, April 16, 1962, accessed March 2, 2017, <http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/resources/books-1962/rituale-romanum/11-baptism-of-adults-administration.html>.

³⁹ Frederick R. McManus, “The Restored Liturgical Catechumenate,” *Worship* 36, no. 8 (1962), 536.

⁴⁰ *Norms for the new Rite for Baptism of Adults*, Nos. 3, 4, 5.

⁴¹ In *Dominicae Resurrectionis Vigiliam* (1951), the laity and clergy carried candles after the Easter Candle was blessed. The priest blessed the Easter water facing the congregation, and the Renewal of Baptismal Vows took place in the vernacular, all signifying active participation of the laity in the liturgy. In the Decree *De Musica Sacra* (1958), Pope Pius XII introduced further participation of the laity by encouraging responses by the full assembly traditionally reserved to the servers as well as a communal recitation of the Lord’s Prayer, the Creed and the Gloria.

since it would allow the candidate to understand the most important parts of the rite.⁴²

Nevertheless, he applauded the use of the mother tongue in such an important rite.

Another critical change in this pre-Vatican II revised document was the elimination in the rite of harsh rejections of any previous affiliations of the candidate and removing references to errors, perfidious Jews, nefarious sects, etc.⁴³

This rite allowed for a variety of adaptations in addition to language. These were thought to be necessary so as to respond to a diversity of cultural customs and prohibition. Some of these involved touch, particularly by a priest, the anointing with oil and the placing of salt upon the candidate's tongue. Calling this version "a genuine blessing in many, many cases," Fr. McManus was concerned about the exorcisms, especially if they were to be translated.⁴⁴ He feared the candidate might presume that he or she was considered possessed. He believed that this seemed even more of a problem when a candidate had always lived a virtuous life.⁴⁵ The presence of exorcisms in the present revised RCIA is still troublesome to some ministers and laity alike. McManus also desired a preliminary stage of inquiry in the rite, which appeared in the RCIA. While applauding the attempts at adaptation, he lamented that these were so few. "Perhaps," he pointed out, "this indication of rigidity will give way in the complete

⁴² Conferences of bishops and even individual ordinaries were permitted to provide the vernacular translations themselves with a license for ten years.

⁴³ McManus, 543.

⁴⁴ McManus, 546.

⁴⁵ The rite called for three stages of exorcisms, which may be executed as one unit. During each of the three exorcisms, the candidate hears the words of the priest, "I cast you out, unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. Depart and stay away from these servants of God..." "Never dare, accursed fiend, to desecrate this seal of the holy cross which we imprint on their brow; through Christ our Lord, who is coming to judge both the living and the dead and the world by fire . . ."

At the sixth stage, at the entrance to the Baptistery, there is another exorcism. The priest extends his hand over the candidate, saying, ". . . In His name and power, I command you, unclean spirit whoever you are, Begone and stay far away from these servants of God . . ." The 'Ephpheta' rite follows the exorcism with the words, "But you, evil spirit, Begone, for the judgment of God has come." The renunciation of Satan ("Do you renounce Satan?") by the candidates follows.

reform of the Roman Ritual to further variants and new texts. Some of his hopes were a more simple blessing of baptismal water, the Traditio (handing over of the Lord's Prayer, Creed and scriptures) and the Reditio (the oral giving back of the Our Father and Creed).⁴⁶ Happily, the RCIA realized these concerns.

This revised "Rite for Baptism of Adults Arranged for the Stages of the Catechumenate" contained a strong evolving ecclesiology. First, it grew from a real ministerial need and desire of both laity and clergy. Grass roots movements had formed and, in turn, they spawned the beginnings of new rituals, or at least revised traditional ones. The development of these rites and the following implementation involved the combined efforts of pastoral ministers, theological academics and hierarchy together. Candidates for baptism journeyed through stages of faith and enlightenment. Rather than a quick repudiation of the non-Christian tribal or cult initiations, the architects of these early rites recognized the importance of conversion, identity, liminality. There was also a healthy respect of the native ceremonies of local cultures⁴⁷ and the need to translate some of the cultic rituals and experiences to be used in Christian rites of initiation. Another important ecclesiological component was that laity took on active, ministerial roles as catechists, sponsors and witnesses in the community. Candidates were invited to join the community in prayer and began to identify with the community. The candidate was no longer a passive receptor of the sacrament and grace, but took an active role, journeying through the stages and approaching the waters of baptism in the midst of the Church community at Easter Vigil. All of this was occurring on the eve of the Second Vatican Council.

⁴⁶ McManus, 548.

⁴⁷ Seumois, 221.

Underlying Theology before the Council

Despite the panoply of approaches to adult baptism by missionaries as well as the various situations prompting a variety of ways to best affirm a person's faith in baptism, there continued to be a shared understanding, implied at the Council of Trent and later acknowledged at the Second Vatican Council. The Council of Trent did not address the sacrament of Baptism theologically but merely stated a series of anathemas. The Council's Decree on Justification merely implies Baptism. Jesus, "who, "while we were sinners' (Rom. 5.10), 'out of the great love with which he loved us' (Eph. 2.4), merited for us justification by his most holy passion on the wood of the cross and made satisfaction for us to God the Father."⁴⁸ A century previous to this ecumenical council, the General Council of Florence explained this teaching more theologically:

The Church "firmly believes, professes and preaches that no one ever conceived from man and woman has been freed from the dominion of the devil, except through faith in Jesus Christ our Lord, the mediator between God and human beings, who, conceived without sin, having been born and having died, alone crushed the enemy of the human race by his death which destroyed our sins, and secured again entry into the kingdom of heaven which the first man had lost by his sin and all his descendants with him."⁴⁹

Hendrik Manders⁵⁰ explains that faith at the time of Trent can be described as "an awareness of man in his relation to God in the light of the Gospel and as a way that leads

⁴⁸ Council of Trent, Decree on Justification, January 13, 1547, Sixth Session, DS 1529. In *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, ed., Jacques Dupuis (New York: Alba House, 1996) 229.

⁴⁹ Council of Florence, Decree for the Copts, February 4, 1442, DS 646. In *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, ed., Jacques Dupuis (New York: Alba House, 1996) 228.

⁵⁰ Hendrik Manders, C.S.S.R., "The Relation Between Baptism and Faith," in *Liturgy: Adult Baptism and the Catechumenate*, ed., Johannes Wagner (Volume 22, Concilium; Theology in the Age of Renewal) (New York: Paulist Press, 1967), 4-15.

Ibid., p. 2.

to baptism.⁵¹ In that same Decree on Justification, Chapter 5 addresses those who, through God's grace, awaken and assent to that grace. While adult baptism is not directly addressed, for both the sacrament of penance and adult baptism, a common personal assent and declaration of faith is required. One is never passive when receiving the grace of justification since one always has the ability reject it. Later, the decree explains that scripture teaches, "Whoever would draw near to God must believe that he exists and that he rewards those who seek him" (Heb. 11.6). Faith is that assent and acceptance. Faith is that which is necessary for the forgiveness of sins and for the baptism of adults.⁵²

The history of the catechumenate in the early church and the work of the missions of later centuries have taken many forms, but almost always, even when implementation was not practicable, there was an understanding that acceptance of the grace of faith and a formation period of conversion and education were necessary. In most instances there was a concerted effort to include more than doctrinal instruction in the formational process, and that it also be a communal effort. The catechumenate should be a gathering of candidates and not executed individually. Also, the ministerial effort should not be solo. There was a desire for the assistance of others— catechists, clergy, religious, godparents and members of the community. These ministerial personnel were involved both in education as well as in the liturgical rituals. Initiation, throughout the history of the Church is always ecclesial, even if in theory. It is the Church that offers, it is the Church that teaches, it is the Church that accepts the affirmation of faith, it is the Church that desires to baptize, and it is the Church that grows when receiving those who wish to

⁵¹ Council of Trent, Decree on Justification, January 13, 1547, Sixth Session, DS 1529. In *The Christian Faith in the Doctrinal Documents of the Catholic Church*, ed., Jacques Dupuis (New York: Alba House, 1996), 229.

⁵² *Ibid.*, Nos. 1525-1527, 750-751.

be baptized. It is the continually evolving Church that develops and transforms itself by the faith of every new believer. It is the Church, not as an institution but as a community of believers.

Missionaries, bishops, theologians and laity were convinced of the dimension and the power of the Initiation in the Church as the Second Vatican Council began. They understood it, not merely as a teaching of Church but a significant experience of Church.

Vatican II and RCIA

Chapter 3 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* or SC) addresses Sacraments and Sacramentals.⁵³ Sacraments not only presuppose faith but, “by words and objects they also nourish, strengthen and express (faith).”⁵⁴ The vernacular is allowed,⁵⁵ because it “can often be of considerable help to the people” in the administration of sacraments.⁵⁶ The rituals should be adapted to the language, culture, and local customs.⁵⁷ The catechumenate should include distinct stages over a suitable span of time.⁵⁸

The Council document called for two distinct rites, one for infants and one for adults. Each of these rites should attend to particular situations, such as emergencies, the danger of death, ages, numbers, etc. These circumstances included the need for baptism

⁵³ Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy], December 4, 1964, ch. 3, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1987), 20-31.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, par. 59.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, par. 36.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, par. 63.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, par. 63b, 65.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, par. 64.

in the absence of a priest or deacon and allowed for other variants at the discretion of the bishop.⁵⁹

Sacrosanctum Concilium mandated the development of a full order of Christian Initiation of Adults. However, it presented few parameters for this schema. In SC, the connection of the rites to faith was more substantive than the Council of Trent, but not by much.

The Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church (*Ad Gentes*) addressed adult initiation more fully and directly.⁶⁰ This decree called for a catechumenate of “a period of formation in the whole Christian life, an apprenticeship of sufficient duration.”⁶¹ This formation period is to include proper instruction, the practice of a moral lifestyle and a series of rituals at specific intervals. The adults “should be introduced into the life of faith, liturgy, and charity of the People of God, led by successive sacred rites.” This initiation process was to be shared by an assortment of the faithful, and not exclusively clerical. The sacraments were to be celebrated publicly and recall the Lord’s death and resurrection, referring to its connection with the time of Easter. To this end, this decree reflects the desire of SC that the seasons of Lent and Easter be restored so that a leitmotif of the season arise to echo Initiation.

Again, chapter 14 of *Ad Gentes* reiterates the call for a catechumenate where the whole community of the faithful takes responsibility for those seeking the sacraments of

⁵⁹ Ibid., par. 68.

⁶⁰ Second Vatican Council, *Ad Gentes* (Decree on the Mission Activity of the Church), December 7, 1965, ch. 61, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1987), 813-856.

⁶¹ Ibid., par. 54.

initiation and that this duty is not relegated to only clergy and catechists. For this right and duty belong to the whole Church.⁶²

Paragraph 15 of the Decree elaborates on the baptismal life of the Church. It exhorts missionaries to form communities, empowering people to live their baptismal calling, exercising “the priestly, prophetic, and royal office which God has entrusted to them” so that they may witness to God’s presence in the world and walk in charity with apostolic spirit.⁶³ There seems to be a caution that the Church should set precautions not detach itself and exist with a ghetto mentality. The Church is a public entity in the world, where its members live fully in society, with integrity and charity, and witnessing to the call they have received through Baptism. This witness is not as individuals but with a shared identity, the Christian Community. This community is the work of many who live out their various gifts and talents as a support to one other. But also, by their witness to continue to build up the Body of Christ, the Church, they assist others to join them and to adhere to Christ and his Body. The catechumenate and its ministers can only be fashioned by the joint work of all members, inspirited by Christ and working toward the Kingdom.⁶⁴

Pope Paul VI officially announced the establishment of *Consilium ad*
⁶⁵*exsequendam Constitutionem de sacra Liturgia (Consilium)* in *Sacram Liturgiam*,
issued “*Motu proprio*,” on January 25, 1964.⁶⁶ Therein he explained that the task of this
special commission was “seeing that the prescriptions of the Constitution are put into

⁶² Ibid., par. 14.

⁶³ Ibid., par. 15.

⁶⁴ Richard Ling, “The Catechumenate: The Community as Catechist,” in *Mystagogia and Ministries*, ed., James T. Morgan (New York: Sadlier, 1984), 51.

⁶⁵ A *Motu proprio* is a papal document, issued of his own accord with or without consultation with other bodies, and signed by him personally. It can be legislative or can grant favor.

⁶⁶ International Commission on English in the Liturgy, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963–1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (DOL) (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1982), Doc. 20, 84.

effect.”⁶⁷ The pope wanted the task of enfleshing the text of the liturgy document to begin as quickly as possible. He stressed there were “several parts of the Constitution capable of being put into immediate effect, and these we now wish to implement.”⁶⁸ There was a call for the training of professors in order for them to teach and prepare students in colleges, seminaries and religious houses (SC 15-17); there was also a mandate to establish commissions on the liturgy in every diocese, along with commissions on music and sacred art (SC 44-46); as of February 17, 1964, sermons were to be given at all Masses on Sunday and holy days of obligation.⁶⁹ Provisions are to be made for the sacraments of Confirmation (SC 71) and Marriage (SC 78).⁷⁰ In a commentary on *Sacram Liturgiam*, Annibale Bugnini noted that the reminder for Sunday homilies did not call for a new practice but was a way to stress that homilies were not an option but an irremovable element of the liturgy.⁷¹

The last two paragraphs of the *Motu proprio* address the vernacular and the competencies of particular bodies to regulate the liturgy. In this commentary on the document,⁷² Fr. Bugnini pointed out that for four hundred years, the Holy See had full authority over all liturgy, but now Rome has extended competency to local entities—ordinaries and episcopal conferences. This change not only may create conflicts but may be “a problem of great importance, or incalculable consequences.” As observed above, permission had been granted for even local ordinaries to translate texts into the

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 278, 84. All numbers refer to the marginal numbers running sequentially throughout that volume.

⁶⁸ Pope Paul VI, *Motu Proprio Sacram Liturgiam*. January 25, 1963, in *The Furrow* 15, No. 5 (May 1964), 354.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 3, 354.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.* 355.

⁷¹ Annibale Bugnini, *Commentary on “Sacram Liturgiam,”* *The Furrow* 15, No. 5 (May 1964), 357.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 359-360.

vernacular with a review after ten years. Now, recognized competent groups would be responsible for translation work, which, in turn, would need final approval by the Holy See. Bugnini's words rang true as Rome took more control over translations, changing procedures, refusing approval of texts, replacing personnel and establishing new watchdog organizations. The elasticity, as Bugnini referred to it, eventually became more and more rigid, and in doing so, began to change the ecclesial landscape envisioned by Vatican II. We shall attend to some of these changes and their consequences later in this work.

Paul VI spoke with the four moderators of the Council of his desire to begin this process before the close of the second session of the Council. Paul VI chose Cardinal Lercaro to convey this request to the bishops. Lercaro was also mandated to organize this commission with the assistance of Fr. Annibale Bugnini.⁷³ The members of the commission were selected, and their preliminary task was two-fold: to prepare an overview of the work and duties of the commission and construct the "Motu proprio" document. It is important to note that SC had not yet been approved.⁷⁴

After the work of the commission had begun, some subgroups or coeti were established. Coetus 22 and 23 were responsible for the work of the Roman Ritual. Coetus 22 was charged with the task of the work of Adult Initiation. Rev. Balthasar

⁷³ This was later recorded by Cardinal Lercaro. Giacomo Lercaro, "Lettere 10, October 1964", in *Lettere dal Concilio 1962-1965*, ed. Giuseppe Battelli (Dehoniane, Bologna, 1980), 177.

⁷⁴ Two excellent texts which explain the work of Consilium are Piero Marini, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal 1963-1975*, eds. Mark Francis, John Page and Keith Pecklers (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2007) and Christian W. Kappes, "The Chronology Organization, Competencies and Composition of the Consilium ad exsequendam constitutionem de sacra liturgia," (ad Laurea thesis, Pontificio Ateneo de S. Anselmo de Urbe, 2009).

Fischer was named relator, or chair, and Fr. Xavier Seumois served as secretary. Fr. Frederick McManus of Boston was a member of this subgroup from the United States.⁷⁵

The Order of Christian Initiation of Adults

When considering new Liturgical Orders or Rites after the Second Vatican Council, one's first impulse might be to search for newly created prayers, the type of catechesis outlined for its implementation or necessary pastoral adjustments in church life. These questions were paramount with the recent revision of translations that began with the Roman Missal in 2011, and then less so with the revised Orders of Marriage and Confirmation.

However, when the Rite of Christian Initiation appeared for public use in 1972, even at face value this Order was of a different nature than mere prayer. The Rite of Christian Initiation entailed much more than a novel set of rituals, new sets of readings and educational methods to be used with converts. It demanded more than the talent to choreograph a ritual within the Easter celebration. The appearance of the document immediately showed that it was radically different than any liturgical changes that preceded it. This new catechumenal rite cut across all other sacramental changes. It went beyond mere ritual and rubrical notitiae; it involved much more than a simple collection of readings and prayer. The *Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults* (RCIA) was a long-term process of welcoming new Christians into a living Church, the Body of Christ as well as into its Church community. The document demanded immediate reflection on what is a Christian, as well as a definition of who we are as Church.

⁷⁵ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975*, Trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 579.

Liturgical changes after Vatican II presupposed vibrant extant gatherings and relied on the lived vocations of Christians in these communities.⁷⁶ However, all too often, this identity as community was more theology than experience. This new Rite of Initiation for Adults was different. It not only presumed Church as community; community was imperative, an existential reality. RCIA was not a rite to be enacted. One might even say that it was more lifestyle than rite. It needed to live within a vibrant church lest its existence limp at best, or not survive at all. At the same time, the presence of RCIA in the Church would develop Church as a Gospel community and animate it as an Assembly continually growing in the Spirit. It was not a matter of securing new flesh to old dry bones. This was a rite that was hoped to re-energize the church. Ralph Keifer wrote that as far as new texts of the Council was concerned:

this is precisely the change Rome has undertaken, reversing a thousand years of practice and attitudes. And this change has gone unnoticed, virtually without comment and with scarcely a word of dissent. Under the aegis of an ecumenical council, with the approval of the Roman see and over the signature of the Roman pontiff the primary rites of initiation, those for the baptism and confirmation of adults and the baptism of children, have been turned upside down and inside out, heralding a summons to begin the most radical sort of reform and renewal.⁷⁷

This quote evokes the image of Ezekiel being led to the Valley of the dry bones. The Lord directed him to prophesy to the bones, and he did. He prophesied as he was commanded and there was a noise. The bones came together; tendons and flesh appeared, and skin covered them. Ezekiel prophesied, and the bones came to life.

⁷⁶ “The Faithful, indeed, by virtue of their royal priesthood, participate in the offering of the Eucharist. They exercise that priesthood, too, by the reception of the sacraments, prayer and thanksgiving, the witness of a holy life, abnegation and active charity. Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* (The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church), Par. 10, November 24, 1964. Ed., Austin Flannery, O.P., in Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1987).

⁷⁷ Ralph A. Keifer, *Christian Initiation: The State of the Question*, Worship 48, No. 7 (1974): 392.

RCIA cannot exist in a vacuum. It presumes at least a basic ecclesial community. It calls believers forth to embody values similar to early church communities and evokes the same fundamental questions that had confronted the young Christian church: “What was their interpretation of the teachings of Jesus? How did they deal with new members who were joining them but had not experienced Jesus physically? How was equality perceived and lived within the community? Was there a hierarchy of leaders, teachers? What were the most important elements in their lives as Christians?”

The intent of this rite was to reach to the heart of the infant church, but not to recapture and imitate the early church ritual. It finds its basis for existence in scripture and the early church while respecting the continued development of Faith and Church through councils, creedal formulas and societal influences on the manner in which the church welcomed new members. For instance, the Church could never eradicate infant baptism on that grounds that there is a paucity of evidence for such a practice in the early church. The documents of the Vatican Council II, *The Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity* and the *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy* not only called for an initiatory rite for adults, but they also set the parameters for the life of Church into which new members are to be welcomed. These Conciliar documents mandated a rite of initiation that was wholly contemporary. The result of thorough and respectful historical investigation of adult initiation and an insightful perception of current situations produced an outstanding example of the Council's blend of both *Rapprochement* and *Aggiornamento*.⁷⁸ The RCIA recognizes the rich heritage of the Church along with its

⁷⁸ These two key words used in the Council and about the Council are discussed in other areas of this work. *Aggiornamento* is an Italian word that means “updating.” The word evokes the image of Pope John XXIII opening the windows of the Vatican to let fresh air enter. *Rapprochement* is a French word,

present needs. At the same time, there was an understanding that ecclesiology is developmental and continued change in the life of Church is inevitable. Even in times of pronounced stability, there will be diversity and change. For this reason, the Church undergoes persistent conversion as it evangelizes, welcomes and continuously journeys as a living sign of the risen Christ in the world. The Rite of Christian Initiation understands Church as a constantly evolving community. In this sense, it becomes a transforming vehicle for growth within itself and in the world, until the kingdom comes to fulfillment.⁷⁹

RCIA is often faulted for being a complicated and tangential liturgical addition to the church designed by esoteric scholars.⁸⁰ Quite the opposite is true as was explained earlier. The Rite of Adult Baptism occurred within many catechumenal formats, all in pastoral settings, decades before the Second Vatican Council. The 1962 revision of the Order of Adult Baptism was a response to the call for an extended catechumenate. George Worgul points out that unlike the convoking of the Council and the development of its documents which began at the top, The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults was rooted in the daily life of the Church and a call from ministers with practical experience, in other words, from below. Worgul believes this is the first major asset of RCIA and sets the direction of its ecclesiology.⁸¹

which conveys “a coming together.” This includes relations within the Church and within Christianity, among Protestant and Orthodox believers. It included relations with other religions and with the world.

⁷⁹ The notions of conversion, initiation, liturgy and a “journey toward the kingdom” are all intertwined. Cf. Aidan Kavanagh, *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1990) 165-168; Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation in Post-Conciliar Roman Catholicism: A Brief Report,” *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977): 111–112.

⁸⁰ A public challenge to this effect was made by Fr. Andrew Greeley, resulting in a short debate. Andrew M. Greeley, “Against R.C.I.A.,” *America* 161, No. 10 (Oct. 14, 1989): 231-234; Robert Duggan, “A Response to Andrew M. Greeley,” *America* 161, No. 10 (Oct. 14, 1989): 235-237; Greeley, “State of the Question: The Author Replies,” *America* 161, No. 14 (Nov. 11, 1989): 328-329.

⁸¹ George S. Worgul, “The Ecclesiology of ‘The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults,’” *Louvain Studies* 6 (1979), 161.

While it was a newly formed liturgical document constructed by Vatican II, its architects designed a contemporary restoration of an initiatory process which existed in the early centuries of the church when the church was experiencing great growth. For some, the rite appears to be too complicated or impractical. Some have called it a series of meaningless gyrations set up by a committee of frustrated liturgical drapery hangers. One of the chief reasons why it might not have made church headlines is because it is not the above. It is not a complicated series of rituals, nor is it remote from the life of the church.⁸²

This rite is not a set of directions or a series of rubrics. One cannot adopt it in a local church by printing a few bulletin inserts. It is a lived experience, at times formidable, as it calls individuals and bodies to conversion. In 1977 Aidan Kavanagh said that clergy would not recognize the importance of this rite or entirely misunderstand it.

... most clergy [would] regard its implementation as problematic, if not impossible. They are right. For what the Roman documents contain are not merely specific changes in liturgical rubrics, but a restored and unified vision of the Church. One might describe it as a concentric ecclesiology locked together by the sacramental discipline of faith shared on all levels, rather than as a pyramidal ecclesiology of juridical delegation of power that rests upon the base of a baptized proletariat.⁸³

RCIA calls for continued transformation of a local ecclesial community so that that the whole assembly of believers together may be an inviting witness of the life of Christ in its midst and the reason why a seeker might seek a full Christian life there. Creating a community fertile with holiness, Christian concern, and commitment to the Gospel is the

⁸² Aidan Kavanagh, "Christian Initiation in Post-Conciliar Roman Catholicism: A Brief Report," *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977): 112.

⁸³ Aidan Kavanagh, "Christian Initiation in Post-Conciliar Roman Catholicism: A Brief Report," in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation*, ed., Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1995) 7.

challenge and aim of RCIA. The instructions and rituals are mere instruments, not through which one receives the name “catholic” but rather means that provide a valuable journey for both neophyte and community, ministering to one another, being challenged together by scripture and evolving as Church.⁸⁴

The Rite of Christian Initiation is as much a vision of “Church as *communio*,”⁸⁵ as it is a formative means to incorporate new members. In various lectures, Aidan Kavanagh stated that it was not the vernacular in the liturgy but rather the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults which he believed to be the most powerful transforming vehicle in the church in the last 400 years.⁸⁶

With the axiom, *Lex Orandi, legem credenda statuat (Lex Orandi, Lex Credendi)*⁸⁷, it becomes important to seek the inherent ecclesiological presuppositions in this rite through its structure, its history, and its experience, in order to recognize the impact that this liturgy has on the larger life of the Church.

The architects of RCIA believed it to be a rite, which interacts with the life of in Church in a cyclical, or more accurately, a spiraling fashion. As for liturgy, the rite is an agent to help transform the whole Church, as the Church, in turn, will transform the rite. SC reminded the Church “the liturgy is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; it is also the fount from which all the Church’s power flows.”⁸⁸ There is significant emphasis placed on a continued process being the norm. The ritual actions

⁸⁴ Cf. Raymond B. Kemp, “The Catechumenate: A Two-Way Street” in *Mystagogy and Ministries*, ed., James T. Morgan (New York: Sadlier, 1984), 86-93.

⁸⁵ Church as a communion is one of the major themes of Vatican II. It is an underpinning understanding of the SC and explained in *Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*. It is an understanding that the Church is a deep vertical relationship between God and us as well as a horizontal relationship of ourselves with one another. In the midst of this horizontal communion is the presence of Christ,

⁸⁶ Fr. Kavanagh taught Initiation at Notre Dame University for many years before moving to Yale.

⁸⁷ “The Law of Prayer constitutes the Law of Belief.” This axiom was discussed earlier in the work.

⁸⁸ *Constitution on the Liturgy*, No. 10.

are not rigid and may adapt as the experiences dictate. No rite can stand outside the life of the Church. There must be an interdependent relationship between ritual and life.

This disconnect was one of the difficulties with the liturgies after the Council of Trent until the twentieth century. In the case of the missionary apostolate, we had already seen the great success when initiation of adults was allowed to adapt.

To paraphrase the liturgist Gabe Huck, “Liturgy recreates Church recreates Liturgy.”⁸⁹ With the full potential of RCIA, it will continue to be a powerful impetus of Church as the Body of Christ. However, when the rite is under-utilized or used in a way contrary to its theology, it can become a liturgical dinosaur to be shelved and studied as an arcane element of its Vatican II past. Later on, in this study, we will investigate the impact the rite is having at present.

Until recently, most of the writings about the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults have been in the form of commentary on the structure of the rite. There now has been recent work on the rite’s intrinsic theology, and its impact on the ecclesiology of Church. After briefly exploring the theological underpinnings of the rite from a historical perspective and commenting on the dynamics of the rite, four dimensions of the Church life will be discussed in light of the RCIA. They are Church as a *communio*, Church as a prophetic voice, Church as a non-clericalized community, and finally as a remnant witness.

⁸⁹ Gabe Huck, *Liturgy Needs Community Needs Liturgy: The Possibilities for Parish Liturgy* (Paulist Press, 1973).

CHAPTER 7: PREPARING A RITE

The Church, a pilgrim now on earth, is necessary for salvation: the one Christ is mediator and the way of salvation: he is present to us in his body which is the church . . . Fully incorporated into the Church are those who, possessing the Spirit of Christ accept all the means of salvation given the church . . . Even though incorporated into the Church one who does not persevere in charity is not saved Catechumens who moved by the Holy spirit, desire with an explicit intention to be incorporated into the Church are by that very intention joined to her.

Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, art. 14

A sacramental ritual, of necessity, presupposes a hearing of the Word of God, intended, together with the rite, to affect one's faith development.¹ Liturgy, by its nature, gives praise to God while grounding the faith experience of persons participating in the ritual, for worship expresses one's faith as much as it strengthens and continues to nourish that faith.² SC recognizes that ritual needs to exist within a particular assembly and it is a verbal and tactile expression of the faith of those worshippers. Ritual, by nature, is relational, that is, the vertical relationship between the worshippers and God as well as the horizontal relationship among the assembled group. However, this does not mean that a worship celebration cannot become so focused and wedded to a specific group as to compromise its theology or ignore the full ecclesiological dimensions of the

¹ Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* [Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy], December 4, 1964, par. 35, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents* (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Company, 1987).

² *Ibid.*, par. 59.

sacrament as a rite of a Church.¹ A ritual that becomes completely introspective, turned in on itself loses its ecclesiological dimension and evolves into a narcissistic exercise in self-therapy.

Elements of Worship

Worship is first and foremost a communal act, an act of the Church. Sacraments, as well as the Word of God as Sacrament is an action of Christ, and an action of the Church. A sacrament does more than reveal the presence of God and confer grace to a recipient. It is an action of Church whereby the Church becomes manifest as itself, a self-revelation as well as a revelation to others. Therefore, in the action of a sacrament, the recipient is not only in relationship to God but is also in relationship to Church.² Through Initiation, the candidate not only is united to Christ but also to Church. The church as the fundamental sacrament, mediates the promise of the Kingdom in Jesus Christ to its people within the liturgy.³ For this reason, each liturgical action celebration must unite the story of believers to God and to each other but also to the life of the larger Church with its promise of salvation.

Pope Benedict expressed his fear that liturgy has become too introspective, perhaps extremely solipsistic. He has referred to some church architecture as well as positioning the priest facing the people as “a self-enclosed circle.” Facing east was a way of facing Christ, the center of all liturgy. As late as October 12, 2016 he reiterated his belief in the

¹ This pastoral perspective has been a delicate subject throughout the ages and is very evident in post-Vatican II revisions. Pastoral applications demands competency on the part of the person responsible for the liturgy. The root form of the Roman Canon was perhaps promulgated by Ambrose because of ‘unlearned’ presbyters known to be bordering on heterodoxy.

² Richard McBrien, *Catholicism* (Minneapolis: Winston Press, 1980), page 733.

³ Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* [The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church], Par. 48.

orientation of the priest to the east.⁴ This fear may be real but perhaps exaggerated. Just as one “adheres to Christ” in the Initiatory process, at the same time, the candidate is joined to the community, the Body of Christ, the Church. For in the midst of the assembly is the presence of Christ. If a balance is not maintained, we lose the full sense of sacrament and Church. For instance, many continually refer to “the People of God” from the Council’s *Lumen Gentium*. This is probably the most prominent image in the Constitution. However, if this idea is taught to the exclusion of the image of the “Mystical Body of Christ,” the fullness of Church is not understood. In the same way, liturgy is directed to God, through Christ, present in the midst of the assembly.⁵

Time is another important element in liturgy. The church’s worship is grounded in its past, yet at the same time spirals towards the eschaton. Time in Christian liturgy is kairotic by nature. It is pan-temporal, celebrating, not only here and now, but it makes the past present and propels the present into the future, time of great significance. Worship is multivalent. It acknowledges the particular while acclaiming the universality of its message of salvation. Worship needs to be particularized yet never narcissistic; it must situate itself in the present while not freezing itself in time. Worship is a celebration of the here and now, hopeful for the future, true to the tradition of the Gospel yet ever evolving.⁶

⁴ In his book, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, Pope Benedict wrote, “The turning of the priest towards the people has turned the community into a self-enclosed circle. In its outward form, it no longer opens out on what lies ahead and above, but is closed in on itself. The common turning towards the East was not a ‘celebration towards the wall.’”

Joseph Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, San Francisco: (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2014), 80.

⁵ Joseph A. Komonchak, “The Ecclesiology of Vatican II,” *Origins* 28 (April 22, 1999): 763–764.

⁶ Geoffrey Wainwright, “Sacramental Time” in *Liturgical Time: Papers Read At the 1981 Congress of Societas Liturgica*, eds. Wiebe Vos and Geoffrey Wainwright (Rotterdam: Liturgical Ecumenical Center Trust, 1982), 135-145; Hans Bernard Meyer, S.G., “Time and Liturgy” in *Liturgical Time*, 4-22.

Roots of the Ritual

A stereotype of liturgical scholars exists that tradition is their primary interest. Liturgists are often accused of operating out of a conviction that ‘older is better’ and with being stricken with the curse of ‘archeologism.’ While this can be the case on the part of a few scholars, it was not so with this rite. There are always difficulties that arise due to various perspectives of contributors of a rite. As with this rite, there were common fears that the rite would be a mere parallel experience of the early church. The plan of the designers of the RCIA was first to seek the lived experience of the early church in order to understand the primal focuses of the sacrament or rite. Their intent was to develop a rite for the Church of this time and situation while recovering its original *raison d’etre*.

Fr. Bugnini elaborates on this situation and the mindset of some bishops of the Consilium group who believed that this ritual was a revival of an ancient Christian Initiation rite.⁷ Fr. Balthasar Fischer explained the rite to the Council Fathers who were members of the Consilium with great success. Since most of the bishops were not missionaries he explained the use of the catechumenate in the regions discussed in Chapter 5. The structure of the rite was guided by the catechumenate rite of 1962. The structure of the rite did have roots in the initiatory process of the early church, however, it was clearly a contemporary rite based on the experience of the last half century. Some of the fathers were concerned with terms which seemed archaic, such as “scrutiny,” “exorcism,” “catechumenate,” even “initiation.” There was a concern about the title of the rite itself, The Order of Christian Initiation of Adults (or *Ordo Initiationis Christianae*

⁷ Bugnini, *Documents on the Liturgy*, 586, Note 5.

Adultorum-OICA). Some believed that rite should specify Catholic Baptism. However, Fischer was thorough in his presentation and persistent in thought.⁸

The second request was to truncate the Rite for Adults to the essentials which would be obligatory to fulfill. The other components of the rite would be considered optional and would be inserted into the skeletal core at the discretion of bishops' conferences or individual priests.

Two other requests were made. The first was that the Rite for Adults and the Rite for Infants be issued for experimental use at the same time. This was a clear indication that some members saw two separate and independent rites: one that began at infancy and into a family who would provide Christian formation. This initiation ensemble would extend over time and include independent rites of Confirmation and Reception of Eucharist. The second ensemble for adults began with formation and conversion with the celebration of the sacraments towards the end of that process.⁹ Bugnini points out that Cardinal Cicognani, Secretary of State, expressed his own doubts about a separate rite for adults. He believed that there would be no reason to have a ritual for adults and that the rite for infants would suffice when needed. Also, any form of experimentation would only create confusion and "open the door to arbitrary actions."¹⁰ However, despite these concerns, the rite was accepted and was published for experimental use in twelve national centers, including the United States in 1966.¹¹ Reactions were collected in 1968 and the rite was revised. Some parts were simplified, the euchology (prayer and blessing texts) were enriched and an introduction (praenotanda) was added.

⁸ Ibid., 586, Note 5.

⁹ Ibid., 587.

¹⁰ Ibid., 587.

¹¹ Reports of the experimentation in a number of countries are recorded in Part III of *Liturgy: Adult Baptism and the Catechumenate*, ed., Johannes Wagner (Volume 22, Concilium; Theology in the Age of Renewal) (New York: Paulist Press, 1967).

A common General Introduction of Christian Initiation was created to be placed in the beginning of both rites. This offered an overview theology for initiation in general

In the sacraments of Christian initiation we are freed from the power of darkness and joined to Christ's death, burial, and resurrection. We receive the Spirit of filial adoption and are part of the entire people of God in the celebration of the memorial of the Lord's death and resurrection.

Baptism incorporates us into Christ and forms us into God's people. This first sacrament pardons all our sins, rescues us from the power of darkness, and brings us to the dignity of adopted children, a new creation through water and the Holy Spirit. Hence we are called and are indeed the children of God.¹²

It is a impressive statement, which describes the rite of initiation for either infants or adults. It is the faith of the Church that has survived centuries and has been understood by newly formed Christians since the early church through their experience of initiation. The task of the baptismal rites, of all liturgical rites, then is to impart truth by means of words, symbols and action to a believer in such a way that this truth can be recognized, understood and embodied. It is faith becoming enfleshed in the same way that the Word of God enfleshed the dry bones through the prophesy of Ezekiel.¹³ As the prophet was commanded, "Prophesy to these bones, and say to them: O dry bones, hear the word of the Lord. Thus says the Lord God to these bones: I will cause breath to enter you, and you shall live," through the process of the catechumenate, the Word of God not only builds up candidates by enlivening their faith, but joins them to the one Body, the Church of Christ.

¹² National Conference of Catholic Bishops "Christian Initiation, General Introduction, in *Rite of Christian Initiation – Adults*, International Commission on English in the Liturgy (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Corp, 1988), 1, 2.

¹³ Ezekiel 37:1-10.

CHAPTER 8: DISCOVERING THE RITE

Remember what happened to the wheat. It grew in the fields, sprouted, was nurtured by the rains, and ripened. Workers carried it to the threshing-floor, beat it, winnowed it, stored it in the granary, and brought it to be milled. Water was added to it, and it was baked, emerging as bread. Now, remember what happened to you. Think about a time when you were not, but then you came to be and were brought to the threshing-floor of the Lord. You were threshed by hardworking oxen--the messengers of the Gospel. Then, in your time of preparation as catechumens, you were stored in a kind of granary. Next came the time for you to choose your new names, and the process of milling began, through your fasts and the exorcisms through which you passed. Next, you came to the pool and were immersed in the water, being kneaded into dough. Baked by the fire of the Holy Spirit, you became the bread of the Lord.

*address to the newly baptized of the Church of Hippo
by Augustine, Sermon 229¹*

The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults (RCIA) as a Church Order needs to be understood as an intertwined ensemble of teaching, liturgical rituals, formation processes and new life experiences through which a person led by God's grace and guided by one's Church, turns away from sin and becomes a follower of Jesus within the Christian Community. Through the long process of initiation, which climaxes in the sacramental celebration of baptism, confirmation and communion, this person rises as a new creation in Christ, with a new relationship to God and to the believing community.²

¹ Augustine, *Writings of Saint Augustine: Sermons on the Liturgical Seasons*, vol. 18 of *The Fathers of the Church, Volume 38*, ed., Roy Joseph Deferrari, trans., Mary Sarah Muldowney (New York: Fathers of the Church, 1959) 201.

² CCCB, "Initiation Into the People of Faith," *National Bulletin on Liturgy (CCC)*, 73 (March-April 1980): 53.

The Rite explicitly indicates that it is not a program but a formation and conversion process over an extended period. Apostolic Tradition and other Church Orders offered seminal descriptions of the process of non-believers' journey to become Christians.¹ Apostolic Tradition designated that the catechumenate process should last about three years. It has been noted in this study that any similarities between the present rite and the third-century rite are not due to a pre-occupation with 'archeologism' or an exaggerated allegiance to *ressourcement* of Vatican II.² The Rite was constructed within a unified spirit of Church life, borrowing from earlier rites which were applicable to current Church life. Balthasar Fischer emphasized this objective:

“Our commission was well aware of the reproach of archaeologism which hung over our efforts to restore the catechumenate. But more and more we discovered that what the early Christians established in regard to the catechumenate was fundamentally a timeless pattern.”³

From its origins, there was an emphasis that the Rite was created to be an ongoing process, adaptable to circumstances, environment and individuals. As will be pointed out later in this work, a variety of situations and environments have often reduced the experience of RCIA to one of many parish programs. Rather than being a leaven that enlivened the Church, in many instances, it has become an agent of stagnation. In his talks and writings, Aidan Kavanagh consistently pointed out that all sacraments have an effect, not only on the individual but on Church life as a whole, and that effect is not minimal.⁴ Annie Dillard understood this when she wrote,

¹ Cf. Previous chapters of this study.

² This key word of Vatican II was discussed in the previous chapter, n. 80, and in other areas of this work.

³ Balthasar Fischer, “The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: Rediscovery and New Beginnings,” *Worship* 62.2, (1990): 102.

⁴ Aidan Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1978), 198).

“It is madness to wear ladies’ straw hats and velvet hats to Church; we should all be wearing crash helmets. Ushers should issue life preservers and signal flares; they should lash us to our pews. For the sleeping god may wake some day and take offense, or the waking god may draw us out to where we can never return.”⁵

Aidan Kavanagh, who understood the power of the Rite as well as the nonchalant way it was being regarded writes:

From pre-catechumenate and catechumenate through the sacraments of initiation and post-baptismal catechesis, Christian initiation as a whole ecclesial structure exists *to protect the Church* and *to protect the individual* undergoing such a trauma from the Church’s insensitivity to the crisis. Further, it exists in order *to bring both the Church and the converting individual* into a mutually profitable relationship as a result of the trauma having occurred. This mutually profitable relationship is, on a sustained basis, what I conceive communion to be. Establishing such communion is the ultimate purpose of the whole initiatory process. Sustaining such communion beyond its initiatory phase is the ultimate purpose of the whole of Church order.⁶

As sacrament, it has an ongoing it affects Church life; as a sacrament of conversion and initiation, the Council Fathers recognized that it is a critical part of Church life. It is part of the growth life of the Church. It emphasizes the importance of faith, entailing both initiation and continued conversion. The best example of this is the rite itself.⁷ As a Rite independent of the Rite of Infant Baptism, it also did not follow the same procedures for ministers. Fr. Fischer points out that although it was a difficult debate, the Fathers of the Council approved the policy that presbyters who baptize adults, exercise their faculty to celebrate the sacrament of Confirmation as part of the same ensemble.⁸

⁵ Annie Dillard, “Teaching a Stone to Talk” (New York: Harper & Row, 1982), 40.

⁶ Aidan Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation: Tactics and Strategy,” in *Made, Not Born: New Perspectives on Christian Initiation and the Catechumenate*, ed., The Murphy Center for Liturgical Research (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 3.

⁷ Catholic Church, *Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults*, trans., International Commission on English in the Liturgy. For Use in the U.S.A. (New York: Catholic Book Publishing, 1988), all texts taken from this publication.

⁸ Balthasar Fisher, “The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults,” 103.

Unlike other revisions from Vatican II and later, this rite was not held and scheduled for a date of use at its first publication. The work of this sub-committee lasted five years due to the committee's intent that the rite be tried and managed in ministerial situations.⁹ A preliminary text was available to be used in whole or in part from its inception. The sub-committee hoped that through practical experience in ministerial settings, there would be an opportunity to make adjustments before promulgating a final text. This process was a strong indication that the Church and the architects of the rite were serious about having a supportive ecclesiology within the rite. Rather than planting a Roman ritual in foreign soil, national Churches and individual bishops' conferences were allowed to take ownership of the rite and to adapt it to meet their specific needs. It is noteworthy to see that the Sacred Congregation on the Sacred Liturgy was committed to this process not only in theory but practice, considering the enormity of the western Church and the history of previous liturgical implementations.

The rite contains six chapters with two introductions, a general introduction on Christian Initiation and the Introduction of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults.¹⁰ The Rite is divided into two parts and three appendices. 1) The Christian Initiation of Adults, received in stages; 2) Initiation of Adults for Particular Circumstances, including for children of catechetical age; 3) Appendix I: Additional (Combined) Rites, which include previously baptized adults; 4) Appendix II: Acclamations, Hymns, and Songs; 5) Appendix III: National Statutes for the Catechumenate. The core of the document is the first part, with those following sections merely relating to particular circumstances and

⁹ Ibid., 103.

¹⁰ The technical latin title is "praenotanda," more suitably translated as "preliminary remarks." Appropriately, the praenotanda is dispersed through the rite to introduce each section, rather than set in the beginning as a general introduction.

situations. Excluding the section concerning the preparation of uncatechized adults for Confirmation and Eucharist, and the one for the reception of baptized Christians into full communion with the Catholic Church, it seems that the others are exceptions and can only replace the norm when the full celebration in stages is considered impossible.

The first exception, or “particular circumstance” is the Initiation of Children who have reached Catechetical Age. The number of articles and catechetical tools concerning this situation would give the impression that it is a separate rite. In fact, “RCIA for Children” has been used so extensively as to give the impression that there are three rites of initiation: Baptism of Adults, Rite of Initiation of Adults and RCIA for Children. There are two rites of Initiation. Of the two initiation rites in the Church, the more popular rite is that of initiation that begins in infancy with sacraments of initiation celebrated through maturity. The Rite of Baptism for Children is a formation process that begins with baptism and the faith commitment of the parents. The primary Christian environment for the infant is the family with parents and godparents serving as witnesses of faith and ministering to the child. In the rite, they affirm that they will provide an environment of faith and catechesis for their child. The Sacraments of Initiation are separated in this scenario, with Confirmation and Eucharist completing initiation at later times as the child’s formation process continues.¹¹ Since the baptized is an infant, the profession of faith and commitment lie with the parents and the church community.

The normative Rite of Initiation for all situations other than that of infants is the RCIA. The often incorrectly named *Rite of Christian Initiation of Children* is not an independent rite but rather an individual situation within the *Rite of Christian Initiation of*

¹¹ Roman Ritual, *The Rites of the Catholic Church, Volume One* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 1976), 1-466.

Adults, in the same way that emergency initiation is explained. As an exceptional rite, it is understood that the child's faith formation will still continue within the family and with her or his peers, both regarding worship as well as catechesis.¹²

The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults should be understood as the process of initiation for all others who are not infants. Here the witnesses of faith and the agents of conversion are within the Church community. In the Rite for infants, the journey of catechesis conversion occurs after baptism and through the celebration of the other initiatory sacraments. In the Rite of adults, the conversion process begins well before the initiatory sacramental ensemble and the candidate. In both rites, however, one is called as a disciple of the Word with the commitment that the conversion process extends through life.

The majority of the present section of this study will examine the first section of the RCIA with all its stages due to its prime importance. It is the locus where the ecclesiology of the sacrament lies, which in turn presupposes and impacts the theology of Church. Therefore, reference to the rite, unless otherwise specified will be narrowed to Part One of the Rite. Cited references to the text of the rite will be included in parentheses rather than in the footnotes. The paragraph numbers used will reference the English Edition for use in the United States. In the English text, the corresponding number to the Latin Edition (OICA) appears in the margins of the published ritual books.

¹² "After the introduction to the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, the new English edition of this ritual presents the contents in two parts: Part I, entitled "Christian Initiation of Adults," consists of the steps and periods that make up the full and paradigmatic form of Christian initiation, in accord with the restoration of the integral catechumenate decreed by the Second Vatican Council.

Part II, entitled "Rites for Particular Circumstances," consists of material for: the adaptation of the rite to unbaptized children of catechetical age; exceptional circumstances in which the process of Christian initiation is not followed in its complete form; situations in which those already baptized are either to be catechized and complete their Christian initiation or are to become part of the full communion of the Catholic Church; "Forward" in the Roman Ritual, *Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1988), ix.

After a few paragraphs, the first introduction or *Christian Initiation, General Introduction* addresses Baptism almost exclusively to the neglect of the fullness of initiation and the sacraments of eucharist and confirmation.¹³ Fortunately, it does refer to the importance of non-clerical ministers in catechesis and the role of the community in the celebration of the sacrament (G. Instr. 7), but there is no further elaboration of these important components in the document. The ecclesial dimension of initiation is stressed much more clearly in the *praenotanda* of RCIA.¹⁴

The introduction of the RCIA text (4-35) is a synthesis of the initiation process up to the third stage (68-207), the celebration of the sacraments of initiation. The process is described as a spiritual journey of faith and membership in the Church. Aidan Kavanagh, one of the first and more prominent American liturgical writers on the RCIA, described it as “an ecclesial and liturgical structure within which conversion therapy is carried on.”¹⁵ For this reason, there cannot be one prototype for all individuals and situation. ‘The rite of initiation is suited to the spiritual journey of adults, which varies according to the many forms of God’s grace, the free cooperation of the individuals, the action of the Church, and the circumstances of time and place’ (5). The local Church pledges to journey along with each inquirer through her or his passage of conversion towards the font. The bishop, the diocesan Church within the universal community of faith, the parish with its ministries and responsibilities, sponsors and witnesses all take part in support, prayer, preparation and continued welcoming of the catechumen.

¹³ Catherine Vincie, *The Role of the Assembly in Christian Initiation* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1993), 18.

¹⁴ E.g. nos. 4 and 5 of the Introduction.

¹⁵ Aidan Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation: The Rites,” *Worship* 48 (June—July 1974): 320.

In the rite, the spiritual journey is outlined as four distinct periods with three accompanying stages or steps.¹⁶ Each of the stages is a liturgical rite and introduces the next period (6,7). As explained above by Fr. Fischer, in general, the stages and periods are modeled after the process outlined in the Apostolic Tradition. While recent scholarship disputes the authorship and dating of this document in third century Rome, it remains a central source, in existence before the fifth century. The early Church had a profound insight into conversion. These processes parallel many conversion theories of current anthropologists, sociologists, and theologians. Walter Conn's *Work, Conversion*,¹⁷ includes a number of theories of conversion by William James, Robert Thouless, Wayne Oates and Paul Johnson. All theorists discuss conversion from a psychological perspective, including religious conversion.¹⁸

Charles Gusmer, a noted scholar in the area of initiation and former student of Balthasar Fischer, has pointed out that this pattern of coming to faith and conversion is evident in other early Church sources and is recorded in the Book of Acts.¹⁹ The proclamation of the message of salvation that "Jesus is the Risen Lord" (evangelization) leads to a response (conversion). The finalizing act to this response is baptism as a water-bath conjoined with a profession of faith. Gusmer also acknowledged the fact that

¹⁶The four periods are the *precatechumenate* or period of inquiry, *catechumenate* or time of catechesis, *purification and enlightenment* as intense spiritual preparation, and post-baptismal catechesis or *mystagogy*.

¹⁷Walter E. Conn, *Conversion: Perspectives on Personal and Social Transformation* (Staten Island: Alba House, 1978), 121-168.

¹⁸At a presentation in Nashville TN on May 1981, James Dunning listed divisions of conversion, derived from Bernard Lonergan. These are 1) Affective (from: Blockage of feelings to Acceptance); 2) Intellectual (from: Knowledge as facts to Knowledge as meaning; 3) Moral (from Satisfaction or laws as the criteria for choices to Internalized values as the criteria for choices; 4) Religious (from Life as a series of problems to Life as mystery and gift; 5) Theistic (from God as a force to God as who enters into a loving relation with me; 6) Christian (from the historical Jesus to the risen Christ as the embodiment of God's love for me; 7) Ecclesial (from Church is a "they" institution to Church is a "we" community).

¹⁹Charles Gusmer, "How Do Liturgists View Initiation?" *Christian Initiation Resources*, Sadlier Publishing (1980): Issue 1.

contemporary anthropologists such as Arnold van Gennep and Victor Turner have typified this same process as a rite of passage: separation, transition with a strong sense of liminality and *communitas*.²⁰ Lonergan's theology of conversion: moral, intellectual, affective, religious, theistic, Christian and ecclesial which he outlines in his book, *Methods in Theology*, is also verified in this rite.²¹ Rev. James Dunning, founder and first director of the North American Forum on the Catechumenate, pointed out that the catechetical process of the RCIA of four periods mirrors an adult spiritual journey of all believers. These four periods parallel that which he had designed as four states of all spiritual growth and conversion.²²

During this journey of conversion and initiation, the candidate moves through three changes in identity. After one's initiation conversion and the desire to seek membership in the Church, the candidate is accepted as a Christian. During this time of catechesis, the candidate is a member of the church, though not baptized. Candidates are encouraged to interact with the community and take part in many aspects of Church life, though unbaptized. This identity can continue for many years (6, 7.1). The second change of identity is as a member of the Elect and usually coincides with the liturgical season of Lent (7.3). It is a time of proximate preparation for the celebration of the Initiation Sacraments. The third change of identity is as a neophyte and usually lasts during the fifty days of Easter, after Initiation (7.4). Through all these changes in identity, the candidates are never alone. They enter the community in a variety of ways and are ministered to by various members of the community. Catechists, Church members,

²⁰ Charles Gusmer, "How Do Liturgists View Initiation?," *Christian Initiation Resources*, Sadlier 1 (1980), 18.

²¹ Bernard Lonergan, *Method in Theology*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).

²² James B. Dunning, "The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: A Model of Adult Growth," *Worship* 53.2, (March 1979): 143.

guides, sponsors, priests, deacons and bishops all have a role in the baptismal journey (9-16).

The concluding section of the first part of the Introduction concerns times and places for a variety of rituals, possible adaptations both by conferences of bishops individual bishops, and pastoral ministers.

The rest of the *praenotanda* is dispersed throughout the ritual as a guide for that particular segment of the rite. The next section (36-40) explains the “Period of Evangelization and Pre-Catechumenate. It is a time of inquiry before the formal catechumenal formation period. The inquirer is oriented to the Christian lifestyle, the organization of church, perhaps even hearing scripture and the Christian message for the first time. It is a time of questioning and discernment. This is the period where initial conversion may take place for some, and the first time someone may seriously be exposed to the Word of God. At this time, there is an emphasis on the role of the community and the importance of hospitality (38, 39.3). This recognition of the importance of the community as a ministerial function is important. The rite emphasizes this function of the community and its members “for the first time in centuries.”²³ At the same time, even at this stage, the inquirer stands as a witness and ministers to the members of the church, challenging the faithful by their own search and determination.

The first period of the rite is the pre-catechumenate. This is the point of initial conversion (6) and a time of evangelization: “faithfully and constantly the living God is proclaimed and Jesus Christ whom he has sent for the salvation of all” (36). In the general process of adult growth, Fr. Dunning calls this period a time of autobiography or

²³“Adrien Nocent, “Christian Initiation in the Roman Church from the Fifth Century until Vatican II,” in *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Sacraments and Sacramentals*, ed., Anscar J. Chupungco, O.S.B. (New York: Liturgical Press, 2000), 66.

inquiry. It allows for a sharing of one's personal pilgrimage, with its highs and lows. It also leads to a questioning, a searching for meaning and significance in our lives. We share our personal story so that it could be put in dialogue with the story of Jesus. It is a time to ask and seek answers for our three primordial questions of existence: "Who am I and what am I about?" "Where have I come from" or "What events can define my meaningful existence in the present?" "Where am I going, what is my purpose in life, how does God fit into the picture?"²⁴ The questions are primal because they answer the basic questions of our existence. As Dr. James Sanders points out, they are primal because they give meaning to our relationship with God.²⁵ The Pre-catechumenate engenders this basic life questioning. The Church's role during this time is to provide a climate of inquiry and hospitality. Proposing such questions can facilitate this period. Other less profound information is usually also sought at this time. Various questions about things which are peculiar to our Catholic identity might arise: what kind of communion is distributed, when does one call a priest, why is there celibacy and sisters' habits, where can I obtain a book to answer more of these questions? "During this period, priests and deacons, catechists and other laypersons are to give the candidates a suitable explanation of the Gospel. The candidates are to receive help and attention . . . (38). It is a time for inquirers to become acquainted with prayer (40). Not only does an inquirer hear the Good News at this time, he or she needs to witness it in the lives of various members of the community. This is a time of seeking models, of witnessing how people can integrate their Christian lifestyles into their lives as social beings without being forced to compromise their gospel values. There are no professionals assigned to this

²⁴ Ibid., 143.

²⁵ James A. Sanders, *Torah and Canon*, (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Pub, 2005).

task. Crucially, the whole Church community is involved. Although homilies, letters, newspaper ads and ‘word of mouth advertisements’ are beneficial ways of welcoming people to seek answers to their questions of life within the Church, it would be a debilitating effort if there were no witness of a Christian lifestyle within the community to support the invitations. At its outset, we must have the realization that a pre-catechumenate and fruitful catechumenate could only flourish where there is a good sense of parish community.

When Fr. Dunning refers to this time as a period of “autobiography,” it might be presumed that he is referring to the stories of the Christian community as well as the inquirer. As a welcoming body, it is necessary for the local Church to take an interest in the inquirer, to seek what goals and objectives motivate the person, what pilgrimages have already been made, what is the person’s own conceptions of Christianity. At the same time, part of responsibility is to respect privacy. It is important to find out what sparked this time of inquiry and what does the message of Jesus say to the person already, at this time. This cannot be construed as a we/they discussion, however, since that kind of a relationship is not in keeping with Church life. It is a time of dialogue to begin to have a common identity.

All-in-all, the pre-catechumenate is a time of stories: the scripture story, the Christian story, the story of the local Church and its members, the story of the inquirer. Through these stories, the inquirers undergo a type of history-setting period to become acquainted with the scriptures, become comfortable with one other and lay the groundwork for the continuing examination of doctrine. It is not a series of teaching

theology classes but rather a time of living ecclesiology.²⁶ A group of people, validated by their belief in Jesus Christ and the scriptures, and who live their lives by being attentive to each other's needs, go beyond themselves to share the Good News with one another and others.

The local Church should attend to this phase by reflecting on the environment it sets, the dynamics of the group and the unspoken message it presents to the group. For instance, is this experience true to the participants' lives? If so, is it noticeable? Could the experience be interpreted as being elitist or does it openly welcome newcomers? How does the interaction say that the gathering is open to the spirit? Finally, does the experience expose itself to the continued and constant self-conversion process it must undergo in order to be repeatedly transformed as a witness to the participants? For this reason, this time of inquiry should always be in a group, and it does not have to be exclusively for those seeking the possibility of baptism.

First State — Rite of Becoming a Catechumen.

“Assembling publicly for the first time, the candidates who have completed the period of the pre-catechumenate declare their intention to the Church and the Church in turn, carrying out its apostolic mission, accepts them as persons who intend to become its members.” (41). At first glance, this rite might seem to be a formality in order to begin the process of the catechumenate. The document denies this premise by stating that it is “of great importance,” as the Church “carrying out its apostolic mission, accepts them as persons who intend to become its members,” (41) which conveys the conviction that the

²⁶ James Dunning, “The Period of the Precatechumenate or Inquiry: Dimensions and Dynamics,” in *Precatechumenate*, ed., James T. Morgan (New York: Sadlier, 1984), 17-21.

sense of God should never be divorced from a sense of community. Rather than mere formality, this action displays the ecclesial importance of the rite. Membership in the Church is not the result of baptism but begins with acceptance as a catechumen and a commitment to journey with the community of faith.

Identification as a member of the Church, liturgically and socially, begins at this time. The catechumens are asked to live as members of the local Church and become “part of the household of Christ.” (47) They are charged, together with the whole Church, to be jointly nourished by the Word of God, to take an active role in the Liturgy of the Word and to receive sacramentals and blessings. From this time on, the catechumen is considered a member of the Christian Church. She or he is entitled to special rites for marriage as well as a Christian burial, should the catechumen die during the catechumenate. (47) The Rite of Acceptance includes instruction, asking the candidates their motives for entering the Church (50), an acceptance of the instruction of the leadership of the Church (52). There is a pledge of support from the sponsors and the whole assembly (53) and a signing of the cross of Christ and welcoming by the entire community (54-57). The reception of the candidates concludes with the formal entry into the Church (60). In the Church, there is a Celebration of the Word, a presentation of the Gospels (64), and intercessions for the catechumens (65). They are then dismissed to continue sharing their joy and experience with other Church members. If this Rite occurs on a Sunday or any occasion within the context of a eucharist, the intercessions for the Church and the world continue after the dismissal of the catechumens, followed by the Liturgy of the Eucharist (68).

Parts of the structure of RCIA is penitential in nature and continually deals with any contrasts between Christian lifestyle and that of the secular world. However, this is not reflected in this preliminary rite. There is an optional renunciation of non-Christian worship which is the only point of reference to a past time or lifestyle. (72) The rest of the text is extremely positive, filled with joy and expectancy. This is significant for many reasons, including psychological ones. The Church celebrates the welcoming of a new member. It deals with the present and future rather than with the past. It is an experience of new acceptance by the whole community. While ordained clergy should lead the welcome, it cannot be properly effective without sponsors and other Church members.

The Catechumenate.

This second period may take place over a number of years. It is a phase of complete catechesis and education in faith. It should never be handled as the re-emergence of the ‘inquiry class.’ This is not a time for one to find out what it is like to be a Catholic. Instead, it is that crucial period of time, which Aidan Kavanagh defines as Conversion Therapy.²⁷ It should never be a mere passing on of knowledge; nor is it a series of isolated topics. This phase allows one to prioritize one’s life, to understand the demands and advantages of a Christian lifestyle. It allows one to discern the call to “leave behind” and “not look back;” it is a call to prepare oneself to look ahead in order to put on Christ.

A varied number of people should share this catechesis as is well outlined in the *praenotanda*, especially in article 75. First there is doctrinal formation by priests, deacons, catechists and other lay persons, leading “the catechumens not only to an

²⁷ Aidan Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation of Adults: The Rites,” *Worship* 48 (1974): 320.

appropriate acquaintance with dogmas and precepts but also to a profound sense of the mystery of salvation.” (75.1) Secondly, by living according to Christian values and supported by sponsors and the faithful at large, catechumens learn to pray, witness to the faith and live a life of charity. (75.2) Thirdly, they learn through liturgical rites and listening to the Word of God, and by participating with the rest of the congregation in preparation of the eucharist, in time to come. (75.3) Finally, catechumens learn to build up the Church in the apostolic life of the Church, professing their faith by working with other active Church members. (75.4)

Every member of the community ministers as catechist during this time. They witness to their own ways of living out the Christian message. Simultaneously, these same members to confirm their Christian experience to themselves first, which becomes an agent for their personal growth.

It is during the time of the catechumenate that the identity of the candidate becomes specifically Catholic. There would have been evidence of faith in the period of inquiry or pre-catechumenate. (42) Those in the catechumenate are exposed to the full Catholic teaching and liturgy. They are enabled to distinguish their identity as Catholics from the rest of the Christian communities. This should in no way reflect any anti-ecumenical attitudes, however. Perhaps care should be taken to develop a sense of unity and commonness with other expressions of Christianity at this time. It is vital to be attentive to the families of the catechumens, should they be non-Catholic Christians or non-Christian.

The liturgies consist of a number of experiences. First, special celebrations of the Word should be prepared for them. If this is not possible, they are urged to take part in

the Sunday assembly's Liturgy of the Word. When convenient, they should leave before the Liturgy of the Eucharist and perhaps meet with some of the faithful to discuss the Word further. (75)

The catechumenate period should provide times to celebrate the minor exorcisms. There may be confusion as to their meaning. Contrary to modern interpretations, there is no allusion here to diabolical possession. Exorcisms are part of the growth of the catechumen, where the Church intercedes for the candidates, that they may be freed from the slavery of sin, personified by the devil. The references to spirits are the things from which we must free ourselves: wickedness, selfishness, prejudice, etc.²⁸ The prayers of exorcism include such scriptural allusions such as the Ark and the Beatitudes. The exorcisms help the catechumen understand that a strong effort is needed to live a Christian lifestyle. The difficulties encountered in living a life according to the spirit can only be overcome through the blessings of the Lord and the prayers of the catechumens. There will be further discussion concerning exorcisms at the time of the scrutinies.

As a continuing support, the catechumens receive blessings from the priest or deacon to help them on their spiritual journey. These usually occur after the Liturgy of the Word. Other possible rites include the presentation of the Creed (144-14) and the Lord's Prayer (165-170), and the 'ephpheta rite' (the prayer for opening one's ears and mouth for the Word of God) (184-186). Finally, the first anointing could be given to the catechumen as a sign and prayer of strengthening.

This period of the Catechumenate is a time of strengthened identification. After receiving models of Christian life, the inquirer moves on to adopt these models and taking ownership of them. It is also a time when the Church summons the candidate to

²⁸ See RCIA Nos. 94, 154, 164, 175.

journey with the Church. Fr. Dunning links this period with the second stage of adult growth. The person moves from him/herself with all the needs stated above and begins to reflect upon the biographies and faith of the Christian community. They begin to discern whether or not the Good News of Jesus' story and the journey of his followers are able to bring depth to their lives and help them interpret their own pilgrimage.²⁹ At the end of the catechumenate, the candidates should feel at ease with the Christian community in which they reside. At the same time, the community should be attentive to the candidates accepting them as new members.

Second State-Rite of Election.

The third period is that of Purification and Enlightenment; it begins with a second stage, the Rite of Election. Ordinarily, on the First Sunday of Lent, the Church officially 'chooses' and admits the catechumens entrance into an intense preparation for their baptism, which will take place at the Easter Vigil (106, 113). Their names are written or enrolled in an official register of the Church, the Book of the Elect. The bishop, his assistant, the local community with sponsors, catechists and godparents are all to be involved in this inscription. This is a rather critical stage for both the catechumen and the local Church. The catechumens make a deliberate and final decision to proceed to the reception of the sacraments of initiation. The community determines to admit them to full membership, after consultation with those who had direct responsibility for their spiritual journeys. 'After the election, they should surround the elect with prayer, so that the entire Church will accompany and lead them to encounter Christ.' (108).

²⁹ Dunning, *Rite of Christian Initiation*, 143.

There can be no misunderstanding concerning the role of the Church in this stage of the catechumenate. In fact, it is so intentional, that there is a realization that the directive may not be practical in many local communities. (109) It is difficult for people to know each other sufficiently in order to take part in the decision to admit them as full Christians in many situations, especially in large urban and suburban areas.³⁰ In such a situation, the order makes a provision for those who were directly responsible for the formation of the catechumens to present them and make the decision of election, and then ask the community to endorse the action (110). It is interesting that this seems to be the only occasion that the rite stipulates an alternative action. Perhaps it is due to a fear that the Rite of Election will diminish to a small activity including roughly three people. This provision cannot be regarded as a release from its primary intention of involving the whole Church community. In fact, because it is an exception, it should be considered as an interim measure and instead give an indication of the kind of Church community the catechumenate needs in order to exist.

Period of Purification and Enlightenment.

A period of intense preparation follows the Rite of Election. The nature of this time of readiness is in the realm of spiritual recollection rather than strict education. It is a living out of Lent with the community during this final period before initiation (125). Lent is conceived as a time of recollection and penance for the whole Christian community and is a preparation for the renewal of their baptismal promises at the Easter Vigil. Therefore, the renewal of the faith community should be joined with the final journey

³⁰ J.D. Crichton, *Christian Celebration: The Mass, the Sacraments, the Prayer of the Church* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1982), 49.

of the candidates so that all may be prepared to celebrate the Paschal Mystery whichever way the sacraments of initiation will be celebrated by them.³¹ The ‘elect’ (a traditional classification given to catechumens at this time) are able to identify themselves even more closely with the local community during this period of recollection when they ‘purify the minds and hearts of the elect as they search their own consciences and do penance. This period is intended as well to enlighten the minds and hearts of the elect with a deeper knowledge of Christ the Savior’ (126).

Fr. Dunning identifies this period of Adult Growth as the moment of personal faith and turning to the Lord. ‘Is the Good News actually Good News for me?’ is the question he poses to be answered during this time.³² Throughout Lent, the candidates are asked to look at themselves and their relationship with the Lord in an intense way. It is a time to identify the meaning of their personal spiritual journey and to discover all who are involved in the journey, namely, God and the rest of the community. At this point, they should no longer see themselves journeying as individuals, but with one another and with the Lord. The question of joining a local Church becomes a reality not only from the perspective of being welcomed by someone, but now their own responsibility to the community becomes evident. The welcomed one is now called to become a welcomer. The candidate for initiation, who once asked, “If I walk alone who shall wash my feet?” must now add “. . . whose feet shall I wash?”

If it had not yet occurred before this third period, there could be a solemn presentation of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer. Three important rituals take place

³¹ Ibid., 49; Second Vatican Council, *Ad Gentes* [Decree on the Church’s Missionary Activity], December 7, 1965, art. 14 in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 828.

³² Dunning, *Rite of Christian Initiation*, 143.

during this season called Scrutinies on the Third, Fourth and Fifth Sundays of Lent.

Aligned with these scrutinies are the appropriate exorcisms. From a liturgical standpoint, there is probably more of a popular concern about these rites than any other within the whole formation process of catechumenate/initiation. After closer observation, one might come to understand that uneasiness arises more with their titles rather than with the rites themselves. Modern media personifications of the devil and his work in the world in works such as the *Exorcist* and *The Devil's Advocate*, even *The Passion of the Christ*, to name only a few out of a plethora of celluloid and printed presentations, have caused some people to ignore these rites. It is very easy for one to think of possession of the devil because of these creations as well as the recent explosion of news about exorcists and exorcism in the Church when concerned with these rites.³³

In addition to the comments made about exorcisms beforehand, it is important to recognize the act of exorcism as an act directly linked to the ministry of Jesus, an act of liberation. We see Jesus opposed to whatever might keep people from being free: sin, oppression, bigotry, evil spirits. Through his ministry, Jesus heals the decaying agents in others' lives for them to live their lives as people "unbound" from the many grasps of the world. These actions during his life prefigured his ultimate act of liberation on the cross.³⁴ In the rituals of the exorcisms and the scrutinies, we celebrate that same act of liberation and restoration of human dignity and freedom. We celebrate the ridding ourselves of the 'possession' or control of violence, hopelessness, suffering, greed and

³³ Daniel Burke, "They're baaack! What's behind the return of the exorcist," *U.S. Catholic* 76, No. 6 (June 2011): 12-17; Yasmine Hafiz, "Exorcism Conference At Vatican Addresses The Need For More Demon-Fighting Priests," *The Huffington Post* (May 13, 2014): http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/05/13/exorcism-conference-rome-priests_n_5316749.html.

³⁴Nathan Mitchell, "Exorcism in the RCIA," *Christian Initiation Resources* 1.3, (1981): 161.

the strengthening ‘to uncover, then heal all that is weak, defective, or sinful in the hearts of the elect (128).

It is not a magical cure or insurance against the world. It does not promise to rid the candidates of suffering or temptation. It is a prayer to free them from the clutches in their lives so that they might always remember nothing should be in control of their lives or take priority over their relationship with the Lord. It also challenges them to recognize their sins and the weaknesses that burden them and to strengthen them from relying too much on themselves (164). In the scrutinies, evil is recognized as something tangible, something real. It is not just a mysterious force in the world which we try to define as a ‘lack of good.’ These are real and include failings such as selfishness and blindness, narcissism and independence, which infiltrate one’s life and have to be combatted by real actions such as good will and faithfulness to the Good News (128-131).

The scrutinies should be performed in a way that it is apparent that the ultimate concern of the initiation process is conversion and not how much knowledge the candidate might have acquired about the Christian life. Before the candidates appear before the community for the scrutinies, they should have dialogued with their sponsors about their strengths and weaknesses. It is almost certain that there would have been a noticed development during this process. There may have been barriers which had to be broken down, perhaps some false notions or rationalizing of one’s lifestyle. These should have continued to disappear throughout the catechumenate due to prayer, self-control, determination, and direction from the sponsor. It is this that is brought to the scrutinies. It is not just weaknesses but also healings and strengths that became a part of the candidate’s life.

This is the purpose of the prayer of blessing of the candidates' good gifts which is the last component of the scrutiny. These prayers do not accomplish a 'once and for all' ridding of sin, but rather sign an ongoing combatting of weaknesses in our lives (and in the community). Therefore, it is important to celebrate the Scrutinies with the whole assembly. The Lenten scrutinies coincide with readings of freedom: the woman of Samaria ('I am the Living Water'), the man born blind ('I am the Light of the World'), and the raising of Lazarus ('I am the Resurrection and the Life'). The readings are meant to speak to the individuals of the community. At the same time, they speak to the community as a whole. When the Church prays that the Lord will heal the candidates and bless and strengthen their good gifts, it is also a prayer of blessing upon the whole assembly, continually in need of healing and strengthening. Scrutinies are an acknowledgment of every Christian's ongoing call to conversion and not a low point in the rite. Baptism may wipe away our sins but does not wipe away our weakness. It is also celebration that the Lord continually strengthens and forgives, even after Baptism. These Rites of Exorcism echo the early church's understanding of 'exhomologesis.' This was not only the process of confession of sin and penance, but the forgiveness and absolution of a penitent by the bishop, and the re-entrance into the community. For these reasons, these scrutiny weeks are excellent occasions for parish Lenten celebrations of reconciliation.

After the elect are 'scrutinized and exorcised' and have received the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and "given back" publicly at or before the Easter Vigil, they await Holy Saturday and are to rest and perhaps perform some of the preliminary rites of the

sacraments of initiation: the profession of faith (creed), the Lord's Prayer, the Rite of Ephpheta and the anointing with the oil of catechumens.

The Reception of the Sacraments of Initiation.

This marks the third and final stage of RCIA. "Through this final step the elect, receiving pardon for their sins, are admitted into the people of God. They are graced with adoption as children of God and are led by the Holy Spirit into the promised fullness of time begun in Christ and, as they share in the eucharistic sacrifice and meal, even to a foretaste of the kingdom of God." (198) This rite takes place at the Easter Vigil (199) or if this is not possible, at a special liturgy filled with the Easter spirit.³⁵ The norm of the celebration at Easter is of utmost importance, again, not for nostalgia sake but because the rite can only receive its strength and meaning from this event, even when celebrated at some other time of the year. Easter and the catechumenate compliment one another. Easter is a celebration of 'vigiling,' of waiting for new life. It is transition from darkness to life, from silence to Word, from void to fullness. Like the catechumenate, it is a conversion journey from the famine of belief to the richness of faith, from the drought of death to the springs of life, from the parchedness of distrust to the waters of hope. The Vigil night is distinct because the Church waits for this new life together as a transformed and transforming community, comforting and supporting one another. In common expectation, they await the celebration of the risen Savior. It would be incomprehensible to speak of another more appropriate time to celebrate new life of Baptism, welcoming new Christians to a community of faith, than this time of celebrating

³⁵ General Instruction, 6.

newness: Fire, Water Promise (Word), Sharing (Eucharist), Spirit, and after a well-journeyed Lent, of renewed and transformed life of the community.³⁶

The Sacrament of Baptism is celebrated in the usual order, followed by Confirmation and the continued Liturgy of the Eucharist. The rite begins after the homily of the Easter vigil. Aidan Kavanagh notes that the insertion of the rite after the elongated Liturgy of the Word may cause a misinterpretation of the meaning of the readings. They are neither a final instruction for the elect nor a rite ‘dedicated or personalized’ for them.³⁷ As is evidenced at funerals, weddings, and ‘birthday masses,’ there is a caution that the introductory rites of the vigil may become misdirected as a tribute to the elect. The theme of the entire vigil is death to resurrection, not as the culmination of the journey of the catechumens, but of the whole Church. It is easy to lose sight of the fact that whenever the local Church celebrates an event in its life, whether it is a baptism, confirmation, reconciliation or ordination, it is celebrating not as individuals but as Church, as the Body of Christ. Also, it always celebrates the saving event of Christ. Someone does not ‘get ordained’ just as a catechumen does not ‘become baptized’ *before* a congregation. It is the whole Church of Christ who ordains its ministers just as the entire community welcomes new members through the sacrament of baptism. When we are present at a liturgical celebration, it is different than attending a gathering in honor of a friend. We celebrate the fact that we, along with the person, are the Body of Christ and are both recipients of his saving grace.

The local community waits and prays in vigil, together they hear the Word, remembering the transforming power of the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, Sarah and

³⁶ Aidan Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation: The Rites,” 325

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 326.

Ruth through the centuries. The Liturgy of the Word at the vigil is the culmination of the Lenten journey of every Christian, the faithful and the elect, in preparation for their baptism or their baptismal renewal. In the Word, the Promise is proclaimed again for the first time, once again, but it is special on this night. This Promise is again realized at the Vigil not only in the proclamation of the Word but in the celebration of the Sacraments of Initiation.

The celebration of baptism takes place in the presence of the assembly. When the font is not in the proximate location of the congregation, nothing should impede their view. When possible, the assembly should move to the font.

The rite continues according to the following order: blessing of baptismal water (222); renunciation of evil (224); profession of faith (225); water-bath (226); presentation of the white garment and candle (229-230); confirmation (231-236); the Easter Liturgy of the Eucharist (241-243). The renewal of baptismal promises of the assembly occurs after the water-bath of the elect. This act reaffirms the inclusion of the neophyte into the community and the Body of Christ.

Besides the ecclesiological and communal aspects of the rite already mentioned above and the obvious common celebration of the Liturgy of the Eucharist, there are a few things need to note. The litany at the beginning of the rite is a prayer by the whole community seeking the intercession of the community of saints, for the elect who are about to be baptized. This action is not only a prayer form but a proclamation of faith that there is one Mystical Body of Christ, consisting of these here present and “those who have gone before us marked with the sign of faith.” Also in the action of the community, once again, takes on the responsibility for the elect even in these last stages of

preparation. The assembly executes its ministry as the faithful, interceding for those who seek baptism. This action mirrors the ongoing ministry which had occurred throughout the whole catechumenal process.

The second note about the rite is a difficulty, which does not touch the ecclesial significance of the rite as much as a liturgical point. The rite does not do an adequate job of separating the Sacrament of Confirmation from the Sacrament of Baptism. This does not seem to be intentional since there are no notes, which infer a chrismation as an extension of the water-bath. They are dealt with as two separate sacraments, and their rites remain intact the except for the elimination of the last baptismal anointing if Confirmation is to follow. The note that Confirmation can take place either at the font or in the sanctuary makes the connection even less clear (231). Pastoral considerations need to occur here. If a short break, a song of praise or other dividing activity were inserted at this time, there would be a clear distinction as three sacraments. Presently, the community might not be able to notice any defined actions pertinent to each individual sacrament.

The third step is the renewal of baptismal promises and the sprinkling with baptismal water (240). Before the revision of the Holy Week Liturgy, the faithful were sprinkled with water that was separately blessed from the baptismal water. The sprinkling from a common font is a clear unifying sign connecting the 'neophytes' and the rest of the community as the faithful for the first time. It is also a strong reference that initiation is an ongoing process into which the faithful participate each Lenten Season as a preparation for the annual renewal of baptismal promises. Although *all* (240) are sprinkled, including the neophytes, this is not so with the renunciation of sin and the

profession of faith. The profession of faith is first professed by the elect before the baptism and later acclaimed by the faithful. This is a logical course, and there is a suitable explanation regarding the witness and intention of the elect. However, it might be pastorally beneficial to connect the two. Perhaps the assembly can ratify the intention of the elect with their own profession, or the elect might state their intention and readiness in a different formula and later again profess their faith in the usual creedal formula for the first time as a neophyte, with the rest of the assembly.

A final point is the sign of peace. There is an exchange of peace within the reception of confirmation (235), but it is the usual action done by the bishop (or presider) during the anointing. It would seem that the final act of the water-bath/anointing rite ensemble would be an exchange of peace by the whole community with the neophytes. It not only puts closure to the rite but also signs the involvement of the whole community in the initiatory process. If this were to occur as an official welcoming of the newly baptized, the act would be a perfect prelude to the whole community celebrating the Easter Eucharist together. (As a side note, another prelude to the Liturgy of the Eucharist is the homily of Augustine which was printed at the beginning of this section. The vivid imagery is an excellent link for the sacraments and a perfect explanation why we then move to the table.

The Time of Post-Baptismal Catechesis or Mystagogia. This is the fourth and last period of the catechumenal process. Neophytes are referred to as such because they have been newly initiated (or planted, literally).³⁸ They are charged to join with the faithful, to continue meditating on the scriptures, to celebrate the Eucharist and fully share in the life of the community (244-249). This fourth period is defined as a time from

³⁸ 1 Timothy 3.6

Easter to Pentecost when the fully initiated become better acquainted with the paschal mystery and become ever-more comfortable with its celebration. Because it is the last of a long period and the celebrations have ended, this can be misinterpreted as a time of catechesis in its strict sense.

However, if it evolves into an educational or even a worship experience, it violates the whole catechumenal process. The elements of the period of mystagogia parallel the postbaptismal homilies of the later Fathers, such as Ambrose, Cyril and John Chrysostom. They seem to have been exhortations rather than homiletic in nature.³⁹ It is a good observation but still does not do justice to this last period. There is still an absence of good resources and materials that deal with mystagogia adequately.

Mystagogia is a time of joy which should be reflected in the gatherings of the neophytes and even in the environment of the place of meeting. It is not a time to dissect the Catechism of the Catholic Church but rather an unfolding of the baptismal experience.

The time after initiation should never be a “letting go” of the neophytes with the result that they gradually become anonymous members of the parish. A sort of ‘settling-in’ process, as well as a continued challenge, is necessary to empower the neophytes and to urge them to continue the discernment of their gifts that could be used for the good of the community and the People of God. If this is not accomplished, the catechumenate with all its success could be easily annulled. Out of the catechumenate erupts a creation which must be lived and utilized, so that it could continue to re-create. If the catechumenate were solely an educational experience, a neophyte simply would be able to do further studying alone.

³⁹ Kavanagh, *Shape of Baptism*, 143.

Both experience and doctrine were bound up in the catechetical experience, and both have to be continued. If this does not occur, the process could become easily stilted. The same dilemma has faced coordinators of religious and community-based experiences and caused them to wither.⁴⁰ The period of mystagogia should continue to involve the community. The self-transformation must prevail as well as a calling forth of its members to ministry. In understanding the many gifts collected among them, the Church will not only support its newest members but enable them to seek out their talents and use them to further the work of the Gospel. It is at this point that we witness the renewing nature of the RCIA. The newly baptized are now charged to be present so that they may manifest the Good News to others as a source of support and challenge. The journey of baptism is marked more by symbols than by words. It would stand to reason that its benefits would likewise be witnessed more by signs and actions than by words. It is only after this last period when the neophytes are abundantly imploded into the life of the community as equals to the others that they complete their catechumenal process.

Fr. Dunning identifies this last period as the fourth stage in Adult Growth.⁴¹ It is a time of celebrating the journey with others, in the sharing of the Eucharist and the Good News. This occurs by Christian witness and ministry. In pointing out the stages of adult growth, the first was autobiography. This last period enables the neophyte to repeat the process. She or he will be called on to tell her or his own story once again. The process will continue with conversions, celebrations and questioning. Although the catechumenal process is completed, the initiatory journey continues. The neophyte continues to live each Lent and celebrate each Easter with a recommitment of the catechumenate event.

⁴⁰ For a full explanation of the necessary mixture of affections and doctrine, see John A. Berntsen, "Christian Affections and the Catechumenate," *Worship* 52.3 (October 1974): 458-479.

⁴¹ Dunning, *Rite of Christian Initiation*, 143.

The baptized adult might have an advantage because of the remembered experiences each Easter.

If the RCIA could be realized in a radical way without decay into mediocrity or an abbreviated state for the sake of time economy, we have little reason to worry about the fate of the Church's future. The structure of the rite may seem complicated and may even take fifty years to become realized, but its premise is basic to the life of the Church. It is a living experience of a community which takes its *raison d'etre* from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This must be the basis of life of the Church otherwise its complicated structure will have no meaning.

In the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, the Second Vatican Council arrived at a rite with the potential to renew church called for by *Lumen Gentium*, *Gaudium et Spes* and *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. It challenges its members to live Church, free of passive spectators. It does not call for a Church which demands its members to be full-time sharers of talents, or makes unreasonable demands on its members. Perhaps, most of its members will witness to the values of the Gospel in the world, but again it makes no imperatives. But it does presuppose a community which continually lives the conversion process of proclamation-response-celebration. It presumes an experience of adult growth, not according to the norms of Piaget and Kohlberg, but because they believe in a Lord who has created them as simple people, yet made whole in God's image, who may continue to feel pain but also share in joy.⁴²

⁴² Dunning, *Rite of Christian Initiation*, 156.

CHAPTER 9: ECCLESIOLOGY AND RCIA

The attempt to reform the order of initiation has issued the promulgation of rites, which are, historically and culturally speaking, a massive rejection of the presuppositions of pastoral practice and of most Churchgoers as to what membership in the Church means. This is a revolution quite without precedent because the Catholic Church has never before in its history done such violence to its liturgical practice as to make its rites so thoroughly incongruous with its concrete reality. A step like this is either a statement that rite is wholly irrelevant or that the Church is willing to change and to change radically its concrete reality. Such an approach is either suicide or prophecy of a very high order.¹

The above is a rather sober statement written by Ralph Keifer soon after the Rite of Initiation appeared. He reiterated the same message two years later in 1976 during a liturgy symposium on Adult Initiation. These sentiments were still very true from his perspective. What he seemed to be saying is that the RCIA says less about ritual than it does about Church. This study is investigating the impact of worship on ecclesiology at the outset of Vatican II and through the liturgical changes in recent years, using Adult Initiation as the prime example. We have investigated the antecedents of the Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults, both in the early centuries of the Church and during a developmental process with missionary work since the later Middle Ages until the twentieth century. We have commented on the introduction of the rite and the ritual itself to show the interaction of the rite and the candidates with the community. The members of the local Church have a prime role in the rituals and the process, and both would be

¹ Ralph Keifer, "Christian Initiation: The State of the Question," *Worship* 48.7 (September 1974): 402.

seriously hampered without its presence. The introductory quote of this section goes beyond casual affection. It indicates that not only can the Rite not exist lacking a vibrant local community but it demands a distinct community based on the lived experience of the Gospel. On the other hand, the rite will continually renew the Church as the vibrant community it requires.

Keifer suggests that the rite does not reflect the existing experience of Church. It is rather a charge for the Church to transform itself so that its implied vision becomes a reality, where the process of initiation is concretely lived by the local Church within the larger Church. Its vision is guided by a shared understanding of the early church and is based and centered on the Scriptures and the teachings of Jesus. The Rite evokes both excitement and fear. There is the newness of life involved in the Church, and at the same time, it calls for a radical tearing away from many traditional supports; it calls for a 'letting-go,' taking risks, changing priorities from stagnancy (often called stability) and moving toward new development. But there is a warning attached. If we do not follow it wholly, then the Rite is useless; a mere collection of words and one of the most irrelevant reforms of the Western Church.

The Rite does not offer an institutional style Church structure. This chapter will attempt to examine some of the foundations of the rite regarding ecclesiology. It is evident that one of the descriptions of Church is a Society of Fellowship, or *koinonia*. It is a community based on the second chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, a church of fellowship, a church of prayer, a church of sharing. Secondly, the Church is called to be a prophetic sign to a secular society. One can make many parallels between the role of the Church in the 'moyen age' or post-Constantinian Church and the early or pre-

Christendom Church. Thirdly, the rite calls forth ministry from all its members. The clergy has a particular position in the ministry of the Church, but it is one of many important roles. Finally, we speak briefly about Church as Remnant. What does it mean to be the anawim, to be the elect? To whom do we witness? As a conclusion, we hope to deal with several key questions and stimulate even more study.

CHURCH: A Community of Fellowship.

Vatican II, while continuing the description of the Church as the Mystical Body of Christ, added a new identification for its people and the world around them--the People of God. It is a race composed of Jews and Gentiles, slave and free,¹ who become one in the Spirit. They are born, not from flesh but from the spirit. They are established as ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation... who in times past were not a people, but now are the People of God’ (1 Peter).² In the Catholic Church, as in any Christian community, the People of God are called to live in familial love with Christ as their head. *Lumen Gentium* continues this model, by citing scripture, describing early Church living and defining Church community for the modern world.³ The People of God are those “who by Baptism are incorporated into Christ . . . and in their own way share the priestly, prophetic and kingly office of Christ, and to the best of their ability carry on the mission of the whole Christian people in the Church and in the world.”⁴ The Council clarified the vision of the Church very well. At times it might have been too paternalistic toward the “laity,” and it might have set a theology outside the lived experience, but it did

¹ Cf. Galatians 3:28.

² Vatican Council, *Lumen Gentium* [The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church], November 24, 1964, par. 13, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, O.P. (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1987) 364.

³ Rom. 12, 4-5; Eph, 4.5.

⁴ *Lumen Gentium*, par. 31, 388.

give the Church a vision. Based on the Book of Acts and the letters of Paul, it picked up the biblical theme that God has fashioned for himself a people by freely communicating the Spirit and gifts.⁵ The result is a union which Heribert Muhlen describes as “personalological. It is an interior union, taking place in the inmost personal core of the members, sealed by office and sacraments.”⁶ This communion, on a lower level, enables its members to care for each other’s physical needs and empowers them to work productively together. However, on an upper level, it revives spirituality and a life of prayer for each other.

Although the Vatican Documents set a vision for the Church to strive toward, the RCIA seems to drive this vision into existence. It is no longer a dream and offers a way for it to become a reality. Comunidades eclesiales de base (Christian Base Communities) began to form in the 1960s in Brazil, then quickly spread to Africa, the Philippines, and North America. These are smaller communities of faith where life is shared, and spirituality is strengthened. They are not independent but rather resemble faith pods that are tightly connected with the larger Church.

The Council Fathers recognized that the Church cannot call itself a community of faith in name only. The Church cannot exist as a society of individuals who share faith only at times. The Church must live what it proclaims, a sign of the Kingdom, less by its mighty global institution and more effectively through the local Church and congregations who live a more shared life. It is as if this lived experience is needed to ratify the theology of Church. This lived experience is necessary for the catechumenate to have any value.

⁵ Avery R. Dulles, S.J., *Models of the Church - a Critical Assessment of the Church in All Its Aspects* (New York: Doubleday, 1974) 52.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 53.

The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults presupposes this image of Church as it also adds to this theology and in fact, helps form this ecclesiology. The second chapter from the Book of Acts that was referred to earlier recorded that the community lived and prayed together, **then** their number increased. RCIA relies on a lived ecclesiology of community in order to welcome new members. One cannot testify to a candidate's readiness to be baptized into a community of faith if there is no such experience of church. At the same time, if there is no lived community in which the neophyte may enter after baptism, then one may question the value of the initiation process. This will be addressed again later in this study.

The Church must first seek its identity as a fellowship community before the rite of initiation could be effective. Some believed it would take as much as fifty years to accomplish this task and witness the vision of Church as community, in the success of the rite and church communities where members do more than 'take' from the Church each Sunday. One fear existed that until the vision of Vatican II was lived in local churches, not only would the RCIA be worthless, but it would also stop being a process and be added to the innumerable 'magic' programs on our shelves. As the Church is approaching these fifty years, there have been advances and retreats which will be analyzed later in this study.

If a purely institutional ecclesial model exists with the RCIA, "the result is a Church incapable of initiating new members because it is incapable of living and acting as a community of faith into which people can be initiated. As we stand at present, people can be partially assimilated into the Church, but they cannot be initiated. We function as

an aggregate, not as a community.”⁷ If RCIA is an agent of conversion, as was witnessed both through the rite and its history, that its transformation qualities affect the Church at large, a Church that is able to be transformed, a Church of transformable people, a Church of fellowship, by this rite.

CHURCH: A Prophetic Voice.

Pope Paul VI, in his opening address to the second session of Vatican II, described the Church as mystery, mystery which pertains to that of Christ. He called for a dialogue of the mystery with the contemporary world.

While the Church seeks to revive her interior life in the Spirit of the Lord — thus distinguishing and separating herself from secular society in which she exists — at the same time she is signalized as the life-giving ferment and the instrument of the salvation of the world, both revealing and strengthening her missionary vocation, which is to treat mankind, as the object of her dedicated mission of communicating the teachings of the Gospels.⁸

This address contains some sound premises, reiterated in the RCIA. First, it implies the understanding of Church as Herald. As a people rooted in the Word of God proclaimed by Jesus, the mission of the Church is to believe the Word and to announce it as commissioned by baptism.⁹ It also proclaims that the Church is not created for itself, but for the Kingdom. This Church is called to announce the Kingdom, revealed in the death, resurrection, and promise of Christ through its witness, preaching and teaching.¹⁰ Finally, there is a call that the Church is apart from the world. This does not imply that the Church takes an ‘isolationist’ stand or that it associates solely with things mystical.

⁷ Keifer, “State of the Question, 401.

⁸ Floyd Anderson, ed., *Council Daybook, Vatican II, Sessions 1 & 2* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Welfare, 1965) 148.

⁹ Dulles, 71.

¹⁰ Richard P. McBrien, *Church: The Continuing Quest* (Paulist Press, 1971) 37.

By its nature, the Church is distinct from any one culture, nor does it wed itself to any one ideology. The Church is in a situation similar to that found before the time of Charlemagne. The declaration by Pope Paul II was an awakening that the Church must shift (even if it be painful) back from a 'Christendom' to a 'Christian' Mentality. Most societies and cultures can no longer be classified as 'Judeo-Christian.' The world has become a secular society which includes lived communities of Christians. The faith community is not the world's 'good side' or its 'believing side.' It can no longer be a pious facade for the world. However, the Church is Herald; it is a prophetic voice in the midst of the world. As it exists for the kingdom, it is the voice of the kingdom for itself and others. No longer the conservator of the values of society, it is an instrument of ongoing conversion and transformation of its own members. Through its own transformation and conversion, it is of service to the world as a voice, challenging it to examine its values through its own life witness of the gospel.¹¹

This does not mean that the Church is alienated from the world. It is not withdrawn or hostile; it is distinct and different from the society in which it lives. As an agent of the Kingdom, it is an agent of liberation and solidarity in God.¹² It exemplifies the gospel images in Matthew of salt¹³ and light, and leaven.¹⁴ In its role as prophetic voice, rather than standing separated from the world, it penetrates the world as a Herald to proclaim

¹¹ Robert Hovda, "Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: The Community Process and Its Sacraments," *Living Worship* 10.7 (1974): 2.

¹² *Lumen Gentium*, 8.

¹³ Robert Hovda, "Hope for the Future: A Summary" in *Made, Not Born: New Perspectives on Christian Initiation and the Catechumenate*, ed., Murphy Center for Liturgical Research, 152-167 (South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 1976), 157.

¹⁴ Vatican Council, *Gaudium et Spes* [The Pastoral Constitution on the Church], December 7, 1965, par. 40, in *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post-Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, O.P. (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1987), 939.

the Kingdom even to those who do not believe.¹⁵ It dialogues with the world, receiving from it the many gifts it has to offer and in return giving it a sense of freedom and hope.¹⁶ The Church gives the world a witness of its faith in Christ, hope in the ultimate coming of God's kingdom and a commitment to the values of peace, justice, and human fellowship.¹⁷ It serves the world as prophet by challenging and examining, and urging change in light of the Gospel.

The RCIA presumes this kind of Church and makes these same charges to its candidates. It asks inquirers to freely turn to the Lord as the 'way, the truth, and the life,' and promises them the inner hope that cannot be found in the values of secular society.¹⁸ This in no way implies that these citizens of society (or the world) have lived dishonorable lives, or lives without values. It promises to give them the hope, which comes from living out a life of values rooted in the teachings of Jesus Christ.

Just as in the time of the early Church, the Church stands as a force within the world, yet at times in contrast to the world, inviting its citizens to be converted, transformed, freed from the social status, to become people renewed in the faith of Jesus Christ.

CHURCH: A Non-Clericalized & Ministering Community.

In the early Church, the community called all members to ministry; all accomplished the work of the Church. As the communities developed so did their roles. Still, all continued to share in ministry according to the perceived needs and each one's

¹⁵ Ibid., 21.

¹⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷ Dulles, 92.

¹⁸Second Vatican Council, "Ad Gentes Divinitus" [Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity], December 7, 1965, Art. 13, In *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, 813-855 (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 827.

talents. Later on, divisions developed which produced many positive results. The community identified leaders who were able to be trained and became adept in the work of the Church. However, this eventually gave way to a duo-class Church. One group did the ministry, and the other worshiped, eventually becoming quite passive by merely watching the worship and supporting the ministry. A caste system developed, separating the two groups by power, language, education and finances. This two-tiered existence continued to the eve of the Second Vatican Council.¹⁹

The Council Fathers recounted the establishment of the Church as the calling of ‘all the just, from the time of Abel to the last of the elect . . . together with the Father in the universal Church.’²⁰ The Church calls all members who share a common dignity through Baptism to a mutual vocation of living and preaching the Word of God. There is no inequality among its people, no distinction between sacred ministers and the rest of the People of God.²¹ “There is neither Jew nor Greek; there is neither slave nor freeman; there is neither male nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus.”²²

At times, the Council Fathers wrote their inspirational documents, figuratively, on papyrus. The words are sound, yet their practical meaning is somewhat wooden. While all Christians are empowered to preach the word and witness to the faith of the Church in the world, this teaching is offered with a touch of paternalism. Laity are reminded they have rights; pastors are urged to promote the dignity and responsibility of the laity.²³ The laity should work with pastors and bring their concerns to the ecclesial community; they

¹⁹ Theodor Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy*, trans., John Halliburton (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), 97-99.

²⁰ Second Vatican Council, “Lumen Gentium” [Dogmatic Constitution on the Church] November 21, 1964, Art. 2, In *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, 350-426 (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975), 351.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 32.

²² Galatians 3:28.

²³ Lumen Gentium, 33,37.

should be involved in Catholic Action, and the hierarchy is to direct this lay apostolate.²⁴

The needed control of the laity is brought further into focus when we look at the authorship of the Decree on the Laity. The problem is not that it was constructed by clerics since one need not be part of a situation to be aware of it. It is not so much the clerical authorship but rather the clericalism in the authors, whether lay or religious.

Hans Kung makes a distinction between the participation of lay people in the life of the Church and the involvement of lay people in the decisions of its life. His belief is that we can never rid ourselves of the word 'laity' until lay people can live and govern the Church together with the clergy.²⁵ The ministry of lay people are neither subordinate to the ministry of the clergy, nor are they substitute ministers when clergy are scarce. There is one ministry, the ministry of the Church. All participate in that ministry, in their own way first by right of baptism and secondarily by their call and their talent.

Baptism calls all disciples to this one ministry, and that ministry is service to others. There is a hierarchy in ministry which is not delineated as clerical or lay ministry. This hierarchy is primal ministry and secondary ministry. Ministry is service toward another person or people in need. It is rooted in our shared humanity. There are two forms of primal ministry, which must take place before a full life in the Church can be realized. The first primal ministry is one of liberation. To adequately exist we must be in control of our own lives. If we cannot accomplish this ourselves, someone must help us. The ministry of liberation is the releasing of the oppressed from their enslaving force.

Christians may undertake this task by supplying the person with the means to work it out,

²⁴ Second Vatican Council, "Apostolicam Actuositatem" [Decree on the Apostolate of Lay People] November 18, 1965, Art. 10, 20, 23-26, In *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, 350-426 (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975).

²⁵ Hans Küng, *Signposts for the Future: Contemporary Issues Facing the Church* (New York: Doubleday, 1978), 132.

or it might mean journeying with the person, as it is in the process of the catechumenate.²⁶

The second primal form of ministry is unity building. We are called to dispel the loneliness in each other's lives. The Good news cannot be heard by the alienated, the isolated and the lonely. We cannot say that we are 'one Church' if Church is not experienced as such. Only after these two vital arms of ministry, liberation and unity building, are working in the local community, then the secondary level of ministry begins. Missionaries understand this well. Basic needs must be cared for first. It is impossible to teach a child with hunger pangs. A person struggling with life and death issues is usually not concerned with anything other than survival.

RCIA is a secondary form of ministry, but it recognizes the necessity of the ministry of basic needs. Attention to the whole person is all part of the inquiry period, perhaps even before Word is proclaimed and heard. This is the first level of journeying as Church. Then the Word of God is proclaimed to transform the already ministered person. After hearing the Word and being converted by its proclamation, the people can enter into the ministry of celebration, celebrating, not alone but, as a body, the good things that have happened in their lives. This journey from the ministry of liberation to the ministry of celebration encapsulates the rite of initiation. The candidates who participate in the journey are ministered to by various (and hopefully, all) people in the local Church in these areas.²⁷

²⁶ Cf. The work of Jacques Ellul on liberation. Two good sources are *In Season, Out of Season* and *The Ethics of Freedom*. Ellul believes that the work of a Christian is to work and fight for the liberation of others.

²⁷ Many of these thoughts are the result of presentation of the late Rev. William Bauman and the late John Gallen, S.J. through a series of presentations on the stages of ministry in a renewed Church in the 1980s. Recordings of these presentations are no longer available and were never recorded in print.

All the baptized are called to ministry. As there is one Mission of Jesus to proclaim the kingdom of Christ and of God among all the people of the world.²⁸ The dimensions of that Mission are Word, Worship, Witness and Service. The Church lives out that Mission through its Ministry. This one Ministry is service in and through Christ through the Church and by means of our initiation. Every member of the church is called to this ministry.

While there is one Ministry of the Church, what we call “ministries” are ways to participate in that one Ministry. Liturgical ministries, hospitality ministry, music, teaching, preaching, compassion, bereavement, feeding, etc. are all participations in the one Ministry of the Church. While all are equally called to ministry, the ways we participate differ. There are no degrees of ministry.²⁹

This notion is probably more difficult to absorb than any other presupposition of the RCIA because it is the most tangible. However, it is also the most noticeable. The document states that the primary role in the ministry of the parish regarding the rite is that of the whole community attracting those who have not heard the Good News. Next is hospitality followed by pastoral and personal care. The sponsor is another important role since that person is the co-traveller and pray-er with the candidate. Finally, the instruction portion of the ministry and the presence of the bishop ministering to the person is necessary.

Often, RCIA emphasizes that the chief catechist of the candidate is the community, not the priest, the staff or even the catechetical team. The initiation of the catechumen takes place step by step in the midst of the assembly, not because of sign value alone, but

²⁸ Lumen Gentium, 5.

²⁹ Cf. Ephesians 4; 1 Corinthians 12.

because that is the locus of the conversion process. The order of ministers noted in the rite should also be recognized since they were probably not set up randomly: sponsors (10), godparents (11), bishops (12), followed by catechists (12), presbyters (13) and finally, deacons (15). The clergy have a specific role in the catechumenal process just as they have a particular role in the life of the Church. Furthermore, the extent of their role is not to be determined by them. They assume one of the many roles in the Church.

Who are the ministers of the Church, of the catechumenate? “This new sort might better be old people who know how to pray, the ill who know how to suffer and the confessor who knows what faith costs [rather] than young presbyters with degrees in religious education.”³⁰

CHURCH: A Remnant Community.

Judaism emerged from the time of the Babylonian exile, especially when the Israelites were allowed to return home in the sixth century B.C. The exiles, it was believed, came from the tribe of Judah and saw themselves as the ‘purified remnant of Israel.’ The Anawim were the poor, the meek and the humble.³¹ Through centuries, these two terms were used synonymously, especially by Christians. The Church as a remnant community is often identified with the ‘Anawim’ of Israel. In some parts of the world and at different times, Christians were both remnant and anawim, but not always. The Remnant is the saved community continuously on pilgrimage to the Kingdom.

³⁰ Aidan Kavanagh, “Initiation” in *Simple Gifts: A Collection of Ideas and Rites From Liturgy*, Vol. 2, ed., Gabe Huck (Washington, D.C.: Liturgical Conference, 1974), 12.

³¹ Raymond E. Brown, *The Birth of the Messiah: A Commentary on the Infancy Narratives in Matthew and Luke* (New York: Doubleday, 1977), 350-351.

The Church is on pilgrimage, people, liable to sin, though saved, are continually growing in Christ, guided by his word until they arrive in the glory of the kingdom.³² *Lumen Gentium* speaks of Church as Mystery. It is Mystery as unfolding, not as mysterious. It is Church on Pilgrimage where the Mystery is fully unfolded at the end time. The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy also refers to the Church as Sacrament. It becomes the point of encounter between God and God's People, an efficacious sign of grace.³³ As sacrament, the Church enters into the process of the Incarnation. It does not remain a sacred body dispensing grace which it contains, to all who encounter it. It is a sacrament of dialogue, as Schillibeeckx has termed it.³⁴ It is people on route to the Father, continuously seeking, consistently growing "in wisdom, age, and grace." It is the remnant People of God, on pilgrimage through the ages, awaiting the reign of God. In moving towards the Kingdom, it bears witness to and proclaims the Kingdom on its journey. It is rooted in history, taking shape through the covenants with the Father and the continued promise of the Son. Guided by the Paraclete and through its life, the Church manifests the Kingdom in anticipation of that day when the promise is realized.

How is this accomplished? Is it like sailing on a ship waiting for it to reach port? Is it the same Church begun on the teachings of Jesus by his followers? Yes and No. As a remnant Church, it is the same Church grounded in the Gospels and guided by the same Spirit. As the remnant, the Church believes it is the chosen People of God who carry on in life the promises of the Father made known through the Son. As a pilgrim remnant, an incarnational Church has changed. The Church changes because it is rooted in history,

³² Second Vatican Council, "Unitatis Redintegratio [Decree on Ecumenism] November 21, 1964, Art. 3, In *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, 350-426 (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975) 455.

³³ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, art. 26; *Lumen Gentium*, art. 9, 48; *Ad Gentes Divinitus*, art. 5; *Gaudium et Spes*, art. 42.

³⁴ Dulles, 61.

called to be a sign to the world which exists at the times of the kingdom of God. The Church has changed because it is a human community attempting to discern the call of the spirit in different ways. The Church has changed because it is an eschatological and incarnational community continually making the kingdom present, moving toward a final realization of the kingdom. RCIA as a ritual of conversion invites new members to this remnant Church, a community of witnesses of the Risen Lord and a sign of the promised kingdom.

RCIA involves individual and corporate conversion in its rituals, its expectations of its members. Its basic definition depends on ongoing change and movement as a pilgrim people. This occurs first within the process of the catechumenate. The members of the Church facilitate this process for candidates to transform their lives, through their witness, their teaching, and celebrations. At the same time, the catechumens occupy an equally important role in the Church's growth. As recipients of the faith, they also function as a witness to the members of the Church so that they too may continue their conversion in Christ. From the beginning, the recipients of the Church's ministry reciprocate through their own ministry to the ministers.

The catechumenate sets itself within the liturgical year culminating at Easter. As it provides for an ongoing process of conversion, the Church itself grows from each Paschal season to the next so that the cycle of its year of faith is more like a spiral, advancing in its growth and commitment to the Gospel, and furthering its vision as Church. The Church, living as a community of faith, ministers to one another and the world, advancing toward the Kingdom through their shared experiences and continued transformation, each year as it passes from death to life, in Jesus, by the Spirit.

When the Church can fulfill the criteria envisioned by the RCIA not only will it be successful but the vision of Vatican II, the dream of the early Church will be on the road to being realized. The Church will be the visible sign of the Father, revealed in its charity, its unity and proclamation of the Scriptures. People will again be able to remark, 'see how they love one another,' the love which is of the Father.

CHAPTER 10: REFORM AND REACTION

The papal master of ceremonies, Msgr. Guido Marini, announced on January 6, 2010 that there is need for a new reform of the liturgy. He intimated that the post-conciliar experts did not grasp fully the meaning and intention of the liturgy constitution, which they had drafted and presented to the council fathers. He claimed that as a result, the post-conciliar reform has “not always in its practical implementation found a timely and happy fulfillment”.

The agenda is, to all appearance, an attempt to put the clock back to a half-century. Will Latinized English make the liturgy more awesome? It will certainly sound mysterious, but will it be more prayerful? Will the silent recitation of the Eucharistic Prayer, preferably in Latin, evoke more vividly the Last Supper of Jesus? Is receiving Holy Communion on one’s knees and on the tongue more reverent than receiving it standing and in the hand? Will the priestly role of mediation be reinforced by praying at the altar with the back to the assembly?¹

The whole thing began with an old man, a pope with a newness like never before. It was he who called this council. His uniqueness, as was evident, was the fact that he was, above everything else, just a simple Christian who used old words that touched people’s hearts. He said that this Council, which he called was for an updating of the Church—for the Church’s rejuvenation, for the pastoral nature of doctrine and the magisterium, and to substitute strictness with the medicine of mercy. When speaking of the Deposit of the Faith, instead of technical theological formulas, he pointed to the chalice and the missal.

In contrast to Roncalli’s flowing words of peace, friendship and mercy even after death had silenced him, there were some who continued to shatter his dreams and

¹ Anscar J. Chupungco, O.S.B., “Liturgical Studies and Liturgical Renewal,” Paper Read on the Occasion of the Affiliation of the Broken Bay Institute With the University of New Castle, Australia (2010), Accessed March 17, 2017, <http://www.praytellig.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Anscar-J.-Chupungco-Talk1.pdf>, p. 1.

propose their hostile intentions to restate and ratify all that the church had accumulated against modern society and its ideologies, not least that of communism.

This scene is a paraphrase of part of the introduction of *Chi ha paura del Concilio Vaticano II*.¹ The author was trying to show that the fear and reactions, which occurred over the last thirty years began before the Council. Pope John XXIII did not seem to fit the “profile” and his vision did not adapt well to the structure. In fact it seemed to derail parts of the organization. During the Council, the position of the college of bishops was raised, there was a “beheading” of the Counter-Reformation as well as a type of a family reunion with the Jewish “Chosen People.” The self-esteem of Baptism was raised, and with it, the dignity of the People of God. The liturgy recovered its status as a celebration of the whole assembly; clergy and laity, together, were invited to participate actively, united around their bishop as local church. For most of the world, it was the changes in the liturgy that became the public face of the Council. Language was the most noticeable change of the Catholic Church. Filipinos arrived at church and began liturgy with *Sa ngalan ng Ama, at ng Anak, at ng Espiritu Santo*. Across the street from the Vatican, the priest would greet the people with “La grazia del Signore nostro Gesù Cristo, l’amore di Dio Padre e la comunione dello Spirito Santo sia con tutti voi.” and in Ohio worshippers were able to respond, “And also with you.”²

Pope John XXIII hoped that the upcoming Council might bring about a “New Pentecost.” This worried even more people who feared that the Council would bring about a tighter central control over the growing new movements in the church at that

¹ Melloni, Alberto, and Giuseppe Ruggieri. *Chi Ha Paura De Vaticano II?* (Rome: Carocci editore S.p.A., 2009), 10.

² This is the introductory rite for Eucharist, divided for each of the three languages. It begins with the Sign of the Cross (“In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.”) followed by a greeting (“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God the Father and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with you all.”). The response of the people follows.

time. However, he also used the Italian word *aggiornamento*, which should have given them a clearer view of his intentions. The general meaning of *aggiornamento* is updating or revision. In the pope's address at the opening of the Council, he clarified his reasons for convoking this worldwide assembly of bishops. He was moving beyond surface updating of the Church and desired true *aggiornamento*. Still, *aggiornamento* was a foreign word for most bishops, for most people. Abbot Christopher Butler tried to explain this concept of *aggiornamento*,³ by utilizing Bernard Lonergan's explanation of species.⁴ Butler explains,

Plant and animal species are found to include a number of varieties within themselves; they have modified a basic structure, common to all the varieties of a single species, to meet slightly differing concrete situations. But a time may come when the survival and welfare of the species' biological inheritance requires some more radical change.⁵

Through Lonergan's understanding of a species as "an intelligible solution to a problem of living in a given environment," Butler explains that when a species can no longer be a solution to a changing environment, there is either extinction or evolution. The result of evolution is a species that is a new solution to a new problem of living.⁶

The Church, however, is not a species but a communion of believers. Yet, as a communion, the Church can evolve within itself to meet new problems with new solutions. "Such new solutions will have a radical quality and will entail a searching discrimination between what is, after all, of the immutable essence of the Church, and all contingent existence that, however venerable, is yet—at least in principle—expendable."⁷

³ Christopher Butler, O.S.B., "The Aggiornamento of Vatican II," in *Vatican II: An Interfaith Appraisal*, ed., John H. Miller, C.S.C., 3-13 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 5.

⁴ B.J.F., Lonergan, *Insight: A Study of Human Understanding* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1965), 265-267.

⁵ Butler, *The Aggiornamento*, 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*, 6.

Pope John perceived that the world was “on the edge of a new era.” The Council trusted his vision and strove to prepare the Church to be an important participant in this “new era.”⁸ John O’Malley points out that Pope John and the Council attempted to corral *aggiornamento* to the confines of accommodation and adjustment, perhaps to use a current vocabulary for an old truth. However, as O’Malley noted, “events have shown how impossible it was to contain the dynamism of *aggiornamento* within what now seem to be the modest, perhaps even minimalist, bounds the Pope and the Council generally seemed to intend.”⁹ However, the first sentence of the first document of the Council is direct and definitive, “to adapt . . . more closely to the needs of our age . . .”¹⁰

The Council maintained a continuity of faith and tradition that reaches to the apostolic church, rooted in the faith of Israel. Besides *aggiornamento*, the council was committed to *ressourcement*, a return to the authoritative sources of the faith.¹¹

Sacrosanctum Concilium (SC) addresses both of these commitments in terms of reform.

Holy Mother Church desires to undertake with great care a general restoration of the liturgy itself, for the liturgy is made up of unchangeable elements divinely instituted, and of elements subject to change. These latter not only may be changed but also ought to be changed with the passage of time, if they have suffered from the intrusion of anything out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy or have become less suitable.¹²

⁸ John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Reform, Historical Consciousness and Vatican II’s *Aggiornamento*,” *Theological Studies* 32.4 (1971): 575.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Second Vatican Council, “Sacrosanctum Concilium [the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy] December 4, 1963,” in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975) art. 1.

¹¹ From *aggiornamento*, *ressourcement* and *rapprochement*, Avery Dulles offers ten teachings of the Council: adaptation, Reformability of the Church, Renewed attention to the Word of God, Collegiality, Religious freedom, Active role of the laity, Regional and local variety of Church, Ecumenism, Dialogue with other religions, and Social mission of the Church. Avery Robert Dulles S.J., *The Reshaping of Catholicism* (San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1988).

¹² *Ibid.*, art. 21

Massimo Faggioli points out that SC is more committed to *ressourcement* and least dependent on recent papal teachings for its core concepts.¹³

This Council, more than its predecessors, had a sharper understanding of history as well as a global awareness of the world, and a much more informed understanding of society and change. The world had changed and was changing. Some changes were extremely positive and others were very bad. The world was still reeling from two World Wars, communication was rapidly developing along with more available modes of transportation. Space exploration,¹⁴ Telstar¹⁵ and Uni Vac¹⁶ seemed to “shrink” the size of the planet. The cold war¹⁷ had progressed and became vitally apparent as the world held its breath only five days after the opening of the Council, with the appearance of the Cuban Missile Crisis.¹⁸ The Church and the world were ready for messages of hope and optimism that Good Pope John could offer. There’s no wonder why the Council Fathers spoke of this Church experience as a “new Pentecost.”¹⁹

O’Malley offers an excellent analysis of the change dynamic of the Council in reference to the past as well as conciliar time. His study of reform and rupture, continuity and discontinuity, of creativity and stability, of philosophy and practicality are beyond the scope of this paper. Analyzing reform and the Council is complicated and even cataclysmic but his study is an important contribution toward the analysis of the post-

¹³ Massimo Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2012), 2.2 Loc. 609, Kindle.

¹⁴ Accessed March 13, 2017, <https://www.archives.gov/research/alic/reference/space-timeline.html>.

¹⁵ Accessed March 13, 2017, <https://www.nasa.gov/topics/technology/features/telstar.html>.

¹⁶ Accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.thocp.net/hardware/univac.htm>.

¹⁷ Accessed March 13, 2017, <https://www.jfklibrary.org/JFK/JFK-in-History/The-Cold-War.aspx>.

¹⁸ Accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.papalartifacts.com/october-25-1962-pope-john-xxiii-the-cuban-missile-crisis/>

¹⁹ Butler, *The Aggiornamento*, 6.

conciliar difficulties. He also offers a later article in order to analyze the post-conciliar critiques and subsequent attempts at reform.²⁰

Cardinal Kasper describes three phases in the reception of the Council.²¹ The first phase was “exuberant celebration.” The Council brought a new beginning, believing it was just the beginning of ongoing reform in the Church. Now that the doors had flung open, the spirit would carry the Church to new heights. It was truly a second Pentecost. Many concepts of living as Church began “in the Spirit of the Council.” In *L’Avvenire d’Italia*, R. LaValle wrote that the Council,

put into practice an exceptional conjunction of the human and the divine, one that was more obvious, more exciting, and more convincing than so many others that we always have before our eyes but which are less promising, less enthralling. Rarely has it been given to the Church to become so adaptable and transparent an instrument of the Father’s plan of salvation and of the fruits of the Paschal Mystery of Christ.²²

This is not to say that the end was all elation. The original preparatory commission and some members of the Curia had stopped licking their wounds and were beginning to get even as they began influence Pope Paul VI. He had taken a much more active role than his predecessor. In contrast to the “Message to Humanity” in October 1962, the closing of the Council included addresses to seven categories of rulers, implying an attitude of “other” rather than the inclusive perspective of the earlier message and that of the most recently approved *Gaudium et Spes* (Pastoral Constitution on the Church).²³ One month after the Council, five post-conciliar commissions were established to parallel

²⁰ John W. O’Malley, S.J., “Reform, Historical, 573-601; O’Malley, “‘The Hermeneutic of Reform’: A Historical Analysis,” *Theological Studies* 73.3 (2012): 517-546.

²¹ Walter Cardinal Kasper, *Theology and Church*, (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1989), 167-169.

²² R. La Valle, *Il concilio nelle nostre mani* (Brescia, 1966) in Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II, Vol. 5: The Council and the Transition, the Fourth Period and the End of the Council, September 1965-December 1965* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 2005) 567.

²³ Alberigo, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. 5, 552.

many of the conciliar commissions. However, no parallel doctrinal commission was established. Doctrinal problems were once again addressed through the Holy Office.²⁴

Four days after the close of the Council, on December 12, 1965, Karl Rahner lectured in Munich:

During the Council we walked through a vast desert, and we came closer to God's holy mountain. But were we now to settle down to rest under the broom-tree of a Conciliar triumphalism, tired, sleepy, and fed up, then would - then please may, then surely must – an angel of God wake us up from our sleep by persecutions, apostasy, and suffering of heart: 'Get up, you have a great journey before you.'²⁵

The dreams of the majority of the college of bishops and the inspiration of the Spirit were an incentive for innovation and creativity after the Council. Excitement abounded in many parish churches. Movements began to be organized. Different expressions of music began to enter liturgy. People experienced prayer forms different than traditional novenas. Through dialogue with local culture, catholic liturgy was explained as a “ritual with a variety of accents.”

Early liturgical changes were not without problems. At times the alterations on the local level were irresponsible, without critical analysis, or a lack of liturgical or theological background. It is no secret that misapplications did occur. However, rather than considering these variations malicious, it might be more accurate to describe this time as experimental, due to a lack of related Church experiences other than the Latin liturgy. One might even describe this period as a time of “ecclesiastical adolescence, “ a necessary phase leading to responsible maturity. Unfortunately this stage lingered longer

²⁴ Ibid., 556.

²⁵ James Sweeney, “How Should We Remember Vatican II?” *New Blackfriars* 90.106, (2009): 251.

in some areas. However, more unfortunate is that detractors continued to be accusatory even after experimentation dwindled.

Cardinal Kasper describes the second phase as a time of disappointment. Collegiality and the theology of Church as *Communio*²⁶ had not developed significantly on all levels of Church life. Surprisingly, some stronger advocates for collegiality neglected to practice what they had promoted once they advanced to positions of authority. Also, the 1970s began to bring on disillusionment. The Church was fractured by people in opposition to one another. Ten years after the Council during a homily on the Feast of Saints Peter and Paul, Pope Paul VI preached:

After the Council, we believed there would be a day of sunshine in the history of the Church. Instead there arrived a day of clouds, of tempest, of darkness, of questioning, of uncertainty. We preach ecumenism but we constantly separate ourselves. We seem to dig abysses instead of filling them in . . . through some fissure the smoke of Satan has entered the Temple of God . . . something preternatural has come into the world to disturb, to suffocate the fruits of the Ecumenical Council, and to prevent the Church from breaking into a hymn of joy at having renewed in fullness its awareness of itself.²⁷

According to Kasper, a third phase was officially inaugurated on January 25, 1985, when John Paul II convened an extraordinary synod of bishops to discuss the reception and interpretation of the council. He addressed the attending bishops, that the implementation of Vatican II was yet to be accomplished:

On occasion there have been noted illicit omissions or additions, rites invented outside the framework of established norms; postures or songs which are not conducive to faith or to a sense of the sacred; abuses in the practice of general absolution; confusion between the ministerial priesthood, linked with ordination, and the common priesthood of the faithful, which has its foundation in baptism. It cannot be tolerated that

²⁶ Cf. Leahy, Brendan, "People, Synod and Upper Room: Vatican II's Ecclesiology of Communion," in *Vatican II Facing the 21st Century: Historical and Theological Perspectives*, ed., Dermot A. and Brendan Leahy Lane, eds., 49-80 (Dublin: Veritas Publications, 2006).

²⁷ Italian text from the Vatican website and translation in Nicholas Lash, *Theology for Pilgrims* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 259.

certain priests should take upon themselves the right to compose Eucharistic Prayers or to substitute profane readings for texts from Sacred Scripture. Initiatives of this sort, far from being linked with the liturgical reform as such, or with the books, which have issued from it, are in direct contradiction to it, disfigure it and deprive the Christian people of the genuine treasures of the Liturgy of the Church.

It is for the bishops to root out such abuses, because the regulation of the Liturgy depends on the bishop within the limits of the law, and because “the life in Christ of His faithful people in some sense is derived from and depends upon him.”²⁸

The previous Council influenced some of the dynamics in this Council. Vatican I centralized all Church affairs, from dogmatic matters to disciplinary procedures, forming an oligarchy in Rome.²⁹ The anti-Modernist pursuit had marginalized theologians. Bishops were sideline extensions of the papacy, with little relevance. With the call and progression of the Council, the margins were cleared and the outsiders united to create what was referred to as the “majority of council fathers.” Giuseppe Alberigo’s analysis is that this group was both too small and too big. It was large enough to overcome the resistance of the pre-conciliar curial thinking group but never large enough to eliminate their negative influence on Pope Paul VI.³⁰ This group who had enjoyed unlimited authority were convinced that they had a right to it.³¹ Much of this group remained in power in the post-conciliar life of the Church. At the same time, many members of the “Majority Vote” did not fully understand the deeper dynamics and vision of John XXIII, to renew and empower the Church and all Christianity so the Church would emerge as a public force as the People of God in the world. Many of the later difficulties in the

²⁸ Pope John Paul II, “Apostolic Letter “Vicesimus Quintus Annus” [on the 25th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Constitution “Sacrosanctum Concilium” on the Sacred Liturgy], (1988), Accessed March 13, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/1988/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_19881204_vicesimus-quintus-annus.html, art. 13.

²⁹ Giuseppe Alberigo, “The Christian Situation after Vatican II” in *Reception of Vatican II*, ed., Giuseppe Alberigo et al (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), 8-11.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, note 26.

Church, of which Vatican II took the blame, were already evident before the Council. These included the erosion of the sacrament of Penance and the identity of the priest. Pius XII recognized these as well but saw them as a disease rather than symptoms of something larger.³² The post-conciliar time became more complicated, although, perhaps no more complicated than post-conciliar periods of some other Councils in the history of the Church. There were multiple mindsets of bishops once they returned home. Some understood the vision of John XIII, some saw the Council as a new “wine” which they attempted to fit in “old wineskins.” Some believed the Council’s work was behind them. Some resented the Council and retrenched. Some were optimistic but became alarmed by the changes in the world of the late 60s—in the world and in the Church. These and other experiences contributed to the phases that Cardinal Kasper outlined above.

The global situation had a large influential role after the Council.

From the Vietnam War to the youth revolt, from the sexual revolution to the final exposure of the USSR in Prague, from the ideological conflict between Marxism and the ideology of national security, from the inception of *Ostpolitik* to the appearance of a revolutionary pulse . . . the bottle of time was violently smashed and the church that was bottled up remained scarred.³³

Discontent and political stress brought about an extra edginess in the world and in the Church. This all impacted on post-conciliar efforts, whether or not obvious. Some scholars contend that these events altered Joseph Ratzinger’s view of the Council.

On Change and Rupture

Change did happen at the Council; change can be difficult even for those who welcome it. In his article “Hermeneutic of Reform,” John O’Malley addresses three

³² Ibid., 15.

³³ *Chi Ha Paura*, 117.

components of reform.³⁴ The first is the source or initiator of reform. This usually involves leadership, whether from ‘above,’ or ‘below.’ Leaders from above are those with authority to impose a reform. Leaders from below are often charismatic or intellectual persons who directly affect others in the Church through their message, their research of movements they’ve established.

The second type involves the extent of reform. This type may repair a system or it may attend to abuses that have grown over time. A third type of reform “aims at displacing or replacing a given system within the church.”³⁵ This often concerns church doctrine or liturgical practice. Traditionally, it takes the form of a reaffirmation of a traditional belief or of church discipline in order to validate a change. O’Malley points out this last type of change may involve mind-set or values. It can necessitate paradigm shifts and entail behavior changes.³⁶ This last component of the third form of change can be most difficult to achieve and it may be a source of alarm. It may also be some of the cause of the consternation evidenced in the post conciliar debates.

There is no doubt that the Second Vatican Council was about change, even if softer words were used at times. Pope John XXIII and SC both spoke of continuity to the past and a conviction to remain true to tradition. However, there was an evident eagerness for change on the part of the Pope and the majority of bishops, which would have entailed behavior and doctrinal changes of this third type of change. The first sentence of the first document debated by the Council, the Constitution of the Sacred Liturgy reads:

The sacred Council has set out to impart an ever- increasing vigor to the Christian life of the faithful; to adapt more closely to the needs of our age

³⁴ John W. O’Malley, S.J., “‘The Hermeneutic of Reform’: A Historical Analysis,” *Theological Studies* 73.3, (2012): 521-522.

³⁵ *Ibid.* 522.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

those institutions which are subject to change; to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call all mankind into the Church's fold.³⁷

The latin verbs — *augere, accommodare, mutationes. nostra aetas, instaurare* all involve change.³⁸ However, unlike previous Councils, the change expressed here was not a correction but rather accommodation and adaptation which involves a change. It was a change that required a change of attitude. “The adaptations and accommodations are not measures taken against evils that have crept into the church from the outside. They are, rather, a form of *rapprochement* between Church and the existing order in the world.³⁹ The change of *aggiornamento*, however, was not the initiator, but rather it was the result of *ressourcement*, of the work of the scholars since the preceding century who discovered the ancient roots of the Church and how things developed, either in union or counter to the foundation of tradition.⁴⁰ The change also happened with an attitude of *ressourcement*, within the Church and in relation to the world, cultures and other Christian communities. The reform of the liturgy recognized the importance of its revision was to retain its “sound tradition,” while at the same time it resolved to “remain open to legitimate progress” with “careful investigation—theological, historical, and pastoral.”⁴¹

Changing Back and Preparing for the 21st Century

The short pontificate of Pope John Paul I brought much lament and an equal amount of speculation over the direction of the Church and the continued implementation

³⁷ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 1.

³⁸ O'Malley, S.J., *The Hermeneutic of Reform*, 537.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 538.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 539.

⁴¹ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 23.

of Vatican II. The Catholic Traditionalists had already begun to gain momentum, and by this time there were indications. In 1975, Archbishop Bugnini was dismissed from his role as Secretary of the Congregation for Divine Worship and was sent to Iran, where he ended his career.⁴² While Pope Paul VI refused most appeals, he did allow the use of the 1962 Missal in a few instances. During this time from Pope Paul VI to the successor of John Paul I, Pope John Paul II, the traditional minority was gaining more attention and strength. Faggioli points out that this group of Traditionalists was rejecting the liturgical reform of the Council as an expression of their rejection of Vatican Council II.

“The traditionalists grasped better than many advocates of the council’s reforms the theological principle of *lex orandi, lex credendi*.”⁴³

In 1980, Pope John Paul issued a letter to Bishops to be passed on to pastors.

Through this communication he allowed the use of the Missal of 1962. This was the last edition of the Tridentine Missal of Pius V before the Vatican II Missal of Paul VI. This decision was to accommodate Catholics who joined with Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre⁴⁴ but abandoned his Society:

"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 which, through its dignified character, elicited a profound sense of the Eucharistic mystery. It is therefore necessary to show, not only understanding, but also full respect towards these sentiments and desires. As far as possible, these sentiments and desires are to be accommodated."⁴⁵

⁴² Rembert G. Weakland, “Liturgy in the United States These Past 25 Years,” *Worship* 75.1 (2001): 5. Cf. Archbishop Piero Marini, *A Challenging Reform: Realizing the Vision of the Liturgical Renewal* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2007), 148-150.

⁴³ Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle location 234.

⁴⁴ Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre was a Holy Cross Father and superior who was a major leader of the conservative force at Vatican II. He refused to implement reforms of the Council. In 1970 he resigned his post in his order and founded the Society of St. Pius X and opened a seminary in Switzerland. He was ordered to discontinue the work of the Society but he refused. In 1988, he consecrated four bishops for the society, and by his act, he and the bishops suffered automatic excommunication.

⁴⁵ Pope John Paul II’s, Letter to Bishops (February 24, 1980), Accessed March 26, 2017, <http://www.sanctamissa.org/en/faq/vatican-ii.html>

On October 3, 1984, the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments issued *Quattuor Abhinc Annos* for episcopal conferences. It granted an indult to clergy and groups to celebrate Eucharist using the Missal of 1962.⁴⁶ On July 2, 1988, Pope John Paul II issued the Apostolic Letter, *Ecclesia Dei* given Motu Proprio.⁴⁷ Archbishop Lefebvre had consecrated four bishops, which resulted in their excommunication. The Pope made an appeal to Lefebvre's followers to remain united to the Catholic Church. In his letter, he stated that there must be respect for those attached to the Tridentine liturgy. Consequently, he further extended the use of the 1962 Missal, which had already been granted in 1984.

This Motu Proprio established a Pontifical Commission, *Ecclesia Dei*, to oversee the conditions of the Motu Proprio. This commission issued *Guidelines for the Celebration of the "Tridentine Mass"* on January 1, 1991. This permission and use of a second Missal of the Latin Rite of the Church is still controversial today.

On April 17, 1980 the Sacred Congregation for the Sacraments and Divine Worship issued *Inaestimabile Donum: Instruction Concerning Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery*. It was an instruction and a series of concerns about liturgical abuses and reverence of the Eucharist. The Forward contained a summary of the letter.

These encouraging and positive aspects cannot suppress concern at the varied and frequent abuses being reported from different parts of the Catholic world: the confusion of roles, especially regarding the priestly ministry and the role of the laity (indiscriminate shared recitation of the Eucharistic Prayer, homilies given by lay people, lay people distributing Communion while the priests refrain from doing so); an increasing loss of the sense of the sacred (abandonment of liturgical vestments, the Eucharist

⁴⁶ Congregation for Divine Worship, Accessed March 13, 2017, "'Quattuor Abhinc Annos' [Indult for Use of Roman Missal of 1962]" (1984), Accessed March 13, 2017, <https://www.ewtn.com/library/curia/cdw62ind.htm>.

⁴⁷ Pope John Paul II, "Apostolic Letter 'Ecclesia Dei' Given Motu Proprio," (1988), Accessed March 13, 2017, http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_jp-ii_motu-proprio_02071988_ecclesia-dei.html

celebrated outside church without real need, lack of reverence and respect for the Blessed Sacrament, etc.); misunderstanding of the ecclesial character of the Liturgy (the use of private texts, the proliferation of unapproved Eucharistic Prayers, the manipulation of the liturgical texts for social and political ends). In these cases we are face to face with a real falsification of the Catholic Liturgy: “One who offers worship to God on the Church’s behalf in a way contrary to that which is laid down by the Church with God-given authority and which is customary in the Church is guilty of falsification.”⁴⁸

Pope John XXIII initiated a revision of the Code of Canon Law in 1959. This revision spanned the pontificates of four popes and was promulgated by Pope John Paul II. In his apostolic letter, *Sacrae Disciplinae Leges*, he pointed to the collegial process of its existence, which “corresponds perfectly with the teaching and the character of the Second Vatican Council.”⁴⁹ Canon 838 clarified the responsibilities of the Holy See and the Conferences of Bishops concerning translations and other liturgical regulations:

Can. 838 §1. The direction of the sacred liturgy depends solely on the authority of the Church, which resides in the Apostolic See and, according to the norm of law, the diocesan bishop.

§2. It is for the Apostolic See to order the sacred liturgy of the universal Church, publish liturgical books and review their translations in vernacular languages, and exercise vigilance that liturgical regulations are observed faithfully everywhere.

§3. It pertains to the conferences of bishops to prepare and publish, after the prior review of the Holy See, translations of liturgical books in vernacular languages, adapted appropriately within the limits defined in the liturgical books themselves.⁵⁰

Cardinal Bernardin Gantin, the Prefect of the Congregation for Bishops sent a “working paper” to episcopal conferences in 1988 entitled, “Theological and Juridical

⁴⁸ Sacred Congregation for Sacraments and Divine Worship, *Inaestimabile Donum*, (April 17, 1980), <https://www.ewtn.com/library/PAPALDOC/JP2INAES.HTM>

⁴⁹ Pope John Paul II, “Apostolic Constitution ‘*sacrae Disciplinae Leges*’ [for the Promulgation of the New Code of Canon Law].” (1983), http://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_jp-ii_apc_25011983_sacrae-disciplinae-leges.html

⁵⁰ Code of Canon Law, c. 838, in Code of Canon Law: Latin English Edition (Washington D.C. : Canon Law Society of America, 1983), 317.

Status of Episcopal Conferences.”⁵¹ The document offered a highly restrictive view of episcopal conferences. While this document did not pertain to liturgy directly, and was not a juridical binding document, nonetheless it served as a clear indication of the attitude of some Vatican offices towards collegiality and episcopal conferences.

There certainly have been difficulties as well as non-critical and irresponsible applications of the liturgical reform. This has been pointed out by a number of scholars and pastoral minister as well as by Popes John Paul II and Benedict XVI, and their concerns are varied. In a well-known address, Bishop Brian Dunn listed Msgr. Francis Mannion’s analysis of the various critiques.⁵² Mannion identifies five operative agendas for liturgical reform: (1) advancing the official reform; (2) restoring the pre-conciliar; (3) reforming the reform; (4) inculturating the reform; and (5) recatholicising the reform.⁵³ Sometimes the critiques cloud the liturgical advances of the liturgical reform of Vatican II. These include the Rite of Initiation for Adults, the further prominence of the Word of God and shared liturgical roles of the laity.

In May 1989, Pope John Paul II issued an apostolic letter, *Vicesimus Quintus Annus* (VQA).⁵⁴ In this letter the pope addressed the issue of the process of translation pertaining to Bishops’ Conferences.

The Bishops’ Conferences have had the weighty responsibility of preparing the translations of the liturgical books. Immediate need

⁵¹ Sacred Congregation for Bishops, “Draft Statement on Episcopal Conferences,” *Origins* 17 (1988): 731-737.

⁵² Brian J. Dunn, “The Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy as a Document for the 21st Century,” Diocese of Albany, Accessed April 4, 2017, http://www.rcda.org/Offices/prayer_and_worship/PDF/Bishop%20Brian%20Dunns%20paper.pdf, 22.

⁵³ Cf. M. Francis Mannion, *Masterworks of God: Essays in Liturgical Theory and Practice* (Chicago-Mundelein: Hillenbrand Books, 2004), 202-235.

⁵⁴ Pope John Paul II, “Apostolic Letter ‘Vicesimus Quintus Annus’ [on the 25th Anniversary of the Promulgation of the Conciliar Constitution ‘sacrosanctum Concilium’ on the Sacred Liturgy,]” (1988), Accessed March 18, 2017, https://w2.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/apost_letters/1988/documents/hf_jp-ii_apl_19881204_vicesimus-quintus-annus.html.

occasionally led to the use of provisional translations, approved *ad interim*. But now the time has come to reflect upon certain difficulties that have subsequently emerged, to remedy certain defects or inaccuracies, to complete partial translations, to compose or approve chants to be used in the Liturgy, to ensure respect for the texts approved and lastly to publish liturgical books in a form that both testifies to the stability achieved and is worthy of the mystery being celebrated.⁵⁵

An overlooked document from the Congregation of Divine Worship (CDWDS) is the Fourth Instruction on cultural adaptation, issued in 1994. This instruction further limited the role of the episcopal conferences. Commenting on Paragraph 40 of SC, the document sets the procedures for adaptations in the liturgy. After consultation with experts, the episcopal conference would then present a proposal to the CDWDS before any experimentation could take place. The Congregation would decide whether or not to grant permission. After a provisional period, CDWDS may grant further permission, possibly with qualifications. Anscar Chupungco teaches “familiarity with the notion of culture is a prerequisite to the study of liturgy.”⁵⁶ This document acknowledges inculturation but defines it as formally as it has done with liturgical text translations after *Liturgiam Authenticam*.⁵⁷ While supporting adaptation, this instruction also seems to be more restrictive than nineteenth century adaptation with the adult catechumenate.

All about Language

After the Council, the Consilium invited each of the presidents of the episcopal conferences who employed a widely used to a conference to discuss translations. This

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ Anscar J. Chupungco, “Liturgical Studies and Liturgical Renewal. Paper Read on the Occasion of the Affiliation of the Broken Bay Institute With the University of New Castle, Australia,” (2010), Accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.praytelligblog.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Anscar-J.-Chupungco-Talk1.pdf>. 4.

⁵⁷ This fifth instruction on the implementation of SC sets new guidelines for the translation of scripture and liturgical texts.

took place on November 9–13, 1965⁵⁸ Paul VI reminded the translators that the language must be “in the grasp of all, even children and the uneducated” but also “should always be worthy of the noble realities it signifies.”⁵⁹ “The Instruction on the *Translation of Liturgical Texts for Celebrations with a Congregation* (Comme le prevoit) was published on January 25, 1969⁶⁰ The document understood that every liturgical text is “a ritual sign,” perceived by the senses and used to communicate with others. It is important to recognize the significance of the message, but also of the speaker, audience and style. Translators should recognize that the “unit of meaning” is not the individual word but the whole passage. The language should be that which is used commonly. This includes words from so-called sacral vocabulary. The prayer of the Church is a prayer of an actual assembled community “It is not sufficient that a formula handed down from some other time or region be translated verbatim, even if accurately, for liturgical use. Sometimes a text can be translated word for word; sometimes metaphors are used. Inappropriate or misunderstood phrases should be avoided.

The Establishment of ICEL

While the bishops were gathering for the Council, Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan of Atlanta held an informal dinner with a few bishops from English speaking countries in order to make some plans for future cooperation in liturgical matters.⁶¹ A friendly relationship emerged between himself and Archbishop Francis Grimshaw of

⁵⁸ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy (1948-1975)* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1990), 234.

⁵⁹ International Commission on English in the Liturgy. *Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979 : Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1982), (DOL 113), p. 273.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, DOL234, nos. 838-80, p. 284-291.

⁶¹ Frederick R. McManus, “ICEL: The First Years,” in *Shaping English Liturgy*, ed., Peter C. Finn and James M. Schellman (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1990), 434.

Birmingham, England who were members of the conciliar commission. Father Frederick McManus of Catholic University and the only English-speaking peritus on the commission also joined this group. After SC paragraph 36 on the vernacular was approved, the interest among bishops of English-speaking countries grew. During the intercession of Spring 1963, Archbishop Denis Hurley of Durban proposed a structure for an English language committee and asked Hallinan and Grimshaw to convene a group and the next conciliar session.

The committee had some early concerns, such as the diversity of cultural traditions and the fact that in parts of some countries English was a secondary language. Nevertheless, it was recognized that English remained a single language. Another incentive for the group was the service they could perform for small countries who would not be able to launch a large translation project.⁶² The International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL) emerged from these beginnings and subsequent meetings. Two committees comprised the Commission. The first was an episcopal committee that represented the central countries; the other was an advisory committee of experts in a variety of fields who served as reviewers and revisers. A staff performed the translations.⁶³ The original mandate of ICEL was translation of the Latin texts, but it also included the creation of original texts, for instance, when the Roman books offered the possibility of alternative texts.⁶⁴

ICEL was committed to mirroring the ecclesiology of SC and the entire Council. Collegiality and openness was maintained. Relationships were formed with other

⁶² Ibid., 439.

⁶³ Ibid., 451.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 448.

Churches within the Christian communion. ICEL served the episcopal conferences as their instrument. It was clear that,

all the final decisions about the acceptance and use of ICEL texts rested (and rests) with the territorial episcopates, the national or regional bodies in which resides traditional conciliarity.⁶⁵

Translation from the original Latin into English was difficult. Opinions ranged from word-for-word reproduction of the Latin syntax to total paraphrasing since the Latin classical form could not be reproduced in English. ICEL's proposal was to translate the prayers and offer an original paraphrase for Sundays and solemnities. This was accepted by the episcopal conferences.⁶⁶ All of ICEL's deliberations and translation work were guided by the Instruction "Comme le prevoit" of 1969. This document notes that translation of the liturgy requires adaptations since:

"sometimes metaphors must be changed to keep the true sense . . . sometimes the meaning of a text can no longer be understood, either because it is contrary to modern Christian ideas (as in *terrena despiciere* or *ut inimicos sanctae Ecclesiae humiliare digneris*) or because it has less relevance today (as in some phrases intended to combat Arianism) or because it no longer expresses the true original meaning 'as in certain obsolete forms of Lenten penance.'⁶⁷

The task of translating the Missal and the Liturgy of the Hours was a difficult burden for the staff. Without romance language roots, translating into English was pioneering work. Despite the limitations of the translation, ICEL accomplished a remarkable feat and proved that English can be a viable liturgical language.

One of ICEL's mandates included ecumenical cooperation. In 1966 ICEL helped found the North American Consultation on Common Texts (CCT) and also the

⁶⁵ Ibid., 459.

⁶⁶ John R. Page, "ICEL, 1966-1989: Weaving the Words of Our Common Christian Prayer, ed., Peter C. Finn and James M. Schellman (Portland: Pastoral Press, 1990), 476.

⁶⁷ *Documents on the Liturgy*, DOL234, nos. 858-861, p. 287.

International Consultation on English Texts (ICET).⁶⁸ Meanwhile their primary task continued — the production of the liturgical books and new Eucharistic prayers issued from Rome, either as an interim text or in final form. In addition to the translations, ICEL continued to be of service to the various needs of the countries they served. These needs grew. Subcommittees attended to music, to publishing layout, pastoral notes, etc. One of their celebrated non-translation works was the publication of *Documents on the Liturgy, 1963-1979*.⁶⁹

Besides the translations of Roman texts, work was done on earlier Eucharistic prayers and an original Eucharistic Prayer. Ecumenical work continued with CCT and the successor of ICET, the English Language Liturgical Consultation (ELLC). After ICEL's twenty-five years of service to the Church and the liturgical world, the Center for Pastoral Liturgy at Notre Dame University conferred its Michael Mathis Award on ICEL on June 22, 1989.⁷⁰

In 1975, the question of inclusive language was studied with an effort to avoid discriminatory language, especially in reference to women.⁷¹ Much more work continued through the 1980s. ICEL understood that its work would be ongoing. It recognized the constraints it had faced with the translation of the Sacramentary, especially the time constraint. After the texts of the Sacramentary had been used for a number of decades, difficulties and limitations were recognized. Between these reports and ICEL's experience from working with translations, the commission began revised translation of the Missal in 1983. The new translation was approved by the conferences of bishops and

⁶⁸ Ibid., 478.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 484.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 489.

⁷¹ Ibid., 485.

forwarded to the CDWDS for approval. No approval was given. There was a group of about thirty American bishops who found the translations insufficiently literal. While the missal had received the two-thirds majority, the margin was slim. This was enough for Rome to pay attention.⁷² Instead of the approval, the Congregation issued a new set of directives that governed translations and mixed translation commissions such as ICEL.

On March 28, 2001, the Congregation for Divine Worship and Discipline of the Sacraments issued the Fifth Instruction “For the Right Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council.” The Roman title of this Instruction is “*Liturgiam Authenticam, On the Use of Vernacular Languages in the Publication of the Books of the Roman Liturgy.*”⁷³ The text sets new and strict rules, and principles translating liturgical texts from Latin into vernacular languages. The document cites omissions and errors in certain languages, which “have impeded the progress of inculturation that should have taken place.” “. . . the original text, insofar as possible, must be translated integrally and in the most exact manner, without omissions or additions in terms of their content, and without paraphrases or glosses. The document continues with individual directives. For instance, the feminine article is to be used to refer to Church, rather than the neuter “it.” Words, which express important types of relationship, which are clearly masculine or feminine by virtue of the context, are to be maintained. The gender of angels, demons, and pagan gods or goddesses is to be maintained according to the original texts.

⁷² Cf. John Wilkins, “Lost in Translation,” *Commonweal* 132.21 (2005).

⁷³ Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, “*Liturgiam Authenticam - on the Use of Vernacular Languages,*” (2001), Accessed March 13, 2017, http://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20010507_liturgia_m-authenticam_en.html.

Some notes deal with translation, others deal with syntax style and literary genre. For instance, the vernacular must maintain the same gender as the Latin. The syntax and subordinate clause of the original text are to be maintained. The remainder of the document involves procedures for seeking approval of translations by the Holy See in a much more stringent process than previously, especially in regards to ICEL and other translating commissions. It also forbade ICEL to compose original texts or to collaborate with other translation commissions, i.e. ICET, ELLC or other Catholic commissions.⁷⁴ Paragraph 104 begins “For the good of the faithful, the Holy See reserves to itself the right to prepare translations in any language, and to approve them for liturgical use.” This seems to contradict paragraph 36.3 of SC.⁷⁵

At the same time, Pope John Paul II issued a third edition of the Roman Missal. This removed the possibility of any alterations on the newly translated missal. Other than additions in the calendar, already existing texts and Masses, the Missal was virtually the same but now the rules were changed. ICEL was restructured and a second independent advisory committee to the CDWDS, Vox Clara, was formed to oversee the English translations of texts. Both CDWDS and Vox Clara have the authority to alter translations. The existing Roman Missal is the product of this new process.

The Influence of Pope Benedict XVI on a “Reform of the Reform”

Use of the 1962 Missal was fairly contained. In the United States, there were pockets where its use was wider, but these often coincided in places where bishops

⁷⁴ *Liturgiam Authenticam*, 98.

⁷⁵ “These norms being observed, it is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in Article 22:2, to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used. Its decrees have to be approved, that is, confirmed, by the Apostolic See. Where circumstances warrant it, it is to consult with bishops of neighboring regions which have the same language.”

fostered its use. Faggioli indicates that the fortieth anniversary of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in 2003 saw the first symptoms of the reappearance of a kind of public nostalgia for the Tridentine liturgy and signs of the current “uprising” against the liturgical reform of Vatican II.⁷⁶ In Benedict XVI’s address to the Roman Curia on December 22, 2005, he first analyzes the post-conciliar conflict.⁷⁷ In doing so, he quotes a sentence from St. Basil to illustrate the disputes that occurred after the Council of Nicea in 325,

The raucous shouting of those who disagree with one another has produced an incomprehensible chatter so that a confused din of uninterrupted clamoring now fills almost the entire Church, falsifying through excess or failure the right doctrine of the faith.⁷⁸

While the post Vatican II controversies pale in comparison to Nicea, Benedict asks why the implementation of the Council has been so difficult. The conflict was caused by a misreading of the Vatican documents. He explains that many have adopted a “hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture” and proposes instead a “hermeneutic of reform.” Those who favor this first reading of the Council claim that the many of the post-conciliar decisions and compromises, including the attention to the liturgy are not faithful to the spirit of the council and do not recognize the Council as an event. Benedict states that this causes confusion. Benedict’s alternative reading “silently, but more visibly, has borne and is bearing fruit.” Joseph Komonchak has shown that the Pope’s “hermeneutics of reform” has been discussed as an opposing position rather than an

⁷⁶ Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle location 3611.

⁷⁷ Pope Benedict XVI, “Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia Offering Them His Christmas Greetings,” (2005): http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html.

⁷⁸ Noted in Gregory Baum’s address at the 77th annual meeting of the English Section of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association, June 1, 2010. Gregory Baum, “The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II,” *Historical Studies* 77, (2011): 7.

alternative reading. It is often translated as “hermeneutics of continuity” in opposition to ‘discontinuity.’⁷⁹ This has resulted in a false explanation of Benedict’s address.

Komonchak’s explanation dispels the assumption that the pope was attacking Giuseppe Alberigo’s five-volume work on Vatican II⁸⁰ Instead, he believes that Benedict was addressing traditionalists who are rejecting the Council on the grounds that some of its teaching present a discontinuity in official church teaching.⁸¹ These include the *Pastoral Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy*, the *Declaration on Religious Freedom*, and the *Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions*. This message of the “Hermeneutics of Continuity” has been consistent in Pope Benedict’s other addresses about the Council and his criticisms of conciliar liturgical practices.

Since this time, the debate over the implementation of Vatican II, its role in the world and in the Church has escalated. The debate is centered around the liturgy but stands in two arenas. The first, historically epitomized by Marcel Lefebvre and continued by Society of Pius X and its Catholic affiliates rejects the validity of the Council or at least its reliability as a true Council of the Church. The other arena is occupied by those who support the Council but do not support the liturgical reform. The “godfather of this camp may be Klaus Gamber. At times these two areas cross and utilize the same tools; however, their agendas differ.

Msgr. Klaus Gamber (1918-1989) was the director and co-founder of the Institute of Liturgical Science at Regensburg University, and a renowned liturgical scholar. He supported the convoking of the Council but condemned the liturgical reform, he began

⁷⁹ Joseph A. Komonchak, “Benedict XVI and the Interpretation of Vatican II” in *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity*, ed., Michael J. Lacey, and Francis Oakley (Oxford University Press, 2011), 98.

⁸⁰ Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, *The History of Vatican II* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1996).

⁸¹ Komonchak, *Benedict and the Interpretation of Vatican II*, 104.

his critique with publications in 1972, three years after the Missal of Paul VI appeared. His last publication was in 1989 just before his death.⁸² Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger wrote the introduction in the French edition of his work, *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy: It's Problems and Background*.⁸³ Referring to Gamber, Benedict XVI is quoted in the preface of the English edition as “the one scholar who, among the army of pseudo-liturgists, truly represents the thinking of the center of the Church.”⁸⁴

The difference between the two arenas became evident on January 21, 2009 when Pope Benedict XVI lifted the excommunication imposed by John Paul II in 1988 on the four bishops ordained by Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. The repercussions of this “outreach for the sake of unity” were seismic. This action sparked the attention of the Jewish community, other Christian churches, the social and the political world. It also brought further attention with the Church, but it also confirmed that “something had happened” at Vatican II⁸⁵ The followers and sympathizers of Lefebvre felt vindicated. On the other hand, many of those of arena two were angered at what seemed to be a welcoming of “heretics” back to the fold.

Six months later, on July 7, 2007, Pope Benedict issued an Apostolic Letter, *Summorum Pontificum* (SP), issued *Motu Proprio*.⁸⁶ In his letter, the pope states that any priest who wishes to celebrate Eucharist without a congregation, using the 1962 Missal can do so without any episcopal permission (Art. 5.3). Article 4 adds that people can

⁸² John F. Baldwin, S.J., *Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2009), 37.

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 38.

⁸⁵ Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle location 3621.

⁸⁶ Pope Benedict XVI, “*Summorum Pontificum*, on the Use of the Roman Liturgy Prior to the Reform of 1970, Apostolic Letter Given *Motu Proprio*,” (2007), http://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_ben-xvi_motu-proprio_20070707_summorum-pontificum.html.

join this “private mass,” which then is no longer a mass without a congregation.⁸⁷ Article 7 states that any group whose requests are not granted should inform the diocesan bishop who should grant their request. At the same time, in Benedict’s opening letter to bishops, he writes,

these new norms do not in any way lessen your own authority and responsibility, either for the liturgy or for the pastoral care of your faithful. Each Bishop, in fact, is the moderator of the liturgy in his own Diocese.

It seems that in the Apostolic Letter, Pope Benedict announced that there were now two versions available as part of the Latin Rite. One is termed “Ordinary” and the “Extraordinary.” both of them are equal on every level.⁸⁸ One major difference between Benedict’s letter and *Quattor abhinc annos* of John Paul II, is that SP allows an exchange and mutual usage of texts and rites, including prefaces and calendar.⁸⁹

Thomas Woods outlines three main criticisms of the Missal of Paul VI that is held by Pope Benedict.⁹⁰ First, he believes that the Missal offers opportunity for excessive creativity in the liturgy, which in turn undermines the liturgy’s very essence. This causes a rupture not only with the past but also with neighboring parish liturgies.⁹¹ Second, a disproportionate emphasis on the liturgy as “a simple, human, everyday meal” desacralizes the liturgy. This simplification included the minimizing of vestments, liturgical music, architecture and liturgical forms.⁹² The third criticism of the new missal,

⁸⁷ Nicholas Lash, *Theology for Pilgrims* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2008), 279.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 278.

⁸⁹ Neil J. Roy, “‘summorum Pontificum’ the Widening of Hearts and the Broadening of Minds,” *Antiphon* 11.3 (2007), 205.

⁹⁰ David G. Bonagura, “The Future of the Roman Rite: Reading Benedict in the Light of Ratzinger,” *Antiphon* 13.3 (2009): 231-232.

⁹¹ Found in his work, *Spirit in the Liturgy*, 8-9.

⁹² Found in his work, *God Is Near Us: The Eucharist, the Heart of Life*, 57.

both in particular sections and in its entirety, leaves the impression of a rupture with the past.

According to Faggoli, the wide use of the Missal of 1962 through *Summorum Pontificum* with the intention of reconciliation with those sympathetic of Lefebvre, “demonstrated the ‘disposability’ of the liturgical reform of Vatican II in the eyes of the current leadership of the Church.”⁹³

In his work, *Spirit of the Liturgy*, Pope Benedict encourages a New Liturgical Movement in the spirit of the movement that motivated the Council’s document on the Liturgy, “a movement toward the liturgy and toward the right way of celebrating the liturgy, inwardly and outwardly.”⁹⁴ One wonders about the implications of this statement, whether the Movement of the first half of the twentieth century went astray or if the preparatory committee for SC and the Conciliar Fathers who voted had misunderstood the Movement.

In 2010, Msgr. Guido Marini, the Pontifical Master of Liturgical Ceremonies addressed a gathering at a Conference for the Year of the Priest in Rome.⁹⁵ He said there was “an ‘urgent need’ to reaffirm the ‘authentic’ spirit of the liturgy.” He continued that we must be attentive to the divine dimension of the Liturgy,

“to the mystery of salvation in Christ, entrusted to the Church in order to make it available in every moment and in every place by means of the objective nature of the liturgical and sacramental rites. This is a reality surpassing us, which is to be received as gift, and which must be allowed to transform us.”⁹⁶

However, in many cases, he suggests, the liturgy has wandered from this authentic spirit.

⁹³ Faggioli, *True Reform*, Kindle location 3740.

⁹⁴ Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2000), 8-9.

⁹⁵ Archbishop Piero Marini. “Introduction to the Spirit of the Liturgy,” (2010), Accessed March 15, 2017, <http://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2010/01/clergy-conference-in-rome-address-of.html#.WQZAclLMYV6>, .

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

Msgr. Marini points out that adaptation was foreseen in SC and that the Missal indicates where adaptations may be made in some of its sections, yet only in these. Naturally, he does not address the restrictions that have been placed on the latitude that SC and the Missal allowed over the last thirty years. He also spoke about the posture of the presider, facing east. He states that since the liturgy calls us to an interior orientation to the Lord, that same orientation should take place physically.⁹⁷

At the conclusion of his address, Marini also called for a new liturgical renewal similar to the earlier Liturgical Movement. He refers to it as a “Reform of the Reform.” Its goal would be “to carry on that providential reform of the liturgy that the conciliar Fathers had launched but has not always, in its practical implementation, found a timely and happy fulfillment.”⁹⁸

⁹⁷ The Commemoration of the living in Eucharistic Prayer I, reads “Memento, Domine, famulorum famulariumque tuarum N. et N. et omnium circumstantium. . .” “Omnium circumstantium,” if translated literally, according to the normal guidelines of LA should probably read, “all standing around” as around the altar. This phrase has been conveniently translated as “gathered.”

⁹⁸ Ibid., 10.

CHAPTER 11: REFORM CONTINUES

*“In the restoration and promotion of the sacred liturgy the full and active participation by all the people is **the aim to be considered before all else**, for it is the primary and indispensable source from which the faithful are to derive the true Christian spirit.”¹ (emphasis added)*

It is baptism that forms people of faith “as ‘a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a redeemed people’ (1 Pet. 2:9; cf. 2:4-5).² Active participation in the sacred mysteries is both a “right and a duty” given to them by their initiation into the Body of Christ.

Fr. Walter Burghardt, S.J. addressed members of the newly formed North American Academy of Liturgists in Scottsdale Arizona. His lecture was “A Theologian’s Challenge to Liturgy.”³ This lengthy quote appears here because it continues to be a critical challenge today:

Liturgy is a powerful action. It is sacramentum fidei: sacrament of Christian belief. As sacrament, it has a twin function: *exprimit* and *causat*. Liturgy gives expression to the faith experience of the Christian people, and liturgy molds that experience.

Exprimit: liturgy expresses, ritualizes, the faith experience of the Christian people. Here the liturgical theologian confronts a complex challenge. Does this liturgy express the experience of this people—better, the experiences of these peoples? Here we need the social scientists: to research and interpret the hopes and fears, the beliefs and doubts and agnosticisms, yes the atheisms, of our people. Today’s parish is a

¹Second Vatican Council, “Sacrosanctum Concilium [the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy] December 4, 1963,” in *Vatican II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, ed., Austin Flannery, 14 (Northport, NY: Costello Publishing Co., 1975) 8.

² Ibid.

³ Walter J. Burghardt, S.J., “A Theologian’s Challenge to Liturgy,” *Theological Studies* 35.2 (1974): 241–46.

microcosm: into it flood more styles of life than the cultures that streamed into ancient Alexandria. But liturgical theology is more than social science. Given the data, I am compelled to ask: Is this what our liturgy in fact ritualizes? And if it does, how Christian is this ritual? Can there be the same anointing of the sick in America, where life expectancy is 70, and in Burma or Burundi, where you are old at 35?

Liturgy not merely interprets what already exists: *exprimit*. It is the task of liturgy to mold the Christian experience of faith: *causat*. Here, above all, the Church challenges the theological competence of liturgists—specifically, their theology of liturgical reform. For they must wed into one, two crucial qualities: fidelity to what is abidingly Catholic, and freedom to create new forms. In two words, continuity and discontinuity.

My third point has its springboard in my earlier affirmation: liturgy should express the faith experience of a people. The problem is, which people? On the one hand, the Christian people; in our context, the Catholic people. For in some genuine sense Catholic belief, “the faith,” is one belief, one faith; it is not what any given believer makes it to be, the sheer product of his or her experience. And so there is a certain universality to faith. My faith is the faith of Peter and Paul, of Athanasius and Augustine, of Thomas Aquinas and Julian of Norwich, of Martin de Porres and John Carroll, of Teilhard and Paul VI. And this one faith should find ritual expression in corporate worship.

The law of worship constitutes the law of belief. Massimo Faggioli correctly perceived that traditionalists understood this more clearly than those who supported the liturgical reform of Sacrosanctum Concilium (SC).¹ Since Pope John Paul II’s pontificate, we have seen a redevelopment of the liturgy. These changes or “corrections” have changed the intrinsic formative nature of the liturgy. They have affected personal and corporate spirituality and ecclesiology. Just as the ecclesiologies that were inherent in SC had a profound effect on the vision and ecclesiology of the two Constitutions on the Church and the other conciliar documents, the steps that were taken to revamp the liturgy reform also altered ecclesiology. Referring to Franziskus Eisenbach’s study of the *Codex Iuris Canonici*, Faggiolo also pointed out that the revised Code of Canon Law had

¹ Massimo Faggioli, “Quaestio Disputata: ‘sacrosanctum Concilium’ and the Meaning of Vatican II,” *Theological Studies* 71 (2010): 443.

never adopted the vision of Vatican II, “especially concerning the ministry of deacons and the laity.”²

Sacrosanctum Concilium offered a vision of the Church at worship. This image demanded an understanding of the rich tradition of the Church, rooted in the Paschal Mystery. The whole Church assembled as the Body of Christ through baptism, and with Christ, the High Priest as its Head, continues to be formed and reformed as it gives praise and thanks to God. The later portions of the Constitution become a type of reflection of “how” to live that image of Church at Prayer. It is this experience of the Church at Prayer that constitutes the Church of Faith. As Aidan Kavanagh states, “Belief is always consequent upon encounter with the Source of the grace of faith.”³

A historical analysis of the Church reveals that belief undoubtedly has and does influence worship. However, it is the encounter with God, the revelation of God, which reveals the Mystery of God. The law of belief *constitutes* the law of faith. It establishes the law of belief. Kavanagh explains this experience as Presence. It was Presence that drew Moses to the burning bush; it was Presence that drew the disciples to Jesus. Through that encounter, through that revelation, they were changed in ways they would have never dreamed.⁴

Perhaps the one mistake that the pastoral or practical liturgical reformers made was to neglect this first understanding of liturgy as an encounter of the Church with God and the revelation of the Mystery of God. Attention to the mechanics of the reform was necessary but not at the expense of this principal understanding of liturgy. It is there that

² Ibid.; Cf. Franziskus Eisenbach, *Die Gegenwart Jesu Christi im Gottesdienst: Systematische Studien zur Liturgiekonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils* (Mainz: Matthias-Gruenerwald, 1982) 587.

³ Aidan Kavanagh, O.S.B., *On Liturgical Theology* (New York: Pueblo Publishing, 1990), 91.

⁴ Ibid., 92.

we recognize ourselves as God's people, redeemed by the grace of God and the waters of baptism, nourished at the table of the Lord and sent as Church to continue its mission.

Additionally, some of the opponents of the reform might be faulted with the same oversight. They, too, were concerned by the "form of the reform" rather than its core. For many of the critics, the ritual before the reform defined their identity rather than the encounter within the liturgy. For this group, they believed their law of belief is what constituted or formed their law of worship. The other group of critics of the reform used their attack on the liturgy to renounce the Council at large and its expression of Church.

We have seen how the restructuring of the liturgy over this last thirty years had neglected the role of the laity, while further clericalizing the liturgy. Through rubrics and documents, deacons were also neglected. The changes of posture and roles in the liturgy for deacons gives evidence of their shift in status. Through subsequent documents, the notion of collegiality has changed. The collegiality of bishops was muted, evidenced by the modifications in Bishops' synods. Conferences of bishops have lost power and responsibilities. This change becomes most noticeable through the legislation concerning liturgical translations. In some cases, even the power of a bishop with his local church was altered. This is as evidenced in *Summorum Pontificum*. While the place of presbyters was heightened over that of deacons and laity, priest celebrants also saw their roles restricted. In the newest revision of the Missal, there are fewer opportunities for alternative greetings or explanations by the presbyter. Finally, the laity is back on the bottom. Although "full and active" participation was given a nod, this has been redefined in a variety of places.

Eucharist and Hours

Eucharist has become the sole corporate worship form in the Church for both Sundays and weekdays. Some distinction should be made about the styles of the two celebrations. Daily Mass could be a simpler style, much more than the omission of the Creed and Gloria. At the same time, Eucharist on the Lord's Day should be exalted and appear at least slightly more heightened than daily Mass. Eucharist under both kinds should be encouraged. The cup should be available in such a way as to show that it is as equally important as the bread. Sadly, regulations still state that Eucharist under both kinds is able to be offered by episcopal permission, rather than required as the fullness of Communion. We must find ways to prevent the public sharing of Eucharist from the tabernacle at all costs. From the earliest days of the Supper of the Lord, bread and wine were blessed, broken and shared. The meal symbolism is moot if hosts from a previous Eucharist are retrieved from the tabernacle and offered for communion. Also, the shared bread should appear as bread, be breakable, and have the texture of bread, at least.

Liturgy of the Hours continues to be an unknown liturgy of the Church, at least foreign to most. Clergy, religious and elite Christians who pray the Hours are often those who can manage the monastic style and the printed volumes. "Christian prayer is primarily the prayer of the entire community of [hu]mankind joined to Christ himself."⁵ *Laudis Canticum*, the Apostolic Constitution that promulgated this important liturgy of the Church emphasized that Hours as the prayer of the Church is so important, there were a variety forms to accommodate different situations to celebrate this liturgy.⁶ In situations

⁵ *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 83.

⁶⁶ Pope Paul VI. "Apostolic Constitution 'Laudis Canticum'," <http://w2.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/la/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-vi_apc_19701101_laudis-canticum.html>.

when a parish cannot celebrate daily Eucharist, Hours can and should be the shared public prayer for that day.

Inculturation and Religious Customs

Inculturation seems to recognize need only in developing countries, Oceania and Asia without realizing that the principles underlying inculturation are the same principles for translation into the vernacular. Both Dynamic Equivalence, (fundamentally understood as sense-for-sense translation) and Formal Equivalence (word-for-word translation) are used in biblical translations. Under the direction of “comme le prevoit,” Dynamic Equivalence was the primary principle employed in the texts of the early liturgical reform. It was also applied officially (and unofficially) in the liturgical rites depending on the circumstance and setting. The *Directory of Masses with Children* and the *Introduction to the Lectionary for Masses with Children* employ both of these principles. Dynamic and Formal Equivalence can also serve as a guide for inculturation as well.⁷ United States parishes have a mixture of cultures, with some parishes having four or more ethnic groups and even more working languages. Some of the people of these cultures had experienced adaptation in their countries and hoped to feel at home in their new country. However, inculturation in the West seems to be a dead issue. The Instruction *Laudis Canticum, Varietates Legitimae* permitted rhythmic swaying and

⁷ Cf. Anscar J. Chupungco, “Liturgical Studies and Liturgical Renewal. Paper Read on the Occasion of the Affiliation of the Broken Bay Institute With the University of New Castle, Australia” (2010), Accessed March 25, 2017, <http://www.praytellig.com/wp-content/uploads/2010/01/Anscar-J.-Chupungco-Talk1.pdf>.

dance movements as an expression of prayer.⁸ However, a 1975 Instruction, *Dance in the Liturgy*, specified conditions and locales where dance is permitted. The document added:

The same criterion and judgment cannot be applied in the western culture. Here dancing is tied with love, with diversion, with profaneness, with unbridling of the senses: such dancing, in general, is not pure.

For that reason it cannot be introduced into liturgical celebrations of any kind whatever: that would be to inject into the liturgy one of the most desacralized and desacralizing elements; and so it would be equivalent to creating an atmosphere of profaneness which would easily recall to those present and to the participants in the celebration worldly places and situations.

Neither can acceptance be had of the proposal to introduce into the liturgy the so-called artistic ballet[2] because there would be presentation here also of a spectacle at which one would assist, while in the liturgy one of the norms from which one cannot prescind is that of participation.⁹

One of the losses of the liturgical reform was an unbalanced concentration of Eucharists as the only continually repeatable prayer form of the Church to the exclusion of devotional practices such as rosary, novenas, a variety of ethnic-cultural practices, stations of the cross, etc. There were some attempts at providing daily prayer books, which were simpler than the official texts, but they never gained popularity. Eucharist became the resolution for any occasion for prayer. For example, if someone wanted a house blessing, it was connected to a home mass. The result of this overuse of Eucharist for all occasions was that the Church did not revise many devotions in light of Vatican II.

These traditional private prayer forms either lay dormant or became extinct. Along with devotions, religious artifacts, statues, and other art work also disappeared. When the traditional minority gained strength after the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Council and the subsequent fortieth anniversary, private devotionals resurfaced along with the

⁸ Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments, "Instruction *Varietates Legitimae*," *AAS* 87 (1995): 288–314, Art. 42.

⁹ Worship, Congregation for the Sacraments and Divine, "Dance in the Liturgy," *Notitiae* 11 (1975): 202–5.

intensity of the traditional minority. However, when they appear, these private devotions are usually used in the context of public prayer. In pre-conciliar days rosaries were prayed in groups aloud during Mass or while waiting in line during Saturday confessions. Novenas also took place during mass or immediately afterward. Now they seem to be intentionally public as a form of demonstration with attempts to embarrass parishioners and parish priests who choose not to participate. In places with either limited or perpetual adoration, often the practice is divorced from its connection to the Eucharistic celebration and sometimes attached to another devotion.¹⁰

After the Council, art, like music attempted to find a niche and develop. Just as liturgical experimentation, went through a type of “adolescence.” Art has developed since then, perhaps even more than music. At the same time, with the rise in older forms of devotionism, art and artifacts of an earlier era also regained popularity. Additionally, some Church and Cathedral buildings, which were renovated soon after the Council are now re-renovated. A good number are tastefully done; other recent renovations imitate an era of bygone years. Even some new construction is mimicking earlier century architecture. It is as if there is no creativity in the area of religious arts. Are there no imaginative artists and architects in the 20th and 21st centuries? It seems to be due to an upsurge of nostalgia and historicism, and a need to depict a time of the church that is falsely suspected to be most stable.

¹⁰ Rembert G. Weakland, “Liturgy in the United States These Past 25 Years,” *Worship* 75.1 (2001): 10.

Initiation

This study used Initiation, specifically the Adult Catechumenate and the Rite of Christian Initiation as an example of *Lex orandi, Legem credendi statuat*, or just, *Lex orandi, Lex credendi*. The process that leads to the RCIA was communal, experimental, and experiential. It involved a variety of people, it met the needs of communities, and it was adaptable when needs differed. It grew from a grass roots level rather than being hierarchically imposed. It found its strength in the non-Eurocentric Church.

Some experiences of RCIA have excelled; others are lagging. In 2000, the United States bishops published a study of RCIA around the country.¹¹ Seventy-five percent of the parishes that responded experienced RCIA as part of the life of their faith communities and these parishes rated their experience as good. Church retention was higher than any other sacramental preparation program. The study showed that the involvement of many: parishioners and sponsors, initiation teams, and pastoral staff helped revitalized the parish. RCIA was more than a means of increasing members in a parish for many. It was a way of energizing the faith of the whole parish and offering a renewed vision of what it means to be a Catholic community. The bishops affirmed that the RCIA “has the power to transform parishes when implemented as the rite is intended.”

It was a clear intent of the liturgical reform that adult initiation should be experiential, not only for the candidates but equally for the ministers, catechists and the entire community who initiates them¹² This survey validated the belief that existed at the beginning of the implementation of RCIA that adult initiation process would be a

¹¹ Rita Ferrone, “Room At the Font: Is the RCIA Working?” *Commonweal* 141.8 (2014): 6. All statistics are taken from this article.

¹² Ralph Keifer, “Christian Initiation: The State of the Question,” *Worship* 48 (1974): 395.

dynamic force in many parishes. However, RCIA has waned in some places through the years. Adult initiations fell by 41 percent from 2005 to 2010, and that percentage is now even higher, perhaps more than a 50 percent drop since 2000. This decline has been noticeable since the papacy of Benedict XVI. Perhaps seekers could not identify with the church he projected; perhaps the scandal of clergy sex abuse had taken effect, although it had not affected RCIA earlier. The North American Forum on the Catechumenate, the national training and support center no longer exists due to lack of participants and bishops didn't seem to notice. Due to a concentration on orthodoxy, liturgical reform is often regarded as a weakening of doctrine and RCIA is still considered "the new toy on the block."

As a result, the RCIA process has become a program centered around the academic year, parish communities have become removed from the process and are less rejuvenated by the experience. When this occurs, and the community is not alive in faith, the initiate loses if there is a lackluster community to join. In a community, all serve, and all are served. In RCIA it is important that the candidates recognize themselves as ministering to the parish at large, as the parish serves them. When this does not occur either RCIA begins to look like a process similar to signing up for a library card, or the newly initiated are regarded just as the new foreigners moving in. In some instances, a few ministers serve in many capacities, including sponsor, in order to keep the 'project' efficient. RCIA cannot be efficient because initiation is about lives, and life is not efficient.

Unfortunately, there is such concern over orthodoxy that the catechism and apologetics are replacing the lectionary during the catechumenate. It is now formation by

seminar and power point and formation has once again equaled knowledge. The popularity of the New Evangelization and the widespread notion that evangelization is another term for catechetical teaching has impacted the process of RCIA. In these cases, knowledge has replaced conversion as the journey toward initiation. Once, during a presentation this writer was asked about regular written exams during the RCIA process. The inquirer was referred to Apostolic Tradition, Article 20:

And when those who are to receive baptism are chosen, let their life be examined: have they lived good lives when they were catechumens? Have they honored the widow? Have they visited the sick? Have they done every kind of good work? And when those who brought them bear witness to each: 'He has,' let them hear the gospel.¹³

Ralph Keifer and Aidan Kavanagh were two of many voices in liturgy who were convinced that the Rite of Initiation of Adults was truly a rite of ecclesial conversion, not only conversion of the initiated into the Church but a genuine opportunity for the transformation of local Church and its members. The graced potency of this rite remains as does the prophetic vision of *Sacrosanctum Concilium, Lumen Gentium, Gaudium et Spes, Dei Verbum* (Constitution on Divine Revelation), the conciliar decrees and the vision of the Conciliar Fathers. That vision is still vibrant and by good fortune, the liturgy debates continue to keep reform of the liturgy and the Church alive.

Anscar Chupungco described the state of liturgical reform as a winter chill due to the change in climate over liturgy reform.¹⁴ In these days of instant communication and quickness of life, it is easy to become impatient with slow progress. However, we must keep in mind that in the history of the Church, fifty years is quite a short period of time.

¹³ E. C. Whitaker and Maxwell E. Johnson, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy: Revised and Expanded Edition* (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 2003), 6.

¹⁴ Anscar J. Chupungco, *Liturgical Studies*, 5.

The Council of Trent did not become, as a culture and model for the Catholic Church, a universally accepted ‘paradigm’ immediately; it took at least one century for Trent to become what we now suspect (or hope) that Trent was for the Catholic Church in the modern period.¹⁵

If the ongoing debate over the liturgy reform accomplishes anything, it would be to excite the Church to realize the work of liturgical reform is not (and will never be) complete, to study the Liturgy Constitution and continue the reform of the liturgy and the Church.

Church without Hope is Not Church

In August 2013 Pope Francis was interviewed by Jesuit Fr. Antonio Spadaro, editor in chief of *La Civiltà Cattolica*, the Italian Jesuit Journal over a three-day period.¹⁶ Pope Francis was asked what it meant to “think with the church.”¹⁷ As a reply he offered an image—“the holy, faithful people of God.” In addition, he included article 12 of the *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church*.¹⁸ He explained, “God has saved a people. There is no full identity without belonging to a people. No one is saved alone.”¹⁹ When asked what the Council accomplished, the pope explained that Vatican II “produced a renewal movement that comes from the Gospel.” It was a “re-reading of the Gospel in light of

¹⁵ Massimo Faggioli, *True Reform: Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Collegeville: Pueblo Books, 2012), Kindle Edition, Location 3289.

¹⁶ The interview appeared in *America Magazine*. Antonio Spadaro, “A Big Heart Open to God: A Conversation With Pope Francis,” *America* 209.8 (2013): 15–39.

¹⁷ A notion St. Ignatius writes about in the *Spiritual Exercises*.

¹⁸ The holy people of God shares also in Christ’s prophetic office; it spreads abroad a living witness to Him, especially by means of a life of faith and charity and by offering to God a sacrifice of praise, the tribute of lips which give praise to His name. The entire body of the faithful, anointed as they are by the Holy One, cannot err in matters of belief. They manifest this special property by means of the whole peoples’ supernatural discernment in matters of faith when “from the Bishops down to the last of the lay faithful” they show universal agreement in matters of faith and morals. That discernment in matters of faith is aroused and sustained by the Spirit of truth. It is exercised under the guidance of the sacred teaching authority, in faithful and respectful obedience to which the people of God accepts that which is not just the word of men but truly the Word of God. Through it, the people of God adheres unwaveringly to the faith given once and for all to the saints, penetrates it more deeply with right thinking, and applies it more fully in its life.

¹⁹ Spadaro, *A Big Heart*, 20.

contemporary culture.” He explained there were heremeutics of discontinuity, and of continuity. Francis was certain of one thing: “the dynamic of reading the Gospel, actualizing its message for today—which was typical of Vatican II—is absolutely irreversible.” He called Pope Benedict’s decision to extend the use of the Missal of 1962 in *Summorum Pontificum*, ‘prudent.’ “What is worrying, though,” he continued, “is the risk of the ideologization of the *Vetus Ordo*, its exploitation.”²⁰

Pope Francis’ advice to the People of God is “Instead of being just a church that welcomes and receives by keeping the doors open, let us try also to be a church that finds new roads, that is able to step outside itself . . .”²¹

In his last chapter on the Eucharist, Kevin Seasoltz writes that

“the major liturgical issue facing the church today is not the structure or style of the Eucharistic ritual and the form it takes . . . but rather the nature of the communities that celebrate the Eucharist with their visions, their goals, and their everyday practices.”²²

²⁰ Ibid., 30.

²¹ Ibid., 24.

²² R. Kevin Seasoltz, *God’s Gift Giving: In Christ and Through the Spirit*. New York: Continuum, 2007), 239. From John Baldwin, *Reforming the Liturgy*. AS

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

- 1833 Prosper Gueranger restores monastic life and liturgy at French abbey of Solesmes. Gueranger's *L'Annee liturgique* is published. Edmund Bishop writes his essay on *The Genius of the Roman Rite*.
- 1903 Pope Pius X's motu proprio, *Te Le Sollecitudini*, concerning music
- 1907 Lambert Beauduin joins the Benedictine community of Mont Cesar in Belgium. Prior is Columba Marmion
- 1909 Beauduin's address to Malines Congress on Catholic Action inaugurates a new era of the LM; Beauduin begins the publication of *Questions liturgiques*
- 1910 First Liturgical Week at Mont Cesar
- 1910 *Quam Singulari* on Children's communion
- 1913 Reform of breviary announced
- 1916 Justine Ward and Georgia Stevens found Pius X Institute of Liturgical Music at Manhattanville College
- 1921 Beauduin begins teaching at San Anselmo where a student is Virgil Michel
- 1921 Odo Case of Maria Laach publishes the first of the 15 vol. *Jahrbuch for Liturgiewissenschaft*
- 1922 Pius Parsch of Klosterneuburg in Austria published the beginning of the *Year of Grace* as part of his *Popular Liturgical Apostolate*
- 1922 First decree on the dialogue Mass from the Congregation of Rites
- 1923 Walter Frere, English liturgical scholar, consecrated bishop of Truro
- 1926 Virgil Michel begins publication of *Orate Fratres*
- 1926 William Busch begins articles for *Orate Fratres* until 1951
- 1927 Roman Guardini becomes director of German Catholic Youth Movement and its center, Burg Rothenfels, becomes place of liturgical, social and artistic development; liturgical movement changes from monastic to lay movement
- 1928 *Divini Cultus*, apostolic constitution promoting participation through singing of chant by assembly
- 1928 Liturgical Arts Society and Maurice Lavanoux begins its journal, *Liturgical Arts*, published until 1972
- 1929 Liturgical Day to conclude first summer school in Liturgy in US

- 1932 Joseph Stedman published first edition of *My Sunday Missal*
- 1933 First edition of *Christian Life and Worship* by Gerald Ellard
- 1934 Dorothy Day commissions Ade Bethune to do pictures for *Catholic Worker*; later she will edit *Catholic Art Quarterly* and *Sacred Signs*
- 1935 English language edition of *Spirit of the Liturgy* by Guardini
- 1936 Reynold Hillebrand named rector of St. Mary of the Lake Seminary in Chicago
- 1936 H.A. Reinhold comes to US. His *Timely Tracts* appear in *Orate Fratres* until 1957
- 1936 Bernard Laukemper brings in national speakers for parish liturgical week at parish of St. Aloysius in Chicago
- 1937 Evelyn Underhill published *Worship* on the prophetic, formative and mystical qualities of Liturgy
- 1938 Virgil Michel dies. Godfrey Diekmann becomes editor of *Orate Fratres*.
- 1939 Guardini dismissed by Nazis and Rothenfels is confiscated
- 1940 Martin Hellriegel becomes pastor at Holy Cross in St. Louis, a model where liturgy serves as all activity and prayer
- 1940 First Liturgical Week in North America, in Chicago with more than 1200 in attendance. Some presenters: Reynold Hillenbrand, Godfrey Diekmann, Mary Perkins Ryan (on lay use of Breviary)
- 1940 Founding of Grail Movement in US at Doddridge Farm, Libertyville IL, then to Loveland, OH in 1944
- 1941 First National Summer School of Liturgy, Chicago
- 1941 Founding of Gregorian Institute of America by Clifford Bennett
- 1943 Pius XII issues *Mystici Corporis* and *Divino Afflante Spiritu*
- 1943 Centre de Pastorale Liturgique founded in Paris by Roguet et al.
- 1943 Gregory Dix finished the *Shape of the Liturgy* at Nashdom Anglican Abbey
- 1943 Therese Mueller writes *Our Children's Year of Grace*
- 1945 *La Maison Dieu* begins publication
- 1946 Founding of St. Jerome (Vernacular) society with periodical *Amen*
- 1947 *Mediator Dei* by Pius XII
- 1947 Joseph Gelineau puts theories about vernacular singing of psalms into parish practice
- 1947 Michael Mathis begins first Summer School of the ND liturgy program
- 1947 Balthasar Fischer becomes first person to hold chair of liturgy in theology school of Trier
- 1948 Publication of Josef Jungmann's *Missarum Sollemnia*

- 1948 First authorization for bilingual editions of the Roman Missal
- 1949 Pierre-Marie Gy begins 40 yrs. of teaching (mainly at Institut Supérieur de Liturgie of the Institut Catholique de Paris)
- 1950 First German National Liturgical Congress; participants ask that bishops request Vigil be moved to evening
- 1950 Alexander Peloquin becomes music director at cathedral in Providence
- 1951 Revisions of the Easter Vigil approved for experimentation
- 1951 First International Liturgical Week at Maria Laach with leading European Liturgical scholars
- 1951 Frank Kacmarcik begins designing *Worship*
- 1952 Louis Bouyer teaches at ND and publishes lectures as *Liturgical Piety*
- 1953 Third International Liturgical Week at Lugano
- 1953 Bernard Botte begins summer school for seminary professors of liturgy
- 1954 Bilingual version of the Roman Ritual approved for US
- 1955 Restored rites approved for Holy Week
- 1956 First International Congress of Pastoral Liturgy held in Assisi with 1200 attendees
- 1956 Botte and others found the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie in Paris
- 1958 Congregation of Rites issued *Instruction on Sacred Music and the Liturgy* with concern for active participation, including simultaneous reading of scripture by lay readers in the vernacular
- 1958 Readings and hymns in vernacular allowed during Holy Week in India
- 1958 US bishops create a Commission for the Liturgy
- 1959 John XXIII announces Vatican II
- 1959 New England Liturgical Committee founded
- 1960 Frederic Debuyst begins 20 years as editor of *Art d'Église*
- 1960 Publication of Reinhold's *Bringing the Mass to the People*
- 1962 Southwest Liturgical Conference holds first of its annual study weeks
- 1963 Godfrey Diekmann joins Fred McManus as second English speaking peritus on conciliar liturgical commission
- 1963 Formation of ICEL by Archbishop Paul Hallinan and others
- 1963 December 4, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* ratified by Vatican 11**
- 1964 Frederick McManus appointed secretary of BCL Apostolate
- 1964 Theophane Hytrek and other found Church Music Association of America
- 1964 Omar Westendorf's WLSM publishes *People's Mass Book*

- 1964 Mass in English for first time at St. Louis Liturgical Week with Gerard Sloyan as president and Clarence River's God is *Love*.
- 1965 *Universa Laus* for study of liturgy and Music formed by Gelineau, Huijbers and others
- 1965 Robert Hovda begins 13 yrs. as editor of Liturgical Conference
- 1966 *Introduction to Liturgical Theology* by Alexander Schmemmann
- 1969 First reformed rites: *Marriage, funerals, Mass, GI, baptism of infants, lectionary, calendar*
- 1971 Balthasar Fischer directs commission preparing *Directory of Masses for Children*, published 1973
- 1971 Reformed Roman liturgy of hours and rite of confirmation
- 1972 Reformed RCIA and pastoral care of sick
- 1972 *Music in Catholic Worship* by US Bishops
- 1973 First Meeting of NAAL
- 1974 Reformed rite of penance and eucharistic prayers for *Masses with Children* and reconciliation
- 1978 *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship* by US Bishops
- 1982 *Pastoral Care of the Sick: Rites of Anointing and Viaticum* in US
- 1988 RCIA for US in final form
- 1989 *Order of Christian Funerals* and *Book of Blessings* for US

Post Conciliar Commentary and Change

- 1970 Encyclical on the Holy Eucharist
- 1980 Instruction on Certain Norms Concerning the Worship of the Eucharistic Mystery (*Inaestimabile donum*)
- 1984 On the Use of the "Tridentine Liturgy"
- 1980 Letter to Bishops permitting the Missal of 1962
- 1980 On the Mystery and Worship of the Eucharist
- 1986 Norms for Indulgences *and* Preface for the Third Editione
- 1988 Directory for Sunday Celebrations in the Absence of a Priest
- 1988 Apostolic Letter given *Motu Proprio* – *Ecclesia Dei*
- 1988 Apostolic Letter on the 25th Anniversary of "Sacrosanctum Concilium"
- 1991 Guidelines for the Celebration of the "Tridentine" Mass

- 1994 Norms for the Use of Low-Gluten Bread and Mustum
- 1994 Fourth Instruction on the orderly carrying out of the Constitution on the Liturgy
- 1995 Clarification on the Celebration of the “Tridentine” Mass
- 1997 Clarification on the Celebration of the “Tridentine” Mass
- 1998 On Certain Questions Regarding the Collaboration of the Non-Ordained Faithful in the Sacred Ministry of Priest
- 1998 Notes on the recitation of the rosary during exposition of the Blessed Sacrament
- 2000 On the Orientation of the Priest at Mass
- 2000 On Communion for Divorced and Remarried Persons
- 2000 Letter on the Use of Extraordinary Ministers of Communion
- 2000 Circular Letter Concerning the Integrity of the Sacrament of Penance
- 2001 Concerning the Use of Female Altar Servers
- 2001 Care and Cleansing of Altar Linens
- 2001 Fifth Instruction for the Right Implementation of the Constitution (Use of Vernacular)
- 2002 Third Edition of the Roman Missal by Pope John Paul II
- 2007 Apostolic Letter “Summorum Pontificum” issued Motu Proprio
- 2008 Apostolic Letter: To Protect the Faith
- 2011 Instruction on the Application of the Apostolic Letter Summorum Pontificum

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VITA

Full name: Joseph Gus Farias

Place and date of birth: Passaic, New Jersey June 3, 1949

Parents Name: Joseph and Anita (Lembo) Farias

Educational Institutions:

<u>School</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Degree</u>	<u>Date</u>
Pope Pius XII H.S.	Passaic, NJ	Diploma	June 1967
St. Mary's Seminary College	Baltimore, MD	B.A.	May 1971
St. Mary's Seminary & Univ.	Baltimore, MD	S.T.M.	May 1981
Notre Dame University	Notre Dame, IN	M.A.	August 1985
Drew University	Madison, NJ	D. Litt.	May 2017