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Novus Ordo: The Rise of Progressive Catholicism and the Fall of Traditional Catholic Worship

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NOVUS ORDO:
THE RISE OF PROGRESSIVE CATHOLICISM
AND THE FALL OF TRADITIONAL
CATHOLIC WORSHIP

being

A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty
of Fort Hays State University in
Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree of Master of Arts

by

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ABSTRACT

The promulgation of the 1969 reformed Roman Missal represents one of the most important events in modern religious history. The transition to the “Novus Ordo” Mass symbolized the end of an era of traditionalism and the beginning of an era of modern Catholicism. At first glance, this transition seemed to take the Church by storm. After over a hundred years of papal condemnations of progressive schools of thought, in the 1960s, progressive scholars were invited by Rome to oversee a general reform of the Mass, the religion’s central act of worship. The ultimate fruit of this labor, the Novus Ordo Missal, was met only with minimal resistance on the part of the faithful. What conditions made the smooth transition to the reformed Missal possible?

This thesis seeks to demonstrate that the liturgical reforms of the 1960s and 70s would not have been possible without the progressive movements which took place in Catholicism in the 19th and 20th centuries which preceded it. While the hierarchy of the Catholic Church maintained a sort of “fortress mentality” in relation to progressive academia since the late 18th century, ultimately these efforts failed to prevent a progressive form of the religion from growing in popularity by the middle of the 20th century. This thesis chronicles the rise of this progressive form of Catholicism and contextualizes the 20th century Liturgical Movement within this wider movement.

After an overview of the terminology used in this thesis and an examination of the history of the Roman Rite, the main body of this thesis will examine the writings and actions of the scholars of the Liturgical Movement. Amongst them, the writings of

Annibale Bugnini, who is rightly referred to as the “father of the conciliar reform,” will hold an important place.

Histories of the reform and the progressive movements in 20th century Catholicism will be considered from writers of a variety of perspectives. The writings of progressive scholars who were personally in favor of the reforms such as Richard McBrien, Joseph Kelly, and Rita Ferrone will be balanced by the highly critical writings of Catholic traditionalists such as Michael Davies, Christopher Ferrara, and Thomas Woods who personally opposed the reforms. Due to linguistic and research limitations, most of the accounts in the 10th chapter concerning the particular implementation of the Novus Ordo are limited to English speaking nations.

In a sense, nearly all of the secondary literature on this topic falls into an ambiguous state somewhere between a secondary source examining the liturgical changes and a primary source reacting to them. Few have written on this topic who did not possess some sort of personal investment in the topic due to the role that it played in their own spiritual lives. For this reason, this thesis attempts to include a balance of secondary sources from progressive, traditionalist, and conservative Catholic writers since all three of these perspectives demonstrate ways in which the Novus Ordo has been received by the modern Catholic Church.

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I'd also like to extend my heartfelt thanks to my wife Evelyn for pretending so convincingly to be interested in my many unsolicited lectures about Bugnini and the Consilium which I have blessed her with for the past several years as I've worked on this project.

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INTRODUCTION

In 1969, Pope Paul VI promulgated what he called a “Novus Ordo” of the Roman Catholic Mass. After well over a thousand years of liturgical traditionalism in the Catholic Church, a “new order” of public worship was instituted which reoriented the Church’s liturgy away from its former rigorous ceremonies and solemn piety towards an emphasis on community, enculturation, and intelligibility. To name but a few of the most obvious changes, the language of worship changed from Latin to the vernacular, altars faced the congregation rather than the tabernacle, pipe organs and Gregorian chant gave way to pianos, guitars and folk hymns, and communion was now received standing and in the hands rather than kneeling and on the tongue. Many traditional Churches were dramatically renovated to reflect modern architectural values, and modern art began to find its way into sanctuaries and stained-glass windows.¹

One might expect that these changes would have triggered a widespread resistance on the part of the Catholic faithful. However, history would find that the transition between the traditional Mass as celebrated in 1962 and the “New Order,” Mass as celebrated in 1969 took place without much resistance at all on the part of the laity or clergy. Rather than revolting against the radically modernized liturgy, the faithful by and large received the new Mass as a welcome change. What historical developments allowed for the surprisingly uneventful implementation of the Novus Ordo in 1969? The first half of the 20th century, it would turn out, had seen many changes in the popular practice of Catholicism which prepared the faithful for the reception of a Mass which was radically changed from the liturgy as it had been handed down throughout the centuries. Without

¹ Moyra Doorly, *No Place for God: The Denial of the Transcendent in Modern Church Architecture* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007), 62-72.

these comprehensive changes, it is difficult to imagine that the Novus Ordo would have ever been promulgated, let alone well received.

The Roman Catholic liturgical changes of the 1960s do not receive a remarkable amount of historical attention. In failing to acknowledge the dramatic nature of the changes in the religion during this period, historians neglect to examine a historical rupture almost as shocking as Constantine's conversion was to religious life in imperial Rome. The Catholic Church had for centuries been so intent on preserving its traditional missal that most of the customs of the 1962 edition of the Roman Missal could be found in sacramentaries dating back to the 8th century. Thus, the Mass, which was the central unifying act of Catholics for over a millennium, remained the most traditional institution of Western civilization throughout the Middle Ages, was preserved throughout the Enlightenment and Industrial Revolution, and survived up until the latter half of the 20th century.

In December of 1969, however, a Novus Ordo of worship was promulgated, and the extra-millennial order of worship was all but eradicated from practice in the Roman Catholic Church. Archbishop Annibale Bugnini, who has justifiably been called the “father of the conciliar reform,” referred to the promulgation of the Novus Ordo Missal as a “major conquest of the Catholic Church.”² Progressive liturgists such as Fr. Frederick McManus and traditionalists such as Michael Davies frequently referred to it as a

² Christopher Ferrara and Thomas E. Woods, Jr., *The Great Facade: The Regime of Novelty in the Catholic Church from Vatican II to the Francis Revolution*, 2nd ed., (Kettering, Ohio: Angelico Press, 2015), 318.; Annibale Bugnini, *Notitae* No. 92 (April 1974), 126, quoted in Michael Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 2nd ed., (Kansas City, Missouri: Angelus Press, 2007), 366.

“revolution.”³ For his part, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger described the promulgation of the Novus Ordo by stating:

“In the place of liturgy as the fruit of development came fabricated liturgy. We abandoned the organic, living process of growth and development over centuries, and replaced it - as in a manufacturing process - with a fabrication, a banal on-the-spot product.”⁴

While the basic structure and some of the core elements of the traditional Roman Catholic Mass had been retained in the “banal on-the-spot product” of the Novus Ordo, many of the prayers, rituals, and ceremonies of the old Mass were suppressed or revised. All things considered, only about 40 to 50 percent of the Roman Rite’s traditional Collects, Secrets (Offertory Prayers), or Post Communion prayers were retained in the new Missal.⁵ Some estimate that only about 20 percent of the traditional Missal’s prayers, gestures, and liturgical actions were translated into the new Mass.⁶ In the place of these omitted prayers and rituals, new compositions were introduced by a board of advisors formed by the pope called the “Consilium” which received an open mandate to revise the liturgical books.⁷

A simple thought experiment could shed light on the dramatic nature of these changes. If a bishop from the early 20th century was transported through a time machine

³ Frederick McManus, forward to *Priest Guide to Parish Worship* by The Liturgical Commission (Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, 1964) 137.; Michael Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, (Kansas City, Missouri: Angelus Press, 1980), 71.

⁴ Joseph Ratzinger, forward to *The Reform of the Roman Liturgy* by Klaus Gamber quoted in *The Great Facade* by Ferrara and Woods, 134.

⁵ Matthew Hazell, “Mythbusting: How Much of the 1962 Missal is Actually Used in the Post-Vatican II Missal?”, New Liturgical Movement, July 14, 2021, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2021/07/mythbusting-how-much-of-1962-missal-is.html#.YeRB93rMLIW>.

⁶ Michael Brendan Dougherty, “Pope Francis Is Tearing the Catholic Church Apart,” *New York Times*, 8/12/21, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/08/12/opinion/pope-francis-latin-mass.html>

⁷ Second Vatican Council, “*Sacrosanctum Concilium*: Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,” Vatican, the Holy See, 12/4/1963, sect. 25, accessed 3/5/2022: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19631204_sacrosanctum-concilium_en.html.

to a typical 1970s Catholic parish, would he recognize the reformed liturgy as the Roman Rite Mass? If he did, what would he make of these changes?

The person of Bishop Athanasius Schneider of Kazakhstan may be the best glimpse of such a thought experiment we might find. During the Stalin years, Schneider's Black Sea German grandparents were relocated to a gulag in the Ural Mountains where his parents met and established their family in the midst of an underground German Catholic community.⁸ In these remote conditions, this Catholic community was isolated from the revolutionary Catholic literature which transformed the popular sense of the religion throughout the first half of the 20th century. They were also isolated from the Western cultural developments which occurred during this same period. When Schneider's family emigrated from the USSR to Western Germany in 1973, they found themselves horrified by the changes they found in the liturgical practices of the post-conciliar Church.⁹

Schneider went on to become a priest of a traditionalist order called the Canons Regular.¹⁰ Since being named a bishop, Schneider has become the world's premier episcopal voice for traditional Catholicism even while his ecclesial rank is surprisingly low as a mere auxiliary bishop of a mostly Muslim nation in central Asia. To be sure, Schneider's adult formation in the Catholic faith has not been uninfluenced by post-Vatican II traditionalist polemics. He is, of course, not *literally* a time-traveling early 20th century bishop. Regardless, his response to the post-1960s changes in Catholic worship after being raised in an insulated traditional Roman Catholic community deserve

⁸ Athanasius Schneider and Diane Montagna, *Christus Vincit: Christ's Triumph Over the Darkness of the Age* (New York: Angelico Press, 2019) 7-11, Kindle edition.

⁹ Schneider and Montagna, *Christus Vincit*, 21-22.

¹⁰ Schneider and Montagna, *Christus Vincit*, 26.

attention. Since his community was isolated from the transformative developments occurring in Western Catholicism over the course of the 20th century, suddenly being exposed to the post-1960s modernized form of Catholic worship was nothing short of scandalous to him and his family.¹¹ Schneider's reaction to the modernized liturgy demonstrates the rupture historians need to appreciate between Roman Catholic worship after 1969 and the Mass as it had been traditionally observed.

While the liturgical changes of the 1960s were radical, they were not isolated; it was not merely the liturgy that had changed. By the 1960s, a progressive vision of Catholicism had become popular throughout Western civilization. One theological peritus who helped prepare the documents for the Second Vatican Council went so far as to say that after the Council, "it will be another religion."¹² Such remarks should be seen as evidence of a divergence between the traditional sense of the Catholic religion and the progressive vision of Catholicism which became popular after the Second Vatican Council. The development of this new interpretation of Catholicism, and how exactly it might be defined, will be examined at length below.

While this new form of progressive Catholicism often found itself at odds with the official Magisterium, it should not for this reason be dismissed as historically insignificant. This is especially the case in a study of how the *Novus Ordo* was constructed and how it was received. If a new form of the old religion had been embraced by millions of Catholics who no longer adhered to many of the attitudes, beliefs, or moral precepts of traditional Catholicism, ignoring such a development in any history of 20th century Catholicism would constitute a failure to tell the entire story. Just because the

¹¹ Schneider and Montagna, *Christus Vincit*, 21-22.

¹² George Tavard, *The Church Tomorrow* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), 31.

development of this new, non-traditional form of Catholicism did not find itself completely accepted by the formal Magisterium does not mean that it was not an influential force at the popular level. Further, while many of the doctrinal suggestions of this progressive movement stood at odds with official Magisterial positions, and were thus ruled heretical, other suggestions of the progressives ultimately found their way into the decisions of the hierarchy.

Arguably, the most noteworthy way in which the Magisterium came to embrace the ideas of this innovative form of Catholicism was in the marriage between the Magisterium and the progressive scholarly “Liturgical Movement.” From the late 1940s onwards, the Vatican gave official recognition to the Liturgical Movement and asked a commission of its scholars to study the question of a general reform of the Mass. During the Second Vatican Council, these same scholars were asked to draft the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy titled *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. After the Council, they were asked by Pope Paul VI to construct the Novus Ordo Missal. In each instance, Liturgical Movement scholars will be shown to have demonstrated a consistent preference for secular academic methods over a deference to Catholic Tradition.

Of course, if the liturgists had only been successful at convincing the Magisterium to embrace a new liturgy, such a radical reform would have been rejected by the faithful in favor of deeply revered traditions. Rather, the Novus Ordo found widespread acceptance due to the success this progressive movement found in promoting their innovative sense of Catholicism to a large number of the Catholic faithful. Amongst those Catholics who had not embraced the progressive vision of Catholicism, other factors prevented a widespread resistance to the new order of worship. For instance, while some

conservative laity might have felt a personal aversion to the new ritual, the traditional Catholic custom of unquestioning clerical obedience prevented the formation of a significant lay resistance.

A number of works examine the historical developments in the modern Catholic Church which contributed to these liturgical changes.¹³ Several texts examine the 20th

¹³Alcuin Reid, *Organic Development of the Liturgy: The Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council*, 2nd ed., (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).; Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948-1975*, trans. Matthew J. O'Connell (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1990).; Chester Gills, *Roman Catholicism in America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999).; Christopher Hill, "Because he was a German!" Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement," *Ecclesiology*, vol. 5 no. 3, (September, 2009), 366-370, accessed 3/8/22: <https://web-s-ebsochost-com.ezproxy.fhsu.edu/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=61bf4d43-b3c3-453d-aa18-25ad62000481%40redis.>; Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade.*; Fr. Ronald Roberson, "Pope Benedict XVI and Ecumenism: A Retrospective," United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, accessed 3/9/22: <https://www.usccb.org/committees/ecumenical-interreligious-affairs/pope-benedict-xvi-and-ecumenism-retr> ospective.; George Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History: How the Church Rediscovered Itself and Challenged the Modern World to Reform* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).; George Weigel, *Witness to Hope: The Biography of Pope John Paul II* (New York: Harper Collins Publishing, 1999), Kindle edition.; Joanne M. Pierce, Michael Downey, *Source and Summit: Commemorating Josef A. Jungmann, S.J.* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999).; Hans Boersma, review of "Nouvelle Théologie - New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II - By Jürgen Mettepenningen," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* vol. 14, no. 4 (October 2012), accessed 3/13/22: doi:10.1111/j.1468-2400.2010.00551.x.; H.W. Crocker, *Triumph: The Power and the Glory of the Catholic Church - A 2000 Year History* (Roseville, CA: Prima Publishing, 2001).; John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).; Joseph Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009).; Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie - New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II* (New York: T & T Clark International, 2010).; Mark Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution: How the Sixties Changed the Church Forever* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).; Michael Davies, Michael Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 2nd ed., (Kansas City, Missouri: Angelus Press, 2007).; Michael Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, (Kansas City, Missouri: Angelus Press, 1980).; Michael Joyce, "Jacques Maritain Integral Humanism (1936)," *First Things: A Monthly Journal of Religion and Public Life* (2000), accessed 3/9/22: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A60864209/AONE?u=klbn_fhsuniv&sid=bookmark-AONE&xid=bf168d.; Moyra Doorly, *No Place for God.*; Ralph Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II: A Firsthand Account of the Council's Inner Workings* (1964 as *The Rhine Flows Into the Tiber*, repr., Charlotte, NC: TAN, 2014), Kindle Edition.; Richard McBrien, *Lives of the Popes: The Pontiffs from St. Peter to John Paul II*, (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1997).; Richard A. Schoenherr and Lawrence A. Young, "Quitting the Clergy: Resignations in the Roman Catholic Priesthood," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, vol. 29, no. 4 (Dec., 1990).; Rita Ferrone, *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium* (New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2007).; Shaun L. Blanchard, "Eighteenth-Century Forerunners of Vatican II: Early Modern Catholic Reform and the Synod of Pistoia," order No. 10787797, Marquette University, 2018, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/eighteenth-century-forerunners-vatican-ii-early/docview/2037243245/se-2?accountid=27424.>; Shaun L. Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II: Jansenism and the Struggle for Catholic Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).; Steven M. Avella, *Confidence and Crisis: A History of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee 1959-1977* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 2014).; Taylor Marshall, *Infiltration: the Plot to Destroy the Church from Within*

century liturgical reform in particular. In *Liturgy: Rediscovering Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Rita Ferrone argued that the liturgical reform was a necessary response to the dysfunctional state of the 19th and early 20th century liturgy.¹⁴ To her, while the reform had done much to render the liturgy more pastorally effective, conservative forces in the Vatican prevented it from reaching its full potential.¹⁵ Alcuin Reid provided a different perspective in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*. In this text, Reid considered the “principles of liturgical reform operative in the history of the Roman rite and the relationship of the Liturgical Movement to them.”¹⁶ He concluded that while earlier Liturgical Movement scholars such as Dom Lambert Beauduin and Adrian Fortescue showed respect for the Roman Rite’s objective liturgical tradition, later liturgists such as Annibale Bugnini did not.¹⁷

In *The American Catholic Revolution*, Mark Massa placed little value on the preservation of the Roman Rite’s objective liturgical tradition. Rather, Massa argued that the 20th century reforms were the result of Catholics breaking free from the naive belief that the Mass as celebrated in 20th century Catholic churches was the same as the liturgy celebrated in the early Church.¹⁸ Due to a revolution in historical consciousness, Massa argued, Catholics began to perceive that the liturgy had changed in the past and should indeed change in the present to serve modern pastoral needs.

(Manchester, NH: Crisis Publications, 2019), eBook edition.; Thomas Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, revised ed., (New York: Doubleday/Random House, 2004).; Timothy Flanders, *Introduction to the Holy Bible for Traditional Catholics: A Beginner’s Guide to Reading the Scriptures for Spiritual Profit* (Our Lady of Victory Press, 2019).; Yves Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini: Reformer of the Liturgy*, trans. John Pepino (Brooklyn, NY: Angelico Press, 2018).

¹⁴ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 1-7.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 62-63 and 68-69.

¹⁶ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 80-81, 88, 216-218.

¹⁸ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 9-17.

In his 3-part *Liturgical Revolution* series, Michael Davies took a different stance. He argued that the 20th century changes devastated Catholic worship by implementing a style of worship that denigrated traditional Catholic beliefs in a manner similar to the 16th century Protestant liturgy implemented by the Anglican Archbishop Thomas Cranmer.¹⁹

This thesis makes no attempt to judge the pastoral effectiveness or ineffectiveness of the Novus Ordo Missal. That is not the purview of a historical text. It does, however, claim that the 1969 Missal was a startling innovation with respect to the centuries of liturgical tradition which preceded it. This claim is justified when compared to the historical overview of the Roman Rite found in chapter three. After establishing this presupposition, this thesis examines the historical context which made these revolutionary reforms possible in a religion that was once characterized by its stringent traditionalism. It will be shown that the gradual flowering of a progressive vision of the Catholic religion between the 18th and 20th centuries laid the groundwork for the promulgation and reception of the Novus Ordo liturgy.

“Chapter One: Traditional, Conservative, and Progressive Catholicism” defines the three interpretations of Roman Catholicism which competed for dominance throughout the 20th century. In a certain sense, the history of the 20th century Catholic Church is the history of the tension between these three groups. Defining traditional, conservative, and progressive Catholicism from the onset, then, is helpful in understanding the entire historical narrative. “Chapter Two: Analysis of the Missal Changes” provides a detailed examination of the changes which were implemented in the Novus Ordo Missal. Even readers who are familiar with the form of celebration of both

¹⁹ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, xxvii-xxviii and 269.

missals may find this chapter helpful in its side-by-side comparison of each element of both forms of the Mass.

As stated above, “Chapter Three: History of the Roman Rite” provides a historical overview of the Roman Rite liturgy from the 1st through the 18th century. This chapter is necessary in order to appreciate the historical continuity between the Mass as celebrated in 1962 and the Mass as celebrated during the middle of the first millennium. In order to avoid overgeneralizations, this chapter is grounded in historical texts which offer clear glimpses into the historical development of the Mass throughout these centuries.

“Chapter Four: The Enlightenment and the Catholic Response” examines the manner in which the Catholic hierarchy opposed the spread of secular rationalism after the Enlightenment movements of the 18th century. Despite such papal opposition, Enlightenment-inspired progressive Catholic theologians began to integrate secular thought with Catholic theology throughout the 19th and early 20th century. “Chapter Five: Modernism and the Liturgical Movement” examines Pius X’s condemnation of a branch of progressive Catholicism which he referred to as Modernism. It also considers the relationship between the early 20th century Liturgical Movement and progressive Modernism.

“Chapter Six: The Ascendant Liturgical Movement” chronicles the manner in which the Liturgical Movement spread throughout the Western church to exert a profound influence over popular ideas about the liturgy. In “Chapter Seven: The Liturgical Reforms,” the manner in which Pius XII responded to the Liturgical Movement will be considered. In “Chapter Eight: The Second Vatican Council,” the inner workings of the Council which saw many of the ideas of progressive Catholicism promulgated at the

official level will be examined. The Council's legitimization of most of the Liturgical Movement's progressive ideas will especially be considered.

“Chapter Nine: Constructing the Novus Ordo” chronicles the process by which the Novus Ordo Missal was constructed between 1964 and 1969. In “Chapter Ten: The Reception of the Novus Ordo,” the reception of the new Mass by the Catholic faithful is characterized as either traditionalist resistance, conservative and loyal acceptance, enthusiastic promotion, or passive acceptance. It will be demonstrated that the tendencies of the latter three forms of reception of the new Mass each served to assure that the reform would be successful.

While some modernization may have taken place throughout the last few centuries in Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic liturgies, nothing as radical as the 1969 changes in the Mass has taken place in any of these liturgical traditions.²⁰ In fact, the Russian Orthodox Church experienced an attempt at a liturgical reform similar to the Novus Ordo under the leadership of the renegade Metropolitan Antonin Granovsky, but the effort came to nothing, and traditional Russian forms of worship prevailed.²¹ As in 20th century Russian Orthodoxy, a tendency towards ritualistic conservatism is present in most ancient religious traditions. For this reason, the historical factors that prepared Catholics around the world to embrace a “revolutionary” new form of worship constitute a fascinating story.

²⁰ “The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom,” Liturgical Texts of The Orthodox Church, The Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.goarch.org/-/the-divine-liturgy-of-saint-john-chrysostom>.

²¹ Edward Waters, Introduction in *The Divine Liturgy: Revised According to the Ancient Rites* by Metropolitan Antonin Granovsky, trans. Edward Waters (Independently Published, 2019), 6, Kindle edition.; Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 251.

CHAPTER ONE: TRADITIONAL, PROGRESSIVE, AND CONSERVATIVE CATHOLICISM

The transformation of the Roman Catholic liturgy would not have been possible if so many of the faithful had not already accepted the progressive vision of the religion itself. The seeds of progressive Catholicism date back to the European Enlightenment when some Catholic intellectuals began to explore the use of scholarly methods which were untethered from the dogmas of Divine Revelation. In *To Change the Church*, Ross Douhat argued that concurrent progressive movements were able to develop quite freely in decentralized Protestant denominations.²² In the Catholic Church, however, these progressive movements were consistently condemned by late 18th, 19th, and early 20th century popes, as will be shown in chapter four.

After the Second Vatican Council, this progressive vision of Catholicism became widespread, leading to revolutionary changes in the popular interpretation and practice of the ancient religion. Fr. Thomas Reese, an *America Magazine* editor, wrote that “Vatican II caused a revolution in church thinking and practice from the papacy to the local parish. The Council touched almost every aspect of church life from liturgy to political action, from seminary education to catechetics.”²³ In *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, Fr. Thomas Bokenkotter agreed with Reese, writing that “a tidal wave of change was set in motion by Vatican II...so many spiritual and religious landmarks were suddenly swept away that the average Catholic was left in a state of complete bewilderment.”²⁴ While some adjustments were made by the Second Vatican Council itself to official Catholic

²² Ross Douhat, *To Change the Church: Pope Francis and the Future of Catholicism* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018), 7-8.

²³ Gills, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 90.

²⁴ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 409.

teachings and disciplines, this “tidal wave of change” should be understood as popular changes in the beliefs and practices of many ordinary Catholics rather than as formal changes to the teachings of the religion itself.

The progressive changes in popular Catholicism in the 1960s were preceded by over a century of scholarly efforts to reorient the Church’s search for truth away from a dependence on its own infallible traditions and towards a preference for the secular academic methods which were born of the Enlightenment. After over a century of struggling for legitimacy, this progressive vision of Catholicism became widely popular after the Second Vatican Council, inspiring doubt in traditional Catholic teachings which were formerly held as irreproachable. In *The American Catholic Revolution*, Fr. Mark S. Massa S.J. wrote that typical post-conciliar Catholics at the lay, scholarly, and clerical level began to posit questions such as:

What if it turned out that the dogmas the Church taught as revealed truths were not immutable, but were human efforts to capture a divine encounter forged in history, bearing the marks of that process? What if the institutional structures of the Church were not of divine origin, but were subject to perpetual evolution?²⁵

To anyone familiar with the historical Roman Catholic belief in the infallibility of Sacred Tradition, the idea that dogmas might be changed ran completely against the traditional Catholic theological system. Indeed, the First Vatican Council anathematized, or damned, anyone who suggested that “it is possible that at some time, given the advancement of knowledge, a sense may be assigned to the dogmas propounded by the church which is different from that which the church has understood and understands.”²⁶ Yet such

²⁵ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 10.

²⁶ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” Papal Encyclicals Online, 1868, Session 3 Chapter 4 Canon 3, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum20.htm>.

innovative ideas became mainstream by the 1960s due to the gradual flowering of the progressive interpretation of the Catholic religion.

How might the traditional form of Catholicism which preceded progressive Catholicism be defined? Traditional Catholicism could be understood as a religious system which believed that the best means of discovering truth was in studying the Bible and the Church's Sacred Tradition, using philosophical inquiry when necessary to shed light on both. Since traditional Catholicism believed that Christ and the Apostles passed down the entire body of doctrines comprising the Divine Revelation in written texts and oral traditions, both scripture and the Church's Tradition were regarded as equal expressions of the one Word of God.²⁷ It was believed that by the time the Apostles died, the entirety of Divine Revelation had been bestowed upon the Church and was transmitted to the next generation in full either in the texts of scripture or in the oral teachings which were to be preserved by the Church's bishops and the pope.²⁸

Since the entire content of the Word of God had been bestowed upon the Church in the teachings of Jesus and the Holy Spirit's revelation to the apostles, traditional Catholicism held that the apostles and subsequent bishops "regarded as their task the preservation, integral and unfalsified, of the heritage of Faith entrusted to them by Christ."²⁹ In the 8th century, the Second Council of Nicaea condemned anyone who rejected "any written or unwritten tradition of the church" since both scripture and Tradition were regarded as essential means of transmitting the Divine Revelation.³⁰

²⁷ Rev. J Donovan, Preface to *Catechism of the Council of Trent* trans. By Rev. J Donovan (New York: Catholic Publication Society, 1829), 18.

²⁸ Ludwig Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, trans. Patrick Lynch, 5th ed., (St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1962), 7.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ "Second Council of Nicaea - 787 A.D.," Papal Encyclicals Online, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/ecum07.htm>.

Since it was believed that the entire body of Catholic doctrines was taught by Christ and the twelve Apostles, this “deposit of faith” was to be revered, guarded, and never altered.³¹ Consistent with this principle, the First Vatican Council declared in its constitution *Pastor Aeternus* that “the Holy Spirit was promised to the successors of Peter not so that they might, by his revelation, make known some new doctrine, but that, by his assistance, they might religiously guard and faithfully expound the revelation or deposit of faith transmitted by the apostles.”³² Thus, while it was permissible that “ancient truths which were always believed” could be more “sharply defined” in order to facilitate better understanding, constructing new doctrines *sui generis* or attempting to reinterpret dogmas in opposition to their former solemn definitions was always deemed heretical.³³

St. Vincent Lerin responded to the theological innovators of the early 5th century by contrasting legitimate developments in doctrine with heretical innovations. He wrote:

But someone will say, perhaps, shall there, then, be no progress in Christ's Church? Certainly; all possible progress...yet on condition that it be real progress, not alteration of the faith.³⁴

It is noteworthy that this 5th century monk believed that any alteration of the faith would be categorically opposed to “real progress” in the faith. This indicates that the same sort of traditional thinking which became codified in the Council of Trent and the First Vatican Council was valued by Patristic theologians in the first centuries of the Church as well.

³¹ Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, 7.

³² First Vatican Council, “Pastor Aeternus: Dogmatic Constitution on The Church of Christ,” EWTN, 7/18/1870, chapter 4 sec. 6, accessed online 3/6/22: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/teachings/vatican-is-dogmatic-constitution-pastor-aeternus-on-the-church-of-christ-243>.

³³ Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, 6-7.

³⁴ Vincent Lerin, “Commonitory,” trans. C.A. Heurtley in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers, Second Series*, vol. 11. ed., Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1894), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapter 23 sec. 54, accessed 3/13/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3506.htm>.

From the 12th century onwards, the most common method of developing more sharp definitions of perennially held beliefs was the Scholastic method.³⁵ This method sought to apply human reason to the content of Divine Revelation utilizing Aristotelian philosophical terminology and dialectical reasoning.³⁶

This traditional form of Catholicism would be undermined by significant changes in the common practice of the religion throughout the 20th century. In *The Ecumenical Councils*, Joseph Kelly wrote that over the course of the 20th century “serious changes had occurred in how Catholic theologians and scholars viewed the church and the world.”³⁷ Changes in belief amongst Catholic scholars by the 1960s included, for example, a widespread agreement that the Gospels were not historically reliable accounts and that many of the miracles recorded therein were actually literary devices created by the Gospel writers in order to teach lessons.³⁸ Changes to previously held beliefs also included reversals of previous condemnations of religious liberty and the Ecumenical Movement.³⁹

Bokenkotter wrote that Catholic clerics, scholars, and laity alike had come to question the “scriptural validity” of many of the Church’s moral teachings, including but not limited to the Church’s strict prohibition of divorce.⁴⁰ Theologians such as Fr. Charles Curran vehemently opposed the Church’s condemnation of a number of other sexual sins.⁴¹ Throughout the realm of morality, many Catholics by the 1960s perceived the

³⁵ Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, 4.

³⁶ Ott, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma*, 4.; William Turner, "Scholasticism." in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 13 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), transcribed for New Advent by Tomas Hancil, accessed 3/13/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/13548a.htm>.

³⁷ Joseph Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church: A History* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2009), 181.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 181-182.

³⁹ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 403-408.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 416.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 415-416, 439; Weigel, *Witness to Hope*, 523.; Gills, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 108-109.

Church's moral precepts as classicist, outdated, and based on a rigid natural law system which modern philosophical advances had rendered obsolete.⁴² Joseph Kelly went so far as to write that due to changes in biblical scholarship, philosophical methods, and anthropological beliefs amongst Catholic intellectuals, "much of the worldview of the twenty previous ecumenical councils had disappeared by the time of Vatican II."⁴³ In other words, by the 1960s, many in the Catholic Church had adopted a worldview that set them apart from Catholics living throughout the entire history of Catholicism.

Fr. Paul Crane, a traditionalist, would have likely agreed with Kelly. He wrote that in 1986 "what confronts the Church today is a new body of belief and moral practice, propagated from within the Church by those who call themselves Catholics."⁴⁴ In 1972, the progressives Fr. Andrew Greeley and William McCready would have also agreed with Kelly's analysis of the history of the 20th century Church, writing that "American Catholicism as it was known before the 1960s seems to be finished."⁴⁵

The changes which had taken place in the Catholic religion were readily observable to outsiders as well. In his introduction to *The Documents of Vatican II*, the Methodist Bishop Reuben H. Mueller described the Catholic Church of the 1960s as "a great religious community in process of renewal and *change*" (emphasis mine).⁴⁶ In *The Great Facade*, Christopher Ferrara and Tom Woods concurred, writing that the late 20th century had seen the triumph of a vision of Catholicism in the minds of many Catholics which was opposed to the traditional form of the religion, though they argued that these

⁴² Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 10.

⁴³ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 182.

⁴⁴ Paul Crane, *Christian Order* (March 1985), quoted in *Pope John's Council* by Michael Davies, xxix.

⁴⁵ Andrew Greeley and William McCready, *America* (October 28, 1972), quoted in *Pope John's Council* by Michael Davies, 8.

⁴⁶ Reuben H. Mueller, "An Adventure in Ecumenical Cooperation," in *The Documents of Vatican II*, trans. Walter M. Abbott (New York: The America Press, 1966), xx.

changes were only a “great facade” of change since the essential teachings of the Catholic Church had never been formally altered.⁴⁷

Even those Catholics who were opposed to such changes could acknowledge that a “hermeneutic of discontinuity” was the most widely held perception of the Church’s historical developments throughout the 20th century, especially after Vatican II.⁴⁸ The traditionalist Monsignor Guido Pozzo wrote that the 20th century saw a large body of Catholics whose experience of the 1960s was as a “point of departure [and] rupture with the past” signifying “a new form of the Church in rupture with the past, even if the roots of this rupture had been present for some time in certain Catholic circles.”⁴⁹

Both Pope John Paul II and Pope Benedict XVI could be said to have devoted their papacies to the attempt to establish continuity between traditional Catholicism and the Catholicism which emerged after the Second Vatican Council.⁵⁰ As pope, Benedict XVI bemoaned the widespread “hermeneutic of discontinuity and rupture” which risked “ending in a split between the pre-conciliar Church and the post-conciliar Church.”⁵¹ In *The American Catholic Revolution*, Massa referred to papal attempts such as those of John Paul II and Benedict XVI to establish continuity between the pre-conciliar traditional form of Catholicism and the post-conciliar progressive form of Catholicism as a vain attempt to “put the historicist genie back into the bottle.”⁵²

⁴⁷ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 43-55.

⁴⁸ Pope Benedict XVI, “Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia Offering Them His Christmas Greetings,” transcript of speech, Vatican, the Holy See, 12/22/2005, accessed 3/6/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html.

⁴⁹ Msgr. Guido Pozzo, “Aspects of Catholic Ecclesiology in the Implementation of Vatican Council II,” trans. Fr. Charles W. Johnson, *Rorate Caeli*, July 2, 2010, accessed 3/6/22: <https://rorate-caeli.blogspot.com/2010/10/msgr-pozzo-on-aspects-of-ecclesiology.html>.

⁵⁰ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 306.; Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 27.

⁵¹ Pope Benedict XVI, “Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia Offering Them His Christmas Greetings.”

⁵² Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 27-28.

To Msgr. Guido Pozzo, the transformation of Catholicism throughout the 20th century and especially in the 1960s could be identified with the Modernist scholarly movement which Pius X had condemned in the early 1900s. He wrote that the 20th century attempt at:

The opening of the Church to the concerns and needs begotten by modernity (see *Gaudium Et Spes*) is interpreted by the para-Conciliar ideology as a necessary reconciliation between Christianity and modern philosophical thought and ideological culture. This involves a theological and intellectual work that substantially proposes once more the idea of Modernism, condemned at the beginning of the 20th century by St. Pius X.⁵³

When one compares Pius X's definition of Modernism as laid out in *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili Sane* with the Catholic ideas which became popular after the Second Vatican Council, it is difficult to disagree with Pozzo's conclusion. As but one example, consider that Bokenkotter's *A Concise History of the Catholic Church* contained a summary of the post-conciliar understanding of Divine Revelation which might be mistaken for an excerpt from Pius X's condemnation of the Modernist theory of Divine Revelation. Bokenkotter wrote that post Vatican II Catholic intellectuals replaced "the traditional Neo-Scholastic view of revelation as the transmission of defined fixed concepts" with:

the idea of revelation as a personal self-disclosure by which God encounters the total person and communicates with him in a historical dialogue, no formula of faith can therefore exhaust the truth; it can be exchanged for another formula more meaningful to the contemporary minds; every formulation of a divine mystery is only the beginning, never the terminus...⁵⁴

This progressive theory of Divine Revelation would seem quite similar to Pius X's condemnation of the Modernist belief that Divine Revelation was "nothing else than the

⁵³ Pozzo, "Aspects of Catholic Ecclesiology in the Implementation of Vatican Council II."

⁵⁴ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 418.

consciousness man acquired of his revelation to God.”⁵⁵ Pius X also wrote that Modernists erroneously believed that “Dogmas, Sacraments and hierarchy, both their notion and reality, are only interpretations and evolutions of the Christian intelligence which have increased and perfected by an external series of additions the little germ latent in the Gospel.”⁵⁶ In *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, he wrote that Modernists believed that what Catholics had traditionally regarded as the infallible doctrines of the Divine Revelation were in reality mere human symbols which were “not only able, but ought to evolve and to be changed,” to better express the unknowable Divine Reality to a new age.⁵⁷ Thus, the theological theories which Pius X deemed incompatible with traditional Catholicism could be found to be prevalent ideas in the progressive form of Catholicism which rose to prominence by the 1960s.

While it might be debated to what extent given Liturgical Movement scholars may have held condemned Modernist positions, what cannot be doubted is that the movement preferred to utilize progressive academic methods in guiding their research as opposed to relying on the conventional wisdom of Catholic Tradition. It will be shown that in its later years, the Liturgical Movement’s scholars often set up their research in opposition to traditional Catholicism in an adversarial relationship. Thus, in as much as the Liturgical Movement could be seen to have been guided by progressive scholarship in opposition to Sacred Tradition, it can be seen as a branch of the wider progressive movement within Catholicism, and a very influential branch at that.

⁵⁵ Pius X, “*Lamentabili Sane*: Syllabus Condemning the Errors of the Modernists,” syllabus, Papal Encyclicals, 1907, sec. 20, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius10/p10lamen.htm>

⁵⁶ Pius X, *Lamentabili Sane*, 54.

⁵⁷ Pius X, *Pascendi Dominici Gregis: On the Doctrine of the Modernists*, encyclical letter, Vatican, the Holy See, 9/8/1907, sec. 13, accessed 3/6/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_19070908_pascendi-dominici-gregis.html.

When investigating the 20th century historical context which produced the *Novus Ordo*, a third interpretation of the Catholic religion should be recognized alongside the traditional and progressive forms of Catholicism. Conservative Catholicism could be understood as the form of Catholicism which employed secular academic methods and embraced many progressive religious innovations while at the same time bound itself to most traditional Catholic teachings.⁵⁸ Ferrara and Woods described this form of the religion as “Neo-Catholicism” since it simultaneously held a doctrinally orthodox form of the religion while it also embraced progressive philosophical and liturgical ideas which distinguished it from traditional Catholicism.⁵⁹ Catholic writer George Sim Johnston referred to this group as the “sensibly center-right,” and Fr. Richard McBrien referred to this group as “moderate conservatives.”⁶⁰ Referring to this group as conservative Catholics as opposed to any of these terms has the advantage of identifying this faction of contemporary Catholicism with the terminology most are familiar with.

Conservative Catholics were more open in principle to accepting innovations in doctrine and practice than were traditionalist Catholics. This tendency was bolstered by the value that conservatives came to place on unswerving loyalty to the Magisterium. As will be seen in chapter ten, after the Magisterium promulgated a number of post-conciliar innovations, conservative Catholics made a religious duty of loyally accepting these changes, while traditionalists regarded it as a religious duty to resist them.

In sum, the twentieth century saw a gulf develop between traditional Catholicism, progressive Catholicism, and conservative Catholicism. In considering how the *Novus*

⁵⁸ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 25-28.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ George Sim Johnston, “Sensibly Center Right,” *Crisis* (May 1996) 6, quoted in *The Great Facade* by Ferrara and Woods, 25-26.; Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 181.

Ordo Missal was so effectively promulgated and received by the Catholic faithful in 1969 and beyond, one has to contextualize these liturgical changes within the context of the successful propagation of the progressive form of the religion which accompanied them. For these Catholics, accepting the Novus Ordo was not merely a matter of accepting a new liturgy and making sense of it within the same traditional Catholic worldview shared by Catholics of previous centuries. Rather, the reception of the Novus Ordo liturgy was by and large uneventful because many of those Catholics who accepted it had already accepted a new form of the Catholic religion itself whose “Novus Ordo” of worship seemed merely complementary.

What changes, exactly, did the Novus Ordo Missal make to the Traditional Latin Mass?

CHAPTER TWO: ANALYSIS OF THE MISSAL CHANGES

The Novus Ordo Missal transformed Catholic worship in three main ways. For starters, there were the more readily observable changes: those made to the texts of the Mass itself. Of these changes, attention should be drawn to the prayers which were omitted and those which were inserted, the refashioning of traditional parts of the Mass, and the introduction of an expanded lectionary of readings. The second area where changes were made to the Mass was in the rubrics, or “general instructions,” which govern the performance of the ritual. A third main area where changes could be observed was in the architecture and furnishings of many post-conciliar churches. Each of these changes will be examined below.

The first and most obvious change between the texts of the 1962 and the 1969 Missals was that in the former, Latin was the only language permissible for any portion of the Mass; in the later, national bishops conferences were granted permission to approve of vernacular translations for the entirety of the Mass.⁶¹ In English, the approved translation was prepared by the International Commission on English in the Liturgy (ICEL). This translation generated some degree of controversy for what appeared to be numerous translation choices which obfuscated the literal meaning of traditional Catholic concepts. One example of this was the ICEL’s preference to translate the word *hostia* to “offering” or “gift” rather than “victim” which was the literal translation of the Latin term.⁶² The ICEL also chose to translate the traditional Trinitarian term “consubstantialem,” to “one in being” rather than the more literal “consubstantial.”⁶³

⁶¹ Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 101-102.

⁶² Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 370-371.

⁶³ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 664-665.

These and other translation choices of the ICEL demonstrate the implicit role that translation bodies had in further modernizing the Latin text of the Mass beyond what the Vatican had approved in the Latin version of the 1969 Missal.

Traditionally, Catholic churches were designed with a nave which was generally shaped in a long, narrow cruciform shape which oriented each pew directly towards the altar with an altar rail dividing the sanctuary and the nave.⁶⁴ When entering Churches after the reform, many of the laity experienced a modern architectural style which oriented the people in some manner to look both at the altar as well as at one another. The United States hierarchy summarized the ethos of this architectural shift in the 1978 document *Environment and Art in Catholic Worship* which stated that “the entire liturgical space...should communicate an integrity (a sense of oneness, of wholeness) and a sense of being the gathering place of the initiated community.”⁶⁵

By the 1960s, freestanding altars became popular, and even officially advised, due to the growing popularity of celebrations in which the priest faced the people.⁶⁶ Additionally, when looking at this altar after the Novus Ordo Missal was promulgated, laity would likely find only one altar cloth as opposed to the altar linen and frontal cloth which was prescribed in the traditional Latin Mass.⁶⁷ Modern Churches were filled with

⁶⁴ Philip Kosloski, “How Early Churches Came to be Built in the Form of a Cross,” *Aleteia*, October 6, 2017, accessed 3/6/22: <https://aleteia.org/2017/10/06/how-early-churches-came-to-be-built-in-the-form-of-a-cross/>.

⁶⁵ National Conference of Catholic Bishops, “Environment and Art in Catholic Worship,” (Washington: United States Catholic Conference Publications Office, 1978), 29 sec. 530, accessed 3/6/22: <https://curate.nd.edu/show/t435gb22p2h>.

⁶⁶ Rita Ferrone, *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium* (New York/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2007), 57-58.

⁶⁷ AJ Schulte, “Altar Cloths,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01351e.htm>.; Catholic Church, *General Instructions of the Roman Missal, Including Adaptations for the Dioceses of the United States of America*, Vatican, the Holy See, 1982, sec. 304, accessed 3/6/22: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/ccdds/documents/rc_con_ccdds_doc_20030317_ordinamento-messale_en.html.

fewer statues, and art found within was generally relatively modern; this trend could be especially observed in the innovative styles of stained glass found in modern Churches.⁶⁸

Another major change which was experienced in the modern liturgy was that women were no longer required to veil their hair during the Mass. In the 1917 Code of Canon Law, women were required to cover their hair during the Mass.⁶⁹ Even before the reformed Code of Canon Law was promulgated in 1983, this practice fell out of favor in the Western world by a sort of popular revolt. Women were also welcomed to serve liturgical roles in the new rubrics, whereas previously only males could serve as acolytes or in the choir.⁷⁰

In terms of content, masses according to the 1962 Missal had begun with the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar.⁷¹ During these prayers, at least one altar boy would kneel beside a standing priest who took turns reciting what was the 42nd Psalm according to the Septuagint/Vulgate's psalm numbering system with him.⁷² All prayers, of course, were in Latin; even altar boys as young as seven years old used the ancient language when assisting at Mass. After reading the 42nd psalm, the priest and the server took turns reciting the traditional Confiteor, a confession of sins made to Almighty God and "to Blessed Mary the Ever-Virgin, to Blessed Michael the Archangel, to Blessed John the Baptist, and to the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, and to you, father..." which asked

⁶⁸ National Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Environment and Art in Catholic Worship," 20 sec. 33.

⁶⁹ *The 1917 Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2001), canon 1262 accessed 3/6/22: https://d2y1pz2y630308.cloudfront.net/24851/documents/2021/1/The%201917%20or%20Pio-Benedictine%20Co%20-%20Benedict%20XIV%20Pope%20%20Peters%20E_7786.pdf.

⁷⁰ Ibid, canon 813.; Pius X, *Tra La Sollicitudini*, motu proprio, Adoremus, 11/23/1903, sec. 13, accessed 3/13/22: <https://adoremus.org/1903/11/tra-le-sollicitudini/>.

⁷¹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, ed., Rev. Bede Babo, Rev. Raymond Tartre, Rev. Rudolf Harvey, Rev. John G. Donohue (USA: Benziger Brothers, 1962), 642-649.

⁷² *The 1917 Pio-Benedictine Code of Canon Law*, canon 812.

the same litany of saints for their intercession.⁷³ After both the priest and the server made this act of contrition, the two recited a prayer imploring God's mercy as they climbed the steps to the altar with their heads bowed down. This prayer concluded with the priest asking the intercession of the martyr whose relics rested within the stone of the altar, which he bent down to kiss.⁷⁴

In the 1969 Missal, the Mass opened with the procession of the servers, the liturgical ministers, and the priest to the altar accompanied by a song.⁷⁵ The priest and the ministers genuflected upon entering the sanctuary and made a "profound bow" to the altar.⁷⁶ The priest then made the sign of the cross which the entire congregation responded to with "Amen."⁷⁷ The priest then greeted the people with a formula such as "The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit be with you all," to which the people responded, "And also with you."⁷⁸ He would then be encouraged by the *General Instructions of the Roman Missal* to offer a word of introduction to the day's liturgy before beginning the penitential rite.⁷⁹

In the Novus Ordo Missal, the penitential rite included the entire congregation rather than only the priest and the altar boy at the foot of the altar.⁸⁰ The priest or a deacon began the rite by some sort of admonition such as "let us acknowledge our sins, that we may prepare ourselves to celebrate these sacred mysteries," with flexibility to change the wordings or use his own words as he saw fit. Some priests took advantage of

⁷³ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 646-647.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 648-649.

⁷⁵ *Daily Roman Missal* (Woodridge, IL: Midwest Theological Forum, 2012), 712-713.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*; *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 274.

⁷⁷ *Daily Roman Missal*, 712-713.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 50.

⁸⁰ *Daily Roman Missal*, 712-717.

this flexibility to introduce the penitential rite without mentioning the word sin, or perhaps giving an apologetic explanation for the liturgical practice.

After a moment of silence, the congregation took part in a communal Confiteor with the same basic words as the Confiteor of the Traditional Latin Mass but with the omission of the names of Mary, St. Michael, John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, and the priest as the recipients of the confession.⁸¹ Instead, in the 1969 missal, the faithful made their confession to Almighty God and “to you, my brothers and sisters.” At the end of the 1969 Confiteor, Mary “all the angels and saints,” and the community were asked for prayers rather than the traditional formula asking the intercession of the saints named above.

In the 1962 Missal, the priest recited the Introit verse after the prayers at the foot of the altar.⁸² In the 1969 Missal, a cantor, lay reader, or the priest may have recited this verse, renamed the “entrance antiphon,” before the entrance procession, though this was optional and generally omitted.⁸³ After the introit, in the 1962 Missal the priest recited the *Kyrie Eleison* litany which was composed of nine repetitions of the Greek prayers “Lord have mercy,” and “Christ have mercy.”⁸⁴ In the 1969 Missal, the *Kyrie Eleison* litany was shortened to only three invocations and was adhered to the penitential rite.⁸⁵ If the Novus Ordo priest should so wish, he could shorten the penitential rite by omitting the modernized Confiteor and praying a version of the *Kyrie Eleison* that was made more explicitly penitential through priestly prayers between invocations such as “Lord Jesus, you came to take away our sins, *Lord have mercy*. Lord Jesus, you reconcile us with the

⁸¹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 714-715.

⁸² *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 650-651.

⁸³ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 48.

⁸⁴ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 650-651.

⁸⁵ *Daily Roman Missal*, 716-717.

Father, *Christ have mercy*. Lord Jesus, you are seated at the right of the Father to intercede for us, *Lord have mercy*.”⁸⁶ After the penitential rite, in both missals the Gloria was sung on Sundays and solemnities. In the 1962 Missal, the priest was required to sing the Gloria privately even if a choir sang it out loud simultaneously.⁸⁷ In the 1969 missal, the entire congregation sang the Gloria together.⁸⁸

After the penitential rite, in both missals the priest prayed the opening Collect prayer. In the 1962 missal this prayer was preceded by the priest kissing the altar and turning towards the laity with the standard *Dominus Vobiscum* dialogue, then turning back to the Missal from which he read the Collect prayer.⁸⁹ In the 1969 Missal, the priest began the Collect by simply saying “Let us pray,” then reading the prayer.⁹⁰

The people sat after the Collect in both missals. The people had been kneeling in all the preceding parts of the Mass in the 1962 Missal, while they were standing throughout the introductory rites in the 1969 Missal.⁹¹ The Collect prayer was followed by the first reading. It was proclaimed by the priest at the altar in the 1962 Missal and by a lay reader at an ambo in the 1969 Missal.⁹² In the old Mass, there was a one-year cycle of readings for Sundays and no readings set aside for weekday Masses. During weekday Masses, readings were traditionally chosen either for their connection to the saint of the day, were taken from a votive Mass at the discretion of the priest, or were the same readings as those of the preceding Sunday.⁹³ In the new Missal there was a three year cycle of readings for Sunday Mass and a two year cycle of readings for weekday

⁸⁶ *Daily Roman Missal*, 716-717.

⁸⁷ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 650-651.

⁸⁸ *Daily Roman Missal*, 718-719.

⁸⁹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 652-655.

⁹⁰ *Daily Roman Missal*, 718-719.

⁹¹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 642-643.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 712-713.

⁹² *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 654-655.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 720-721.

⁹³ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 1-636.

Masses.⁹⁴ There was also the possibility of choosing readings correlated to the saint of the day in the less crowded modern calendar or from one of the votive Mass options if there was no mandatory feast or memorial on a given weekday.⁹⁵ In the 1969 Missal, the people responded to the post-reading acclamation: “The Word of the Lord,” by saying “Thanks be to God” whereas the server alone responded “Deo gratias,” to the priest’s conclusion of the reading in the old Missal.⁹⁶

On Sundays and solemnities, the Novus Ordo lectionary included a second reading before the Gospel, whereas the Traditional Latin Mass’s lectionary included only a single epistle reading before the Gospel.⁹⁷ In the old Missal the priest read the Gradual and Alleluia in between the epistle and the Gospel.⁹⁸ The Gradual was a verse or two selected from a psalm and the Alleluia was a Gospel verse that was related to the Gospel passage surrounded by the Alleluia acclamation. These two prayers took place immediately next to one another in the old Missal, which is why they were proclaimed together by a choir using a traditional chant setting during High or Sung Masses.

In the 1969 Missal, the Gradual was refashioned as a “responsorial psalm,” which contained around five to six verses from a psalm with a single verse being used as a response by the congregation in between either the recitation or singing of the other verses by a reader or a cantor.⁹⁹ After the responsorial psalm, a reader proclaimed a second reading on Sundays and solemnities.¹⁰⁰ After this, the priest or deacon stood from his “presider’s chair” to proclaim the Gospel.¹⁰¹ On his way to proclaim the Gospel, the

⁹⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 421-422.

⁹⁵ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 423-424.

⁹⁶ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 654-655.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 720-721.

⁹⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 421.

⁹⁸ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 654-655.

⁹⁹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 720-721.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 722-723.

priest prayed more extensive prayers before proclaiming the Gospel in the 1962 Missal, including the prayer “O God, who didst cleanse the lips of the prophet Isaias with a burning coal, and vouchsafe, through Thy gracious mercy, so to purify my lips, that I may worthily announce Thy holy Gospel.”¹⁰² These prayers were mostly omitted in the *Novus Ordo*.¹⁰³

After the Gospel in the *Novus Ordo*, a homily was almost always given at the strong recommendation of the GIRM, though it was only required on Sundays and solemnities.¹⁰⁴ In 1962, homilies were often omitted during weekday masses. After the homily, the Nicene Creed was recited on Sundays and solemnities in the old Missal.¹⁰⁵ In the new Missal, the same was the case, with permission being given to replace the Nicene Creed with the Apostles Creed at the pastor’s discretion. After this, in the *Novus Ordo* Missal “Prayers of the Faithful” were offered by a lay reader. This was an insertion in the 1969 missal which had little direct precedent in the 1962 Missal, though ancient precedents did exist.¹⁰⁶

Next came the Offertory in the 1962 Missal, known as the “Preparation of the Gifts” in the 1969 Missal. During this portion of the Mass, bread and wine were prepared for the sacrificial offering upon the altar as the priest offered accompanying prayers beginning with a sacrificially themed bible verse known as the “Offertory Antiphon” in the old Missal.¹⁰⁷ The Offertory Antiphon and most of the accompanying prayers would be suppressed in the new Missal.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰² *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 654-657.

¹⁰³ *Daily Roman Missal*, 720-721.

¹⁰⁴ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 65-66.

¹⁰⁵ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 658-661.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 722-727.

¹⁰⁶ *Daily Roman Missal*, 726-727.

¹⁰⁷ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 662-663.

¹⁰⁸ *Daily Roman Missal*, 726-729.

In the old Mass, the bread was already on the altar at the start of the Mass, and the wine was handed to the priest by a server representing the people during this rite.¹⁰⁹ In the Novus Ordo, a procession generally took place where representatives from the congregation brought the water, wine, and bread up to the sanctuary through the center aisle of the Church.¹¹⁰ Since the prayers accompanying this portion of the Missal experienced some of the most stark changes of all of those made during the reform, it would be best to line up the old prayers of the Offertory next to the new prayers of the Preparation of the Gifts to demonstrate the thematic change this part of the Mass exemplifies.

1962 Offertory Prayers	1969 Prayers for the Preparation of the Gifts
<p>Accept, O holy Father, almighty and eternal God, this unspotted host, which I, Thy unworthy servant, offer unto Thee, my living and true God, for my innumerable sins, offenses, and negligences, and for all here present: as also for all faithful Christians, both living and dead, that it may avail both me and them for salvation unto life everlasting. Amen.</p> <p>O God, who, in creating human nature, didst wonderfully dignify it, and still more wonderfully restore it, grant that, by the Mystery of this water and wine, we may be made partakers of His divine nature, who vouchsafed to be made partaker of our human nature, even Jesus Christ our Lord, Thy Son, who with Thee, liveth and reigneth in the unity of the Holy Ghost, God: world without end. Amen.</p>	<p>Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the bread we offer you: fruit of the earth and work of human hands, it will become for us the bread of life.</p> <p>By the mystery of this water and wine may we come to share in the divinity of Christ who humbled himself to share in our humanity.</p>

¹⁰⁹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 662-663.

¹¹⁰ *Daily Roman Missal*, 726-727.

We offer unto Thee, O Lord, the chalice of salvation, beseeching Thy clemency, that it may ascend before Thy divine Majesty, as a sweet savor, for our salvation, and for that of the whole world. Amen.

Accept us, O Lord, in the spirit of humility and contrition of heart, and grant that the sacrifice which we offer this day in Thy sight may be pleasing to Thee, O Lord God.

Come, O almighty and eternal God, the Sanctifier, and bless ✠ this Sacrifice, prepared for the glory of Thy holy Name.

I will wash my hands among the innocent: and I will compass Thine altar, O Lord That I may hear the voice of praise: and tell of all Thy wonderous works. I have loved, O Lord, the beauty of Thy house and the place where Thy glory dwelleth. Take not away my soul, O God, with the wicked: nor my life with blood-thirsty men. In whose hands are iniquities, their right hand is filled with gifts. But I have walked in my innocence: redeem me, and have mercy on me. My foot hath stood in the direct way, in the churches I will bless Thee, O Lord.

V. Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost.

R. As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Receive, O holy Trinity, this oblation which we make to Thee, in memory of the Passion, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in honor of Blessed Mary, ever Virgin, blessed John the Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and of all the Saints, that it may avail unto their honor and our salvation,

Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the wine we offer you: fruit of the vine and work of human hands it will become our spiritual drink.

With humble spirit and contrite heart may we be accepted by you, O Lord, and may our sacrifice in your sight this day be pleasing to you, Lord God.

Wash me, O Lord, from my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin.

This prayer, which is explicitly sacrificial, was omitted entirely in the Novus Ordo missal.

<p>and may they vouchsafe to intercede for us in heaven, whose memory we celebrate on earth. Through the same Christ our Lord. Amen.</p> <p>P. Brethren, pray that my Sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Father almighty.¹¹¹</p>	<p>Pray, brothers and sisters, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God, the almighty Father.¹¹²</p>
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In the 1962 Missal, the server responded to the priest's "Orate Fratres" invitation to prayer with the response "May the Lord accept the sacrifice at your hands..." while in the 1969 Missal, this response was made by the entire congregation. Then, in the 1962 Missal, the priest prayed the "Secret" prayer over the offering quietly, as the name suggests, while in the 1969 Missal the priest prayed the "Prayer over the Offerings" audibly with the same intention.¹¹³ After this, the priest began the Preface.¹¹⁴ In the 1962 Missal, there were two prefaces: one composed for Sundays and solemnities and one composed for weekday Masses.¹¹⁵ In the 1969 Missal, there were numerous newly composed prefaces for the varying liturgical seasons and types of feast days celebrated throughout the Church year.¹¹⁶ After the preface, the Sanctus was prayed in both missals.¹¹⁷ In the 1962 Missal, if a choir was present, the trained singers would sing the Sanctus as the priest continued to pray the first few portions of the Roman Canon quietly, while in the 1969 Missal the entire congregation sang the Sanctus prayer together.¹¹⁸

¹¹¹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 662-670.

¹¹² *Daily Roman Missal*, 727-729.

¹¹³ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 670-671.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 728-729.

¹¹⁴ *Daily Roman Missal*, 730-731.

¹¹⁵ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 670-673.

¹¹⁶ *Daily Roman Missal*, 732-765.

¹¹⁷ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 672-673.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 782-783.

¹¹⁸ *Daily Roman Missal*, 782-783

In the 1962 Missal, the priest was required to pray the Roman Canon, the Church's only traditional anaphora, in a hushed voice facing the eastern wall.¹¹⁹ An anaphora is the prayer used in a given rite for the portion of the liturgy in which the bread and wine were transformed into the body and blood of Christ and the crucified flesh of Christ is offered to God the Father as a propitiatory sacrifice. In the Novus Ordo Missal, the priest had the option to pray either the Roman Canon or one of the newly composed Roman anaphoras of which there were three primary ones, two for Masses of Reconciliation, and three composed for Masses said with children.¹²⁰ The traditional Roman Canon was renamed "Eucharistic Prayer I" in the Novus Ordo.¹²¹

Of the new Eucharistic prayers, the anaphora known as "Eucharistic Prayer II" became the most popular, most likely due to its brevity.¹²² In the Novus Ordo, the priest was encouraged to pray these prayers facing the congregation *versus populum* in a loud and articulate voice.¹²³ In the 1962 Missal, the Eucharistic prayer included twenty-five repetitions of the sign of the cross over the offered elements, while in the 1969 Missal, only one sign of the cross was made over the offerings during this prayer.¹²⁴ In the 1962 Missal, when the priest uttered the words of institution, as was traditionally believed to be the moment of consecration, an altar server lifted the back of the priest's vestments when he elevated the host and when he elevated the chalice.¹²⁵ This gesture of lifting the back of the priest's vestments was omitted in the 1969 Missal. Additionally, the words of

¹¹⁹ Msgr. George J. Moorman, *The Latin Mass Explained* (1920; repr., Charlotte, NC: Tan Books, 2007), 131-132.

¹²⁰ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 481-485.

¹²¹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 766-767.

¹²² "The Liturgy of the Eucharist: Eucharistic Prayer II," Regnum Christi Spirituality, accessed 3/6/2: https://rcspirituality.org/finding_the_plug/the-liturgy-of-the-eucharist-eucharistic-prayer-ii-7/.

¹²³ "Environment and Art in Catholic Worship," sec. 61.; Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 208.

¹²⁴ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 674-687.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 766-781.

¹²⁵ Moorman, *The Latin Mass Explained*, 140.

institution themselves were modified in the 1969 Missal to include the words “given up for you” after the consecration of the host and to omit the words “Mysterium Fidei” from the consecration of the chalice.¹²⁶ The words “the mystery of faith,” would be moved immediately following the consecration in the Novus Ordo Missal and would become the introduction to a dialogue with which the people would respond with one of three newly composed acclamations such as “when we eat this Bread and drink this Cup, we proclaim your Death, O Lord, until you come again.”¹²⁷

After the Eucharistic prayer, the congregation stood in both the old and new missals to pray the Our Father. In the 1962 Missal, the priest prayed most of the prayer while the laity prayed only the prayer’s final line, “Sed libera nos a malo.”¹²⁸ In the 1969 Missal, the congregation prayed the entire prayer together.¹²⁹ In the United States, the custom would come to prevail by which the laity prayed the Our Father with their hands in the priestly *orans* position, and perhaps holding hands, even while none of the Novus Ordo rubrics foresaw or encouraged this practice.¹³⁰

In the 1962 Missal, the priest slowly prayed “The peace of the Lord be always with you” over the consecrated elements while making the sign of the cross over the elements three times after the Our Father prayer.¹³¹ In the 1969 Missal, this prayer was extended into the “sign of peace,” with which the laity were encouraged to show some sign of fraternal peace with members of the congregation sitting nearby such as a

¹²⁶ *Daily Roman Missal*, 774-775.

¹²⁷ *Daily Roman Missal*, 776-777.

¹²⁸ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 686-687.

¹²⁹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 810-811.

¹³⁰ Bob Sullivan, “How Should We Pray the Our Father?” *Southern Nebraska Register*, Archdiocese of Lincoln, January 26, 2018, accessed 3/6/22: <https://www.lincolndiocese.org/op-ed/in-laymans-terms/10599-how-should-we-pray-the-our-father>.

¹³¹ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 690-691.

handshake or a hug.¹³² Then, the parish prayed the “Agnus Dei” or Lamb of God prayer. In the Novus Ordo, this prayer is permitted to be extended to numerous invocations beyond the traditional threefold invocation if the pastor needed more time to break the consecrated host into individual pieces for communion, though in practice this is a permission that is rarely used as the customary threefold prayer is generally retained.¹³³ As the congregation prayed the Lamb of God prayer, the priest dropped a small piece of the consecrated body into the chalice and prayed an accompanying prayer in both missals.¹³⁴

The priest then extended the host for the laity to see in the Minor Elevation. During the Minor Elevation, the priest prayed in both missals: “Behold the Lamb of God; behold Him who takes away the sins of the world” to which the laity responded with the same “Domine non sum dignus” prayer, though in the 1969 Missal, this prayer was prayed only once rather than three times.¹³⁵ In the 1962 Missal, the servers prayed the Confiteor before Communion just as they had during the prayers at the Foot of the Altar at the beginning of Mass.¹³⁶ Then, in both Missals, the laity were welcome to approach the sanctuary for Holy Communion.

In the 1962 Missal, Communion could be administered only to communicants who were kneeling with their mouths open to receive the Host on the tongue with a server holding a paten underneath the communicant’s tongue in case the Host fell. In the 1969 Missal, Communion was administered to standing communicants, and by mid 1970s,

¹³² *Daily Roman Missal*, 812-813.

¹³³ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 83.

¹³⁴ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 690-691.; *Daily Roman Missal*, 812-813.

¹³⁵ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 694-697.

¹³⁶ Jeff Ostrowski, “‘Confiteor’ Before Communion: Should It Be Done?”, Corpus Christi Watershed, July 2, 2016, accessed online: <https://www.ccwatershed.org/2016/07/02/pre-communion-confiteor-should-it-be-done/>.

nearly every national church had received an indult to administer Communion in the hand. While the use of pattens was never formally abolished, it was practically forgotten in most Western countries around the time of the introduction of Communion in the hand.

Immediately before and immediately after Communion, a few of the prayers which were traditionally recited by the priest such as:

*Let not the partaking of Thy Body, O Lord, Jesus Christ, which I, though unworthy, presume to receive, turn to my judgment and condemnation; but let it, through Thy mercy, become a safeguard and remedy, both for soul and body; Who with God the Father, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, livest and reignest God, world without end. Amen.*¹³⁷

were either omitted or made optional in the 1969 Missal. After the Communion Rite, the priest recited the closing prayer in both Missals. This prayer might have been followed with certain informal words by the priest or by parish announcements in the Novus Ordo Mass, whereas in the 1962 Missal, the closing prayer was followed by the following silent prayer by the priest with his head bowed at the center of the altar:

*May the tribute of my worship be pleasing to Thee, O holy Trinity: and grant that the Sacrifice which I, though unworthy, have offered up in the sight of Thy Majesty, may be acceptable to Thee, and through Thy mercy, be a propitiation for me, and for all those for whom I have offered it. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.*¹³⁸

This prayer was omitted in the Novus Ordo. After this, in both missals the priest gave a closing blessing. The Novus Ordo priest then kissed the altar and left the sanctuary in the same sort of procession that he entered it with at the beginning of Mass while the congregation sang a song.¹³⁹ The priest celebrating the 1962 Missal concluded the Mass by moving to the left side of the altar from which he proclaimed the “Last Gospel,” the

¹³⁷ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 692-693.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 700-701.

¹³⁹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 818-819.

poetic prologue to John's Gospel centered around the proclamation of John 1:14, "And the Word was made flesh."¹⁴⁰ At these words, as during the Creed, the entire congregation was expected to genuflect. After this, during Low Mass, the priest knelt alongside the servers at the foot of the altar and prayed the Leonine Prayers After Low Mass.¹⁴¹ The Leonine prayers included a vernacular recitation of three Hail Mary's, one Hail Holy Queen, and one St. Michael prayer for the liberty and exaltation of the Church in the face of her enemies. These prayers were omitted in the Novus Ordo.

Apart from these major differences between the two missals, other differences had some influence over the experience of the congregation during Mass. One difference in the Novus Ordo Missal was the omitted requirement for the servers or priest to genuflect when crossing the tabernacle except at the beginning and end of Mass. Whereas these constant genuflections once directed the laity's attention toward the tabernacle, priests and servers in the Novus Ordo were instructed specifically to *not* genuflect before the tabernacle during the Mass.¹⁴² Another difference was in the preference in the modern Mass for congregational folk hymns due to their accessibility to the congregation in contrast to the formal chants and polyphonic organ settings which required professional training by a formal choir.¹⁴³

A third difference which was experienced in the 1969 Missal, and a notable one, was the lack of strict rubrics which governed the celebration of the Mass. Whereas seminarians and priests were formerly taught that to deliberately ignore a rubric of the Mass constituted a grave sin, seminarians and priests were encouraged to approach the

¹⁴⁰ *Jesus, Mary, and Joseph Daily Missal*, 702-793.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 704-705.

¹⁴² *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 274.

¹⁴³ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 57.

Novus Ordo Missal as a flexible set of instructions that could and should be adapted to the needs of one's congregation.¹⁴⁴ The flexibility of the Novus Ordo would ensure that across American congregations, the experience of a Catholic Mass would begin to vary considerably according to the temperament of each individual pastor.

By 1969, the Catholic faithful had experienced a good deal of change in their experience of the Mass. Yet, these changes in and of themselves warrant little attention. It is only in considering the historical conservatism of the Traditional Latin Mass that we can begin to appreciate the radical rupture that these changes represent.

¹⁴⁴ Gerard Broccolo, "Forward to the First Edition," in *The Liturgical Documents: A Parish Resource* rev. ed., edited by Mary Ann. Simcoe (Chicago: Liturgical Training Publications, 1985), x.

CHAPTER THREE: HISTORY OF THE ROMAN RITE

Just how early can we begin to speak of a history of the Traditional Latin Mass?

In a certain sense, there was no Latin Mass at all until the end of the second century when Pope Julius I began to introduce Latin prayers into the *Eucharistia* of the Church of Rome.¹⁴⁵ Until that time, since most of the Christians of the city of Rome were of the Greek-speaking lower classes, the Roman *Eucharistia* was likely entirely in Greek.¹⁴⁶ After Pope Julius I's reign, the Roman Church gradually transitioned to a less Greek and a more Latin liturgy. This process sped up during the middle of the 4th century as a result of the conversion of many Latin-speaking aristocrats to the Roman Church as well as the Latinization of the city of Rome's lower classes. Before the Roman *Eucharistia* became the Latin Mass, however, there are a few key pieces of evidence that paint a picture of the *Greek* liturgy in Rome between the 1st and 3rd centuries. This antecedent Greek Roman liturgy contained the basic skeleton that the Traditional Latin Mass would later be built around.

An understanding of any ancient Christian Eucharistic Liturgy requires some understanding of the ritualistic worship of the 1st century Jewish people since it was out of these ritual forms that Jesus and His apostles constructed the rituals of the first century Church. For starters, one must be familiar with the sabbath synagogue service in which the community gathered weekly to hear the Scriptures read and expounded upon by competent male leaders of the community and to offer prayers together to God.

¹⁴⁵ Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. Francis Brunner, vol. 1 (1951, repr., Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 2012), 44.

¹⁴⁶ Joseph Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, trans. Francis Brunner (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 126-127.

Additionally, one must be familiar with the temple cult by which a highly technical and highly ornamented priesthood offered sacrifices throughout the year for a variety of purposes. In the four Gospel texts, Jesus and His apostles could be observed participating in both the synagogue and the temple cult.¹⁴⁷ While Jesus had criticisms of the leaders of both, He did not in principle condemn the synagogue service or the ceremonials of the sacrificial priesthood of Jerusalem.¹⁴⁸

A third Jewish ritual which one should be aware of was the *Chaburah* meal. Due to the importance of praying blessings over food and wine, meals in general had a sacral character to pious Jews. In the *Chaburah* meal especially, a religious fraternity gathered together for meals which began and ended with a blessing of bread and wine by the group's leading rabbi.¹⁴⁹ Many historians have agreed with Dom Gregory Dix's argument in *The Shape of the Liturgy* that when the first Christians celebrated *The Breaking of the Bread* under the direction of the Apostles, their celebrations could be seen as inspired by the rituals of a *Chaburah* meal.¹⁵⁰ Since it would have been perceived as absurd to first century Jews to celebrate a Passover feast with the bitter herbs, lamb shank, and other ceremonial dishes outside of the prescribed time, it would seem more likely that the *Chaburah*, rather than the Passover meal, was the template used for 1st century Eucharistic liturgies.¹⁵¹

These Jewish rituals can be understood as the historical nucleus around which all ancient Christian liturgies were formed. In other words, the liturgies of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Asia Minor, the Syro-Malabar Coast, Alexandria, Ethiopia, Armenia, as well

¹⁴⁷ Luke 4:16.; Luke 21:37 Douay Rheims Challoner Version.

¹⁴⁸ Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 11.

¹⁴⁹ Gregory Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy*, 2nd ed., (Glasgow, Great Britain: The University Press, 1945), 50.

¹⁵⁰ Mike Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 2nd ed., (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor Publishing Division, 2007), 25.

¹⁵¹ Dix, *The Shape of Liturgy*, 54.; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 9.

as but not limited to Rome, could be said to have formed around the merger of a synagogue service, a Christianized *Chaburah*, and a highly ceremonial temple sacrifice.¹⁵²

For starters, first century Christians celebrated a Christianized *Chaburah*, referred to in the New Testament as the “Breaking of the Bread,” in response to Jesus’s Last Supper command to “do this in memory of Me.”¹⁵³ Since most Christians had been expelled from their local Jewish synagogue by the end of the first century, they gradually began to hold their own “synagogue services” immediately before their *Chaburah*.¹⁵⁴ The Christianized synagogue service eventually merged into one liturgy with their *Chaburah*, which they referred to as the *Breaking of the Bread* during the New Testament period.¹⁵⁵ This phenomenon explains why all ancient Christian liturgies include a Foremass of a scripture service and a sermon followed by a Eucharistic liturgy which centers around the Christianized *Chaburah*. Yet, one might ask, how did the temple cult come into play in the formation of the various Christian liturgies?

Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul’s 1st Letter to the Corinthians include an account of the institution of the Eucharist, all including slight variations in exactly how Jesus “took bread, gave thanks and broke it, and gave it to his disciples.”¹⁵⁶ Most historians believe that the variations in all four of these accounts reflect not differences in opinion about how the Last Supper actually took place but differences in the liturgical customs of the various Churches for which Matthew, Mark, Luke, and St. Paul were writing.¹⁵⁷ In each institution narrative, however, the same key idea was expressed: while

¹⁵² Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 31.

¹⁵³ *Ibid*, 29-30.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 30-32.

¹⁵⁵ Acts 13:44-52.; Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 20.

¹⁵⁶ Mark 14:22.

¹⁵⁷ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 9-11.

holding the bread, Jesus said “this is My body,” and while holding the cup, He said “this is My blood.” Matthew and Mark’s Gospel clarified that the cup contained not only Christ’s blood, but “the blood of the new covenant, which will be poured out for many,” and Matthew’s Gospel added “for the forgiveness of sins.”¹⁵⁸ Luke’s Gospel and St. Paul’s First Letter of the Corinthians identified the bread not only as Christ’s body but His body which was “given up for you.”¹⁵⁹

While holding the cup of wine, then, Jesus told His Apostles to recognize it as His blood poured out for many, and while holding the bread, Jesus told His apostles to recognize it as His body “given up for you.” Both images allude to Jesus’s sacrificial death on the cross, and thus, from the very beginning of Christianity, what would make the Christianized *Chaburah* distinct from the Jewish *Chaburah* was a recognition of a mysterious identity of the elements of bread and wine with the sacrificed flesh and blood of Christ.¹⁶⁰ Aware of this mystery, the earliest Christian sources such as the Didache of the Apostles (60s-80s AD), Clement of Rome (90s AD), Ignatius of Antioch (110 AD), Justin Martyr (150s), and Tertullian (mid-2nd century) identified the Eucharist as a sacrificial offering which was made upon an altar.¹⁶¹ Around the year 110 AD, Ignatius of

¹⁵⁸ Mark 14:22-24.; Matthew 26:26-30.

¹⁵⁹ Luke 22:14-20.; 1 Corinth 11:23-26.

¹⁶⁰ Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 28.

¹⁶¹ "Didache," trans. M.B. Riddle, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 7, ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1886), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapter 14, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0714.htm>.; Clement, “Letter to the Corinthians,” trans. J.B. Lightfoot, *Early Christian Writings*, 44:4–5 accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/1clement-lightfoot.html>.; Ignatius of Antioch, “Epistle to the Philadelphians,” trans. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapter 4, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0108.htm>.; Justin Martyr, *Dialogue with Trypho*, trans. Marcus Dods and George Reith, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapter 41, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/01283.htm>.; Tertullian, “On Prayer,” trans. S. Thelwall, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3, ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New

Antioch, a first century bishop who was likely instructed in the faith by many of the Apostles themselves considering the importance of the city of Antioch in the Apostolic Age, wrote:

But consider those who are of a different opinion with respect to the grace of Christ which has come unto us, how opposed they are to the will of God . . . They abstain from the Eucharist and from prayer, because they confess not the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father, of His goodness, raised up again. Those, therefore, who speak against this gift of God, incur death in the midst of their disputes.¹⁶²

While later Protestant reformers denied that the Church fathers viewed the Eucharist as a propitiatory sacrifice, this was inspired by a need to justify their predetermined doctrine of salvation by faith alone rather than an unbiased examination of the historical record.¹⁶³

If the Mass was effective in a soul's sanctification, the Protestant "faith alone" soteriological system would be undermined.

Nevertheless, a plain reading of the historical record gives the impression that the early Church regarded the Eucharist as a sacrifice in which Christ, the victim, was present under the form of bread and wine. In understanding the first and second century Church's beliefs about the sacrificial nature of the Eucharist, we can begin to understand why the various local Churches began to adorn their scriptural services and *Chaburah* meals with the solemnity of a temple sacrifice.

Advent by Kevin Knight, 19:1, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0322.htm> .; Tertullian, "De Corona," trans. S. Thelwall, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 3. ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, 3:3-4, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0304.htm>.

¹⁶² Ignatius of Antioch, "Letter to the Smyrnaeans," trans. Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson, in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, edited by Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapters 6-7, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0109.htm>.

¹⁶³ Francis Clark, *Eucharistic Sacrifice and the Reformation* (Devon, England: Augustine Publishing Co, 1981), 143 quoted in *Cranmer's Godly Order, 2nd. ed.* by Michael Davies (Saint Marys, Kansas: Angelus Press, 1995), 34.

The *Didache of the Apostles* was a document most likely written in Antioch during the latter half of the first century. It claims, by its title, to contain the authentic teachings of the 12 Apostles.¹⁶⁴ If it was written in Syrian Antioch, as many suspect, this attribution is not unreasonable considering that Antioch was the natural resting point for Apostles traveling back and forth from Asia Minor, Greece, Armenia, Mesopotamia and Jerusalem. It was a major city situated between the main roads connecting these provinces and it had a sizable and influential Christian community “where the faithful were first called Christians.”¹⁶⁵ The document may have been written around the 70s AD in response to the death of many of the Apostles and the perceived need to memorialize their teachings. In this document, several key details point to its early authorship, especially its description of conducting baptisms in “living water,” and the importance of allowing “prophets” to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist.¹⁶⁶ Baptisms in rivers as well as the formal office of prophets would fade by the beginning of the second century, indicating a first century origin of the document.¹⁶⁷

In the *Didache*, the Eucharist was described in terms which seemed remarkably similar to a Jewish *Chaburah*. The instructions describing how to pray over the bread and the cup during the Eucharist seemed to follow the basic form of a Jewish *berakah*, a prayer of blessing over bread and wine.¹⁶⁸ However, the *Didache*’s instructions for the Eucharistic prayer were more complex than those used in a simple Jewish *Chaburah*. The typical Jewish *berakah* was simpler in form, praying simply “Blessed art thou who

¹⁶⁴ John Chapman, “Didache,” in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 4 (New York: Robert Appleton Company: 1908), accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/04779a.htm>

¹⁶⁵ Acts 11:26.

¹⁶⁶ “Didache,” *New World Encyclopedia*, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Didache>.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁸ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 11-12.

bringst forth bread from the earth.”¹⁶⁹ On Sabbath days or festivals, the father or leader of the group would also pray a longer prayer which asked God’s blessing to sanctify the day.¹⁷⁰ The *Didache* instructed the presbyter offering the Eucharistic sacrifice to pray:

*Over the cup, pray thus: We thank you, our Father, for the holy vine of David Your servant, which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. And concerning the broken bread: We thank You, our Father, for the life and knowledge which You made known to us through Jesus Your Servant; to You be the glory forever. Even as this broken bread was scattered over the hills, and was gathered together and became one, so let Your Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth into Your kingdom; for Yours is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ forever.*¹⁷¹

This prayer of blessing over the bread and wine is noteworthy in that it did not refer to bread and wine, but rather, while holding the cup it referred to “the holy vine of David Your servant...made known to us through Jesus” and while holding the bread, God was thanked for “Jesus your Servant.” Thus, in this early manual of a Eucharistic Rite, even while the form was barely removed from the Jewish *berakah* prayer from which the *Eucharist* emerged, its prayers included a recognition that the ritualistic elements of bread and wine were to be identified not as bread and wine, but as the person of Jesus Christ.

The *Didache* then provided a lengthy prayer thanking God for his gifts of creation and a prayer imploring Jesus to return to the earth.¹⁷² Thus, from the first century, we can observe a desire by the earliest Christians to adorn the Eucharist with great ceremony. Many scholars such as Johannes Quasten believe that the “Great Prayer,” found in the Letter of Clement to the Corinthians was actually a liturgical prayer which was in use in

¹⁶⁹ S. Safrai and M. Stern, ed., *The Jewish People in the First Century: Historical Geography, Political History, Social, Cultural and Religious Life and Institutions*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1987), 801.

¹⁷⁰ Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries*, trans. Matthew J. O’Connell (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1967), 6.

¹⁷¹ “Didache,” trans. M.B. Riddle, chapter 9.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, chapter 10.

the Roman Church during the first century.¹⁷³ If this is true, the Church of Rome may have had a Eucharistic prayer which had a comparable length to the Roman Canon in its very earliest generations.

Justin Martyr's *First Apology* presents us with a glimpse of the early Roman Eucharist as well. In a letter defending Christianity to Emperor Antoninus Pius against charges of atheism and moral depravity around the year 150 AD, Justin described the Sunday gathering of Christians as one which began with a clearly Christianized synagogue service and was followed by a Christianized *Chaburah* with clear sacrificial language.¹⁷⁴ He wrote that the Sunday liturgy began with:

The memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets [being] read, as long as time permits. When the reader has concluded, and the president verbally instructs, and exhorts us to the imitation of these excellent things, then we all rise together and offer up our prayers...¹⁷⁵

Thus, Justin succinctly summarized the 2nd century Roman Church's Christianized synagogue service. The Foremass was followed by bread, wine and water being brought to the "president," who "Eucharistized" the bread and wine.¹⁷⁶

As a result of this "Eucharistizing" of the bread and wine, Justin wrote that "not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the Word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished,

¹⁷³ Johannes Quasten, *Patrology*, vol. 1 (Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 1949), 48-49.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 199-201.; Justin Martyr, "The First Apology," trans. Marcus Dods and George Reith in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 1, ed., Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and A. Cleveland Coxe (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1885), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, chapter 6 and 67, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/0126.htm>.

¹⁷⁵ Justin Martyr, "The First Apology," chapter 67.

¹⁷⁶ Justin Martyr, "The First Apology," chapter 67.

is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh..”¹⁷⁷ Joseph Jungmann drew attention to the fact that 2nd century patristic writers such as Justin Martyr, Irenaeus, and Origen could be observed using the verb *Eucharistia* as a technical term referring not only to thanksgiving but to the consecration of the Body and Blood of Christ itself, as well as a noun in reference to the consecrated elements.¹⁷⁸

Since the Eucharist was identified as a sacrifice and the bread and wine identified as the sacrificial flesh and blood of Christ, the early Church perceived the need to adorn the Christian Eucharist with the same sort of ceremonies that once adorned the Jewish temple cult.¹⁷⁹ This was owing to two reasons. First, Jesus had never found fault with the ceremonial adornments of the old temple cult, giving them his tacit approval, and second, Christians perceived that the Eucharist had replaced the old temple cult as the “clean oblation,” to be made “among the Gentiles.”¹⁸⁰ Thus, the Eucharist was perceived by the first Christians as in a sense being naked without adornment by the sort of ceremonies that the temple cult enjoyed. As stated above, the “Great Prayer” of Clement of Rome’s late 1st century letter to the Corinthians may be evidence of exactly this sort of liturgical elaboration.

While the Roman Church was inclined to adorn its Eucharistic celebration with ceremonial prayers and gestures, it had limited resources to do so in its first few centuries due to its persecuted status in the Roman Empire. For that reason, the trajectory that the Roman Church took in liturgical matters immediately after the peace of Constantine is noteworthy since it demonstrates how Roman Christians chose to adorn their liturgy as

¹⁷⁷ Ibid, chapter 66.

¹⁷⁸ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 23-24.

¹⁷⁹ Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 23.

¹⁸⁰ Malachias 1:11.

soon as they had the freedom and resources to do so however they pleased. The idea that a less ceremonial bread and wine ritual, as the Eucharist resembled in the 1st-3rd century Church, represented an ideal for the modern Church to imitate may be confounded by the fact that the 4th century Christians quickly defined their ideal liturgy in a more ornate manner as soon as this became possible.

It should not be ignored that even during the first few centuries of persecution, however, the Roman Church had invested so much material wealth in the vessels it used in liturgical worship that its liturgical “treasures” became an object of envy of the Roman upper class. During the persecution of Valerian II, for example, the Deacon Lawrence was ordered to prepare all of the Church’s liturgical “treasures” for confiscation, to which he responded by selling all of the sacred vessels and donating the proceeds to the poor.¹⁸¹ Additionally, in 303 AD, Roman authorities confiscated numerous golden and silver liturgical vessels from a persecuted Christian house-church.¹⁸² The will of the 3rd century Church to use precious metals in its ritualistic ceremonies indicates that these early Christians believed that the liturgy required ceremonial adornment even when it was evident that these treasures would inspire the envy of the Church’s persecutors.

In 314 AD, the *Ecclesia Catholica* received the sudden favor of Constantine, Rome’s first Christian emperor, whose reign of thirty-one years all but secured the transformation of Roman society from a pagan to a Christian empire.¹⁸³ The Roman Church was especially favored by Constantine, who paid for the construction of a basilica

¹⁸¹ “St. Lawrence,” Franciscan Media, 8/10/2020, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.franciscanmedia.org/saint-of-the-day/saint-lawrence>.

¹⁸² Aquilina, *The Mass of the Early Christians*, 36.

¹⁸³ Robin Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1986), 668-670.

over the apostle Peter's tomb and donated the imperial Lateran palace to the reigning pope.¹⁸⁴

As a result of his donations and the donations of other Roman aristocrats who followed his lead, Rome received the funds needed to erect many of the basilicas which stood for the next thousand years, if not still to this day.¹⁸⁵ These churches, including the original St. Peter's Basilica, San Paolo Fuori le Mura, Saint Maria Maggiore, St. John Lateran Cathedral, and Santa Sabina all embody a similar vision for what the 4th century Roman Church perceived as the ideal temple for offering the Sacrifice of the Mass. Each possesses, or possessed, a long nave with an altar in the chancel.¹⁸⁶ Each building was constructed so that the sacrifice could be offered facing the east, the direction from which Christ would return to the earth again.¹⁸⁷ Thus, the custom of celebrating the Mass facing away from the people and towards the east became the prevailing liturgical posture, departing from earlier customs of offering the Eucharist facing the people, as seen in the early second century *Fractio Panis* mural.¹⁸⁸ Even while the architectural constraints of some early churches, such as St. Peter's Basilica, required the builders to construct the altar "facing the people," this orientation was chosen primarily so that the priest could offer the Eucharist facing east; it is even thought that during the Eucharistic prayer in such churches the people turned their backs to the altar to face the east as well.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 41.; Fox, *Pagans and Christians* 622.

¹⁸⁵ Fox, *Pagans and Christians*, 622-623.

¹⁸⁶ See Appendix A for a visual reconstruction of each of these ancient churches.

¹⁸⁷ Helen Dietz, "The Eschatological Dimension of Church Architecture: The Biblical Roots of Church Orientation," *Sacred Architecture Journal*, vol. 10 (2005), accessed 3/13/22: https://www.sacredarchitecture.org/articles/the_eschatological_dimension_of_church_architecture/.; Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 46.

¹⁸⁸ See Appendix C.

¹⁸⁹ Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 138.; Helen Dietz, "The Eschatological Dimension of Church Architecture."

The Roman name given to these buildings, *basilicas*, denoted a regal building designated for community gatherings.¹⁹⁰ Unlike many of the relatively small pagan or Jewish temples, these structures were built large enough to include a huge number of congregants in each liturgical service.¹⁹¹ More than just a communal gathering, however, the manner in which these long churches were designed to lead the eyes towards an ornate stone altar gave these temples a designation as a place of sacrificial offering as well. Thus, we can observe that the architecture of the 4th-century churches manifested a Christian religion that placed a value on both communal participation in the liturgy as well as the sacrificial nature of the Mass. Much less than being a mere 4th century peculiarity, we must appreciate this architectural style as the earliest indication we have of how the ancient Christians willed to design their temples once they had the funds to do so.

Constantine's reign also saw the designation of bishops as magistrates, giving them certain privileges which made their way into the Christian liturgy throughout the empire.¹⁹² A clear example of this was the introduction of candles into the entrance procession, which was an honor originally reserved to Roman consuls.¹⁹³ After the bishop sat down on his throne during the Mass, the candles which were carried before him would come to be placed next to or upon the altar, thus beginning the Christian custom of adorning the altar with candles.¹⁹⁴ The practice of genuflecting was also originally a gesture designated for the cult of the emperor. Constantine retained the practice, though

¹⁹⁰ Gerhard Gietmann and Herbert Thurston, "Basilica," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 2 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), transcribed for New Advent by Michael C. Tinkler & Herman F. Holbrook, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/02325a.htm>.

¹⁹¹ Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 123-124.

¹⁹² *Ibid*, 130-132.

¹⁹³ *Ibid*, 131-133.

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 131.

as an honorary gesture rather than one of worship, and he also extended the practice of genuflection to all bishops, which is how the gesture first made its way into the Christian liturgy.¹⁹⁵

Constantine's peace also led to developments in clerical vestments. Whereas vestments previously tended to imitate the garb of the Levitical priesthood, the assimilation of the clergy into the Roman social hierarchy led to the adoption of vestments which were a sacralized version of 4th century upper class Roman dress.¹⁹⁶

As the favor of Constantine adorned the Roman Mass with new basilicas and new ceremonial vestments and gestures, 4th and 5th century cultural shifts in the Roman Church brought about further changes. The rather open-ended liturgy of the Greek-speaking Roman Church solidified into more formalistic prayer formulas corresponding to the religious temperament of classical Roman society.¹⁹⁷ The Romans had long approached religion "with the exact precision of jurists...in formulas as dry and verbose as notarial instruments" rather than as poets, and this attitude helped shape the Traditional Latin Mass from the 4th century onwards.¹⁹⁸

Some historians believe that the Roman Canon itself, which was the very heart of the Traditional Latin Mass, was in essence constructed by the late 4th century since a writer of this period referenced a key phrase from the Canon in a theological treatise.¹⁹⁹ Additionally, in the early 5th century Pope Innocent I referenced "the Canon" itself, but

¹⁹⁵ Ibid, 129-130.

¹⁹⁶ Joseph Braun, "Vestments," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 15 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1912), transcribed for New Advent by Michael T. Barrett, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/15388a.htm>.

¹⁹⁷ Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 127.

¹⁹⁸ Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism* (Project Gutenberg, 2007) 29, eBook edition, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/22213/22213-h/22213-h.htm>.

¹⁹⁹ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 51.

as a matter of respect for it deemed not to speak openly of what the prayer contained.²⁰⁰ If Innocent I was in fact referring to the Roman Canon with such profound reverence in the early 5th century, it would seem unlikely that it was a recent composition. However, since the 3rd century Greek Roman Hippolytus did not seem to be aware of the Roman Canon when he proposed his own Eucharistic prayer in *The Apostolic Tradition* of the mid-3rd century, the Canon likely cannot be dated before the late 3rd century.²⁰¹

Whereas the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries observed a formalization of the liturgy in Rome, the open-ended liturgical structure of the pre-Latin days of the Western Church continued to guide liturgical practice in the respective rites of the Gauls, the Celtic Brits and Irish, and the Spanish.²⁰² These early Western Rite liturgical forms were known as the Gallican Rite, the Celtic Rite, and the Mozarabic Rite, respectively. Although a common narrative asserts that Charlemagne imposed the Roman Rite upon his continental empire as a means of establishing imperial uniformity, Alcuin Reid demonstrated in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* that the Frankish adoption of the Roman Rite Mass was a gradual transition which was not accomplished through “the mere fiat of imperial authority” but was rather a natural process of liturgical synthesis.²⁰³

This process began with the evangelization of the Anglo-Saxon people by the Roman monk-turned missionary Augustine of Canterbury. When Augustine wrote to Pope Gregory the Great for guidance in liturgical matters in his fledgling English Church, Gregory did not demand conformity with Rome but rather invited Augustine to make use

²⁰⁰ Adrian Fortescue, "Canon of the Mass," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 3 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1908), transcribed for New Advent by Tony de Melo, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/03255c.htm>.

²⁰¹ Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy*, 129-131.

²⁰² Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 227-232.

²⁰³ Alcuin Reid, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 23-26.

of Roman Rite customs as well as the customs observed in Gaul or amongst the Brits.²⁰⁴ Nevertheless, Augustine's background as a Roman Rite monk inevitably led him to introduce a mostly Roman liturgy in the infant English Church. This Church would later exert its Roman influence on the rest of the British Isles through political dominance as well as in the Germanic lands as the English Boniface led a major missionary effort to the Germanic peoples.²⁰⁵ The Franks were amongst those Germanic peoples who received the Gospel as a result of Boniface's missionary efforts.

As Christians, the Franks were influenced by the Gallican Rite which was popular in the geographic area they came to dominate. The Gallican Rite allowed for considerable variety in local usages. This sort of liturgical disunity seems to have been perceived as problematic to many secular and religious leaders throughout the Western Church, leading virtually all of the local Churches of the region to gradually adopt the liturgical practices of the Roman Rite for the sake of unity.²⁰⁶

The Gelasian Sacramentary of the 8th century, which was the first comprehensive Sacramentary of the Roman Mass ever written, was written in order to assist Frankish clerics in their desire to conform to Roman Rite liturgical practices.²⁰⁷ The Sacramentary was perhaps written in the Frankish Abbey of St. Denis in the 8th century, though some scholars believe Pope Gregory the Great was the sacramentary's author.²⁰⁸ The Sacramentary derives its name from the believed origin of the prayers and rituals found

²⁰⁴ Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of England*, (Project Gutenberg, 2011), 51, eBook edition, accessed: <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/38326/38326-h/38326-h.html>.

²⁰⁵ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 102-103.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 25.

²⁰⁷ Henry Jenner, "The Gallican Rite," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), transcribed for New Advent by Geoffrey K. Mondello, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06357a.htm>.

²⁰⁸ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 33.

therein from the papacy of Gelasius I during the end of the 5th century.²⁰⁹ Regardless of whether the Sacramentary's contents had an actual link with the 5th century Pope, the text was written not to construct a new liturgy, but to record existing liturgical customs found in both the Roman Rite and the Gallican Rite. Thus, the contents of the Gelasian Sacramentary likely date back to at least the 7th century. This would date the Gelasian Sacramentary's structure of the Mass and its version of the Roman Canon to at least the papacy of Gregory the Great, who is remembered by history as the last to touch the Roman Canon as well as the great refiner of the form of sacred chant that bears his name.²¹⁰

Except for a few minor additions, the order of the Mass found in the Gelasian Sacramentary is identical with the order of the Mass found in the 1962 Traditional Missal. A few other notable additions would be made throughout the centuries, of course, as the Latin Mass had a degree of flexibility to gradually introduce elements which seemed pastorally appropriate or gradually eliminate elements which seemed pastorally ineffective. In *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, Dom Alcuin Reid argued that the Traditional Latin Mass had always allowed for legitimate developments "prompted in part by necessity and in part by the vicissitudes of history," but that such developments respected an "objective liturgical Tradition" and developed "organically" out of this Tradition.²¹¹ Reid argued that "root and branch" reforms to the liturgy would have resulted in a destruction of the vitality of the liturgical Tradition, while grafting new elements into the liturgical Tradition or pruning certain elements out of the liturgical

²⁰⁹ Jenner, "The Gallican Rite."

²¹⁰ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 58, 63, 65.

²¹¹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 71.

Tradition in a reserved manner could be done without harming the liturgical “organism,” as a whole.²¹²

For his part, the late 5th century Pope Gelasius I likely “grafted” an abbreviated version of the Greek “Great Litany” into the beginning of the Mass and used this Kyrie Eleison litany as a substitute for the bidding prayers which he “pruned” from the Mass.²¹³ The late 6th century Pope Gregory the Great is thought to have inserted the Pater Noster into the Liturgy and overseen some adjustments to the Roman Canon.²¹⁴ In the late 7th century, Pope Sergius I introduced the Agnus Dei prayer during the fraction rite after the consecration. This prayer was introduced as a direct response to the iconoclastic movement taking place in the Eastern Church during this time period which forbade depicting Christ as a Lamb.²¹⁵

In the fifth century, the Roman Mass shortened the responsorial psalm, a common element amongst many ancient Christian traditions, into the few-verse long Gradual.²¹⁶ This reduction was likely made in order to allow choirs to adorn the psalm verses with a more ornate chant than they could with a full-length psalm. The Kiss of Peace also disappeared from the Roman Rite relatively early on during the Middle Ages.²¹⁷

In *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, Reid demonstrated that Catholicism traditionally understood the liturgy not as a communal act which each community could

²¹² Ibid, 75, 88, 177.

²¹³ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 58.

²¹⁴ Ibid.

²¹⁵ Hugh Henry, "Agnus Dei (in Liturgy)," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 1 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1907), transcribed for New Advent by Michael T. Barrett, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/01221a.htm>.

²¹⁶ Adrian Fortescue, "Gradual," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), transcribed for New Advent by Calvin Culver, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06715a.htm>.

²¹⁷ Herbert Thurston, "Kiss," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 8 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910), transcribed for New Advent by Douglas J. Potter, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08663a.htm>.

tailor to their subjective needs but was rather an element of the Sacred Tradition which needed to be honored as a sacred trust. Reid argued that a combined “profound respect for the received liturgical Tradition with an openness to necessary development” guided the Church’s liturgical changes throughout the medieval ages up until the modern period.²¹⁸

In the East, the various liturgies are generally attributed to either an apostle or Church Father, such as the Coptic Liturgy of St. Mark, the Syriac Liturgy of St. James, or the Byzantine Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. While historians are highly doubtful of the historicity of these traditional attributions, such honorific attributions do demonstrate the reverence which ancient Christians tended to hold towards their liturgical customs. While the Roman Rite Mass was not attributed to any particular saint or apostle, its pious preservation throughout the centuries leads to the assumption that it was received by each generation of Catholics as just as sacred as the Eastern Christians regarded their own distinctive liturgies. Thus, the traditional attitude of Catholics towards the liturgy was of a reverent conservatism, adapting them only if necessary, perhaps to accentuate an element of the received tradition in a more dignified manner.²¹⁹

Another important development in the Roman Rite Mass was the introduction of the Low Mass. Many historians such as Joseph Jungmann agree that the Low Mass formed as a result of priests adapting the ceremonies of the Roman Mass, whose original form was exclusively what would come to be known as the Solemn High Mass, for the use by a priest in private.²²⁰ The need to pray the Mass in private grew as priests began to pray the Mass as a private devotion without a congregation, perhaps in response to the

²¹⁸ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 26.

²¹⁹ Michael Davies, *Cranmer’s Godly Order*, 2nd ed., (Saint Marys, Kansas: Angelus Press, 1995), 114.

²²⁰ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 229.

growing need to fulfill Mass stipends.²²¹ When celebrating Mass in private, the priest naturally read the readings of the lectionary and recited all of the prayers of the ordinary himself, whereas these prayers and readings were ordinarily read or sung by lectors or choirs in public masses.²²² As priests began to regularly celebrate private masses, many lay persons began to attend their priest's private "Low Masses" in order to engage in the liturgy outside of the solemn Sunday liturgy.²²³ As a result of the increasing popularity of the Low Mass, priests began to be expected to take on all of the roles of the Mass, even those which were once fulfilled by certain lay ministers or minor orders, especially that of the lector. Ultimately, the expectation that the priest would pray all of the Ordinary and Proper prayers of the Mass privately even in communal forms of the Mass would be codified in the Tridentine Reforms of the 16th century.²²⁴

From the ninth to the eleventh century, the expectation that the priest would bow his head to the altar and reverently pray before beginning the Mass led to the development of the ritual of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar.²²⁵ The 42nd psalm according to the traditional Catholic numbering system was frequently prayed by the priest and the liturgical ministers upon approaching the altar from the 10th century onwards.²²⁶ This psalm was frequently followed by some sort of a prayer of repentance for sins.²²⁷ Around the turn of the 2nd millennium, these prayers for penance led to the formation of the Confiteor prayer. The Confiteor prayer was introduced into the Prayers

²²¹ Ibid, 232.

²²² Ibid, 229.

²²³ Ibid, 232.

²²⁴ Denis Crouan, "Chapter 11: The Roman Liturgy in France Baroque Period," in *The History and the Future of the Roman Liturgy* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).

²²⁵ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 290-291.

²²⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 291.

²²⁷ Ibid, 292.

at the Foot of the Altar as a penitential prayer prayed by the priest and his servers before beginning the Mass.²²⁸

During the later medieval period, Scholastic theologians began to expound with increasing clarity the Catholic understanding of the presence of Jesus's flesh and blood in the species of bread and wine during the Mass. The Aristotelian term "transubstantiation" was first used to precisely define the Eucharistic presence of Jesus's body and blood in the Sacrament by Hildebert de Lavardin in the 11th century.²²⁹ In the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas refined the doctrine of Transubstantiation into a precise formula which was later canonized in the Council of Trent.²³⁰ As a result of this theological development, the elevation of the host and the chalice became a customary practice immediately following the consecration during the Roman Mass.²³¹ For the same reason, kneeling became customary during the prayer of the Eucharistic consecration.²³²

Later, during the high Middle Ages, the prologue of John's Gospel began to be proclaimed at the conclusion of the Mass. This Gospel passage dramatically culminates with the proclamation "And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt amongst us."²³³ Joseph Jungmann argued that this custom was introduced due to the common perception that hearing this gospel bestowed a blessing upon listeners.²³⁴ The *New Catholic Encyclopedia* reported that amulets from the period have been discovered with the words

²²⁸ Ibid, 298-300.

²²⁹ "Transubstantiation," New World Encyclopedia, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Transubstantiation>.

²³⁰ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province, 2nd ed., vol. V (1948, repr., Notre Dame, IN: Christian Classics, 1981), 2441, part III question 75 article 2.; "Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent," October 11, 1551, EWTN, chapter 4, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/thirteenth-session-of-the-council-of-trent-1479>.

²³¹ Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. Francis Brunner, vol. 2 (1951, repr., Notre Dame, IN: Ave Maria Press, 2012), 266-211.

²³² Ibid, 211-212.

²³³ John 1:14.

²³⁴ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, 447-451.

of the Last Gospel printed upon them, indicating that some sort of superstitious belief about the words of this Gospel passage may have led to the desire to use this passage as a liturgical blessing at the close of Mass.²³⁵ It is also noteworthy that during the same period in which the Last Gospel became popular, the heretical Cathari sect denied the Incarnation of the Christ.²³⁶ Thus, as Michael Davies suggested, the Last Gospel may have served some utility in assuring congregants that the priest held orthodox Catholic beliefs about the Incarnation.²³⁷

As the Middle Ages came to a close, the Traditional Latin Mass was practiced with a basic uniformity throughout Western Europe, though various usages such as the Sarum Usage in England or the Ambrosian Rite in Milan offered slight variations in gestures, prayers, and rituals to the Mass in these regions.²³⁸ As the 16th century progressed, however, the Catholic Mass would be challenged in its core principles by the founders of the Protestant sects who rejected the traditional Catholic understanding of the Mass as the offering of the Body and Blood of Christ to God the Father as a propitiatory sacrifice.²³⁹

As a result of these new theologies of the Eucharist, Protestant leaders drew up new Missals which reflected their new theology. Centered in Wittenberg, the patriarch of Protestantism, Martin Luther, translated the Missal into the vernacular.²⁴⁰ Since he did not believe the Mass to be a propitiatory sacrifice, he perceived the Mass's primary role to be

²³⁵ Adrian Fortescue, "Gospel in the Liturgy," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 6 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909), transcribed for New Advent by Douglas J. Potter, accessed 3/7/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/06659a.htm>.

²³⁶ "Cathari: Christian sect," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Cathari>.

²³⁷ Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order*, 116.

²³⁸ Reid, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 29.

²³⁹ Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order*, 61-62.

²⁴⁰ Vernon P. Kleinig, "Lutheran Liturgies from Martin Luther to Wilhelm Lohe," *Concordia Theological Quarterly*, vol. 62, no. 2 (April 1998), 131.

the edification of the laity and the communal fellowship which it facilitated. Both of these beliefs made the vernacularization of the liturgy a crucial priority. His missal also omitted the Latin Mass's Roman Canon, offertory prayers, and prayers at the foot of the altar since these prayers had explicit themes of sacrifice.²⁴¹

In England, Thomas Cranmer introduced a more moderate Protestant missal for use by the state-run Protestant Anglican Church. Like Luther's, Cranmer's missal was entirely in the vernacular.²⁴² It also omitted the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar.²⁴³ Among other changes, it required the presider to celebrate the liturgy facing the people, made the Eucharistic prayer audible, and simplified the vestments which were used during the Mass.²⁴⁴ Unlike Luther, Cranmer only omitted those parts of the Roman Canon which explicitly referred to the Mass as a sacrifice, though these revisions substantially altered the ethos of the prayer.²⁴⁵ Cranmer and Luther both permitted the Mass to retain its traditional name, though they preferred to refer to the liturgy as the "Lord's Supper," since for them, communion was the central purpose and high point of the liturgy.²⁴⁶ Though both religious leaders asserted some sort of belief in a "real presence of Christ" in communion, both rejected the Catholic dogma that the bread and wine were transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.²⁴⁷ Both of their liturgies reflected this by suppressing references to the dogma of Transubstantiation.

In response to the challenges posed by Protestantism to the Church's liturgical practices and theology, the Catholic Council of Trent issued nine dogmas concerning the

²⁴¹ Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order*, 100.

²⁴² *Ibid*, 162.

²⁴³ *Ibid*, 195-196.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 165, 189-190, 219.

²⁴⁵ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 548.

²⁴⁶ Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order*, 100-101.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 86.

liturgy. Each one of these statements were traditionally considered infallible declarations protected by the Church's charism of infallibility, and thus, they arguably constitute the nine clearest principles from which traditional Catholics would from then on understand the liturgy. The nine dogmas anathematized anyone who taught anything to the contrary of the following statements:

1. The Mass is a "true and proper sacrifice," "offered to God."
2. When Christ said, "do this for the commemoration of me," he ordained the apostles as priests to offer His body and blood.
3. The Mass is a propitiatory sacrifice atoning for sins and is not merely a sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, nor is its only benefit in receiving communion.
4. The Sacrifice of the Mass does not denigrate the sacrifice of Christ on Mt. Calvary.
5. The Mass can be celebrated in honor of the saints and for obtaining their intercession.
6. The Canon of the Mass contains no errors and should not be abrogated for such supposed errors.
7. The ceremonies, vestments, and outward signs of the Catholic Mass are not "incentives to impiety."
8. It is not "unlawful" to hold a Mass in which only the Priest communicates sacramentally.
9. One cannot say that the "Mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue only," or that the practice of reciting the Roman Canon and the words of consecration in a low tone (not heard by the laity) is to be condemned.²⁴⁸

It must be noted that these nine principles do not represent creations of the 16th century Catholic Church. Rather, they represent elements of the traditional Catholic liturgy which Protestant leaders criticized. The Council of Trent, then, did not invent these liturgical ideas, but definitively declared that these elements of the liturgy could not be forfeited without losing something of Traditional Latin Mass's essential identity.

²⁴⁸ "Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent," EWTN, canons I-IX, accessed online 3/7/22: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/twentysecond-session-of-the-council-of-trent-1489>.

The Council of Trent also confirmed the Church's traditional teachings and practices regarding the Eucharist. It dogmatically affirmed the doctrine that during the Mass, the species of bread and wine were transubstantiated into the substance of Christ's body, blood, soul and Divinity.²⁴⁹ Trent also pronounced as dogmatic the idea that it was most fitting that the Eucharist be adored by the faithful, not eaten only, since the awareness of God's bodily presence in the Eucharist demanded human adoration.²⁵⁰

After defining these nine dogmas and Eucharistic teachings, the Council of Trent entrusted a reform of the Roman Missal to Pope Pius V. The subsequent "Tridentine Missal" of 1571 was intended to bring even greater liturgical uniformity to the Roman Church spread throughout Western Europe.²⁵¹ Rather than being a creation of the Council of Trent, however, all of the elements found within this missal could be found as gradual developments in the Roman Mass which took place before Trent.²⁵² In other words, Pius V's Missal represents a canonization of earlier Catholic liturgical tradition rather than a unique Tridentine creation.²⁵³ He intended to protect those elements of the Mass which were omitted in the Protestant missals of Luther and Cranmer since he feared that Catholics living near Protestant spheres of influence may have adopted their Protestant neighbors' liturgical customs to the detriment of the Catholic liturgical tradition.²⁵⁴ In order to ensure that the Missal of 1571 would remain resistant to heretical inclusions or exclusions inspired by Protestant thought, Pope Sixtus V established the Sacred Congregation of Rites in 1588.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁹ "Thirteenth Session of the Council of Trent," Decree on the Most Holy Eucharist.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁵¹ Reid, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 44.

²⁵² *Ibid.*

²⁵³ Davies, *Cranmer's Godly Order*, 136.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 128-129.

²⁵⁵ Reid, *Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 45.

The Catholic Church experienced few noticeable problems with the liturgical status quo created by the Council of Trent over the course of the next few centuries. From the 16th through most of the 18th century, the Catholic Church found the inspiration it needed from the 1571 Missal to raise what were arguably some of its most architecturally stunning baroque Churches and develop its most elaborate forms of polyphonic music.²⁵⁶ It is also noteworthy that this Missal was used by the Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries during a period of exceptionally energetic missionary efforts in Asia and the Western Hemisphere.²⁵⁷

By the latter half of the 18th century, however, cultural, intellectual and economic forces began to coalesce to produce the “Modern World.” In its intellectual, sociological, and moral premises, this modern world seemed to present itself as a natural adversary to the Catholic Church. This tension led to multiple centuries of conflict between the Catholic Church’s leadership and the leaders of secular modernity in a mutually antagonistic relationship.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Fr. Giles Dimock, O.P., “Revisiting the Baroque,” Catholic Culture, accessed 3/7/22: <https://www.catholicculture.org/culture/library/view.cfm?recnum=6611>.

²⁵⁷ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 253-254.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 260.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE CATHOLIC RESPONSE

The 18th century Enlightenment has been described as an attempt to “lift the darkness that fell with the Christian triumph over the virtues of classical antiquity.”²⁵⁹ In *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, Pius X referred to the intellectual methods which descended from the Enlightenment as “a philosophy borrowed from the negation of God.”²⁶⁰ In the wide array of Enlightenment literature, intellectuals of the 18th century can be observed to have attempted to draw up treatises of metaphysics, sociology, and history which challenged traditional premises, especially those held by the Church.²⁶¹

The Enlightenment thinkers utilized only secular rationalism in their studies, making *anathema* the use of faith in the doctrines of Divine Revelation as proofs in an academic study.²⁶² Theology, as the supposed queen of the sciences, was regarded as “only the ignorance of natural causes reduced to a system,” by many of the either deist or atheist Enlightenment thinkers.²⁶³ Rather than being the reference point for all academic study, as it was in the Scholastic system, Enlightenment thinkers tended to agree with Baron D’Holbach that theology was comprised only of “hazardous suppositions, imagined by ignorance, propagated by enthusiasm or knavery, adopted by timid credulity, preserved by custom, which never reasons, and revered solely because not understood.”²⁶⁴

The Enlightenment’s divorce of theology and science had political implications as well. Previously, Western civilization assumed that religious leaders should at least have

²⁵⁹ Isaac Kramnick, “Introduction,” in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), ix.

²⁶⁰ Pius X, *Pascendi* 34.

²⁶¹ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 261.

²⁶² *Ibid*, 261.

²⁶³ Baron D’Holbach, “No Need of Theology, only Reason,” in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 141.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 140.

some influence over the governance of the state. This assumption was shared by virtually all pre-modern civilizations, though Western civilization's marriage between the altar and the throne was especially pronounced amongst the world's civilizations.

Challenging this assumption, Voltaire, one of the daystars of the French Enlightenment, was a professed deist who wrote that "the authority of the clergy is and can be spiritual only...the clergy should not have any temporal power...no coercive force is proper to its ministry."²⁶⁵ The argument for a purely spiritual Church with no temporal power was a direct challenge to the status quo that the Catholic Church had enjoyed in many Catholic European nations since Constantine's conversion, especially in Voltaire's native France. The Pope himself was still the ruler of a large central Italian state during the 18th century and the episcopacy was still seen as an important element in national political systems.²⁶⁶ Thus, Voltaire and the many Enlightenment thinkers who were of a like-mind with him established the blueprints for a modern world in which intellectuals would look with skepticism upon all the traditional truths Christians held by faith and political power would be wielded only by a secular civil government.

Confronted with these 18th century intellectual developments, many Catholic thinkers such as Nicolas-Sylvestre Bergier responded to attacks on Catholic theological and political theories by engaging in apologetical writings which utilized Enlightenment principles when possible.²⁶⁷ The French Priest Nicolas Malebranche attempted to synthesize the thought of Augustine and Descartes and was widely respected by

²⁶⁵ François-Marie Arouet de Voltaire, "Reflections on Religion," in *The Portable Enlightenment Reader*, ed. Isaac Kramnick (New York: Penguin Books, 1995), 117.

²⁶⁶ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 276-277.

²⁶⁷ Ulrich Lehner, "Catholic Theology and the Enlightenment (1670–1815)," Marquette University ePublications, 1/1/15, 3, accessed 3/13/22: https://epublications.marquette.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1537&context=theo_fac.

contemporary philosophers in this effort.²⁶⁸ The Jesuits Claude Buffier and Rene-Joseph Tournemine attempted to establish deductive proofs for the existence of God from the objective senses utilizing the methods of Malebranche as well as Newton and Locke.²⁶⁹ In 18th century Germany, Fr. Benedict Stattler made use of the work of Descartes, Leibniz, Locke, and Hume in his own theological writings.²⁷⁰ In “Eighteenth-century Forerunners of Vatican II,” Shaun Blanchard argued that many 18th century Catholic intellectuals engaged in a “wider Enlightenment” which utilized new scientific and historical methods which were not necessarily as antagonistic towards religion as were other elements of the Enlightenment.²⁷¹

Two French dissident Catholic movements, Jansenism and Gallicanism, influenced and were influenced by Enlightenment ideas. The 17th century Gallican Fr. Claude Fleury utilized critical rational methods to write a history of the Church which became widely popular amongst later Jansenist and Gallican scholars.²⁷² For his part, the early Jansenist Fr. Jacques Joseph Duguet helped lead “the movement that marked the transition between classicism and the Enlightenment.”²⁷³ Later Gallican and Jansenist thinkers interacted positively with Enlightenment ideas; in the controversial Synod of Pistoia, such ideas were utilized to make suggestions for reforms of the Church.²⁷⁴

In *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, Fr. Alcuin Reid argued that the clergy of the Gallican and Jansenist forms of Catholicism developed Enlightenment-inspired

²⁶⁸ “Malebranche’s Theory of Ideas and Vision in God,” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2/28/22, sec. 3, accessed: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/malebranche-ideas/>.

²⁶⁹ Ibid, 5.

²⁷⁰ Lehner, “Catholic Theology and the Enlightenment,” 6.

²⁷¹ Blanchard, “Eighteenth-Century Forerunners of Vatican II,” 99-101.

²⁷² Blanchard, “Eighteenth-Century Forerunners of Vatican II,” 104.

²⁷³ Arnaud Orain, “The Second Jansenism and the Rise of French Eighteenth-Century Political Economy,” *History of Political Economy* vol. 46, no. 3 (2014), 466.

²⁷⁴ Blanchard, “Eighteenth-Century Forerunners of Vatican II,” 9.

liturgical ideas which rationalized the purpose of the Mass as merely “to make people better” since this was an empirically observable outcome of the liturgy.²⁷⁵ Since the notion of the Mass as an action that was objectively pleasing to God was unverifiable utilizing scientific methods, this God-centered liturgical goal was minimized by the Enlightenment-inspired liturgists in favor of a “anthropocentric concept of the Liturgy.”²⁷⁶ These “modern” liturgical reformers sought to reconstruct Catholic liturgical practice so that chapels would contain only one altar devoid of any supposedly unnecessary ornamentation such as candles or crucifixes.²⁷⁷ Gallicans tended to favor the idea that the Mass should be offered only on Sunday and that a rationalistic razor should be applied to any customs or prayers that the Enlightened-inspired liturgists did not deem were scripturally-based or otherwise worthy of retention.²⁷⁸

The 1786 Synod of Pistoia was the boldest attempt of the Gallicans and Jansenists to merge Enlightenment inspired rationalism, secular political theory, historical methodology, and metaphysical inquiry with Catholic doctrine and liturgical practice. This “Enlightenment” Synod published decrees which promoted vernacularism in the liturgy, a more prominent role for bishops in Church governance, and promoted religious liberty.²⁷⁹ While the papacy did not respond to the synod’s controversial decrees immediately, after the French Revolution of 1789 and the Reign of Terror of 1793, Pius VI issued a papal bull in 1794 which systematically condemned 85 of the principles of the Synod of Pistoia as being incompatible with the Catholic faith.²⁸⁰ One issue taken

²⁷⁵ Throdor Filthaut, *Learning to Worship*, trans. Ronald Wallis (London: Burns and Oates, 1965), 29, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 51.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁷ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 51-55.

²⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁷⁹ Blanchard, "Eighteenth-Century Forerunners of Vatican II," 7.

²⁸⁰ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 52.

with the Synod of Pistoia was that its treatment of the Eucharist refrained from explicitly using the term “transubstantiation,” an omission which was considered suspect of heresy.²⁸¹ Interestingly, the Second Vatican Council’s treatment of the Eucharist in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* also refrained from using the term transubstantiation.²⁸² This point would stand to support Shaun Blanchard’s argument in *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II* that the condemned 18th century synod served as a precursor to the reforms eventually enacted by the Catholic Church in the 1960s.²⁸³

The Reign of Terror and the 1794 condemnation of the Synod of Pistoia signaled the beginning of a long trend by which the Catholic Church’s official attitude toward Enlightenment-inspired schools of thought, and in many regards modern-nation states in general, would continually worsen.²⁸⁴ This worsening relationship intensified after Napoleon brought Voltairean and Gallican ideas about the relationship between the Church and state throughout all of continental Europe during his imperial conquests.²⁸⁵ Unsurprisingly, the relationship between the hierarchy and the Enlightenment-inspired thinkers did not improve after Napoleon brought multiple popes in bondage to France, one of whom died in the custody of the French Republic in 1799.²⁸⁶

In other words, while many Catholic thinkers found some utility in the rationalist and positivist tools developed by Enlightenment thinkers, the general antagonism which the 18th and 19th century intellectuals expressed towards faith and the Church precluded

²⁸¹ Pius VI, “*Auctorem Fidei*: Errors of the Synod of Pistoia,” apostolic constitution, Hymns and Chants, August 28, 1794, sec. 29, accessed: <https://hymnsandchants.com/Texts/Church/Papal/Constitutions/AuctoremFideiEnglish.pdf>.

²⁸² *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

²⁸³ Shaun Blanchard, *The Synod of Pistoia and Vatican II*, 3.

²⁸⁴ George Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History: How the Church Rediscovered Itself and Challenged the Modern World to Reform* (New York: Basic Books, 2019), 19.

²⁸⁵ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 289-293.

²⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 289-292.

a long-term fruitful exchange. Thus, the mainstream intellectual establishment and the Catholic Magisterium fatefully parted ways by the beginning of the 19th century. Secular intellectuals continued on the path of positivism, rationalism, and skepticism of traditional Catholic and Christian premises. Simultaneously, the 19th century Catholic Magisterium settled on Neo-Thomism and Scholasticism as the school of thought that could be most trusted to safeguard Catholic doctrine from the modern intellectual tendencies which were seen as utterly opposed to it.²⁸⁷ From the middle of the 18th century all the way until the middle of the 20th century, it should be seen as no coincidence that the genre of papal encyclical developed alongside the controversies between Catholic authorities and progressive secular thought.

Examples of papal interventions against Enlightenment-inspired thought abound. Between 1738 and 1901, for example, no less than 21 papal pronouncements or encyclicals were written condemning Freemasonry, an organization whose Enlightenment inspired deism and liberal political theories were opposed to the Church's dogmatic theology and pro-monarchy political theories.²⁸⁸ Additionally, as stated, Pius VI's *Auctorem Fidei* condemned the Synod of Pistoia's treatment of the consecration of the Eucharist for "disregarding the scholastic questions about the manner," and refraining from the use of the term "transubstantiation."²⁸⁹ He considered these Eucharistic innovations to be "dangerous, derogatory to the exposition of Catholic truth about the dogma of transubstantiation, [and] favorable to heretics."²⁹⁰ In 1800, his successor Pius VII referred to modern secular intellectual trends as a "defiling plague of false

²⁸⁷ Lehner, "Catholic Theology and the Enlightenment," 4.

²⁸⁸ Margaret Jacob and Matthew Crow, *Handbook of Freemasonry*, ed. Henrik Bogdan, Jan A.M. Snoek (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 101, accessed: <https://brill.com/view/book/9789004273122/B9789004273122-s008.xml>.

²⁸⁹ Pius VII, *Auctorem Fidei*, 29.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

philosophy.”²⁹¹ His successor Leo XII actively condemned the theory of religious liberty as well as Freemasonry, made full use of the Index of Forbidden Books, and closely supervised the activity of the Vatican’s Gregorian University.²⁹² The next pope, Pius VIII, accomplished little during his brief twenty month papacy, though upon his election he articulated his intention to devote his papacy to the battle against modern academia by stating that:

[My sadness] is due to the numberless errors and the teachings of perverse doctrines which, no longer secretly and clandestinely but openly and vigorously, attack the Catholic faith. You know how evil men have raised the standard of revolt against religion through philosophy (of which they proclaim themselves doctors) and through empty fallacies devised according to natural reason.²⁹³

The next pope, Gregory XVI, concurred with his predecessors’ consistent papal condemnation of secular academic developments. In his “On Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism” he wrote:

Academies and schools resound with new, monstrous opinions, which openly attack the Catholic faith; this horrible and nefarious war is openly and even publicly waged. Thus, by institutions and by the example of teachers, the minds of the youth are corrupted and a tremendous blow is dealt to religion and the perversion of morals is spread.²⁹⁴

In 1864, the *Syllabus of Errors* of Pius IX was the Vatican’s most comprehensive condemnation of secular thought yet. At its heart, the *Syllabus of Errors* condemned the proposition that “human reason, without any reference whatsoever to God, is the sole arbiter of truth and falsehood, and of good and evil; it is law to itself, and suffices, by its

²⁹¹ Pius VII, “*Diu Satis*: On a Return to Gospel Principles,” encyclical, Papal Encyclicals, 5/1/1800, sec. 7, accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius07/p7diusat.htm>.

²⁹² McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 334.

²⁹³ Pius VIII, “*Traditi Humilitati*: On His Program for His Pontificate,” encyclical, Papal Encyclicals, 5/24/1829, sec. 3, accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius08/p8tradit.htm>.

²⁹⁴ Gregory XVI, “*Mirari Vos*: On Liberalism and Religious Indifferentism,” encyclical, Papal Encyclicals Online, 8/15/1832, sec. 5, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/greg16/g16mirar.htm>.

natural force, to secure the welfare of men and of nations.”²⁹⁵ The text included condemnations of Catholic theories supporting democratic forms of government, criticisms of the Church’s role in the temporal order, rationalism, religious pluralism, and ecumenicism, referred to at this time as “indifferentism.”²⁹⁶ Pius IX also argued that Scholasticism, the dialectical philosophical system that used both reason and Divine Revelation to define truth, was by no means an outdated system for modern times.²⁹⁷ Pius IX was also the pope who convened the First Vatican Council.²⁹⁸

In 1869, Pius IX summoned the 20th Ecumenical Council: Vatican I.²⁹⁹ While the promulgation of the dogma of papal infallibility generally dominates discussion of this council, it also promulgated numerous dogmas which responded to Enlightenment ideas.³⁰⁰ George Weigel wrote that Pius IX “was convinced that [such ideals had] led to the collapse of religious faith,” and that Vatican I was a key response to this collapse both in the philosophical and political spheres.³⁰¹ This council anathematized a number of progressive academic views including the philosophical materialism and metaphysical theories which blurred the line between the Creator and the created universe.³⁰² It also defined as dogmatic the principle that the existence of God could be deduced from observable phenomena and that the Scriptures were to be regarded as divinely inspired.³⁰³ Foreshadowing Pius X’s later condemnation of the principle of religious immanence, Vatican I dogmatically declared that the scriptures could not be regarded as merely a

²⁹⁵ Pius IX, “The Syllabus of Errors,” syllabus, Papal Encyclicals, 1864, sec. 3, accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius09/p9syll.htm>.

²⁹⁶ Ibid, 15-18.

²⁹⁷ Ibid, 13.

²⁹⁸ McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 346-347.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

³⁰⁰ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” session 3 chapter 4.

³⁰¹ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 45.

³⁰² “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” canons 1:2-5.

³⁰³ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” canons 2:1 and 4.

fallible account of each writer's religious experiences.³⁰⁴ Amongst the other dogmas pronounced at this council, it is worth noting that Vatican I also anathematized, or damned, the idea that:

Human studies are to be treated with such a degree of liberty that their assertions may be maintained as true even when they are opposed to divine revelation, and that they may not be forbidden by the church.³⁰⁵

The idea that intellectuals should be freed from the limitations of Catholic Tradition while utilizing secular academic methods stood at the heart of a growing progressive vision of Catholicism. In the declaration *Gravissimum Educationis*, Vatican II would later seem, under a certain interpretation, to endorse the same sort of “academic freedom,” which the First Vatican Council dogmatically condemned.³⁰⁶

Pius IX made no secret of his disdain for the progressive form of Catholicism which he observed during his papacy. He once wrote that “I have always condemned Liberal Catholicism, and I will condemn it again forty times over if it be necessary.”³⁰⁷

The following quotation is also often attributed to him: “if a future pope teaches anything contrary to the Catholic Faith, do not follow him.” If he did once say this quote, surely the form of Catholicism which Pius IX regarded as authentic Catholicism was the traditional sense of the Catholic religion and the form of Catholicism which he deemed “contrary to the Catholic faith” was the “liberal” or progressive form of Catholicism which he observed in the writings of contemporary scholars.

³⁰⁴ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” canons 2:3

³⁰⁵ “Decrees of the First Vatican Council,” canon 4:2.

³⁰⁶ Second Vatican Council, “Gravissimum Educationis: Declaration on Christian Education,” Vatican, the Holy See, 10/28/1965, sec. 10, accessed 3/13/22: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html.

³⁰⁷ Chapter 10 in *Liberalism Is a Sin* by Don Felix Sarday Salvany trans. Conde B. Pallen (1899, repr., Rockford, IL: TAN Books, 1993), accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/liberalism-is-a-sin-10081>, eBook of Liberalism is a Sin, chapter 10.

After Pius IX, Leo XIII had the most prolific writing career of any pope yet. Over the course of his papacy, Leo published no less than thirteen encyclicals on the praying of the Rosary, two encyclicals condemning freemasonry, and one encyclical articulating why Anglican Holy Orders were invalid as was their claim to apostolic succession.³⁰⁸ Concerning modern developments in biblical scholarship, Leo XIII condemned rationalistic biblical scholarship as being the intellectual descendent of the Protestant heresiarchs, writing:

We have to [oppose] the Rationalists, true children and inheritors of the older heretics, who, trusting in their turn to their own way of thinking, have rejected even the scraps and remnants of Christian belief which had been handed down to them... To them we must add not a few professors of other sciences who approve their views and give them assistance, and are urged to attack the Bible by a similar intolerance of revelation.³⁰⁹

In opposition to the developments of modern biblical scholarship and the “not a few professors of other sciences” of the modern academic disciplines, Leo XIII mandated a renewed study of Thomas Aquinas’s work and a fidelity to the received Catholic Tradition.³¹⁰

The Ultramontane movement developed in part out of a belief that a strong central papacy was necessary in order to remedy the “hollowed...moral core of society” that the Enlightenment had caused.³¹¹ Proponents of Ultramontanism tended to believe that to be Catholic, one only needed to remain pace for pace with the pope, who seemed throughout this period to carry the intellectual burden of Catholicism squarely upon his own

³⁰⁸ “Pope Leo XIII (February 20, 1878 – July 20, 1903),” Papal Encyclicals, last updated February 2020, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/category/leo13>.

³⁰⁹ Leo XIII, “*Providentissimus Deus*: On the Study of Holy Scripture,” encyclical, Papal Encyclicals, 11/18/1893, sec. 10, accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/leo13/113provi.htm>.

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹¹ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 34.

shoulders.³¹² Bokenkotter wrote that Ultramontanism, coupled with Neo-Scholasticism, “wanted the Catholic faithful protected from contamination by secularism and rationalism” by providing priests with a training which was “isolated from the pernicious influences of secular culture.”³¹³ In order to isolate Catholic thought from progressive secular developments, the teachings of the Roman Pontiff were highly prioritized, censorship of dissidents was encouraged, and a conformity with the received Scholastic tradition was expected by all Catholic intellectuals.³¹⁴

Arguably, the tendency to identify Catholic thought almost exclusively with papal teaching ultimately served to weaken the vanguards of traditional Catholicism in the minds and hearts of the laity. Whereas the ultimate authority of traditional Catholicism was once perceived in Sacred Tradition and Sacred Scripture, as this authority began to be placed disproportionately in the person of the pope, it will be observed below that it would ultimately only take a few key innovations by a handful of particular popes to undermine the foundations of the traditional religion’s doctrinal system.

While the attempt of the popes to insulate the Catholic Church’s intellectual life from the infiltration of modern thought was not invincible, their efforts were effective due to the sense of Magisterial importance which these popes were able to promote. With this authority, the 19th and early 20th century popes fulfilled the Magisterium’s traditional duty of guarding the Church’s deposit of faith and not allowing it to be corrupted by the heresies of the various ages. Pius X defined the papal duty as “to guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of the faith delivered to the saints, rejecting the

³¹² Ibid, 34.

³¹³ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 312.

³¹⁴ Ibid, 312 and 318.

profane novelties of words and oppositions of knowledge falsely so-called.”³¹⁵ This sense of the role of the papacy as a defender of tradition, rather than a mere leading intellectual in a white cassock, stands at the heart of why each pope from Pius VI to Pius X so vehemently opposed modern secular developments. These popes energetically fulfilled the traditional duty of the papal office as defenders of Catholic Tradition from the winds of the modern schools of thought which they perceived to be incompatible with it.

The consistent agreement between this consecutive series of popes of the late 18th, 19th and early 20th century concerning the incompatibility of modern secular thought with Catholic doctrine effectively defined modern Catholicism in opposition to modern intellectual movements. Even where certain Catholic theologians, especially Gallican and Jansenist theologians, might have disagreed with these developments, the hierarchical nature of the Church granted reigning pontiffs the ability to make binding rulings on the compatibility of given intellectual trends with the Church’s permissible body of beliefs.³¹⁶ Objectionable as it might seem to many, it would take a serious manipulation of the historical record to argue that the Magisterium of the 19th and early 20th centuries was anything but opposed to modern secular thought. Additionally, the available data also suggests that Catholicism’s 19th century anti-modern stance was not a mere top-heavy burden. Rather, it can be demonstrated that the faithful seemed in most respects to have been on the same page as their leaders.

The ongoing importance that Catholic literature of this time period placed in including an *imprimatur* and *nihil obstat* from a Cardinal or a bishop on the book’s publication page indicate that, by and large, the Catholic faithful respected the

³¹⁵ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 1.

³¹⁶ *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans. John McHugh and Charles Callan (Charlotte, NC: TAN books, 1982), 63 and 354-355.

Magisterium's role as the arbitrators of truth and were resistant to read literature that was not magisterially approved. Further, despite the isolated incidents in which certain Catholic intellectuals dissented from Magisterial pronouncements throughout the 19th century, numerous indications point to a widespread acceptance of the Magisterium's traditionalist arguments. For starters, the traditional Neo-Thomistic children's catechisms such as the *Baltimore Catechism* of 1868 indicate that the heavily Scholastic 19th century Magisterial program was well received on the popular level, at least in the United States. Politically speaking, the long-term interest in Mexico in establishing a Catholic monarchy indicates a popular acceptance of the Church's traditional political teachings in that nation.³¹⁷

On the more academic level, the vigorous defense that the Church's traditional liturgy received from the French Dom Prosper Gueranger during the middle of the 19th century against the Gallican/Enlightenment inspired "liturgical heresy" indicate that the Magisterium's directives were well received in at least some 19th century Catholic intellectual circles as well.³¹⁸

Despite the agency of the papal magisterium throughout the 19th century to defend the Catholic Church's traditional dogmatic, moral, and political doctrines, secular academia continued to develop in a moral, political, and rationalistic direction that diverged from the Magisterium throughout the century. By the end of the 19th century, democratic forms of government had been established in several European and most Latin American nations, and even where such political transformations had not taken

³¹⁷ Frank Joseph Sanders, "Proposals for Monarchy in Mexico: 1823-1860," Order No. 6716521, The University of Arizona, 1967, 115 and 145, in ProQuest MS ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/proposals-monarchy-mexico-1823-1860/docview/302256190/se-2?accountid=27424>.

³¹⁸ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 56-60.

place, at least some forms of political activism had reached the level of the popular masses in many European nations.³¹⁹ As attitudes towards authority structures were reshaped by modern democratic ideals, so were attitudes towards labor and wage-earning dramatically affected by the Industrial Revolution in many Western nations.³²⁰

As a result of the industrialization of many Western economies during the 19th and early 20th centuries, most Western nations experienced significant increases in the urbanization of their populations.³²¹ Coupled with rising rates of urbanization, literacy rates rose throughout Europe by the turn of the 20th century.³²² Pastors had found attracting this new breed of laity to the Traditional Latin Mass much more difficult than maintaining parish life in rural villages where the way of life had undergone fewer changes. Whereas Catholic ritual life had become ingrained into the time-honored customs of rural Europe, it struggled to find its place in the lives of a working class that often worked up to fifteen hours a day.³²³

While force of tradition continually led rural peasants to the pews for Sunday Mass, the diversity of opportunities for entertainment and vice in the city attracted many to spend their limited recreational time pursuing base pleasures rather than spiritual delights. Additionally, the attitudes of the urban proletariat were often more inclined to identify with quasi-religious Socialist organizations and their “Gospels” of the material

³¹⁹ John Garrard, “Chapter Twelve: The Democratic Experience,” in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789 - 1914*, ed. by Stefan Berger (Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub., 2006), 149.

³²⁰ Pat Hudson, *The Industrial Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2009), 3-4, accessed 3/8/22: https://primo-tc-na01.hosted.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/f/1fvfdk5/ALMA_FTHAYS5120135323000114 1.

³²¹ Hannah Ritchie and Max Roser, “Urbanization,” Our World in Data, November 2019, accessed 3/13/22: <https://ourworldindata.org/urbanization#all-charts-preview>.

³²² Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, “Literacy,” Our World in Data, September 2018, accessed: <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy?fbclid=IwAR1NXw82Shd1XP547VfJZu4Ea8-bCGekws6AQnjxStpost0xkiieQfkzQ9>.

³²³ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 335.

salvation of the working class rather than with the Church's Gospel of the spiritual salvation of all mankind, manifested most clearly in its celebration of the liturgy.³²⁴

The 20th century, then, bequeathed the Catholic Church with a body of faithful that was increasingly more educated, more politically conscious, and accustomed to contributing to their families by earning wages through their individual efforts rather than collectively contributing to their families through communal efforts on the farm. One might argue that the cultural changes which the Western Church experienced during this period might be analogous to the cultural changes experienced by the Church of Rome in the 4th century. As the 20th century began, therefore, one of the Church's most pressing issues would be closing the perceived gap between the modern urban layperson and the Traditional Latin Mass. Just as the Latinization of the Roman Church in the 4th century necessitated stark liturgical changes in that period, the Industrial Revolution demanded no small degree of liturgical changes in the early 20th century. The Liturgical Movement was the informal task force which rose up to meet this challenge. Ultimately, the solution that this movement presented to the Church was the Novus Ordo Mass.

The Liturgical Movement was not merely a response to perceived cultural changes taking place in modern Western civilization, however. Rather, it will be demonstrated that it was significantly influenced by progressive intellectual developments in the Catholic Church throughout the 20th century. Whereas the late 18th, 19th, and early 20th centuries saw every single pope define Catholic theology in opposition to the secular principles of Enlightenment and post-Enlightenment intellectual movements, the mid-20th century saw Catholic movements such as the Liturgical Movement attempt to work around such traditionalist prohibitions.

³²⁴ Ibid, 335-336.

Pius X's *Pascendi Dominici Gregis, Lamentabili Sane*, and his Oath Against Modernism can be described as the final major attempts on the part of the papacy to insulate Catholic studies from post-Enlightenment academia after over a century of similar efforts. Pius X's early 20th century crusade against Modernism, then, was not the beginning of a new struggle against the secular academic establishment but was rather evidence that the intellectual war against progressive thought waged by the papacy was still raging after well over a century.

After Pius X's reign, the world of Catholic intellectuals and post-Enlightenment progressive intellectuals began to merge as many Catholic scholars embraced the progressive form of Catholicism which had been condemned for over a century. These historical developments in the Catholic intelligentsia will be examined at length below. It was in this increasingly progressive intellectual environment that Catholic scholars began to publish the liturgical literature which would comprise the Liturgical Movement. Alongside the Liturgical Movement, Biblical Movement, *Ad Fontes* Movement, Ecumenical Movement, and Catechetical Movement also gained traction in Catholic intellectual circles, each proposing reforms for modern Catholicism.³²⁵

Ultimately, what really took place was a single progressive movement with the ultimate trajectory of changing every facet of Catholic life. After the Second Vatican Council, the trajectory of this progressive movement became more apparent.

Understanding the 1969 changes to the Catholic Mass in the context of these

³²⁵ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 181.; Matthew Davison Ingold, "American Initiative in the Modern Catechetical Movement: From the Release of the "Baltimore Catechism" in 1885 to the Publication of the "General Catechetical Directory" in 1971," order no. 1443354, University of Maryland, College Park, 2006, 9, In PROQUESTMS ProQuest Dissertations & Theses Global, <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/american-initiative-modern-catechetical-movement/docview/305299152/se-2?accountid=27424>.; Hill, "Because he was a German!" 366-370.

comprehensive changes to the popular practice of Catholicism is the best way to make sense of the relative lack of resistance the changes to the Mass found. Since the Missal changes were but one of many changes in a wider movement which transformed the popular understanding of the religion, the Missal changes themselves would hardly seem to be out of place in what many perceived to be a reformed religion.

Before considering the literature of the Liturgical Movement and the progressive Catholic movements which took place alongside it, a full analysis of Modernism, the precursor to 20th century progressive Catholicism, should be examined.

CHAPTER FIVE: MODERNISM AND THE EARLY LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

Any 20th century history of the Catholic Church must appreciate the influence that Pius X's campaign against Modernism had on Catholic literature both during his pontificate and in the decades that followed. Nevertheless, a precise appreciation of the specific doctrines which Pius X considered to be Modernist tends to allude to many such histories. What, then, is Modernism?

Modernism

The conflict between the Church's hierarchy and Modernism is best understood as *not* originating with Pius X. Rather, Pius X's anti-Modernist crusade must be considered a continuation of the century of papal condemnations of progressive schools of thought which preceded his pontificate. A review of but a few examples which were discussed above will suffice to demonstrate that Pius X's anti-Modernist stance was quite predictable considering the anti-progressive programs of his seven immediate predecessors. For starters, Pius VI had condemned the progressive reform program of the Synod of Pistoia in the late 18th century.³²⁶ Leo XII put the Gregorian University under strict centralized control due to his concern that a progressive vision of Catholicism might infiltrate this educational institution.³²⁷ In the middle of the 19th century, Pius IX published the *Syllables of Errors* to condemn the many progressive Catholic ideas which he deemed incompatible with the traditional doctrines of Catholicism.³²⁸ At the end of the 19th century, Leo XIII urged Catholic academic institutions to engage in a renewed study of Thomas Aquinas's work in order to combat progressive trends within Catholic

³²⁶ McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 329.

³²⁷ *Ibid*, 333-335.

³²⁸ *Ibid*, 346.

intellectual circles.³²⁹ Considering the efforts of his seven predecessors to suppress the growing progressive Catholic movement, then, Pius X's efforts against progressive Modernism should hardly be seen as surprising.

Despite John O'Malley's claim that Pius X's "accusatory" and severe response to Modernism "had few, if any precedents in documents emanating from the papacy," Pius X himself did not consider his efforts to be an outlying reactionary effort in his response to progressive Catholicism.³³⁰ He wrote in the 28th section of *Pascendi* that "the doctrine of the Modernists offers nothing new - we find it condemned in the [1864] Syllabus [of Errors] of Pius IX...[which condemned the proposition that] Divine Revelation is imperfect, and therefore subject to continual and indefinite progress, corresponding with the progress of human reason."³³¹ Indeed, an examination of 19th century papal literature could even give the impression that Pius X was somewhat mild in his response to the errors of secular academia in comparison to his 19th century predecessors. Almost apologetically, he wrote that despite his inclination to avoid causing embarrassment to intellectual dissidents, due to the demands of his papal office, he had no choice but to "guard with the greatest vigilance the deposit of faith delivered to the saints."³³²

Despite his naturally meek inclination, he wrote that he could "no longer be silent...lest the kindness" that he had previously shown the Modernists lead to the denigration of "the Catholic name" whose security was his to defend.³³³ In other words, Pius X was concerned that without severity, Modernism would continue to flourish within the Church, fundamentally changing her dogmatic principles in such a manner that

³²⁹ Ibid, 349.

³³⁰ John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 70.

³³¹ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 28.

³³² Ibid, sec. 1-3.

³³³ Ibid.

the Catholic “name” in its popular interpretation would no longer define the traditional Catholic religion. What, specifically, did Pius X find in Modernism that he believed was incompatible with the Catholic theological system?

Unfortunately, much of the literature on Pius X’s intellectual crusade against Modernism tends to avoid engaging directly with the content of his anti-Modernist writings. Instead, such texts tend to focus either on the supposed psychological defects which led Pius X to engage in such a misguided and reactionary struggle against modern academic advances or on the negative effects of the anti-Modernist program on Catholic scholarship in the first half of the 20th century. In *The Ecumenical Councils*, for example, Joseph Kelly described the Modernist struggle as that of a reactionary pope responding ignorantly to modern academic advances which he hardly understood and of which he was “afraid.”³³⁴ In *The American Catholic Revolution*, Mark Massa described the “Modernist Crisis” as a “harrowing series of intellectual witch hunts.”³³⁵ John O’Malley wrote in *What Happened at Vatican II* that Pius X’s response to Modernist skepticism was unduly harsh and damaging to the Church’s intellectual life.³³⁶ In *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, Thomas Bokenkotter described Pius X’s anti-Modernist crusade as calling “for measures that smacked of the worst features of the medieval Inquisition.”³³⁷ This was quite the claim, considering that Pius X never called for the use of the rack to gain information nor for the public burnings of heretics. To his credit, Bokenkotter did devote a two-sentence paragraph to Pius X’s definition of Modernism rather than merely dismissing it without defining it at all.

³³⁴ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 175.

³³⁵ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 71.

³³⁶ O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 69-70.

³³⁷ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 352.

The conservative George Weigel provided a relatively balanced examination of Pius X's ideas in *Pascendi* in *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*. After this summary, he concluded alongside his progressive Catholic colleagues that Pius X was a pope “steeped in clericalism” whose ignorant prejudice of modern academia “put the life of the Catholic mind into something of a deep freeze.”³³⁸

In many instances, the historiography of the Modernist crisis presupposes that Pius X's writings were influenced by an incapacity to fully understand or appreciate secular academic advancements. It might be helpful, therefore, to approach Pius X's Magisterium from an angle that assumes that he both understood the secular academic trends of his day and that he was not affected in his judgment of them by emotional prejudice. Considering the body of papal literature which preceded his pontificate, it is reasonable to analyze the texts of *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili* as typical papal responses to innovations in Catholic thought which were deemed to be incompatible with the traditional form of the religion which he had charge over. Whether one agrees or not with his conclusions, understanding the specific ideas which Pius X condemned under the umbrella term of Modernism is necessary in order to understand the different perspectives on Roman Catholicism which were in competition for dominance at the turn of the 20th century. What ideas, then, does *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* condemn?

In *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, Pius X attempted to provide a comprehensive overview of typical Modernists by the manner in which they engaged in a number of academic disciplines.³³⁹ In general, Pius X wrote that Modernists operated in each discipline as functional agnostics, limiting their presuppositions to the field of observable

³³⁸ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History* 86-90.

³³⁹ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 5.

phenomena which they believed had “no right and no power...of lifting oneself up to God.”³⁴⁰ In other words, Pius X accused Modernists of operating outside of the dogma defined at Vatican I that all Catholics must affirm that “the one true God, our Creator and Lord [can] be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason by means of the things that are made.”³⁴¹ In other words, Vatican I dogmatically affirmed that the natural world could serve as the inductive basis for a logical proof for the existence of God.

According to Pius, for a Catholic to conduct historical or scientific work, they could not ascribe to the Modernist principle that intellectual work must be detached from faith in the doctrines of Divine Revelation. Pius X believed that no individual could honestly claim to believe in Divine Revelation while at the same time feel it was necessary to ignore the truths contained therein in order to conduct a scientific or historical investigation.³⁴² Since traditional Catholicism held that Divine Revelation was infallible and thus more trustworthy than ever-developing scientific studies, he rejected categorically the idea that theology should be subjected to the scrutiny of the natural sciences.³⁴³

Theologically, Modernists were defined as using vital immanence as their central methodology since this interpretive method rendered religious realities materially measurable. To Pius X, vital immanence was the idea that all religious doctrines derived from an imperfect attempt to articulate an internal religious experience. Since Modernists held that all intellectual investigations should take their foundation in observable natural phenomena, vital immanence allowed theologians to ground all things pertaining to the

³⁴⁰ Ibid, sec. 6.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

³⁴² Ibid.

³⁴³ Ibid, sec. 17.

invisible God in the individual's visible religious experience.³⁴⁴ Pius X condemned this approach since it undermined the traditional Catholic dogma of the infallibility of scripture and Tradition as *revealed* truths, not *imperfect articulations* of truth.³⁴⁵

To Modernists, the theology and rituals of the world's various religions were merely natural attempts to express the incomprehensible internal religious experiences of its members, and especially the founders, of those religions.³⁴⁶ Pius X argued that understanding all religions, including Catholicism, as finite attempts to express an infinite religious experience would in fact place Catholicism "quite on a level with the rest" of the world's religious systems, even if a given Modernist might still argue that Catholicism was still in some manner the *privileged route* amongst the world's religions, to borrow a term of the present conservative Auxiliary Bishop Robert Barron of Los Angeles.³⁴⁷

Pius X condemned vital immanence because Vatican I dogmatically anathematized anyone who proposed that "man cannot be raised by God to a knowledge and perfection which surpasses nature."³⁴⁸ In other words, traditional Catholicism defined scripture and Tradition not as mere finite attempts to define the infinite, but as infallible expressions of God's Word. Since it was believed that God *could* and *had* in certain instances reveal infallible truths through human agents, the scriptures were not to be seen as imperfect attempts at expressing the ineffable but were rather the fruits of inspired authors being gifted with a knowledge and perfection which surpassed their human nature's limitations.

³⁴⁴ Ibid, sec. 7.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, sec. 19.

³⁴⁶ Ibid, sec. 8.

³⁴⁷ Ibid, sec. 10, 14.; Ben Shapiro and Bishop Robert Barron, "What Is the Catholic View of Salvation?" The Daily Wire, 12/16/22, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EevRrWyBIIY>.

³⁴⁸ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 10, 13.

Since vital immanence implied that all that could be perceived about God took place on the level of the subjective experience of God and not in the objective Divine Revelation, Pius X suspected that Modernism would give rise to a pantheistic theological system which confused the objective reality of God with the mere religious sentiments of man.³⁴⁹ In such a man-centered religious system, Pius X warned that a desire to change or update the means of communicating the religious experience of Catholicism's founder, Jesus, to a given age's sensibilities would undermine the foundation upon which traditional Catholic dogmas stood.³⁵⁰

Concerning this desire to update religious dogma, Pius X asserted that Modernists believed that “in a living religion everything is subject to change, and must change” in an evolution of doctrines to meet the unique needs of a given society.³⁵¹ Regarding their preoccupation with the idea that everything “must change,” Pius X argued that evolution was “the chief of their doctrines.”³⁵² This accusation may seem to be an exaggeration, but the progressive Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin would in the 1940s write works in which he posited the theory that everything in the universe was “evolving” closer and closer to a cosmic “Omega point,” in which all of reality would reach an ever greater perfection.³⁵³ Inspired by his evolution-centric vision of Catholicism, Chardin wrote that he wished to establish “a new religion (let's call it an improved Christianity if you like) whose personal God [would] no longer [be] the great Neolithic landowner of times gone by, but the Soul

³⁴⁹ Ibid, 39.

³⁵⁰ Ibid, 15.

³⁵¹ Ibid, 26.

³⁵² Ibid, 26.

³⁵³ M. Castillo, “The Omega Point and Beyond: The Singularity Event,” *American Journal of Neuroradiology*, vol. 33 no. 3 (March 2012), 393-395.

of the world...”³⁵⁴ Chardin’s progressive writings would be censured by Pius XII and later John XXIII’s Holy Offices, though they were rehabilitated after the Second Vatican Council and quoted favorably by multiple post-conciliar popes.³⁵⁵

Although Modernists believed religion necessarily needed to evolve to survive, Pius X wrote that Modernists believed that religious authorities were categorically resistant to these necessary changes. Thus, they believed that the laity had a duty to act as the agents of change in opposition to the authority structure in each given religion.³⁵⁶ Pius X believed that this Modernist conception of authority was incompatible with the traditional Catholic sense that the Magisterium held an essential role in preserving the faith since this objectively infallible faith could not be changed without being diminished. Pius X quoted the Second Council of Nicaea’s condemnation of any who sought to change the traditions or customs passed down by the Church as evidence that this value of preserving the Church’s Tradition dated back to the Patristic period.³⁵⁷

On the practical level, Pius X condemned the Modernist doctrine which asserted that the seven sacraments of the Church or the Church’s institutional structure were not willed by Christ himself while walking the earth.³⁵⁸ Pius X also accused Modernists of teaching that the sacraments only served the purpose of generating internal religious experiences, according to the principal of vital immanence, which was incompatible with the Catholic dogma defined at Trent that “if anyone say that these sacraments are instituted solely to foster the faith, let him be anathema.”³⁵⁹ Pius X also condemned the

³⁵⁴ Pierre Teilhard de Chardin to Leontine Zanta, Jan. 26, 1936, quoted in *Evolution and Apophatic Thought: A Theological Poetics for Our Time* by Jerry Harp, SRPR, 103, accessed 3/13/22: http://srpr.org/files/40.2/review_essay.pdf.

³⁵⁵ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 126.

³⁵⁶ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 27.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid*, sec. 42.

³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, sec. 20.

³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, sec. 21.

Modernist biblical belief that God only speaks in the scriptures by generating internal experiences in the believer's soul and not in an objective sense in the literary content of Divine Revelation.³⁶⁰ Pius X also condemned the Modernist description of the scriptures as being "gradually formed by additions to a primitive brief narration - by interpolations of theological or allegorical interpretation."³⁶¹ Pius X believed this manner of understanding the scriptures as a composite text composed by many writers was wanting in historical evidence and suggestive that the texts themselves were devoid of a direct divine authorship through the traditionally ascribed inspired authors.

In *Lamentabili Sane*, Pius X listed numerous other propositions of Modernist biblical scholarship which he deemed incompatible with traditional Catholic scriptural exegesis. One condemned proposition was that "the narrations of John are not properly history, but a mystical contemplation of the Gospel [or that] the discourses contained in his Gospel are theological meditations, lacking historical truth concerning the mystery of salvation."³⁶² He also condemned the notion that "the Christ of history is far inferior to the Christ Who is the object of faith."³⁶³

The supposed contrast between the "historical Jesus" and the Jesus of the four Gospels is today a mainstream idea in Catholic biblical scholarship; Bokenkotter clearly argued this position in the first chapter of his *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*.³⁶⁴ Other Modernist Biblical hermeneutics such as the ideas that Christ did not literally rise from the dead, institute the Eucharist as depicted in Paul's First Letter to the

³⁶⁰ Ibid, sec. 22.

³⁶¹ Ibid, sec. 34.

³⁶² Pius X, *Lamentabili*, sec. 16.

³⁶³ Ibid, sec. 29.

³⁶⁴ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 8-16.

Corinthians, or establish the institutions of the Catholic Church, including the papacy, were each condemned in *Lamentabili*.³⁶⁵

Pius X wrote that preference should be given for the scriptural exegesis of the Church Fathers over the methods of the Modernists. He praised the Church Fathers for not questioning the traditional authorship of the Biblical texts and for expressing the “utmost reverence” for the doctrines contained in scripture. He wrote that the Church fathers “thanked God more and more the deeper they have gone into them” as opposed to the Modernists, who approached the scriptures using a “philosophy borrowed from the negation of God.”³⁶⁶

Pius X also condemned Modernist ecclesiology. He stated that Modernists believed that the Church was founded only to satisfy the need individual believers felt to communicate their faith to others in a community. If such an ecclesiology were adopted by the Catholic Church, Pius X argued that the Church would ultimately feel compelled to change its governing structure to suit the sensibilities of liberty and popular sovereignty of the modern man rather than the hierarchical constitution given to it by Christ.³⁶⁷ He condemned the Modernist argument that Scholastic philosophy should be rejected as an obsolete system which was incapable of communicating spiritual truths to modern men.³⁶⁸ Modernists tended to argue that Scholasticism was an outdated method of pursuing truth. They most likely found fault with the system’s fluid use of Divine Revelation alongside reason and scientific observations, with the former being the most highly valued source of truth.

³⁶⁵ Pius X, *Lamentabili*, sec. 37, 45, 52, 55.

³⁶⁶ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 34.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, sec. 23.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid*, sec. 38.

Pius X also condemned the Modernist belief that it would be philosophically foolish to suggest that the state and the citizen must subject themselves to the Church's orders or doctrines in the modern world.³⁶⁹ Pius X feared that if the Church accepted the premise that the state should not be subjected to the Church, the state would ultimately gain control over the Church, including the administration of the Sacraments.³⁷⁰ While this fear may have seemed far-fetched throughout much of the 20th century in the West, the docile obedience bishops and priests showed to secular governments and health officials in forbidding the administration of the sacraments when ordered to do so for public health concerns during the global Covid-19 pandemic may have proven this fear to be well-founded.

In the closing sections of *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, Pius X warned that the Modernists waged “unrelenting war” against the traditional Catholic faith by infiltrating her intellectual establishments, deriding her traditional Scholastic and theological systems with “ridicule and contempt” and working in concert with like-minded Modernists by heaping praise and applause upon anyone who shared their ideological dispositions.³⁷¹ In his final section titled “Remedies,” Pius X encouraged a renewed study of Scholastic philosophy, heightened episcopal vigilance over which books could receive *imprimaturs* and *nihil obstats*, and the establishment of “diocesan watch committees” to monitor Catholic intellectuals and recommend censors of Modernist authors and theologians to Rome.³⁷² Pius X also highly discouraged Ordinaries from permitting congresses of priests or theologians from meeting in their dioceses since he identified these gatherings as

³⁶⁹ Ibid, sec. 24.

³⁷⁰ Ibid, sec. 25.

³⁷¹ Ibid, sec. 42.

³⁷² Ibid, sec. 44-53 and 55.

instrumental in allowing Modernist intellectuals to organize plots to advance their ideology within the Church's institutions.³⁷³

Interestingly, Pius X predicted that as a result of his encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis*, Modernists would label him as “the enemy of science and the progress of humanity.”³⁷⁴ He responded to this anticipated accusation by writing that he hoped to advance the sciences and all realms of knowledge as much as possible, under the “guidance and teaching of Catholic truth” rather than under the guidance of agnostic rationalism.³⁷⁵

Pius X's campaign against Modernism was extended beyond his papacy by the means he put in place to guard against it. One of those means, of course, was the “Oath Against Modernism.” All priests and teachers in Catholic institutions were required to say this Oath, explicitly swearing to submit to the teachings of *Pascendi* or *Lamentabili*.³⁷⁶

While the Oath Against Modernism, Diocesan Watch Committees, and the writings of Pius X may have helped suppress some of the Modernist doctrines found in *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili*, the wider development of progressive Catholicism, of which Modernism was but a chapter, continued to spread. Simply put, the impetus to integrate popular secular academic ideas with Catholic theology continually presented itself as an attractive option to Catholic intellectuals. Secular academia had grown to too great of a cultural force in the West to completely insulate it from Catholic intellectual life. Further, as progressive academic ideas were increasingly utilized by Protestant philosophers and

³⁷³ Ibid, sec. 54.

³⁷⁴ Ibid, sec. 57.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Pius X, “The Oath Against Modernism,” Papal Encyclicals, 1910, accessed 3/8/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/pius10/p10moath.htm>.

theologians in the early 20th century, traditional Catholicism began to appear to many Catholic intellectuals to be arcane in comparison to these attractive progressive forms of Christianity.³⁷⁷

Thus, progressive Catholicism developed within the Church's institutions throughout the 20th century, gradually integrating secular intellectual findings into Catholic scholarship. As this movement developed against the explicit demands of the Magisterium, a sort of counter-Magisterium began to form in the Catholic intelligentsia. Progressive Catholics granted increasing intellectual authority to the academic experts in areas of historiography, biblical studies, catechetical pedagogy, and liturgy. Simultaneously, they would begin to pay less and less deference to the Magisterium of bishops in union with the pope. By the 1960s, the official Magisterium would seem to be on the defensive against this "new Magisterium" of progressive intellectuals. Both the rise of this alternative "Progressive" Magisterium and the conflicts it experienced with the formal Magisterium will be examined below.

The Liturgical Movement took place alongside the rise of this progressive form of Catholicism.

The Early Liturgical Movement

The Liturgical Movement was a scholarly movement within the Catholic Church with the goal of enriching modern man's experience of the Mass. Rita Ferrone argued in *Liturgy: Sacrosanctum Concilium* that the Liturgical Movement formed in response to the inability of the Traditional Latin Mass to pastorally serve the needs of modern man. To her, the Liturgical Movement was a movement of scholars who helped the Church realize that the many historical accretions in the Roman Rite Mass as well as the lack of variety

³⁷⁷ Douthat, *To Change the Church*, 7-8.

in its lectionary made the Latin liturgy in need of a general reform if it was to maintain pastoral effectiveness in the modern world.³⁷⁸ Alcuin Reed defined the Liturgical Movement as a movement with a mind to “awaken people’s consciousness, including, and primarily, that of the clergy, to the Church’s traditional spiritual [liturgical] treasury that was widely ignored.”³⁷⁹

Reid and Ferrone were in agreement that in its early years, the Liturgical Movement was focused primarily on liturgical education rather than on liturgical reform.³⁸⁰ While much of the literature on the Liturgical Movement depicts the movement as beginning by merely attempting to help the faithful *understand* the Traditional Latin Mass and only later becoming brazen enough to advocate for reform, stark suggestions for and actual incidents of liturgical innovation by leaders of the Liturgical Movement can be observed from the Movement’s very beginning. Rather than partitioning the Liturgical Movement into a more modest earlier period and a more brazen later period, it is advantageous to conceptualize the Movement as being slightly more cautious and cryptic in its earlier years and bolder in its suggestions for reform once the movement gained momentum.

In general, the literature of the Liturgical Movement betrays a proactive engagement with the progressive interpretation of the Catholic religion. The scholars of the Liturgical Movement generally acted upon the assumption that the 20th century modern person could not easily connect with the Catholic Church’s traditional Latin liturgy. Thus, their study of the liturgy was generally accompanied by suggestions for reforms of the Roman Missal which could make the Roman Rite Mass more

³⁷⁸ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 1-8.

³⁷⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 81.

³⁸⁰ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 7.

approachable for modern man. Bearing this in mind, it is worth reconsidering the typical periodization scheme which considers the Liturgical Movement to have begun with the publication of Pius X's liturgical motu proprio *Tra Le Sollecitudini* in 1903.

Should Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini* really be considered the beginning of the Liturgical Movement? A careful reading *Tra Le Sollecitudini* would demonstrate that Pius X's liturgical motu proprio seemed to share little in the vision of the progressive Liturgical Movement. Pius X's primary concern in his 1903 letter was not to revise the liturgy to make it more approachable for modern man. Rather, it was written to prevent modern abuses and innovations from corrupting the purity of the liturgy. This should come as no surprise when considering that *Tra Le Sollecitudini* was written by the same man who wrote *Pascendi Dominica Gregis*.

In *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, Pius X regarded the liturgy as an objective act of worship of which it was of paramount importance that all details were oriented towards offering the most majestic sacrifice to God as was possible.³⁸¹ Of secondary importance, but still to be considered, was the liturgy's role in edifying and sanctifying the individual soul.³⁸² In this particular motu proprio, Pius X especially turned his attention towards chant and sacred music. Pius X identified Gregorian Chant and Palestrina's Roman Polyphony as the most reliable forms of sacred music for the liturgical act.³⁸³ While Pius X did not forbid the use of modern compositions in the Mass, he cautioned against this since he believed that modern music had become increasingly profane.³⁸⁴ He categorically forbade, for instance, the use of any music that resembled the sort of music heard in the

³⁸¹ Pius X, *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, introduction.

³⁸² *Ibid*, sec. I:1.

³⁸³ *Ibid*, sec. II.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid*.

theater.³⁸⁵ Regarding liturgical hymns, Pius X in general discouraged the singing of hymns during the liturgy that were not the traditional chants accompanying the prayers of the Ordinary of the Mass. For the limited hymns which he did permit, he forbade the use of the vernacular.³⁸⁶ In order to emphasize the connection between the liturgical choir and the clerical state, Pius X forbade women from singing in choirs and encouraged all-male choirs to wear priestly cassocks.³⁸⁷ Further, Pius X strongly urged the use of only the pipe organ for musical accompaniments though he permitted the use of other non-profane instruments with the cautious permission of the local Ordinary.³⁸⁸

In summary, Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini* had the goal of curtailing contemporary developments in the liturgy which he considered to be detrimental to the integrity of the Roman Rite's liturgical tradition. *Tra Le* also encouraged a renewed appreciation for traditional forms of sacred music.³⁸⁹ Thus, it would seem a stretch to consider this document to be the beginning of the Liturgical Movement which in general argued that the Roman Rite's traditional liturgy was incapable of serving as a functional liturgy for the modern faithful. Rather than classifying *Tra Le Sollecitudini* as somehow serving as the inspiration for a progressive Liturgical Movement, it makes more sense to classify his text, if a part of any wider movement, as belonging to the same body of liturgical literature as that of Dom Prosper Gueranger or the Anglican Oxford Movement, both of which sought a return to traditional liturgical worship in the face of contemporary innovations. It might be more appropriate still to simply classify *Tra Le Sollecitudini* within the category of papal liturgical literature, similar in its censures of perceived rash

³⁸⁵ Ibid.

³⁸⁶ Ibid, sec. III.

³⁸⁷ Ibid, sec. V.

³⁸⁸ Ibid, sec. VI.

³⁸⁹ Ibid, introduction.

innovations in the liturgy to those found in Pius XI's 1928 *Divini Cultus*, Pius XII's 1947 *Mediator Dei*, or the same pope's 1955 *Musicae Sacrae*.

While not at all interested in the modernization of the Liturgy, *Tra Le Sollecitudini* did draw attention to the need for the faithful to take part in “active participation” of the liturgy, an idea which would be frequently referenced by Liturgical Movement scholars.³⁹⁰

While many histories of the Liturgical Movement take at face value the claim of liturgical scholars such as Dom Lambert Beauduin that their reform-oriented work was principally inspired in response to Pius's call for the “active participation” of the faithful in the liturgy, these claims by 20th century liturgists exaggerated the importance that this phrase had in *Tra Le Sollecitudini* to serve their own purposes.³⁹¹ Aware that their work was controversial and likely to incur censures from diocesan watch committees, it is probable that liturgical scholars found it expedient to frame their work as closely in line with Pius X's writings as they could. The authenticity of the Liturgical Movement's supposed devotion to Pius X might be questioned by the fact that such scholars rarely quoted him beyond the phrase “active participation,” and certainly did not speak of his promotion of traditional Gregorian Chant.

Considering that Pius X seemed to be addressing prevalent liturgical innovations in 1903, is it possible that the Liturgical Movement in fact predated his instruction on sacred music? To be sure, the mid-19th century Dom Prosper Guéranger is occasionally considered a founder of the Liturgical Movement due to his publication of liturgical texts

³⁹⁰ Ibid.

³⁹¹ Lambert Beauduin, *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, trans. Virgil Michel, 3rd. ed., (1926, repr., Farnborough, Great Britain: Saint Michael's Abbey Press, 2002), 16.

which generated interest in the Church's liturgical tradition.³⁹² In *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, however, Alcuin Reid convincingly argued that Gueranger's liturgical career is best characterized for its opposition to the progressive innovations of Gallican innovators whom he deemed guilty of a "antiliturgical heresy."³⁹³

While isolated scholarly efforts may have advocated for liturgical reform before 1903, it would not seem that a scholarly movement had yet organized to challenge Catholicism's traditional liturgical principles. Rather than responding to scholarly ideas, Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini* seems to have been written in response to informal liturgical innovations which were becoming common amongst progressive, or perhaps unscrupulous, pastors. In one instance, for example, Pius X reminded pastors that young boys were to be employed for soprano roles in choirs rather than women, indicating that a lapse in discipline had seen women begin to illicitly fulfill musical roles which tradition forbade.³⁹⁴ Throughout the *motu proprio*, Pius X seemed more interested in restoring a musical tradition which had become deformed due to "a general tendency to deviate from the right rule" than in defending the Church's musical tradition from intellectual attack.³⁹⁵

It would be more appropriate to mark the beginning of the Liturgical Movement with the publications of Dom Lambert Beauduin, a Belgian priest who began writing on liturgical topics in 1909. Beauduin was ordained a priest in 1897 and he served amongst the urban working class for eight years before joining the Benedictine Mont Cesar Abbey in 1905. It is likely that Beauduin's formative years as a pastor amongst the industrial working class informed his views about the difficulties of attracting this growing

³⁹² Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 5-6.

³⁹³ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 56-58.

³⁹⁴ Pius X, *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, sec. V:13

³⁹⁵ *Ibid*, introduction.

European demographic to the Traditional Latin Mass. As a monk, Beauduin applied himself to creating proposals to enrich the experience of the liturgy both in the monastic setting and throughout the Church at large.

Apart from his regular articles and lectures, Beauduin is most well-known for his book *Liturgy and the Life of the Church* which he published in 1914 under the French name *La Piété de l'Eglise*, or “The Piety of the Church.” For the most part, this one hundred or so page text contained nothing radical or remarkable. He opened his text by identifying the “super abundant source of all supernatural life” as the priestly hierarchy of the Catholic Church, by which Jesus, the High Priest, made his priestly ministry present in the contemporary world.³⁹⁶ He defined the liturgy as the means by which the Eucharistic sacrifice, the central action of the priestly hierarchy, was adorned with “pious readings, of praises, of supplications, of rites and chants” and a liturgical calendar in order to aid the faithful’s pious contemplation of the Eucharistic sacrifice.”³⁹⁷

Beauduin wrote that it was necessary that each of the faithful engage with all of their senses in the liturgy by singing, opening their ears to the prayers of the Mass, and opening their eyes to the priestly acts during the Mass.³⁹⁸ While this statement might seem to be a general call for a more engaged laity, it might also be interpreted as a cryptic critique of the entire ethos of the Traditional Latin Mass. In 1914, the choir alone sang the chants and the priest and the server alone prayed the prayers of the Mass. Both were prayed entirely in Latin, and many of the priestly prayers were prayed in a quiet tone that could not be heard by any laity even if they were fluent in Latin. Thus, writing that the laity needed to sing and “open their ears” to the prayers of the Mass may have been a

³⁹⁶ Ibid, 13.

³⁹⁷ Ibid, 14.

³⁹⁸ Ibid, 17.

subtle critique of the rubrics of the Mass which made a conscientious listening to the prayers very difficult. Additionally, since the priestly actions were conducted facing the eastern wall of the apse with the priest's back between the nave and the altar, the laity could not simply "open their eyes" to observe the priestly actions of the liturgy unless the rubrics themselves were changed to make the priest's actions more visible.

In defining the Liturgy as a gift meant to inspire piety in the individual religious believer, Beauduin demonstrated a "vital immanence" approach to the liturgy. Traditional Catholic texts such as St. Robert Bellarmine's *On the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass* defined the Mass as "the Sacrifice of the Cross...represented with various gestures, actions...and at the same time the true and proper sacrifice of the body of the Lord is offered to God."³⁹⁹ The Baltimore Catechism defined the purpose of the Mass as "*first*, to adore God as our Creator and Lord, *second*, to thank God for his many favors, *third*, to ask God to bestow His blessing on all men, *fourth*, to satisfy the justice of God for sins committed against Him [by offering the "the same sacrifice as the sacrifice of the cross" to God the Father in atonement of our sins.]"⁴⁰⁰ The Catechism of the Council of Trent defined the Mass in the following words:

The Sacrifice of the Mass is and ought to be considered one and the same Sacrifice as that of the cross, for the Victim is one and the same, namely, Christ our Lord, who offered Himself, once only, a bloody Sacrifice on the altar of the cross. The bloody and unbloody victim are not two, but one victim only, whose Sacrifice is daily renewed in the Eucharist, in obedience to the command of our Lord: Do this for a commemoration of me.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Robert Bellarmine, *On the Most Holy Sacrifice of the Mass*, trans., Robert Grant (Post Falls, ID: Mediatrix Press, 2020), Kindle location 229 of 6509.

⁴⁰⁰ *The New Confraternity Edition Revised Baltimore Catechism and Mass No. 3*, ed. Francis J. Connell (1949, repr., Colorado Springs, CO: The Seraphim Company, 1987), 208-209.

⁴⁰¹ *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, 288.

Just as vital immanence approached religion not as an objective body of truths but as the means of inspiring subjective religious experiences, Beauduin tended to approach the liturgy primarily as a means to inspire such internal experiences. Where such experiences were not being inspired, he implied that changes should be made to the Church's liturgy.

Beauduin wrote that the Liturgy was not “a fossilized antique, a museum curiosity,” but rather that, “the Liturgy lives and unfolds itself today and, because it is universal, is of the twentieth century as well as of the first.”⁴⁰² This language could be viewed as an implicit criticism of conservative antiquarianism in liturgical studies as expressed by Dom Prosper Gueranger and arguably Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini*. Later condemnations of Gueranger's work grew so prevalent amongst Liturgical Movement scholars that in 1962, Charles Davis wrote in *Liturgy and Doctrine* that:

[Gueranger's] work has come in for some very heavy criticism in recent years. The criticism has erred by excess. Some of his ideas are plainly unacceptable, but it would be wrong to dismiss this first stage of the movement as merely aesthetic and antiquarian.”⁴⁰³

Beauduin's cautioning against viewing the liturgy as a “fossilized antique” may be interpreted as a simple reminder to see the traditional Mass as a living part of one's life, not as a mere remnant of the medieval world. However, his use of the term “fossilized antique” could also be viewed as a critique of Catholicism's liturgical traditionalism in general.

Beauduin bemoaned the apathy of so many of the laity towards the liturgy. He attributed this apathy to the fact that the core Christian principles underlying the Liturgy were foreign to most of the laity due to the accumulation of the ritualistic “accidents of

⁴⁰² Beauduin, *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, 34.

⁴⁰³ Charles Davis, *Liturgy and Doctrine: The Doctrinal Basis of the Liturgical Movement* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1960), 14

history.”⁴⁰⁴ In other words, the proliferation of rituals and symbols in the Mass over the millennia had obscured the meaning of the Mass’s various parts. He called for the Church to “change the routine and monotonous assistance at acts of worship into an active and intelligent participation.”⁴⁰⁵ Beauduin did not specifically explain whether the changes he called for were on the part of individual laypersons in response to an unchanged liturgy or were to be changes in the liturgy itself in response to the needs of modern man. Based on his insistence that the liturgy should “unfold” with the needs of modern man, it might be assumed that these proposed changes were of the latter kind.

Beauduin needed to be cautious in the manner in which he called for such changes. Thus, immediately after this statement, he again referenced Pius X’s *Tra Le Sollecitudini* in support of this proposal as an insurance that he would not be censured. His quote, of course, was nothing of Pius X’s motu proprio’s substance but was rather a vague statement made by Pius X that the liturgy was the “primary and indispensable source of the Christian spirit.”⁴⁰⁶ Throughout *Liturgy, the Life of the Church*, Beauduin referenced this same brief quotation from *Tra Le Sollecitudini* multiple times in support of his work and the work of the Liturgical Movement in general. He went so far as to imply Pius X was an unofficial participant in the Liturgical Movement.⁴⁰⁷

If Pius X was in fact a member of the Liturgical Movement, one might have thought that Beauduin would have referenced at least one of the many liturgical recommendations or condemnations which Pius X made in *Tra Le Sollecitudini*.⁴⁰⁸ As it was, Beauduin cited only a few phrases from the motu proprio, indicating that these were

⁴⁰⁴ Beauduin, *Liturgy, the Life of the Church*, 19-21.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid, 21.

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 21-22.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid, 50.

⁴⁰⁸ Ibid.

the only statements which the monk found worth including in a book in which he cautiously advanced the case for liturgical reform.

It is noteworthy that already in 1914 Beauduin was conscious of the fact that his work was nestled within the context of a Liturgical Movement which he himself had helped form.⁴⁰⁹ In other words, from the beginning, he was conscious of an organized body of scholars who were of a like-mind with himself in liturgical matters. These scholars were in agreement that the rites ought to be adapted in order to better serve an evangelical purpose and sanctify the faithful through the use of symbols which were more meaningful to modern man.⁴¹⁰ Yet which traditional Catholic symbols were no longer meaningful to modern man and which ones had to be maintained in order to preserve the integrity of Catholic worship? What aspects of the typical modern person did the liturgy need to accommodate for and which elements of the traditional liturgy did the modern person simply need to learn to appreciate?

For all of the importance placed on the “modern man” by the Liturgical Movement’s scholars, as well as the documents of the Second Vatican Council, progressive Catholicism did a poor job articulating what exactly was meant by the term “modern man.” Generally, the authors of articles and books of the Liturgical Movement seemed to assume that the reader would agree that modern man was a peculiar entity in the history of mankind and had specific needs that distinguished him from all the various types of men who came before him. Yet what, specifically, constituted the factors and lifestyle choices which made modern man unique? A few obvious developments in Western civilization in the 19th and 20th centuries were likely in the minds of most of

⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, 53-55.

⁴¹⁰ Ibid, 35-36.

these liturgists. Even so, it cannot be determined for certain what other elements of modern life a given liturgist thought was important when proposing liturgical reforms.

To most liturgists, “modern man” seemed to be thought of as synonymous with “industrial man” in the early part of the 20th century. Whereas clerics did not seem altogether concerned with the participation in liturgical life of those living in rural villages, Liturgical Movement literature seemed focused on addressing the spiritual needs of the urban working class. The proletariat was acknowledged by many Catholic voices throughout the 20th century to be a group of laity who were not typically assimilating themselves into the life of the urban Catholic parishes.⁴¹¹ The Cardinal Archbishop of Paris wrote bluntly in 1948 that “the Church is ‘absent’ from the city.”⁴¹² In response to this problem, numerous religious orders such as the Salesians, Marianists, and Paulist Fathers rose from the mid-19th to early 20th centuries with the goal of ministering to the unique needs created by the conditions of modern industrialized economies.

There were reasonable obstacles preventing industrial working-class laypersons from easily connecting with the Traditional Latin Mass. For starters, the lifestyle in the city was more fast-paced and filled with enticing entertainment. Sports grew in popularity throughout the Western nations during this time, neighborhood movie theaters were built as Hollywood developed, and various sinful pleasures were made much more readily available in cities than they were in rural villages. Competing with these draws for excitement and entertainment was difficult for the Traditional Latin Mass. The ancient Mass’s austere and lengthy periods of silent prayer were intimidating, if not boring, for

⁴¹¹ George H. Tavard, *The Church Tomorrow* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), 13-14.

⁴¹² Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard, *Growth or Decline? The Church Today*, trans. James Corbett (South Bend, IN: Fides Publishers, 1948), 10.

many industrial working-class people who were unfamiliar with silence in their everyday lives.

Another factor that may have contributed to the estrangement of the industrial working class from the Mass was the lack of emphasis in the Traditional Latin Mass on the role of the individual in the worship being offered. Rather than living in a collectivist agrarian village where a given family or village community cooperated to accomplish a communal harvest, industrial workers were independent wage-earners from a young age. This meant that most city-dwellers were accustomed to being able to numerically quantify their contributions to both the industrial process as well as the financial welfare of their families. Thus, whereas industrial wage-earners may have had a clear sense of their personal contributions in their workplace and families, in their spiritual life, the personal contribution of a given lay person was not easily discerned as the Traditional Latin Mass did not delineate roles to the ordinary layperson.

Another influential cultural shift by the early 20th century was the rise in literacy. By the year 1900, 80 percent of the citizens of England, Germany, France and the United States were literate, and these numbers only increased as the public and religious education systems in modern Western nations continued to develop into the 20th century.⁴¹³ Although modern people had become accustomed to a literary culture, the Latin Mass communicated the mysterious ritual of the Mass to the newly literate masses in a mostly non-verbal form. Since the traditional liturgy had developed during the dark ages of widespread illiteracy, it communicated the sacred mysteries through the use of incense, signs of the cross, genuflections, ornate music, art, and extravagant vestments in

⁴¹³ Max Roser and Esteban Ortiz-Ospina, "Literacy," Our World in Data, September 2018, accessed: <https://ourworldindata.org/literacy?fbclid=IwAR1NXw82Shd1XP547VfJZu4Ea8-bCGekws6AQnjxStpost0xkiieQfkzQ9>.

contrast to exposing the laity to the texts of the prayers and readings of the Mass. Before the 1920s, even vernacular hand missals were virtually unknown throughout the Catholic Church.⁴¹⁴

Another shift in the modern person's psyche was the appreciation for popular political agency. Democratic ideals had spread throughout all of Western society ever since the French revolution despite Magisterial attempts to insulate these ideas from the Catholic faithful. Even in nations that did not incorporate some form of voting into its constitution, recognition of the formation of political parties and political agency had spread throughout the working classes.⁴¹⁵ Despite expectations amongst ordinary people that it was fitting to have their voices heard in some manner by the power structures they lived under, the rituals of the Traditional Latin Mass were strictly hierarchical and afforded little opportunity for lay involvement outside the role of the altar server or the men's choir.

Finally, the modern appreciation for the sciences contributed to the development of an attitude amongst modern people that claims of truth should not be trusted if they had not been empirically verified. The modern age, thanks to the rationalistic Enlightenment which preceded it, was an age of skepticism. Thus, while the Traditional Latin Mass was presented objectively as the greatest form of prayer, such claims of truth were left unverified by most of the laity who did not understand nor have access to a hand missal, and thus had no opportunity to evaluate the prayers of the Latin Mass for themselves. In an age of skepticism, if a claim could not be evaluated, doubt was certain.

⁴¹⁴ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 84.

⁴¹⁵ John Garrard, "Chapter Twelve: The Democratic Experience," in *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Europe, 1789 - 1914*, ed. by Stefan Berger, 149.

If modern man is defined as an industrial wage earner who was more literate, politically engaged, and skeptical, the Traditional Latin Mass presented some difficulties towards lay engagement. Its hierarchical nature, its lack of inclusion of the laity in its rituals and prayers, and the difficulty the laity found in trying to personally evaluate the content of the prayers of the Traditional Latin Mass may have contributed to the disillusionment of the urban proletariat with the Mass. As the share of the European population that lived in cities grew exponentially as the 20th century began, if the Traditional Latin Mass did indeed have structural characteristics which prevented the urban working class from engaging with it as a prayer form, this difficulty would only grow worse over time. Trends toward literacy, urbanization, democratization, and skepticism would only increase as the 20th century progressed. If the Traditional Latin Mass was constructed to tailor towards the spiritual needs of a mostly illiterate medieval congregation who were not altogether concerned with having their voices heard nor understanding the contribution their individual efforts made to the act of worship, it might well have stood in need of radical revision in the modern age.

It must be kept in mind, of course, that this pro-reform hypothesis is not the only manner of looking at the liturgy. Traditionalists generally counter argue that the secularization, noisiness, and lack of appreciation for beauty and meaning in the modern world make the Traditional Latin Mass all the more attractive to modern man. Unlike most other elements of modern life, traditional Catholic worship provided a sense of mystery, sacred silence, and aesthetic beauty which all people crave but few can find in their busy modern lives. Additionally, a traditionalist might reasonably argue that the dogmatic teaching that the literal sacrifice of Jesus's flesh and blood is made substantially

present on an altar under the appearance of bread and wine is better communicated through the medium of a mysterious language than through the vernacular. By making the liturgy too comprehensible, traditionalists might argue, one runs the risk of banalizing a ritual which was meant, by definition, to be otherworldly. Thus, it should be recognized that the Liturgical Movement's belief that the Traditional Latin Mass needed to be updated in order to be appreciated by modern men should not be taken as the only reasonable liturgical position.

Ultimately, the Liturgical Movement's diagnosis of the spiritual needs of modern man were to be adopted by the Church's highest authority in the 1960s. In the next chapter, it will be considered how this movement of progressive scholars came to dismantle traditional Catholic liturgical presuppositions in order to promote their vision of a general reform of the Mass.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ASCENDANT LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

Dom Lambert Beauduin's influence in setting the course for the liturgical scholars who followed him should not be underestimated. Throughout the first few decades of the movement, it can be observed that progressive liturgists tended to adhere to the proposals he laid out in *Liturgy, the Life of the Church* for "scientifically" exploring the essence of the liturgy and adapting it to modern needs. In order to foster the "active participation of the Christian people in the holy Sacrifice of the Mass by means of understanding and following the liturgical rites and texts," Beauduin laid out the plan of action found below.⁴¹⁶

A. Piety

1. Restore a place of honour among Christians for the traditional liturgical seasons: Advent, Christmas Time, Lent, Easter Time, octaves of feasts, feasts of the Blessed Virgin, the Apostles, and the great missionary saints of our religion.
2. The basing of our daily private devotions, meditations, reading, etc., on the daily instructions of the Liturgy...
3. Reanimation and sublimation of the devotions dear to the people by nourishing them at the source of the Liturgy.

B. Study

1. Promotion of the scientific knowledge in special reviews and publications.
2. Popularization of the scientific knowledge in special reviews and publications.
3. Promotion of the study and, above all, the practice of liturgical prayers in educational institutions.
4. Aiming to give regular liturgical education to circles, associations, etc., and to employ all the customary methods of popularization to this end.

C. Arts

1. Promoting the application of all of the instructions of Pius X in his *motu proprio* on Church music.
2. Aiming to have artists that are called to exercise a sacred art, architecture, painting, sculpture, etc., receive an education that will give them an understanding of the spirit and rules of the Church's liturgy.

⁴¹⁶ Beauduin, *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, 52.

3. Making known to artists and writers the fruitful inspiration to art that the Church offers in her Liturgy.

D. Propaganda

1. Using all means to spread popular liturgical publications that show the import of the principal part of the Liturgy...
2. Reawakening the old liturgical traditions in the home, that link the domestic joys with the calendar of the Church...⁴¹⁷

Key themes here which can be found continually in the literature of the 20th century Liturgical Movement include the discouragement of private devotions during Mass and the encouragement of the use of modern “scientific” discoveries to guide the study of the liturgy. The use of the term “scientific” here can be taken as synonymous with academic; liturgical scholars would engage with the tools of a variety of modern academic disciplines to study the liturgy.

The most properly scientific strategy that would be utilized was the use of liturgical experiments by which new methods of celebrating the Roman Mass were undertaken in a controlled manner by clerics of the Liturgical Movement. Such liturgical experiments began as early as the 1920s with the experimental liturgies of Fr. Romano Guardini at the chapel at Burg Rothenfels. There, Guardini celebrated Mass on a freestanding table-styled altar facing the people who sat on black cubes fully encircling the altar in a small square chapel with plain white walls.⁴¹⁸ It should be noted that the use of a controlled experiment in the service of enacting liturgical changes was an innovative development in Catholic liturgical history which reflected a preference for modern academic methodologies over the organic methods of liturgical development in Catholic Tradition.

⁴¹⁷ Ibid, 52-53.

⁴¹⁸ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 93-99.; See Appendix B.

Alongside Beauduin's 1914 cryptic suggestions for modernizing the Roman Missal and Guardini's radical experiments with the Mass in the 1920s, the writings of the German Fr. Joseph Göttler or the English Fr. Adrian Fortescue during the 1910s and 1920s also contradicts the popular notion that the early Liturgical Movement was focused only on education rather than reform. As early as 1916, Göttler called for the removal of "accretions" and "unnecessary duplications" from the Mass as well as the use of the vernacular in the Foremass, or what is today known as the "Liturgy of the Word."⁴¹⁹ "Duplications" referred to the gestures or prayers of the Mass that were repeated such as the twenty-five signs of the Cross during the Roman Canon or the repetition of certain prayers such as the Confiteor at the beginning of Mass and before Communion. Göttler's proposal for pruning useless accretions and unnecessary duplications from the missal were ultimately included in the text of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* which called for those exact reforms.⁴²⁰

In his 1917 *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described*, Fr. Adrian Fortescue criticized the Roman Missal's "constant kissing" of the priest's hand whenever an object was passed to him by a lesser cleric or altar server.⁴²¹ He argued that this gesture had once adequately expressed reverence but had lost its sense of meaning in the modern world.⁴²² Why modern man could not understand the gesture of kissing as a sign of reverence for a sacred vessel was not explained. In general, Fortescue hoped to see a reform of the Roman Missal which would emphasize the "austere simplicity" which he claimed was a historically essential feature of the Roman Rite in comparison to the Eastern liturgies.⁴²³

⁴¹⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 86.

⁴²⁰ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 50.

⁴²¹ Adrian Fortescue, *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* (1918, Kindle Edition, 2014), location 142 of 4479.

⁴²² Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 88.

⁴²³ Fortescue, *Ceremonies of the Roman Rite Described* loc 145 of 4479.

As when analyzing the writings of Lambert Beauduin, such a justification for reform must be understood as being carefully worded in the context of the period immediately following Pius X's papacy. Fortescue's carefully phrased suggestion for a return to a supposedly traditional Roman value of "austere simplicity" should be understood in terms of the substance of what was proposed rather than the rhetorical way in which it was expressed. What Fortescue was advocating for, in general, was a Roman Missal which had less elaborate ceremonies and gestures. This suggestion could be said to reflect modern communication or aesthetical preferences. Of course, this suggestion may also have been made to merely accommodate modern man's poor attention span. All the same, for tactical reasons, Fortescue framed his proposal in reference to the Roman Rite's tradition.

By the 1920s, the first mass-produced Latin-vernacular hand missals were printed in the monastery of Farnborough, England.⁴²⁴ This monastery had developed a strong relationship with Dom Lambert Beauduin and was inspired by his vision for the Liturgical Movement.⁴²⁵ These missals placed the inaudible Latin prayers of the Mass into the intelligible comprehension of the laity. While it might today be taken for granted that lay persons attending Mass should know what the readings and prayers of the Mass contain, for over a millennium the laity attending Catholic Masses would not have understand the content of many of the prayers or known the content of the readings of a given Mass except for those readings which were explained during the Homily. Thus, for most of the history of the Catholic religion, it can be inferred that the intellectual

⁴²⁴ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 90-92.

⁴²⁵ Beauduin, *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, 7.

engagement of the laity in the prayers and readings of the Mass was not considered a necessary element of worship.

Incapable of conceiving of a theology of worship that did not include frontal-lobe engagement, some liturgical writers such as Milton Lomask and Ray Neville postulated that the traditional adornment of churches with stained glass windows, statues, and paintings depicting biblical stories was an attempt to provide the laity with something they could consciously reflect on.⁴²⁶ According to this view, stained glass windows and sacred art could be viewed as a sort of recompense from the Church that it was not providing an intelligible liturgy.

While stained glass windows and sacred art undoubtedly did serve the purpose of aiding meditation, caution should be taken in identifying Catholicism's artistic tradition as a mere recompense for the spiritual starvation of a congregation which was being provided with a defective liturgy. Catholicism's Traditional Latin Mass *must* have adequately provided for the spiritual needs of much of Western civilization or else the religion could have hardly survived for over a millennium after Latin was no longer a vernacular language. Rather than expecting to engage with the content of the prayers of the priest during the Mass, the laity grew accustomed to engaging with liturgical worship in a silent, meditative, and mysterious manner.

To suggest that medieval man could not spiritually benefit from the Church's Latin liturgy due to its unintelligibility would leave serious questions not only concerning how the religion survived but also why medieval and early modern lay persons regularly attended the lauds and vespers services of their local Cathedral as well as Sunday Mass. While Sunday Mass attendance was incentivized by the fear of eternal damnation if one

⁴²⁶ Milton Lomask and Ray Neville, *The Way We Worship* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Cudahy, 1959), 25.

did not attend, attending public recitations of the entirely Latin Divine Office was not obligatory. Thus, its popularity throughout the Middle Ages reflects a spiritual vitality which the Latin liturgy fostered. The 16th century Zaragozanos were so attached to the Latin liturgy that once, when the canons of their Cathedral attempted to implement a reform of the Divine Office in a holy week liturgical hour, the laity in attendance mistook the reform for a protestant prayer service, instigating a riotous uproar in the Cathedral.⁴²⁷ Not only were lay persons faithfully attending these non-mandatory prayer services, but they were also so familiar with the Latin prayers that they noticed and revolted against an attempted reform.

With the advent of vernacular hand missals, the traditional form of silent, mysterious, and meditative engagement with the Church's liturgy was gradually replaced by an intelligible engagement by a literate laity with the linguistic content of the Mass's readings and prayers. Thus, while the propagation of hand missals amongst the laity was not an explicit break with the Church's liturgical tradition, these hand missals did imply a break with the laity's traditional manner of engaging with the Mass. As intelligent participation in the readings and prayers of the Mass became normative, the logical arguments against an entirely vernacular Mass began to be perceived as veneers for mere attachment to nostalgia which impeded the "full and active participation" of the faithful in the Church's liturgy.

Dom Virgil Michel, a disciple of Beauduin, began making the case for vernacularism as early as the mid-1920s, shortly after the propagation of the firsthand missals. Michel could be said to have been responsible for bringing the Liturgical Movement to the Church in the United States as he was the founder of the Liturgical

⁴²⁷ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 37.

Press and the journal *Orate Fratres* at St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota.⁴²⁸

Underpinning Michel's vernacularism was his belief that the only acceptable participation in the Mass was a conscientious intellectual engagement with its readings and prayers. He condemned the custom by which the laity engaged in the Mass by praying private devotions such as the rosary or books which were written to be prayed during the Sacrifice. He asked, "Should not every devoted Catholic try to the utmost of his power to participate actively in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, to follow the priest in mind and heart...?"⁴²⁹

In general, Liturgical Movement scholars took for granted that their readers would agree that the praying of private devotions during the Mass was problematic. Instead, it was presumed that it was agreed that the laity *should* be praying the prayers of the Mass internally alongside the priest and meditating on the scripture passages proclaimed at the Mass. Once again, this widespread assumption of the scholars of the Liturgical Movement was not a traditional element of the Catholic religion. For over a millennium, the laity were not expected to pray alongside the priest in the official prayers of the Mass. Altar servers were expected to represent the laity in the prayers of the Mass, and the priest prayed many prayers softly in an inaudible tone.

Interestingly, vernacular hand missals were even *condemned* by Pope Alexander VII in the 17th century since the mysteriousness of the Latin language was perceived to be a necessary safeguard against impiety towards the sacred mysteries.⁴³⁰ That such hand missals could be condemned in the 17th century and later celebrated in the 20th indicates

⁴²⁸ Ibid, 97.

⁴²⁹ Ibid.

⁴³⁰ John McManners, *Church and Society in Eighteenth-century France, volume 2: The Religion of the People and the Politics of Religion*. (New York: Clarendon Press; 1998), 45.

that a shift in attitude regarding the nature of lay participation in the Mass had taken place by this time. Previously, there existed an understood distinction between the manner in which a priest prayed the Mass and the manner in which a layperson prayed alongside him. The Missal was perceived to contain the prayers of the priest, whereas the laity were welcome to pray various devotions during the liturgy, including the Rosary, if it helped them meditate on the mysteries being celebrated.⁴³¹

Michel's condemnation of the praying of the Rosary during the Mass should be considered bold even in the context of the Liturgical Movement since most liturgical scholars were not willing to condemn the praying of the Rosary by name. Specifically criticizing this devotion, so deeply revered in traditional Catholic piety, would have alienated conservative Catholics and made one more likely to be labeled a Modernist. All the same, when liturgists criticized the praying of private devotions during the Mass, it can be assumed that these criticisms were generally levied against the praying of the Rosary, since this was the most dominant devotion that was prayed during the Mass by laypersons.⁴³²

In 1927 Pope Pius XI published *Divini Cultus*, an apostolic constitution which restated and complemented the arguments made twenty-four years prior in *Tra Le Sollecitudini* in favor of the Church's traditional sacred chant. Throughout the document, Pius XI's articulation of the benefit of preserving the time-honored Catholic liturgical traditions in the face of rash innovations might be interpreted as a subtle response to the developments in the Liturgical Movement by clerics and scholars such as Beauduin,

⁴³¹ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei: On the Sacred Liturgy*, Vatican, the Holy See, 11/20/1947, sec. 173-175, accessed: https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_20111947_mediator-dei.html

⁴³² Gillis, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 91-92.; Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, sec. 174.

Guardini, and Michel. The opening sentence of *Divini Cultus* made use of language consistent with the papacy's traditional role of preserving Catholic Tradition from incompatible innovations. He wrote that "the Church has received from Christ her Founder the office of *safeguarding* the sanctity of divine worship..." (emphasis mine).⁴³³ From there, Pius XI presented arguments in favor of the Church's traditional liturgical chants as opposed to modern forms of music, stating that the beauty of the Church's traditional chants resulted in the conversion of many barbarians, Arians, and heretics, including St. Augustine.⁴³⁴

After referencing the conversion of many Arians, barbarians and heretics as a result of the Church's tradition of sacred chant, Pius XI stated that since the Church's traditional liturgy was so spiritually *effective*, the popes had justifiably applied themselves to "preserving it from adulteration."⁴³⁵ This might be seen as an attempt by Pius XI to briefly digress from his main theme of discussing sacred chant in order to defend the traditional liturgy in general from progressive innovations. Just as sacred chant had been found to be effective in inspiring conversion, so the rest of the facets of the traditional liturgy could be found to be similarly effective. This emphasis on the pastoral effectiveness of the traditional liturgy reflected a totally different liturgical program on the part of the papacy than that of the growing Liturgical Movement. While the papacy had from the early 1900s to the late 1920s considered the renewal and perfecting of the Church's traditional sacred chant to be the most trustworthy means of inspiring the

⁴³³ Pius XI, *Divini Cultus: On Divine Worship*, Adoremus Bulletin, 12/20/1928, accessed 3/8/22: <https://adoremus.org/1928/12/on-divine-worship/>.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

“active participation” of the faithful, the Liturgical Movement continued to push forward in making proposals for a “new order” of the Mass.

Over the course of the 1920s, an Italian Benedictine abbot named Dom Ildefonso Schuster published a ten-volume liturgical commentary titled *The Sacramentary* which offered pious meditations with meticulous details on the spirituality of the Roman Mass.⁴³⁶ Himself not an outspoken advocate for reform, Schuster might be seen as an embodiment of what the Liturgical Movement could have been had the majority of its participants *actually* been inspired by the liturgical writings of Pius X.⁴³⁷ His work was focused on entering deeply into the meaning of the various rituals and prayers of the Mass rather than in suggesting ways that the Mass might be altered to become more spiritually effective.⁴³⁸ Thus, his work might be contrasted with the writings of many contemporary scholars of the Liturgical Movement.

Despite Schuster’s traditional disposition, his work attracted two young men who *would* become important in the ultimate promulgation of the Novus Ordo missal. For starters, Annibale Bugnini, who was a seminarian in the 1920s and co-editor of the liturgical publication *Ephemerides Liturgicae* in 1928-1929, voraciously read each of Schuster’s volumes, igniting his love of the liturgy.⁴³⁹ Additionally, Fr. Giovanni Montini, the future Pope Paul VI, was also deeply moved by Schuster’s work, attending a number of lectures and retreats led by Schuster.⁴⁴⁰ When Bugnini and Montini later met one another during the Second Vatican Council, and as they later worked together in the

⁴³⁶ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 20.

⁴³⁷ Peter Kwasniewski, “Cardinal Schuster’s Masterpiece Back in Print for the First Time in Nearly a Century,” *New Liturgical Movement*, 8/5/2020, accessed: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2020/08/cardinal-schusters-masterpiece-back-in.html#.YigUsnrMLIU>.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 20.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

creation of the Novus Ordo, their common interest in Schuster's work was a major point of bonding between the two like-minded men.⁴⁴¹ Thus, while he may not have been a visionary of reform, Schuster did inspire Montini and Bugnini to develop a deep love for the liturgy, inspiring their own initiatives to radically reshape the Roman Mass.

By the mid-1930s, the liturgist Dom Virgil Michel felt comfortable making explicit proposals for a general reform of the Roman Mass. He believed that the Liturgical Movement, referred to as a "wide liturgical revival," was necessarily leading to such a widespread reform of the Mass.⁴⁴² He wrote in an unpublished manuscript which was published posthumously in 1957 that "one of the effects of a wide liturgical revival in the Church will undoubtedly be that of considerable changes in her Liturgy made in terms of the new conditions and needs of our day."⁴⁴³ It is noteworthy that these words, though written by Michel in the 1930s, were not deemed prudent to be published until after the Pius 1955 reform of Holy Week when the prospect of a general reform of the liturgy was far more likely than during the papacy of Pius XII.

What reforms did Michel feel were necessary? He advocated for the use of the vernacular in "all instructional and exhortatory parts" of the Mass, or "as far as [the Church] deems fit," as well as the restoration of the ancient practice by which lay persons brought bread and wine in an offertory procession towards the altar during the Offertory.⁴⁴⁴ He also advocated for the involvement of women in liturgical ministries, for

⁴⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴⁴² Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 98.

⁴⁴³ Paul B. Marx, *Virgil Michel and the Liturgical Movement* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1957), 56, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 98.

⁴⁴⁴ Virgil Michel, "Liturgy in the Vernacular," *Orate Fratres*, 12.172-74, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 99.; Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 99.

Mass during the evening, for the priest to celebrate the Mass facing the people, and for the architectural modernization of church buildings.⁴⁴⁵

One might be amazed that every single one of Michel's historically startling proposals were either included in the 1969 *Novus Ordo* Missal or at least became popular alongside the reform. However, if one considers how well-organized the scholars of the Liturgical Movement were, it becomes apparent that the final product of the *Novus Ordo* was the result of decades of deliberations amongst the liturgical elite. Periodicals such as *Orate Fratres* in the United States, *Ephemerides Liturgicae* in Italy, and *The Tablet* in England transmitted the essays of the principal leaders of the Liturgical Movement to a wide readership of clerics and scholars. This fulfilled Beauduin's proposal for a wide dissemination of liturgical "propaganda."⁴⁴⁶ Additionally, the unanimity of the many scholars of the Liturgical Movement was aided by the strong leadership provided by Lambert Beauduin in its early years. Beauduin's publications, hands-on leadership of the Liturgical Movement in Belgium, mentorship of Virgil Michel, and presentations in the popular "Liturgical Weeks" held at Mont César Abbey allowed the early Liturgical Movement to unify around his vision and plan of action.⁴⁴⁷

The "Liturgical Weeks" which Beauduin's abbey as well as other monasteries hosted warrant a closer examination. At these meetings, scholars assembled to discuss the liturgy, proposals for reform, and practical steps to see their proposals accepted by the highest levels of Church authority.⁴⁴⁸ The practice of holding these Liturgical Weeks calls to mind Pius X's warning in *Pascendi* that Modernists became organized intellectually

⁴⁴⁵ R.W. Franklin and R.L. Spaeth, R. L., *Virgil Michel American Catholic* (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1988), 86.; in "Virgil Michel," by Lucinda A. Nolan, Biola University, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.biola.edu/talbot/ce20/database/virgil-michel>.

⁴⁴⁶ Beauduin, *Liturgy the Life of the Church*, 53.

⁴⁴⁷ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 78-85.

⁴⁴⁸ *Ibid*, 85-86 footnote 49.

and politically by hosting regular conferences, spurring him to urge bishops to allow conferences within their dioceses only sparingly.⁴⁴⁹ One might wonder if Pius X's warning against conferences might have inspired the early Liturgical Movement scholars to refrain from using the word "conference" to describe their week-long gatherings. Later, as the Liturgical Movement acquired cautious Vatican approval, it will be observed that its scholars began to freely use the word "conference" to describe their meetings.⁴⁵⁰

As the 1930s and 1940s progressed, the Liturgical Movement faced some push-back from traditional forces in the Catholic Church. In 1939, Dom Theodore Wesseling argued that the Liturgical Movement's presupposition that the ancient liturgy was ineffective at providing for the spiritual needs of modern man was misguided since this presupposition led to proposals that would "bring down the exigencies of the Liturgical ideal to the coarseness and platitudes of a degenerate civilization."⁴⁵¹ Wesseling considered radical suggestions to adapt the liturgy to modern sensibilities to be a "practical heresy" since it subjected the objective liturgical tradition to the "mentality of a passing generation."⁴⁵²

At least one instance of resistance against the progressive Liturgical Movement emanated from the laity. In 1943, a group of English Catholic laymen published a signed letter titled "Manifesto of the Catholic Laity" which expressed their grave concerns with the direction that the Liturgical Movement was taking. This Manifesto stated:

We, the undersigned Catholic Layfolk, desire...to make known our true feelings with regard to the present controversy concerning the language used by the Church in her public worship. We utterly repudiate the subversive efforts that are

⁴⁴⁹ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 54.

⁴⁵⁰ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 186.

⁴⁵¹ Theodore Wesseling, "Liturgy and Liturgy Reform," *The Tablet*, 1/28/1939, 126, quoted in *Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 96.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*

being made to discredit the use of the Latin Liturgy, a precious heritage brought to the English people by Saint Augustine of Canterbury from our glorious Apostle, Saint Gregory the Great, and which we are proud to have preserved intact these fourteen hundred years, even throughout the hardships and dangers of the penal times [the persecution of Catholics in England during the 16th-17th centuries]. We therefore protest that we are opposed to all attempts to tamper with this venerable Liturgy, or to substitute for it a copy of any non-Catholic rite, however beautiful and impressive. We strongly resent the implication that we and our children are not sufficiently intelligent to understand the simple Latin of the Mass, and we declare our readiness to do all we can to equip ourselves with the necessary knowledge so as to be able to take a more active and intelligent part in our parochial Mass.⁴⁵³

This document indicates that by 1943, the Liturgical Movement's proposals for "tampering with [the] venerable Liturgy" had reached the attention of many Catholic laity, instigating this grass-roots traditionalist campaign even during the height of the Second World War.

Such laity as the signatories of the "Manifesto of the Catholic Laity" were not alone in their expressed intention to "do all [they could] to equip [themselves] with the necessary knowledge so as to be able to take a more active and intelligent part in our parochial Mass." To help them in this effort, books such as Fr. Paul Bussard's *The Meaning of the Mass* offered comprehensive commentaries on each individual part of the traditional Mass for the laity to better understand the liturgy.⁴⁵⁴ Such texts were, in a sense, a condensed version of Schuster's *Sacramentary*. Published in 1942 in the United States, *The Meaning of the Mass* contained no hints of the Liturgical Movement's underlying belief that the traditional liturgy was ineffective at reaching modern Catholics.

⁴⁵³ *Manifesto of the Catholic Laity Concerning the Catholic Liturgy*, Pentecost 1943, printed document from the Archive of the Archbishop of Westminster, quoted in full in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 103, footnote 110.

⁴⁵⁴ Paul Bussard, *The Meaning of the Mass*, ed. Felix Kirsch (Washington DC: The Catholic University of America, 1941), vi.

Rather, it simply sought to illuminate the meaning and history of the various parts of the received liturgical tradition to the laity.

Despite the efforts of such prototypical traditionalist Catholics to curtail the momentum of the Liturgical Movement, the progressive thesis of the ineffectiveness of the traditional liturgy and the need for a modernized Mass continued to gain traction throughout the late 1930s and 40s. In the same spirit as Fr. Romano Guardini's experiments, the Augustinian Canon Pius Parsch practiced illicit liturgical experiments in an Austrian chapel which his modern day followers refer to as the "cradle of the popular liturgical movement."⁴⁵⁵ In this chapel, Parsch introduced the vernacular into various prayers and readings and engaged in dialogue prayers with the entire congregation rather than just with the server.⁴⁵⁶ He included women in his choir, disregarding Pius X's condemnation of this practice in *Tra Le Sollecitudini*.⁴⁵⁷ He appointed lay lectors to read the epistle and instituted an offertory procession.⁴⁵⁸ He also illicitly administered the precious blood to lay communicants and instructed the laity to receive communion while standing rather than kneeling.⁴⁵⁹ Any one of these innovations could have cost Parsch severe canonical penalties had his Ordinary chosen to enforce them.

In the 1940s, the Jesuit Fr. Cyril Charlie Martindale argued in favor of both the vernacular during the Foremass as well as a simplification of the Calendar.⁴⁶⁰ In 1943, *The Tablet*, a progressive Catholic periodical, announced a liturgical conference which discussed the introduction of the vernacular into "even the most controversial" parts of

⁴⁵⁵ "St. Gertrude" Pius Parsch Institute, accessed 3/9/22: <http://www.pius-parsch-institut.at/st-gertrud>.

⁴⁵⁶ Ernest Mullerleile, *At the Cradle of Folk-Liturgy: The Story of the Life Work of Father Pius Parsch* (Saint Louis: Pio Decimo Press, 1951), 22ff quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 103, footnote 110.

⁴⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁰ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 103.

the Mass, implying a vernacular Roman Canon.⁴⁶¹ Around the same time period, Fr. Hans Ansgar Reinhold criticized the Traditional Latin Mass's use of isolated psalm verses for the gradual and alleluia antiphon without including a fuller context of the psalm, a position that would eventually lead to the expansion of the gradual into the responsorial psalm of the Novus Ordo.⁴⁶²

Fr. Reinhold restated other typical Liturgical Movement ideas. He argued that the 20th century Church had a right to shape the Liturgy according to its spiritual needs just as much as any previous century.⁴⁶³ In 1948, Fr. Gerald Ellard SJ's *The Mass of the Future* called for an increased use of the vernacular, a simplification of the Roman calendar, freestanding *versus populum* altars, communal singing, and offertory processions.

During the 1940s, some of the Liturgical scholars who ultimately took up leadership positions in the Consilium were beginning their careers in the Liturgical Movement. Annibale Bugnini, for example, rose to prominence in the Liturgical Movement during the Second World War. His liturgical career began when he was assigned as a pastor to an underprivileged Italian neighborhood. As pastor, Bugnini began to conduct liturgical experiments in which the congregation responded to the priest's words with paraphrased prayers in the vernacular while the server responded with the formal prayers in Latin.⁴⁶⁴ Bugnini's perceived success of these experiments led him to construct a sort of "parallel liturgy" which he published in a booklet titled *Our Mass*.

This booklet gave guidelines for a lay commentator to lead a liturgy of vernacular prayers

⁴⁶¹ *The Tablet*, 7/17/1943, 33-34, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 103.

⁴⁶² H.A. Reinhold, "More or Less Liturgical (Continued)," *Orate Fratres*, vol. 13, no. 5 (1938-1939), 213 quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 107.

⁴⁶³ H.A. Reinhold, "More or Less Liturgical," *Orate Fratres*, vol. 13, no. 4 (1938-1939), 153, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 108.

⁴⁶⁴ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 24-25.

with the congregation while the priest offered the Mass on the altar in a sense off to himself.⁴⁶⁵

Later, as editor-in-chief of the Italian liturgical journal *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, Bugnini argued in his editorials that it was time to renew Pius X's efforts to bring about a general reform to the liturgy. He went so far as to send out questionnaires to liturgical scholars to submit their envisioned plans for a reformed Roman missal.⁴⁶⁶ In reality, Pius X *had* begun to revise the Liturgical Calendar in order to emphasize the Temporal solemnities of Advent, Christmas, Lent, and Easter over the Sanctoral cycle of the feasts of the saints. He deemed that this was necessary since the large number of canonized saints by the 20th century presented a burdensome number of mandatory feasts that often took precedence over the Masses of a given Sunday.⁴⁶⁷ All the same, to claim that Pius X's attempted Calendar reform, which was paused at his death and not taken up by his predecessors, was a forestalled attempt at a reform of the Mass in general was yet another instance of the clever disguising of the Liturgical Movement's progressive work as a continuation of the work of the anti-Modernist pope.

Fr. Josef Jungmann, SJ was another member of the later Consilium who became a liturgical giant in 1948 with the publication of *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, a two volume work which extensively examined the gradual development of the Roman Rite from the first century onwards.⁴⁶⁸ Jungmann quickly became revered as the leader of liturgical historical studies by scholars who saw his work as both informative and useful in their reformist campaign.⁴⁶⁹ Even the traditionalist Michael Davies acknowledged *The Mass of*

⁴⁶⁵ Ibid, 25.

⁴⁶⁶ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 147.

⁴⁶⁷ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 23.

⁴⁶⁸ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 164-165.

⁴⁶⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 165.

the Roman Rite to be an “epic work” of liturgical history.⁴⁷⁰ Notwithstanding Davies’ praise, Jungmann did not shy throughout his two-volume text from evaluating developments in the Roman Mass against the standard of his own progressive liturgical values.

To Jungmann, the liturgical value of ministerial functionality was essential. Ministerial functionality was a liturgical hermeneutic which isolated individual liturgical gestures and prayers, determined what each gesture or prayers’ essential purpose was in the overall liturgical action, and evaluated how effectively the liturgical gesture or prayer accomplished its essential purpose.⁴⁷¹ Evaluating the traditional liturgy and proposing reform measures based on the principle of ministerial functionality placed considerable importance on the liturgical scholar’s personal conclusions about what the function of each liturgical action was. It also sought to reshape the liturgy based on pragmatic rather than aesthetic terms, which could be argued to be foreign to the high priority the Traditional Latin Mass placed on aesthetic ceremony.

Alcuin Reid charged Jungmann with antiquarianism for his consistent deprecation of “liturgical establishments after the Peace of Constantine, most particularly those of the medieval and baroque periods.”⁴⁷² However, Jungmann’s antiquarianism was not rooted solely in a theory of a supposedly pure early liturgy corrupted by all later historical accretions. Rather, Jungmann’s criticisms of the Latin Rite’s liturgical traditions were rooted in a rejection of the Traditional Latin Mass’s mysterious and aesthetic orientation in favor of an orientation towards ministerial functionality. While he was not in favor of

⁴⁷⁰ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 405.

⁴⁷¹ Lucien Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, trans. Lyla Haggard, Michael Mazzaresse (Cincinnati, OH: World Library Publications, 1970), 2.

⁴⁷² Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 165.

an “archaeological,” or purely antiquarian reform of the Roman Rite, he believed that considering earlier forms of liturgical prayers and gestures could “invite [the Church to] once more enter more deeply into their meaning.”⁴⁷³ In other words, Jungmann believed that the earliest form of the liturgy’s various customs and prayers pointed towards what function these elements of the liturgy were originally intended to have. Jungmann believed that his historical text could aid the Church in appreciating such functions in order to make informed decisions about how to reform the liturgy.

Understanding Jungmann’s perspective about how the history of the liturgy could help the present-day Church better understand the ministerial function of the various aspects of the Mass is helpful in understanding how he structured his *Mass of the Roman Rite*. His first volume began with a general history of the Roman Rite from the apostolic period to the present age.⁴⁷⁴ After this historical overview, Jungmann devoted the remainder of his first volume to an examination of the historical development of each individual portion of what was then called the “Mass of the Catechumens,” comprised of each liturgical action from the entrance procession to the bidding prayers which historically followed the Homily and Creed.⁴⁷⁵ His second volume examined the historical development of each element of the “Mass of the Faithful,” comprising each liturgical action from the Offertory to the Recession of the clergy after the Mass.⁴⁷⁶

Each of the chapters (after the historical overview) of *Mass of the Roman Rite* began with an examination of how each liturgical gesture was enacted in the earliest period of the Church. These examinations were coupled with suggestions as to what the

⁴⁷³ Joanne M. Pierce, Michael Downey, *Source and Summit: Commemorating Josef A. Jungmann, S.J.* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1999), page 26.

⁴⁷⁴ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 1, 3.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid*, xvii-xviii.

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, vii-viii.

function of these liturgical gestures was originally meant to be. In the chapter examining the history of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, for example, Jungmann argued that this historical gesture originated in a simple “silent reverence of the celebrant as he bows in front of the altar.”⁴⁷⁷ Thus, he began this section by establishing that the function of this liturgical gesture was to simply allow the priest to express reverence towards the altar before beginning the Mass. The next twenty pages or so detailed the gradual development of the ritual gestures and prayers of this introductory rite, leaving it to the reader to decide whether or not the gradual historical accretions to the originally simple rite adequately expressed the liturgical gesture’s supposed original function.

Using this same strategy of comparing later liturgical developments with their original purpose, Jungmann seemed to have reservations towards the proclamation of the Last Gospel after the final blessing, an action he referred to as “certainly remarkable.”⁴⁷⁸ He argued that the prologue of St. John’s Gospel was introduced into the Mass’s closing blessing only due to a medieval perception that hearing this gospel passage bestowed a sort of “superstition” and “magical” benediction upon those present, though he did not rule out the possibility of an authentically Christian interpretation of the liturgical act.⁴⁷⁹ Thus, despite the important role that the Last Gospel played in the Latin Mass for centuries, Jungmann’s negative treatment of the subject sheds some light on the animosity Liturgical scholars expressed towards this ritual and their seemingly inexplicable calls for its abolition as the 1950s and 1960s progressed.

Jungmann’s treatment of the Offertory, wherein the bread and wine were ceremoniously placed upon the altar and the priest prayed preemptively that the sacrifice

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid, 290.

⁴⁷⁸ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, 447.

⁴⁷⁹ Ibid.

be accepted by God, is also worthy of consideration. Jungmann began this chapter by writing that “this readying of bread and wine need not, of course, be a ritual action.”⁴⁸⁰ In defense of this claim, he wrote that Justin Martyr’s description of the Mass in his *First Apology* described the Offertory quite simply as a rite in which “bread is brought in, and wine and water. No particular formalities are observed, no symbolism introduced into the movement.”⁴⁸¹ To Jungmann, then, the Offertory served no ministerial function other than to prepare the altar with the material elements of the Eucharistic sacrifice. To cite the 65th chapter of Justin Martyr’s *First Apology* as a proof text for this theory is arguably problematic since Justin Martyr did not intend his text to be a comprehensive liturgical manual, but rather a brief overview of the Christian religion addressed to a pagan Emperor in order to alleviate misunderstandings and deter persecution.⁴⁸²

Over the course of the next hundred or so pages of the second volume of *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, Jungmann examined the numerous historical accretions which came to clutter the once simple liturgical gesture of placing bread, wine, and water upon the altar before the sacrifice. While he did not explicitly condemn these historical accretions, readers would have found it difficult to appreciate the development of the Latin Mass’s Offertory as a venerable tradition after Jungmann examined these developments as mere historical accidents cluttering the simplicity of an ancient liturgical gesture.⁴⁸³ Once again, Jungmann’s treatment of this topic may help to explain the ultimate “mutilation” of the Offertory rite in the Novus Ordo, to borrow the term that Pope Paul VI used to describe this particular reform.⁴⁸⁴

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid, 1.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid.

⁴⁸² Justin Martyr, “The First Apology,” chapters 1-2 and 65.

⁴⁸³ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, vol. 2, 53-58.

⁴⁸⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 379.

By the late 1940s, it should be noted that progressive tendencies had made considerable advances beyond just the Liturgical Movement. In the late 1940s, a French pastoral letter gained popularity throughout the Church as a book whose English title was *Growth or Decline*. In this text, the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris, Emmanuel Suhard, called for an end to the Church's so-called fortress mentality towards modern secular developments in favor of an adaptation of the Church's teachings and disciplines to the ideas and customs of the modern world.⁴⁸⁵ Suhard's ideas echoed the principles of the centuries' old progressive Catholic movement which was at this time manifesting itself in a variety of popular scholarly movements.

Throughout the 1940s, a variety of progressive scholarly movements became popular in Western Catholicism. The Biblical Movement in the Catholic Church, for example, sought to encourage both a devotional reading of the scriptures amongst the laity and a greater reliance upon the scriptures in Catholic theological studies.⁴⁸⁶ In France, the publication of the *Bible de Jerusalem*, known in English as the *Jerusalem Bible*, placed an easily-readable Bible translation in the hands of laypersons.⁴⁸⁷ The Biblical Movement also utilized secular textual analysis strategies in analyzing the scriptures as historical documents rather than as irrefutable doctrinal source texts.⁴⁸⁸

An example of a progressive theory popularized by the Biblical Movement is the "Marcan Origin" theory which argues that since the Gospel of Mark is the shortest and the least detailed of the synoptic Gospels, it must have served as the source text for the

⁴⁸⁵ Suhard, *Growth or Decline*, 10-11.

⁴⁸⁶ "Letter from France: The Biblical Movement in the Catholic Church," *Theology* 60, no. 439 (January 1957): 5-8, accessed: <https://doi.org/10.1177/0040571X5706043903>. "

⁴⁸⁷ Davis, *Liturgy and Doctrine*, 20-21.

⁴⁸⁸ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 181-182.

Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke.⁴⁸⁹ This theory contradicted the traditional Catholic belief, held at least since St. Augustine, that the Gospels were written in the order in which they are placed in the New Testament.⁴⁹⁰ The Biblical Movement also popularized the now mainstream belief in an unknown original “Q Gospel” which accounted for the similarities found between the Gospel of Matthew and the Gospel of Luke which are not found in the Gospel of Mark.⁴⁹¹

Biblical Movement scholars also advocated for a return to the original Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament texts as opposed to relying on the authorized Latin Vulgate as the standard for biblical scholarship. Augustin Cardinal Bea, a proponent for returning to the “original texts,” successfully convinced Pius XII to commend the use of the Masoretic Hebrew Old Testament manuscripts in biblical scholarship.⁴⁹² The official commendation of the Masoretic Old Testament manuscript tradition was a break with the Church’s perennial tradition of using the Greek Septuagint and the Latin Vulgate manuscript traditions in biblical scholarship. In a sense, one might even consider the Latin Vulgate to have been the canonized manuscript tradition of traditional Catholicism seeing that the 4th session of the Council of Trent anathematized anyone who:

receive not, as sacred and canonical, the said books *entirely with all their parts*, as they have been used to be read in the Catholic Church, and as they are contained in the old Latin vulgate edition; and knowingly and deliberately condemn the traditions aforesaid (emphasis mine).⁴⁹³

⁴⁸⁹ Karl Keating, “Problems with the Synoptic Problem,” Catholic Answers, 3/1/994, accessed: <https://www.catholic.com/magazine/print-edition/problems-with-the-synoptic-problem>.

⁴⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁹¹ Preface to “The Gospel According to Matthew,” in *New American Bible*, ed., Confraternity of Christian Doctrine (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Co., 1970) page 4-5 of New Testament.

⁴⁹² Timothy Flanders, *Introduction to the Holy Bible for Traditional Catholics: A Beginner’s Guide to Reading the Scriptures for Spiritual Profit* (Our Lady of Victory Press, 2019), 147 of 262.

⁴⁹³ “General Council of Trent: Fourth Session,” 4/8/1546, Papal Encyclicals Online, accessed 3/9/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/councils/trent/fourth-session.htm>.

To be sure, it might be argued that this dogmatic definition was only referring to the canon of scripture as found in the Latin Vulgate and not this manuscript tradition in general. All the same, it cannot be doubted that the sudden preference for the Masoretic manuscripts over the Latin Vulgate signified a break with centuries of Roman Catholic tradition. This break was inspired by the progressive desire to discover the original intention of the scriptural authors. This desire placed a higher priority on reading the original scriptural language rather than merely trusting the manuscript tradition that the Church traditionally preferred.

While attractive in theory, the Biblical Movement's emphasis on the "original texts" was complicated by the fact that the only surviving Hebrew manuscript tradition was the 6th-10th century Masoretic text.⁴⁹⁴ Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1946, instances in which the more ancient Qum'ran manuscripts agreed with the Septuagint or Vulgate traditions rather than the Masoretic tradition indicate that the later Hebrew tradition may not have been as "original" a text as was originally imagined.⁴⁹⁵ In a sense, then, certain translation peculiarities of the Masoretic tradition can be perceived as more recent alterations than the Greek Septuagint or Latin Vulgate traditions, both of which were formulated centuries before the Masoretic. Nor was the late authorship of the Masoretic text unknown to scholars of traditional Catholicism. The 19th century Catholic biblical scholar Fr. George Leo Haydock's commentary on Psalm 21 contrasted the

⁴⁹⁴ "Masoretic text: Jewish Bible," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9/20/2013, accessed: <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Masoretic-text>.

⁴⁹⁵ Benedict Maria Anderson, "Fulfilled is all that David Told': Recovering the Christian Psalter," *Sacred Music*, vol. 144, no. 4 (Winter, 2017), 22, quoted in *Introduction to the Holy Bible for Traditional Catholics* by Timothy Flanders page 150-151 of 262.

Hebrew translation of “the Masorets” with what he referred to as the more ancient Septuagint, Latin, and Syriac manuscript traditions.⁴⁹⁶

Regardless, in the 1943 *Divino Afflante Spiritu*, Pius XII permitted both the use of modern biblical exegetical strategies as well commended the use of the “original text” Hebrew manuscripts.⁴⁹⁷ Additionally, despite the traditional preference for the Vulgate and the traditional skepticism towards the Masoretic text, Pius XII promulgated a new psalter based on the Masoretic text and modern biblical exegetical techniques in 1945.⁴⁹⁸ Interestingly, this psalter translation was largely criticized by the clergy, leading Pius XII to reduce this reform to being a merely optional psalter translation.⁴⁹⁹

While Pius XII may have opened the door to progressive biblical scholarship, he may have taken steps later in his papacy to close that door again. Some traditionalists such as Timothy Flanders argue that Pius X’s proclamation of the dogma of the Assumption of Mary body and soul into Heaven in 1950 was an act which intended to curtail the skepticism that was spreading throughout the Church as a result of progressive trends in biblical scholarship.⁵⁰⁰ It is also reasonable to speculate that Pius XII’s relatively early canonization of Pius X as a saint could also be perceived as a firm response to the growth of progressive movements within the Church.

The *Nouvelle Théologie* was to theological studies what the Biblical Movement was to biblical scholarship. This growing movement was composed of progressive

⁴⁹⁶ George Leo Haydock, *Douay Rheims Edition of the Holy Catholic Bible with a Comprehensive Catholic Commentary compiled by Rev. Fr. Geo. Leo Haydock* (1859, repr., Fitzwilliam, NH: Loreto Publications, 2014), 697.

⁴⁹⁷ Pius XII, “*Divino Afflante Spiritu*: On Promoting Biblical Studies,” Vatican, the Holy See, 9/30/1943, accessed 3/9/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu.html.

⁴⁹⁸ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 131.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ Flanders, *Introduction to the Holy Bible for Traditional Catholics*, 155.

theologians opposed to Leo XIII and Pius X's insistence on the primacy of Scholastic Thomism in Catholic theology. The *Nouvelle Théologie* theologians have been described as rather "emphasizing a resourcement of historical sources (including Thomas Aquinas himself, rather than Thomas as read through a later scholastic grid), by recognizing the importance of history and thus of the development of Christian doctrine, and by insisting on the close link between faith and theology."⁵⁰¹

George Weigel wrote that such theologians claimed to base their studies heavily upon the Bible, the Church fathers, and a larger sampling of the work of medieval theologians than Thomas Aquinas alone in order to weave a comprehensive tapestry of Catholic theology.⁵⁰² Despite such descriptions, it would be a mistake to describe these theologians as mere antiquarians. Rather, there existed amongst these theologians a prevailing interest in reforming Catholic theology to make it more spiritually nourishing to the modern person, especially by integrating modern understandings of "historicity and subjectivity" into its treatises.⁵⁰³ In order to modernize Catholic theological studies, scholars of this movement engaged with the trends of modern secular academia.⁵⁰⁴ Thus, it must be considered whether the *Nouvelle Théologie* scholars' study of the Bible and the Fathers did not unduly emphasize sources which facilitated the modernization of Catholic theology and ignore those biblical or patristic texts which did not advance this goal. It should not be taken as nonsensical, after all, that this movement was described as a "new theology" rather than an old one. It was perceived as being primarily interested in modernizing Catholic theology rather than restoring it to ancient forms.

⁵⁰¹ Hans Boersma, review of "Nouvelle Théologie - New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II - By Jürgen Mettepenningen," 487-89.

⁵⁰² Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 116.

⁵⁰³ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 75.

⁵⁰⁴ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 116.

In *Nouvelle Théologie - New Theology: Inheritor of Modernism, Precursor of Vatican II*, Jürgen Mettepenningen argued that this mid-20th century movement served as the “bridge between the crisis of Modernism and the Second Vatican Council” by inheriting the principles of the former and preparing the Church for the latter.⁵⁰⁵ Due to concerns with the Modernist-like ideas advanced by such theologians, the movement was initially condemned by the Vatican in its early years.⁵⁰⁶ It was, in fact, in the context of a 1942 condemnation of two progressive theological texts of this movement that the term “Nouvelle Théologie” was first coined as an attempt to dismiss it.⁵⁰⁷

While referring to an intellectual movement as being a “new theology” may seem to be little the slight, it must be recalled that accusations of theological innovation were a grave charge in traditional Catholicism. After the First Council of Nicaea, for example, many conservative bishops initially criticized the use of the term “homoousias” or “consubstantial” in the Nicene Creed to describe the relationship between the Father and the Son because this term was seen as an unbiblical innovation.⁵⁰⁸ One might also consider, for example, Cyril of Alexandria’s *Tome Against Nestorius* which accused Nestorius of theological innovation in his Mariology by writing that “the first step of his *innovation* was that we must not confess the Holy Virgin who bare the Word of God having taken flesh of her, to be Theotokos, but Christotokos only, whereas the heralds of the orthodox faith long ago taught to call her Theotokos, and believe her the Mother of the Lord” (emphasis mine).⁵⁰⁹ In *Pascendi*, Pius X accused Modernists of being “under

⁵⁰⁵ Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie*, xiii.

⁵⁰⁶ *Ibid*, 3-4.

⁵⁰⁷ *Ibid*, 4.

⁵⁰⁸ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 51.

⁵⁰⁹ Cyril of Alexandria, *Five Tomes Against Nestorius: Schola on the Incarnation; Christ is One; Fragments Against the Diodore of Tarsus, Theodore of Moseustia, the Synousiasts*, trans., the Devonport Society of the Holy Trinity (5th century, repr., Oxford: James Parker Co., 1881), accessed 3/13/22: https://www.tertullian.org/fathers/cyрил_against_nestorius_00_intro.htm.

the sway of a blind and unchecked passion for *novelty*, thinking not at all of finding some solid foundation of truth, *but despising the holy and apostolic traditions*, they embrace other vain, futile, uncertain doctrines...” (emphasis mine).⁵¹⁰

The term which *Nouvelle Théologie* intellectuals may have preferred for themselves during the 1940s was the term “resourcement,” implying their emphasis on a return to the sources of Christian doctrine.⁵¹¹ It is noteworthy, however, that after the Second Vatican Council, theologians of this progressive movement began to prefer the term *Nouvelle Théologie* to describe themselves, indicating that a shift in connotation surrounding charges of innovation in theological studies had taken place in the Catholic Church by this time.⁵¹²

Noteworthy theologians of a more progressive nature who took part in this movement included Edward Schillebeeckx, Piet Schoonenberg and Karl Rahner.⁵¹³ These progressive voices in the *Nouvelle Théologie* gradually applied their innovative reading of the Bible, patristics, and modern philosophy to express doubt on a number of traditional Catholic doctrines.⁵¹⁴ Before the Council, such doubts were expressed quite cautiously; after its conclusion, the progressive bent of the *Nouvelle Théologie* would only grow. *Ad Fontes* theologians of a more conservative disposition included Henri de Lubac, Romano Guardini, and later, Hans Urs von Balthasar and Joseph Ratzinger.⁵¹⁵

While separated from engaging with this theological school by the walls of the Iron Curtain, the Polish bishop Karol Wojtyła found himself of a like-mind with the more conservative of the *Nouvelle Théologie* intellectuals as he engaged with them in

⁵¹⁰ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec.13.

⁵¹¹ Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie*, 10-11.

⁵¹² *Ibid*, 5-7.

⁵¹³ Boersma, review of “Nouvelle Théologie,” 488.

⁵¹⁴ Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie*, 27-28.

⁵¹⁵ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 117-121, 188, 194.

deliberations during the Second Vatican Council and later as a Cardinal advisor to Pope Paul VI.⁵¹⁶ In *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, George Weigel convincingly argued that Karol Wojtyła's intellectual body of work should be classified as both thoroughly modern due his engagement with modern intellectual trends while also conservative in his insistence on preserving orthodox Catholic doctrine.⁵¹⁷ Wojtyła's well known *Love and Responsibility*, for example, was based on a modern Personalist philosophical system rather than Thomistic Scholasticism.⁵¹⁸ While he referenced Aquinas throughout his text in a favorable light, Wojtyła was not shy from also criticizing Thomas Aquinas's treatment of the virtue of chastity for classifying chastity as an expression of the virtue of moderation rather than an expression of the virtue of love.⁵¹⁹

Thus, while not considered a member of the *Nouvelle Théologie*, it should come as little surprise that the Polish prelate felt of a like-mind with the conservative-leaning theologians of this movement who shared his vision for a theologically conservative *aggiornamento* of Catholic thought. Once Wojtyła became pope, John Paul II confirmed his admiration for the conservative *Ad Fontes* intellectuals by elevating Joseph Ratzinger to the most important theological position in his Curia as prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (CDF) as well as by making Hans Urs von Balthasar and Henri de Lubac cardinals.

Even while some of the members of this movement would later acquire reputations as theological conservatives, the movement in general based its theology off of progressive biblical and historical methods rather than traditional Scholasticism.⁵²⁰

⁵¹⁶ Ibid, 194-197.

⁵¹⁷ Ibid, 197-199.

⁵¹⁸ Karol Wojtyła, *Love and Responsibility*, rev. ed., trans. H.T Willetts (1981, repr., San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 1993), 17-18.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid, 167-169.

⁵²⁰ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* 75-76.

Thus, a line could be drawn between even the conservative wing of the *Nouvelle Théologie* movement and traditional Catholicism. In *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, George Weigel argued that post-conciliar distinctions between conservatives and progressives were in reality a “civil war *within* the reformist camp,” of the Church.⁵²¹

Although Karol Wojtyla would later acquire a reputation as a conservative as John Paul II, traditionalist Catholics would often find fault with him for approving of female altar servers, holding two ecumenical prayer gatherings in Assisi in which leaders of various religions led prayers to various deities in the presence of the pope, quoting favorably from the work of Teilhard de Chardin, the progressive whose writings were formally censured under John XXIII, and for kissing a Qur’an and asking John the Baptist to “protect Islam.”⁵²² While Joseph Ratzinger as Benedict XVI was slightly more traditional than his immediate predecessor, he also may have come under question a century before for questionable soteriological views and for speaking favorably of Teilhard de Chardin.⁵²³ Further, Hans Urs von Balthasar, the friend of Ratzinger who John Paul II made a cardinal, wrote a famous book *Dare We Hope that all be Saved* in which he argued for the theological possibility that all souls might be saved from damnation.⁵²⁴ This text contradicted the traditional Catholic sense that “wide is the gate, and broad is

⁵²¹ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 186.

⁵²² Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 72-75 and 126.; John Paul II, “Prayer of the Holy Father,” transcript of speech and prayer delivered at Wadi-Al-Kharrar during Jubilee Pilgrimage of His Holiness to the Holy Land, 3/21/2000, Vatican, the Holy See, accessed: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/travels/2000/documents/hf_jp-ii_spe_20000321_wadi-al-kharrar.html.

⁵²³ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 278.; Jim Manney, “Papal Praise for Teilhard,” Ignatius Spirituality, Loyola Press, accessed 3/9/22: <https://www.ignatianspirituality.com/papal-praise-for-teilhard/>

⁵²⁴ Robert Barron, forward to *Dare We Hope That All Men Be Saved?* by Hans Urs von Balthasar, trans. David Kipp and Lothar Krauth (1986, repr., San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2014).

the way that leadeth to destruction, and many there are who go in there at. How narrow is the gate, and strait is the way that leadeth to life: and few there are that find it!”⁵²⁵

To be sure, neither Wojtyla, Ratzinger, or Urs von Balthasar would be considered by many to be *heretics*. All the same, their collective ideas, produced through engaging with the ideas of secular academia, should be described as a different interpretation of Roman Catholicism than the traditional Catholicism embodied by Pius X.

Since the conservative and the progressive factions within the *Nouvelle Théologie* movement had a common interest in collaborating to advocate for license to engage with modern academic ideas in Catholic studies, the two wings of the movement were able to work together before and during the Second Vatican Council. This alliance was aided by the fact that the more radically progressive *Nouvelle Théologie* theologians still had some fear of being censured during the pre-Vatican II years, requiring them to restrain the full breadth of their progressive positions until after the Council. Working together, these progressive theologians were able to advance their ideas throughout the 1940s and 50s by acquiring positions of influence in seminary faculties and Catholic universities and gaining the ears of bishops, cardinals, and popes.

The growth of the Ecumenical Movement in the Catholic Church also represents an instance in which progressive scholars and clerics made significant advances against the expressed decrees of the official Magisterium and against the Church’s traditional means of understanding and interacting with Protestants. In 1928, Pius XI articulated in *Mortalium Animos* the reasons why the 20th century Protestant Ecumenical Movement, led by the World Council of Churches, held principles which were incompatible with

⁵²⁵ Matthew 7:13b-14.

traditional Catholic ecclesiology.⁵²⁶ He wrote that since it was held as dogmatic that the Catholic Church possessed the fullness of unity in the invincible communion between the many Local Churches in union with the Church of Rome, Catholics could not engage in an ecumenical movement that presupposed that this ecclesial unity did not yet exist.⁵²⁷ In other words, the disunity of Christ's Church with heretical sects was not to be considered a problem; rather, the existence of heretical ecclesial communities at all was considered to be the problem, and the conversion of those heretics to the true Church was the only possible remedy.⁵²⁸

The idea that the Catholic Church even *could* achieve unity with a Protestant communion such as the Anglican communion or the Lutheran communion was also incompatible with traditional Catholic theology. The Catholic theology of Apostolic Succession as well as that of what made an ordination valid left no room for considering any clerics of any Protestant sect to possess a valid priesthood.⁵²⁹ Thus, their ecclesial bodies could not be considered in any manner a "Church," in the proper ecclesiological sense.⁵³⁰ Regardless of the restatement and articulation of these principles of dogmatic Catholic ecclesiology, Catholic clerics and scholars at an increasing rate engaged in the Protestant Ecumenical Movement, working towards the unity of a Church which traditional Catholicism taught had already been achieved in Roman Catholicism.⁵³¹ Dom

⁵²⁶ Pius XI, "*Mortalium Animos*: On Religious Unity," encyclical, Vatican, the Holy See, 1/6/1928, sec. 2, accessed 3/9/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19280106_mortalium-animos.html.

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁵²⁹ Leo XIII, "*Apostolicae Curae*: On the Nullity of Anglican Orders," encyclical, Papal Encyclicals Online, 9/15/1896, accessed 3/9/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/leo13/113curae.htm>.

⁵³⁰ Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, "*Dominus Iesus*: On the Unicity and Salvific Universality of Jesus Christ and the Church," declaration, Vatican, the Holy See, 6/16/2000, sec. 17, accessed 3/9/22: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_20000806_dominus-iesus_en.html.

⁵³¹ Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle Théologie*, 28.

Lambert Beauduin, the founder of the Liturgical Movement, engaged in the Ecumenical movement in England and advocated for the pursuit of unity between the Anglican and Catholic Church rather than the absorption of Anglican Christians into the Catholic Church, implying that the Anglican sect was in fact a valid local Church.⁵³² During their papacies, John Paul II and Benedict XVI both devoted considerable energy towards the Christian Ecumenical Movement.⁵³³

Other examples abound of the growth of progressive tendencies in Catholic thought. In 1941, Stanley James published *Christ and the Workers* in which he utilized Marxist theory to analyze modern economic and sociological trends. He believed that the world was destined, or was in fact already experiencing, the rise of the proletariat. His hope was that the outcome would be a Christian proletariat revolution, which he sought to define in his book, rather than a secular atheistic proletariat revolution.⁵³⁴ While not so Marxist as to agree that religion was the “opium of the people,” James’s clear use of Marxist methodology rather than Leonine Catholic social teaching could be described as a progressive preference for secular methodology over Catholic Tradition.

For his part, Msgr. Giovanni Montini was thoroughly engaged in modern thought in the decades before his elevation as Pope Paul VI. He was a great admirer of Jacques Maritain’s idea of Integral Humanism.⁵³⁵ Maritain wished to baptize secular humanism by integrating this school of thought with an appreciation of man’s spiritual dimension.⁵³⁶ He also advocated for the Church to accept its role as but one of many cultural forces in a

⁵³² Lambert Beauduin, “The Church of England United Not Absorbed,” Anglican History, Project Canterbury, 1925, accessed 3/9/22: <http://anglicanhistory.org/misc/beauduin.html>.

⁵³³ George Weigel, *Witness to Hope*, 494-495.; Crocker, *Triumph*, 422-423.; Roberson, “Pope Benedict XVI and Ecumenism: A Retrospective.”

⁵³⁴ Stanley James, *Christ and the Workers* (Rochester: Great Britain: The Stanhope Press LTD., 1938), 73.

⁵³⁵ Michael Davies, *Pope John’s Council*: 2nd edition, (Kansas City, MO: Angelus Press, 2007), 287-289.

⁵³⁶ Michael Joyce, “Jacques Maritain Integral Humanism (1936),” 49.

pluralistic society in which the Church could collaborate with people of other beliefs to bring about positive social change.⁵³⁷ Integral Humanism was a break with the Church's traditional advocacy for a mutually beneficial marriage between the altar and the throne.⁵³⁸

In the Ecumenical Movement, the Biblical Movement, the Liturgical Movement, and the *Nouvelle Théologie* Movement, not only was the Magisterium engaged in losing battles against the many faces of progressivism in the 20th century Church, but the sense of authority that traditional customs, beliefs, and methodologies once had amongst the Catholic faithful was gradually replaced by a sense of authority in secular academic methodologies and ideas. While the popes and bishops maintained a sense of the authority of tradition for most of the early 20th century, this traditionalist orientation of the papacy and episcopacy was not immutable. Exposed to the same modern ideas and methodologies as the lower ranking clerics and scholars, bishops and even popes were susceptible to making compromises with traditional Catholic doctrines and customs due to the suggestions of progressive intellectuals. In the following chapter, it will be observed that the later years of Pius XII's papacy saw progressive tendencies in the Church's institutions gain considerable momentum.

⁵³⁷ Ibid.

⁵³⁸ Pius IX, "The Syllabus of Errors," sec. 55.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PIAN REFORMS

The Liturgical Movement seemed to explode in 1947 after Pius XII's publication of *Mediator Dei*. The encyclical "Mediator of God" was not simply a restatement of prior papal teaching emphasizing the importance of traditional sacred chant. Rather, it was written in order to provide a comprehensive Magisterial teaching on the liturgy which acknowledged the Liturgical Movement's strengths as well as its perceived weaknesses.⁵³⁹ It should be noted that the document reads mostly as a traditional treatise on the liturgy which condemns many of the Liturgical Movement's illicit practices and imprudent proposals. Still, Pius XII did grant approval for some of the Liturgical Movement's theories. Ultimately, history would find that this encyclical's few points of approval of the Liturgical Movement would be seized upon opportunistically by the movement's scholars who largely ignored Pius XII's condemnations.

Pius XII opened the encyclical by defining the liturgy in traditional terms as the action by which Christ extended his sanctifying sacrifice throughout time and space through the medium of the priesthood and the sacred altar.⁵⁴⁰ After laying out this traditional definition, Pius XII acknowledged the Liturgical Movement by writing:

A remarkably widespread revival of scholarly interest in the sacred liturgy took place towards the end of the last century and has continued through the early years of this one. The movement owed its rise to commendable private initiative and more particularly to the zealous and persistent labor of several monasteries within the distinguished Order of Saint Benedict.⁵⁴¹

⁵³⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 138.

⁵⁴⁰ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, sec. 2.

⁵⁴¹ *Ibid*, 4.

Pius XII commended this movement for encouraging more frequent reception of Holy Communion. Before the Liturgical Movement, most lay Catholics received Holy Communion quite rarely, often only twice a year.⁵⁴² He also wrote that as a result of the Liturgical Movement, “the worship of the Eucharist came to be regarded for what it really is: the fountain-head of genuine Christian devotion.”⁵⁴³ Considering that many liturgical scholars insisted on understanding the Mass as a comprehensive liturgical act in which each gesture was meaningful and not merely as the occasion by which the host could be adored, this statement may represent a slight rift between Pius XII and the Liturgical Movement scholars.

After offering this subtle praise, Pius XII framed the purpose of his encyclical by stating “while We derive no little satisfaction from the wholesome results of the movement just described, duty obliges Us to give serious attention to this ‘revival’ as it is advocated in some quarters, and to take proper steps to preserve it at the outset from excess or outright perversion.”⁵⁴⁴ He condemned the work of certain “enthusiasts” whose thirst for novelty had led them to stray “beyond the path of sound doctrine and prudence.”⁵⁴⁵

Pius XII defined the liturgy as the sacerdotal ministry of Christ which was rooted in the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament and was extended throughout all of time to make present the salvific sacrifice of the cross on the Christian altar.⁵⁴⁶ While the Mass, then, was objectively effective in making this sacrifice present, the laity derived the most benefit from it as well as offered the most pleasing worship to God if they

⁵⁴² O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 73.

⁵⁴³ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, sec. 5.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid*, sec. 7.

⁵⁴⁵ *Ibid*, sec. 8.

⁵⁴⁶ *Ibid*, sec. 16-19.

joined their exterior actions during the Mass to interior devotion and a holy way of life.⁵⁴⁷

In fostering an interior spirit of devotion and in nurturing a holy way of life, Pius XII defended the devotions of popular piety found throughout the international Church. He wrote that if these devotions were of a truly Christian spirit, “certainly such practices are not only highly praiseworthy but absolutely indispensable.”⁵⁴⁸ This defense of devotions could be contrasted with the general criticism of private devotions found amongst many of the liturgical scholars’ writings.

Pius XII went on to articulate a number of traditional liturgical principles, thereby condemning a number of progressive liturgical theories which criticized such traditions. He wrote that since the power of the priesthood was given by Christ to the Apostles and from them to the bishops and their priests of the present generation, this priestly power could not be said to “emanate from the Christian community. It is not a delegation from the people.”⁵⁴⁹ He also condemned the idea that the liturgy could be used as the “proving ground” for the experimental testing of new methods and doctrines.⁵⁵⁰ Rather, Pius XII explained that the Traditional Latin Mass quite adequately articulated the dogmas of the Catholic religion and stood in no need of being adapted to accomplish a greater religiosity amongst any congregation.⁵⁵¹ However, he did concede that the Church’s legitimate authority did hold the role of:

[While] keeping the substance of the Mass and sacraments carefully intact - [of] modify[ing] what it deemed not altogether fitting, and to add what appeared more likely to increase the honor paid to Jesus Christ and the august Trinity, and to instruct and stimulate the Christian people to greater advantage.⁵⁵²

⁵⁴⁷ Ibid, sec. 24-27.

⁵⁴⁸ Ibid, sec. 32.

⁵⁴⁹ Ibid, sec. 40.

⁵⁵⁰ Ibid, sec. 46

⁵⁵¹ Ibid, sec. 47-48.

⁵⁵² Ibid, sec. 49.

Pius XII also articulated the Liturgical Movement's principle later quoted by

Sacrosanctum Concilium that:

The sacred liturgy does, in fact, include divine as well as human elements. The former, instituted as they have been by God, cannot be changed in any way by men. But the human components admit of various modifications, as the needs of the age, circumstance and the good of souls may require, and as the ecclesiastical hierarchy, under guidance of the Holy Spirit, may have authorized.⁵⁵³

In articulating these principles, Pius XII intended to censure the practice of illicit liturgical experiments taking place at the discretion of individual clerics.⁵⁵⁴ He also seemed to raise this point as an explanation of the process by which the Roman Rite had developed in the past. However, in so doing, he implicitly endorsed the Liturgical Movement's premise that the liturgy needed to be adapted to suit the needs of modern man.

Thus, Pius XII created space for suggesting reforms to the Mass under the meager stipulation that such reforms be authorized by the Church's authority and made only to the human elements of the liturgy. Under a progressive interpretation, every element of the Mass except the words of institution and the elements of bread and wine could be seen as human elements which were added to the ritual established by Jesus during the Last Supper. While Pius XII almost certainly did not intend by these words to instigate a general reform of the Missal, he was not entirely clear about which "human elements" were subject to change or how many such human elements could licitly be changed in a manner of just a few years without causing substantial rupture to the continuity of the Roman Rite liturgical tradition. He did not provide such distinctions because he likely

⁵⁵³ Ibid, sec. 50.

⁵⁵⁴ Ibid, sec. 58.

could not imagine that a supreme pontiff in just two decades time would authorize a “new order” missal which would radically reform the so-called human elements of the Mass.

While Pius XII agreed that the Liturgy could be adapted in some manner to suit modern needs, he wrote that “the temerity and daring of those who introduce novel liturgical practices or call for the revival of obsolete rites out of harmony with prevailing laws and rubrics deserve severe reproof.”⁵⁵⁵ Specifically, he condemned the novel practice of introducing the vernacular into the liturgy, illicitly moving immovable feasts to other dates, deleting prayers from the Missal which were deemed by individual clerics to be unsuited to modern needs, using a wooden table for an altar, criticizing the use of black vestments for requiem masses, removing sacred images and statues from the sanctuary, depicting Jesus on the cross as though he were not suffering, perhaps referring to “resurrection crosses,” and refraining from the use of Gregorian chant or polyphony.⁵⁵⁶ He also condemned liturgical theories which minimized the Mass’s role as a literal sacrifice, minimized the distinction between the priest and laity, or criticized the practice of priests praying private Masses without a congregation present.⁵⁵⁷

Pius XII approved of the Liturgical Movement’s push for placing vernacular hand missals in the laity’s hands as he saw the benefit of the laity praying along with the prayers which the priest prayed at the altar. However, he condemned the idea that this was the *only* way to participate in the Mass. He argued that as long as lay persons were offering their minds and hearts to God, perhaps through the praying of the rosary, this constituted a substantial participation in the Mass.⁵⁵⁸ Regarding music and art, Pius XII

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid, sec. 59.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid, sec. 59, 62.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, sec. 68, 83, 86.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid, sec. 100-108.

rearticulated Pius X and Pius XI's emphasis on the importance of traditional chant and polyphony, though he left room for the introduction of reverent and spiritually fruitful modern compositions, just as Pius X had over forty years before.⁵⁵⁹ Finally, he urged the pastors of the Church to both educate their congregations in the principles of the liturgy which he had outlined in this encyclical and also remain diligent in opposing illicit liturgical innovations. He wrote:

It is essential that you watch vigilantly lest the enemy come into the field of the Lord and sow cockle among the wheat; in other words, do not let your flocks be deceived by the subtle and dangerous errors of false mysticism or quietism — as you know We have already condemned these errors; also do not let a certain dangerous “humanism” lead them astray, nor let there be introduced a false doctrine destroying the notion of Catholic faith, nor finally an exaggerated zeal for antiquity in matters liturgical.⁵⁶⁰

In this one statement, Pius XII condemned two themes which were becoming prevalent in the Liturgical Movement: antiquarianism, as well as the overemphasis on the liturgy as an expression of the community's identity, described here as a “dangerous humanism.”

While Pius XII approved of certain aspects of the Liturgical Movement, his encyclical also condemned many progressive liturgical attitudes and theories, illicit experiments, and proposals for changes to the missal which he deemed to be based on erroneous doctrines. No matter how severely *Mediator Dei* condemned many of the proposals and ideas of the Liturgical Movement, however, it was monumental that Pius XII had conceded that the “human elements” of the liturgy could and in fact *should* be changed to suit the needs of modern man, as long as these changes were made by the Church's legitimate authorities.⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁹ Ibid, sec. 192-193.

⁵⁶⁰ Ibid, sec. 203.

⁵⁶¹ Ibid, sec. 50.

These ideas alone gave the Liturgical Movement scholars the official permission they needed as the 1950s began to make bold requests for reforms to the Roman Missal. However, Pius XII's ideas about what constituted prudent changes in the name of modernization were far more conservative than the changes which came to be proposed by liturgical scholars during the 1950s.

After publishing *Mediator Dei*, Pius XII formed a commission of liturgical scholars to investigate the concept of a general reform of the Mass. While canonically established in 1946 under the leadership of the Redemptorist priest Fr. Joseph Löw, this commission did not appoint the rest of its members until 1948 after *Mediator Dei* was published.⁵⁶² The group was filled with ten clerical scholars and one cardinal prefect with Fr. Annibale Bugnini serving as the commission's secretary.⁵⁶³ This group set out to first decide upon changes to the Church's holy week liturgy in what many believed was a tentative first step towards a wider reform of the Mass.⁵⁶⁴

What specific steps did the "Pian Commission," as it is generally called, take in modernizing the Catholic Mass? For starters, its founding document, titled the *Memoria sulla riforma liturgica*, established the goal of pruning the number of Sanctoral feasts and octaves, the complexity of the Missal's rubrics, the breaking of any one of which was popularly deemed a mortal sin, and a greater "simplification" of the liturgy in general, all based on "science."⁵⁶⁵ Despite its progressive use of scientific methodology, the Pian Commission was in general conservative. Citing *Mediator Dei*, the Commission's

⁵⁶² Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 150-151.

⁵⁶³ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 8-9.

⁵⁶⁴ *Ibid*, 10.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 151-158.

founding document expressed the need to avoid both archeologism (a synonym for antiquarianism) as well as the desire to radically modernize the liturgy.⁵⁶⁶

The first reform promulgated as result of the Commission's work was the reform of the Paschal Vigil in 1951. This reform was promulgated as a one year international “experiment.”⁵⁶⁷ The use of a liturgical “experiment” followed the Commission's commitment to a “scientific” reform of the liturgy. The main change was the moving of the Easter Vigil Mass to Saturday evening, whereas before it was celebrated Saturday morning, since all Masses were formerly required to be celebrated before noon.⁵⁶⁸ This change was sought in order that the meaning of the term “vigil” might be reflected in the time of the celebration of this liturgy and that its prayers referencing the evening of Holy Saturday as a “blessed night” might better serve their ministerial function.⁵⁶⁹

Other minor changes were also included in the first Pian reform. Before 1951, the Paschal fire was blessed three times in honor of the Trinity. The Pian Commission shortened this ritual to only one blessing, a change emanating both out of a desire to eliminate “vain repetitions” as well as to abbreviate the odious burden of the liturgy for pastors who were supposedly overburdened with preoccupations in the modern world.⁵⁷⁰ Additionally, a triple candle was formerly lit, symbolizing the Trinity, and the fire from this triple candle was then used to light a large Paschal candle.⁵⁷¹ In the new rite, the triple candle was eliminated, evidently expressing the scholars’ opinion that this custom was a “human element” of the liturgy that had been added “with but little advantage,” to

⁵⁶⁶ Ibid, sec. 154-158.

⁵⁶⁷ Ibid, sec. 172.

⁵⁶⁸ Ibid, sec. 172-173.

⁵⁶⁹ Ibid, sec. 173.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid, sec. 173.

⁵⁷¹ Ibid, sec. 173-174.

use the words of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.⁵⁷² The rite was also changed to include an inscription of the symbols “Alpha” and “Omega” in the Paschal Candle.⁵⁷³

In order to involve the people, the rite now recommended that the laity receive a small candle lit with the fire of the paschal candle as they entered the Church for the Vigil Mass.⁵⁷⁴ Additionally, the blessing of the Holy Water was now conducted in front of the laity in order to involve them in this rite.⁵⁷⁵ The *Exultet* chant, which opened the Easter Vigil liturgy, was edited to include no mention of the Holy Roman Emperor.⁵⁷⁶ The office of Holy Roman Emperor had not existed since the 18th century, so eliminating mention of it purified the chant’s ministerial function. The number of prophetic readings was reduced from twelve to four in order to make the liturgy less burdensome.⁵⁷⁷ The priest was no longer required to read the readings at the altar while another reader read them from the pulpit.⁵⁷⁸ This change was made in the name of ministerial functionality; there was no obvious purpose for the readings to be read twice simultaneously.

The Paschal Vigil Mass was edited to include a congregational renewal of baptismal vows in the vernacular.⁵⁷⁹ This change was one of the more controversial changes made in the new rite since it had no place in liturgical history.⁵⁸⁰ Traditionalist critics argued that this change was an attempt at involving the laity in the ritual in a manner which had no precedent in the liturgical tradition. Those who implemented the

⁵⁷² *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 50.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid*, sec. 174.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid*. sec.

⁵⁷⁵ *Ibid*, sec. 175.

⁵⁷⁶ *Ibid*, sec.174.

⁵⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

⁵⁷⁸ *Ibid*, sec. 175.

⁵⁷⁹ *Ibid*, sec. 176.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid*.

change responded that since the Paschal Vigil was the ancient day on which neophytes were baptized, a general renewal of baptismal vows was an appropriate pastoral addition.

A final change made to the Paschal ceremonies was the omission of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar before the Easter morning Mass.⁵⁸¹ This change was justified by arguing that the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar in anticipation of the Easter liturgy were already conducted before the Easter Vigil, which was liturgically unified to the Easter morning Mass, indicating that there was no reason to repeat this anticipatory action.⁵⁸² Despite such reasoning, it might be argued that this reform reflected a prejudice on the part of many liturgical scholars against the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar. Later, the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar would be one of the first elements of the Traditional Latin Mass to be suppressed after *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.

All things considered, the changes to the Paschal Vigil in 1951 were conservative in comparison to the proposals made by many of the Liturgical Movement's scholars. Explicit modernizations of the liturgy such as the removal of prayers for the Holy Roman Emperor had little room for criticism, and the changing of the time of the Vigil to Saturday night was difficult to criticize considering that the purpose of the Vigil was to liturgically commemorate the resurrection of Christ which was believed to have taken place during the night. These changes to the Mass would, however, serve to encourage more radical calls for changes to the Roman Mass.

Following the reform of the Easter Vigil, liturgical scholars acting alone or in concert with others through participation in conferences began publishing numbered lists proposing missal reforms. Dom Lambert Beauduin, who lived until 1960, published such

⁵⁸¹ Ibid, sec. 142.

⁵⁸² Ibid, sec. 176-177.

a list in an article titled “Decret du 9 Febrier” in 1951.⁵⁸³ He requested that the rubric requiring priests to read the readings at the altar while a choir sang the same readings be suppressed.⁵⁸⁴ He also requested the suppression of the Last Gospel and the Leonine prayers in order that the priestly blessing might be the conclusion of the Mass.⁵⁸⁵ He did not explain why either of these traditions warranted being suppressed.

Also in 1951, a group of 48 scholars informally led by Fr. Joseph Jungmann met at the Benedictine Monastery of Maria Laach, a monastery which had gained a reputation as a center for the Liturgical Movement in Germany.⁵⁸⁶ There, these scholars drafted twelve proposals for reforms of the Roman Missal which were submitted to the Holy See. They proposed:

1. All duplications should be removed from the Mass: the celebrant should never repeat a reading also read by a reader, nor the proper parts which were sung by the choir.
2. The prayers at the foot of the altar should be revised, ideally beginning in the sacristy, and prayed as the priest processes toward the altar.
3. The fore-mass should be renamed the “Liturgy of the Word” and the readings should take place at a more fitting location than the altar.
4. There should only be one Collect prayer per Mass.
5. A revision of the lectionary should be made, perhaps in a 3–4-year cycle. The conference expressed the unanimous opinion that the scriptural readings of the Mass should be read in the vernacular.
6. The recitation of the Creed should take place far less often during Mass.
7. After the Liturgy of the Word and before the Offertory, when the priest says “Oremus,” the congregation should, rather than have a moment of silent prayer, engage in some form of bidding prayers following a litany format.
8. The table of the altar should not be prepared with the elements of the sacrifice until the offertory.
9. There should be a greater number of prefaces.

⁵⁸³ Ibid, sec. 180.

⁵⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁸⁵ Ibid, sec. 179-180.

⁵⁸⁶ Davies, *Liturgy and Doctrine*, 16.

10. The celebrant should begin the *Te Igitur*; the introductory words of the Roman canon, only after the choir has finished singing the *Sanctus*, not while the *Sanctus* is being sung.
11. The servers should not recite the *Confiteor* immediately before receiving Holy Communion since they had already recited the *Confiteor* at the beginning of Mass during the prayers at the foot of the altar.
12. The Last Gospel should be suppressed.
13. The removal of the five signs of the cross over the consecrated Host during the final doxology of the Roman Canon.
14. Reduction in the number of genuflections before the consecrated Host.⁵⁸⁷

The main principles at work in this series of proposals were ministerial functionalism, pastoral expediency, simplification, and antiquarianism. The removal of the simultaneous dual readings of scripture and the prayers of the Ordinary, the proclamation of the readings in a more fitting place than the altar facing away from the people, and the dressing of the altar only during the Offertory were all proposals meant to make the actions of the liturgy better serve their function.

The suppression of the second *Confiteor* was also a functionalist proposal. If the *Confiteor* had accomplished its function at the beginning of Mass, it should not need to be repeated before Communion. A traditionalist might argue that there was a functional value to confessing one's sins in anticipation of the Mass as well as in anticipation of receiving Holy Communion in two separate gestures since the altar servers may have sinned in thought, word, or deed at some point during the Mass.

The reduction of genuflections and signs of the cross were efforts at simplifying the Mass. The proposal to introduce a three or four year cycle of readings was made in order to achieve pastoral benefits, though traditionalists would argue against the abolition

⁵⁸⁷ "Conclusions of the First Congress, Maria Laach, 1951," *Worship*, vol. 28., no. 3 (1953-54), 157-59, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 188-192.

of the Church's thousand year-old lectionary in the name of preserving tradition.⁵⁸⁸ The abolition of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar and the Last Gospel did not present any readily apparent justification other than the fact that both this opening and closing rite were added to the liturgy during the medieval period, and thus might be considered by antiquarians to be historical accretions added with but little benefit.

In 1952, a conference was held at Mont Sainte-Odile in Alsace with the goal of discussing "Modern Man and the Mass."⁵⁸⁹ Like Maria Laach, the Conference of Monte Sainte-Odile also published a list of proposals for the reform of the Mass:

1. That the celebrant might recite the final doxology of the Roman Canon in an audible voice
2. That the five signs of the cross and genuflections during the final doxology be suppressed, and that instead the priest holds the consecrated Chalice and Host during the doxology
3. A reordering of the prayers after the Roman Canon but before the Communion Rite
4. That the breaking and comingling of the host, traditionally allegorically understood as symbolizing the resurrection, be conducted without any accompanying ceremony, and that the two preparatory prayers for holy Communion perhaps be suppressed
5. That the priest break the host consecrated at the Mass into small pieces to be distributed during the Communion Rite
6. That the second *Confiteor* as well as the *Misereatur* and *Indulgentiam* be omitted before Communion
7. That the priest be permitted to say simply "Corpus Christi," or "Body of Christ" when administering communion rather than the traditional prayer "Corpus Domini Nostri Iesu Christi custodiat animam tuam in vitam aeternam, Amen," or "May the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve your soul unto life everlasting Amen"
8. That the communion antiphon be sung during communion in the vernacular⁵⁹⁰

⁵⁸⁸ Archdale King, *Liturgy of the Roman Church* (London: Longmans, 1959), 247, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 190.

⁵⁸⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 194.

⁵⁹⁰ "Conclusions of the Second Congress, Ste. Odile, 1952," *Worship*, vol. 28., no. 3 (1953-54), 157-59 quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 160-161.

Again, this conference can be noted for requesting changes with perceived pastoral expediency, functionalist value, or a greater simplicity to the ceremonies of the Mass.

In 1953, the Lugano Conference called together over a hundred scholars and clerics including a handful of bishops and even cardinals. This conference called for more frequent lay reception of Holy Communion and the use of the vernacular for the scripture readings and the songs of the Mass.⁵⁹¹ Since most of the “songs” of the Mass were musical accompaniments to the prayers of the Missal, vernacularizing these songs would in effect vernacularize much of the Mass. In 1954, the Mont-César Conference was held between a smaller group of around forty scholars.⁵⁹² This privacy was perhaps insisted upon in order to allow the scholars to speak more freely without fear of being reprimanded by local Ordinaries.

Interestingly, no resolutions were made at this conference and its discussions were not published except for the seven lectures which served as springboards for discussion amongst the scholars.⁵⁹³ An attempt was made to pass a resolution requesting permission for concelebration by which two or more priests could offer the same immolated victim to God in the same liturgy. This came to nothing, however, since the scholars could not agree about the specific form such concelebration would take.⁵⁹⁴

One might wonder if these scholars did not discuss pragmatic Vatican politics behind the closed doors of this private conference. Political shrewdness would be necessary in order to see their liturgical proposals formally adopted by the Vatican. No doubt, these scholars had relationships with the ten scholars chosen to serve in the Pian

⁵⁹¹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 198-199.

⁵⁹² *Ibid*, 202.

⁵⁹³ *Ibid*, 203.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid*.

Commission, and they certainly had the political sense to understand that their articles, lectures, and talks would come to nothing if they could not find ways to see their proposals incorporated into the work of the actual Roman body studying the question of liturgical reform.

The Assisi Congress of 1956 was perceived by many to be a watershed moment in the later years of the Liturgical Movement. This conference, which Pope Pius XII himself as well as a number of high ranking bishops and cardinals attended, discussed topics centered around pastoral expediency, liturgical simplification, and the possibility of an expanded lectionary on a 3-4 year cycle.⁵⁹⁵ Vernacularism was also discussed extensively.⁵⁹⁶ Cardinal Lercaro served as the president of the congress, and he delivered a presentation on the simplification of the rubrics of the Divine Office. Lercaro was by this time gaining a reputation as a leader of the “critical, restless, *avant garde*... [and self-styled] ‘advanced’” members of the college of Cardinals.⁵⁹⁷ After the Council, Lercaro was rewarded for his progressive ideas by being named the Cardinal Prefect of the Consilium.

Bugnini considered this conference to be of particular importance in the Liturgical Movement’s final maneuverings towards its “great conquest of the Roman Rite.” He described the congress as “in God’s plan, a dawn announcing a resplendent day that would have no decline.”⁵⁹⁸

Throughout the final years of Pius XII’s papacy, a few more changes to the Roman Missal were made. In 1953, Pius XII granted permission for Mass to be said in

⁵⁹⁵ Ibid, 237-239.

⁵⁹⁶ Ibid, 238-239.

⁵⁹⁷ P. Lesourd et al., *Giacomo Cardinal Lercaro* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1964), 7, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 246.

⁵⁹⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 11.

the evening.⁵⁹⁹ This change was made for pastoral reasons in light of the working schedules of the industrial working class. In 1955, the Calendar was reformed so that Sunday Masses would by and large take precedence over saint's feast days, and priests were given the option to celebrate the memorial readings for a given saint or the ferial readings of a given weekday during Lent.⁶⁰⁰

In 1955, each of the liturgies of Holy Week were reformed according to similar principles as the former reform of the Paschal Vigil.⁶⁰¹ Mention of the Holy Roman Emperor was removed from the solemn prayers of Good Friday.⁶⁰² In the name of functionality, the time of the liturgies were altered to reflect the time of the events which these liturgies commemorated.⁶⁰³ The time of the Holy Thursday liturgy, commemorating the Last Supper, was moved to the evening, and the Good Friday Liturgy was moved to the afternoon. The Palm Sunday Mass's blessing of the palms and passion narrative was simplified and a procession with palms into the Church was introduced for pastoral reasons to involve the people in the sacred actions.⁶⁰⁴ The Good Friday Liturgy's Gospel was also simplified and the historical accretions of a full Offertory and Eucharistic liturgy was suppressed from this liturgy since no Eucharistic sacrifice was actually held during the Good Friday Mass.⁶⁰⁵

Many liturgists celebrated the reform of Holy Week as a "great gift" which fomented excitement amongst their ranks for further reforms to come.⁶⁰⁶ It must be

⁵⁹⁹ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 205.

⁶⁰⁰ Thomas Richstatter, *Liturgical Law Today: New Style, New Spirit* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1977), 33-34, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 211.

⁶⁰¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 10.

⁶⁰² *Ibid*, 224.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid*, 226.

⁶⁰⁴ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 223-224.

⁶⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 224-225.

⁶⁰⁶ Liturgical Briefs, *Worship*, vol. 2 (1955-56), 221-225, quoted in *The Organic Development of the Liturgy* by Alcuin Reid, 233.

recognized that the Holy Week liturgy did not alter any of the prayers of the Ordinary of the Mass, leaving the ancient structure of Roman Catholic worship entirely intact. All the same, each incremental change made in the name of modern pastoral expediency, functionalism, or simplification served to reassure the Liturgical Movement's scholars that as their progressive principles were being slowly adopted by the Church's hierarchy, they had all the reason to continue advocating for increasingly radical liturgical reforms.

Whereas the liturgical conferences of the 1950s were influential in helping liturgical scholars organize their attempts to place pressure on Rome for specific changes to the Mass, the liturgical literature written during the 1950s was essential in disseminating these ideas to ordinary parish priests. Such priests had a natural curiosity to understand the reason behind the incremental changes to the Holy Week liturgies as well as the general excitement surrounding the Liturgical Movement throughout the Western Church.

The Catholic literature of the period demonstrates that the progressive principles supporting a general reform of the Mass became widespread by the 1950s. In *Revolution in a City Parish*, Abbe Michonneau criticized the "individualism" caused by the laity praying private devotions during the Mass, and he anticipated a general adaptation of the liturgy by the Church authorities to solve such problems.⁶⁰⁷ He also wrote that in his parish he often celebrated Mass on a freestanding table-styled altar, and he illicitly instituted an offertory procession for his congregation.⁶⁰⁸

The modernization of certain elements of Church architecture had also taken place decades before the 1950s according to the principles of the Liturgical Movement.

⁶⁰⁷ Abbe Michonneau, *Revolution in a City Parish* (Westminster, MD: The Newman Press, 1950), 26-30.

⁶⁰⁸ *Ibid*, 32.

One stark example of this was the architectural style of the Shrine of the Little Flower, a suburban Detroit parish which was erected in the 1930s by the nationally-known radio host Fr. Charles Coughlin. With the benefit of plentiful funds and recourse to the most accomplished Church architects, Coughlin constructed his church in a large circular shape with a freestanding altar placed in the middle of the congregation.⁶⁰⁹ The Shrine of the Little Flower's circular design, called derogatorily a "flying saucer" church by traditionalists, was a portent of things to come. Many American Churches which were erected during the 1950s, such as the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows in Farmington, Michigan, abandoned the cruciform design in favor of a design which in some manner allowed the community to see one another during the liturgy.⁶¹⁰

In *No Place for God*, Moyra Doorly argued that the underlying philosophy inspiring such Catholic architectural reforms rejected "traditional linear forms...as being too hierarchical and authoritarian."⁶¹¹ In place of the eastward and upward oriented traditional Catholic Churches, modern Churches were built to "break down barriers between the clergy and the laity, and to emphasize the church as belonging to the community" rather than belonging to the upward-oriented worship of God.⁶¹²

While not an explicit change in the Traditional Missal itself, such developments in Church architectural styles indicate a widespread changing perception of the liturgy had taken place by the 1950s. In *The Way We Worship*, Milton Lomask and Ray Neville wrote in 1961 that:

⁶⁰⁹ See Appendix D.

⁶¹⁰ OLSofMI, "Our Lady of Sorrows Catholic Parish - Legacy of Faith," YouTube video, 9:40, Jan 7, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S0P66Fwhvcg>.

⁶¹¹ Moyra Doorly, *No Place for God: The Denial of the Transcendent in Modern Church Architecture* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2007), 7.

⁶¹² Ibid.

Modern style churches are growing in popularity...[a] reason for the popularity of modern buildings is the growth of the Liturgical Movement encouraged by Pope Saint Pius X. One of the aims of the movement is to design both the church building and everything in it in such a way as to encourage the worshippers to understand and take part in the liturgy.”⁶¹³

It is interesting that even by the 1960s, Liturgical Movement writers still felt the need to attach their movement to the name of Pius X, albeit superficially, to shield their writings from suspicion of Modernism.

Despite changes in Church architecture, the Catholic laity of the United States had still grown up with the Baltimore Catechism, a question-and-answer Catechism textbook which contained traditional Catholic ideas as defined by Scholastic methodology. Thus, despite the spread of progressive ideas throughout the American Church, the laity still had some connection to the traditional doctrines of the religion. This confused religious environment contributed to the post-conciliar tensions which emerged between progressives, traditionalists, and conservatives.

Unlike *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the Baltimore Catechism taught the traditional Catholic dogma of transubstantiation, by name, in matter-of-fact terms.⁶¹⁴ It also taught that the purpose of the Eucharist was “*first*, to be offered as a sacrifice commemorating and renewing for all time the sacrifice of the cross; *second*, to be received by the faithful in Holy Communion; *third*, to remain ever on our altars as the proof of His love for us, and to be worshiped by us.”⁶¹⁵ Likewise, the purpose of the Mass was defined as “*first*, to adore God as our Creator and Lord, *second*, to thank God for his many favors, *third*, to ask God to bestow His blessing on all men, *fourth*, to satisfy the justice of God for sins

⁶¹³ Lomask and Neville, *The Way We Worship*, 24.

⁶¹⁴ *Baltimore Catechism*, ed. Francis J. Connell, 201-202 questions 347-356.

⁶¹⁵ *Ibid*, 203 question 356.

committed against Him [by offering the “the same sacrifice as the sacrifice of the cross” to God the Father in atonement for our sins.]”⁶¹⁶ Concerning the laity’s role at Mass, the Baltimore Catechism taught that “the best method of assisting at Mass is to unite with the priest in offering the Holy Sacrifice, and to receive Holy Communion.”⁶¹⁷

Regarding the reception of Holy Communion, the Baltimore Catechism taught that it was a mortal sin to receive this Sacrament while knowingly in a state of mortal sin and that after receiving Holy Communion, justice demanded that the communicant spend extra time in adoration of the Lord after Mass.⁶¹⁸ Concise and to the point, these doctrines and a few other juridical requirements were deemed all that the laity needed to know (and were required to memorize) in order to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation. A number of books published from the 1950s onwards, however, promoted a more progressive vision of the Mass.

Books published during the 1950s such as *The Mass in Transition* and *Towards a Living Tradition* propagated a progressive conception of the liturgy to the priests and informed laity who were curious why there was so much discussion about reforming the Mass. *The Mass in Transition*, published by the Jesuit Fr. George Ellard in 1956, was a sort of chronicle of the transition “now in progress at the altar” which presupposed that this transition was moving entirely in the direction mapped out by the Liturgical Movement.⁶¹⁹ He wrote that since the modern world presented an extraordinary burden of time commitments on priests, the liturgical rubrics needed to be greatly simplified.⁶²⁰ He recommended common Liturgical Movement proposals such as the elimination of those

⁶¹⁶ Ibid, 208-209 questions 360-362.

⁶¹⁷ Ibid, 211 question 364.

⁶¹⁸ Ibid, 215-216 question 368, 374.

⁶¹⁹ Gerald Ellard SJ, *The Mass in Transition* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1956), v.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 2.

requirements which forced the priest to privately pray those prayers sung by the choir, the removal of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar, the praying of only one Collect each Mass, dialogue prayers between the priest and the entire congregation rather than just between the priest and the server, the introduction of a weekday lectionary, the introduction of bidding prayers, an increase in the number of prefaces, a removal of the *Confiteor* before Holy Communion, and the suppression of the Last Gospel.⁶²¹ This list is almost a complete summary of the changes made in 1969.

Ellard also published his ideals for modern church architecture. He wrote that church designs should be built so that the Church would not be oriented first and foremost to foster adoration of the Eucharist but to celebrate all aspects of the Church's sacramental life and to emphasize the role that the community had in the offering of the Sacrifice.⁶²² As an ideal sanctuary arrangement, Ellard included photographs of a circular Church structure at the Mount Saviour Monastery in Elmira, New York.⁶²³ These photographs showed a priest celebrating Mass at a freestanding *versus populum* altar which had no tabernacle placed upon it.⁶²⁴

Ellard encouraged a cautious use of modern art in the adornment of chapels, citing an instruction on the use of modern sacred art published by the French hierarchy in 1952.⁶²⁵ Finally, Ellard wrote that the reform of the Mass should be considered a useful step towards achieving unity with Protestants since the changes he foresaw would make Catholic worship more similar to Protestant styles of worship.⁶²⁶ He did not, however, discuss how changing the Mass to make it more similar to Protestant worship might hurt

⁶²¹ Ibid, 29-30 and 167.

⁶²² Ibid, 121.

⁶²³ Ibid, 244-245.

⁶²⁴ Ibid.

⁶²⁵ Ibid, 141.

⁶²⁶ Ibid, 317.

the chances of union with Orthodox Christian churches who worshiped in a manner more similar to the Traditional Latin Mass than to Protestant communion services.

Towards a Living Tradition was a compilation of four articles which discussed the modernization of the Church's liturgy. The first essay in this book, written by Fr. Jean Hild, offered a summary of many traditional Catholic doctrines such as the definition of the Mass as a sacrifice and the need to submit to Christ while worshiping.⁶²⁷ Hild articulated the traditional Catholic idea that the liturgy could not exist without the hierarchical priesthood.⁶²⁸ However, he also articulated liturgical principles which were foreign to Catholic tradition. He stated that the active participation of the faithful "was required for a true celebration," of the Mass, which was an idea that ran counter to the Church's tradition of the validity and laudability of private masses.⁶²⁹ Hild also condemned the practice of the laity praying private devotions during the Mass, calling such prayers a "distorted piety."⁶³⁰ This statement was a contradiction of Pius XII's explicit commendation of the praying of private devotions during the Mass.⁶³¹ He also wrote that the period following the Council of Trent was a period of a "poorly elaborated" theology of the Mass which overemphasized its role as a sacrifice.⁶³² He did not provide evidence of a better elaborated theology of the Mass during any period before the Council of Trent.

Concerning religious art, Fr. Pie Regamey wrote in *Towards a Living Tradition* that traditional Catholic art was of a lamentable quality since Catholicism had come to act

⁶²⁷ Jean Hild, "The Mystery of Celebration," in *Towards a Living Tradition*, ed. Justus George Lawler (St. Louis, MO: Pio Decima Press, 1953), 24-26.

⁶²⁸ Ibid, 34.

⁶²⁹ Ibid, 39.

⁶³⁰ Ibid, 42.

⁶³¹ Pius XII, *Mediator Dei*, sec. 173-174.

⁶³² Jean Hild, "The Mystery of Celebration," 46.

as a “despotic faith” that demanded “pure and simple obedience to incomprehensible doctrines” rather than invite the faithful to engage in a mysterious contemplation of incomprehensible realities.⁶³³ Regamey believed that if Catholics were not so restrained by the stifling confines of “pure and simple obedience” to the Church’s Tradition they could be freed to experience greater wonder at the religion’s mysterious truths and could be inspired to produce better works of art. His conception of what sort of internal dispositions were required to produce a work of art could be argued to have emerged from modern artistic schools rather than from the Church’s tradition of sacred art or iconography.⁶³⁴

In 1958, Pope Pius XII died, and Angelo Roncalli was elected as Pope John XXIII. During the papacy of John XXIII, the Catholic Church took definitive steps forward, or backward, depending on one’s perspective, towards normalizing the progressive vision of Catholicism which had gradually grown in popularity after the papacy of Pius X. John XXIII’s decisions as pope certainly contributed to these developments. Yet is it possible that John XXIII did not anticipate the revolutionary results of his papal actions? In the following chapter, it will be considered whether John XXIII and the council he convened were themselves agents of the progressive Catholic movements or if their legacies have been widely misidentified with the progressive changes which took the Church by storm after Vatican II.

⁶³³ Pie Regamey “Modern Man and the Religious Arts,” in *Towards a Living Tradition*, ed. Justus George Lawler (St. Louis, MO: Pio Decima Press, 1953), 85.

⁶³⁴ Doorly, *No Place for God*, 18-19.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

John XXIII's election has been perceived by many as the dividing line between the eras of traditional Catholicism and modern Catholicism. To be sure, John XXIII's personality, and its portrayal in the media, contribute to this perception. In *The Ecumenical Councils*, Joseph Kelly repeated the common perception of discontinuity between John XXIII and his predecessors by writing a string of differences between Pius XII and John XXIII, including the common perception that while "Pius seemed remote; John loved and was loved by everyone."⁶³⁵

Notwithstanding John XXIII's public relations successes and his photogenic smile, a reading of his own posthumously published journal indicates that "Good Pope John" was throughout his life devoted to Catholicism's traditional system of piety and theology. In reading his private reflections, there is a lack of indication that Angelo Roncalli was the same man who would one day explain his calling of the Second Vatican Council as a desire to "open up the windows of the Church so that we can see out and people can see in." This quote is, of course, only *attributed* to John XXIII, and it might well be doubted considering that each time it is referenced it is phrased with slight variations to highlight the rhetorical needs of the one referencing it.⁶³⁶

John XXIII's journal, published under the title *Journal of a Soul*, presents readers with the interior life of a man formed and devoted to the traditional form of the Catholic religion. In an entry written in 1940, Roncalli articulated traditional Catholic biblical

⁶³⁵ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 183.

⁶³⁶ "Pope John XXIII 1881–1963, Italian cleric, Pope from 1958," *Oxford Essential Quotations*, edited by Susan Ratcliffe, Oxford University Press, <https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780191866692.001.0001/acref-9780191866692>.

principles which analyzed scripture for its literal, anagogical, moral, and mystical meanings.⁶³⁷ Thus, Roncalli seemed to prefer traditional biblical interpretative tools to progressive historical-critical scholarship methods. Concerning other religions as well as Protestant and Orthodox Christians, Roncalli asked that God would “scatter the darkness of pagans, [and] outshine the lamps of heresy and put them out” and referred to the Orthodox specifically as the “schismatics Greeks.”⁶³⁸ He referred to Thomas Aquinas as “the glorious Angelic Doctor” filled with wisdom and holiness.⁶³⁹ In 1910, he condemned Modernists by name as those “moved by the desire to adapt the ancient truth of Christianity to modern needs.”⁶⁴⁰ He referred to Marxists as “demagogues” who deceived the poor.⁶⁴¹

In various ways, Roncali expressed a traditional attitude towards the liturgy and prayer. He was faithful to his daily offering of the Mass which he described even during the height of the Liturgical Movement in traditionalist language as a propitiatory sacrifice of the immolated host: the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ.⁶⁴² As pope, he wrote encyclicals and apostolic letters on the Rosary, the need for acts of penance, and the value of the Church’s traditional liturgical language.⁶⁴³ If further evidence of John XXIII’s traditionalism might be needed, it should be considered that he did not emerge onto the loggia above St. Peter’s basilica by coincidence; he was elected by a college of Cardinals that had received their red hats by the traditional popes who came before him.

⁶³⁷ John XXIII, *Journal of a Soul: The Autobiography of Pope John XXIII*, trans. Dorothy White, rev. ed., (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 255.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid*, 106 and 167.

⁶³⁹ *Ibid*, 115.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid* 175-176.

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid*, 123.

⁶⁴² *Ibid*, 275.

⁶⁴³ “Pope St. John XXIII Oct. 28, 1958 – June 3, 1963,” Papal Encyclicals Online, accessed 3/10/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/john23>.

While John XXIII may not be quite the progressive that many have made him out to be, he was certainly more progressive than his immediate predecessor. As a seminary professor of history, he was once nearly censured for Modernism by his local diocesan watch committee.⁶⁴⁴ When a diplomat in Turkey, Roncalli wrote multiple times that “God’s most beautiful name and title is this: mercy” which was an idea he may have learned from dialoguing with Muslims, a religion he had some interest in, which held that the third name of God was *Ar Raheem*, translated as “Mercy.”⁶⁴⁵

Roncalli seemed to minimize the traditional belief in the existence of the devil on multiple occasions in his journal. Once, for example, when quoting St. Francis de Sales’ advice about dealing with the devil’s temptations, he added an explanation of the reference to Satan as actually referring to “the other reasoning mind, that of the other self.”⁶⁴⁶ On another occasion, he favorably quoted a theologian who wrote “Devils? What devils? We are the devils.”⁶⁴⁷ While neither of these quotations can be taken as clear-cut evidence that Roncalli formally denied the dogmatic belief in a literal devil, they do indicate that he entertained a non-traditional interpretation of the soul’s battle against diabolical temptation. Finally, he interestingly enjoyed referring to himself as a “mother” or a “mother to all” in his relation to those placed under his authority as opposed to the traditional language of “father” or “shepherd.”⁶⁴⁸ John XXIII’s motherly style of leadership could be observed during his leadership of the Council.

Just three months after he was elected Pope, John XXIII called for the Second Vatican Council. In so doing, John XXIII can certainly be said to have *not* been calling a

⁶⁴⁴ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 182.

⁶⁴⁵ Crocker, *Triumph*, 414.; “Ar Raheem / Ar Rahim Meaning- 99 Names of Allah,” My Islam, accessed 3/10/22: <https://myislam.org/99-names-of-allah/ar-raheem/>.

⁶⁴⁶ John XXIII, *Journal of a Soul*, 131.

⁶⁴⁷ Ibid, 243.

⁶⁴⁸ Ibid, 194 and 214.

council in order to satisfy a pent-up desire to issue anathemas against the errors of the modern age.

Most historical narratives of Vatican II consider a major goal of the Council to have been to “reorient Catholicism away from its nineteenth-century fortress mentality, to open a new dialogue with the Protestant churches and non-Christian religions and secular ideologies that it had once flatly condemned, and to prepare the church for an era of evangelization and renewal.”⁶⁴⁹ John W. O’Malley’s *What Happened At Vatican II* summarized the Council’s goals as being to update (*aggiornamento*) the Church for the modern age, to enshrine the theory of the development of doctrine, and to return to the sources of Christian doctrine alongside the *Nouvelle Théologie* movement.⁶⁵⁰ The conservative H.W. Crocker III wrote that the Second Vatican Council was a sort of “Christmas-like gift” to the world of a “Catholic Church that no longer set up barricades against the modern world, but that threw open the doors of welcome.”⁶⁵¹ Along with these explanations of the purpose of the second Vatican Council, the high ecumenical priority that John XXIII placed in calling Vatican II can be observed in his inviting of Protestant and Orthodox leaders, including Soviet-appointed Russian Orthodox bishops, to the Council.⁶⁵²

John XXIII’s opening address of the Council is frequently, and correctly, referenced as embodying at least in part his hopes for a change in ethos to be accomplished at Vatican II. He said:

We sometimes have to listen, much to our regret, to voices of persons who, through burning with zeal, are not endowed with too much sense of discretion or

⁶⁴⁹ Douthat, *To Change the Church*, 14-17.

⁶⁵⁰ O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 36-37.

⁶⁵¹ Crocker, *Triumph*, 414.

⁶⁵² O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 18, 33.

measure. In these modern times they can see nothing but prevarication and ruin. They say that our era, in comparison with past eras, is getting worse...we feel we must disagree with those prophets of gloom, who are always forecasting disaster, as though the end of the world were at hand. In the present order of things, Divine Providence is leading to a new order of human relations which...are directed toward the fulfillment of God's superior and inscrutable designs.⁶⁵³

It was difficult for the Council Fathers to hear such words in the pope's opening address and not contrast his perspective with previous papal condemnations of progressive trends in secular academia and progressive Catholic scholarship.

All the same, apocryphal quotations about John XXIII explaining his motive for calling the Council by opening up the windows of his office and saying something along the lines of wanting to "let out the bad air and let the fresh air in" are less than instructive as to the actual motives of the historical John XXIII. While this dubious quotation may embody something of John XXIII's attitude toward the modern world, that is not to say that his primary motivation in calling the Second Vatican Council was to thoroughly renovate a dusty and outdated Catholic Church.

Fortunately, we possess John XXIII's first encyclical, *Ad Petri Cathedram*, which explicitly stated his motives for calling the Council. He wrote that his intention was to bring unity amongst the divisions and fractures plaguing mankind during the Cold War and also to brainstorm ways in which the Church could better fulfill its mission. He also wrote that:

This fond hope [for world peace and unity] compelled Us to make public Our intention to hold an Ecumenical Council. Bishops from every part of the world will gather there to discuss serious religious topics. They will consider, in particular, the growth of the Catholic faith, the restoration of sound morals among

⁶⁵³ McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 373.

the Christian flock, and appropriate adaptation of Church discipline to the needs and conditions of our times.⁶⁵⁴

John XXIII's desire to call an Ecumenical Council to help bring unity throughout the world must be understood within the context of the Cold War. By the 1950s, the world had not only seen the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki obliterated by nuclear bombs but also footage of the detonations of hydrogen bombs which had a destructive capacity over a thousand times greater than the first nuclear weapons.⁶⁵⁵ In the early 1950s, the West was at war in Korea; in the late 1950s, the West was inching closer and closer to a war in Vietnam. As Castro's revolutionaries established a communist government at the doorstep of the United States by 1959, tensions only rose as the 1960s began.

Having lived through two devastating international wars, John XXIII called the Second Vatican Council primarily to serve as an "example of peace and concord among men, and an occasion for hope" which he felt the world desperately needed.⁶⁵⁶ John XXIII also wished for the world's bishops to discuss issues of ecclesiastical housekeeping. John XXIII felt that the Church was in need of a moderate *aggiornamento* and that the collective minds of the world's bishops could brainstorm ways to aid the Church's growth.⁶⁵⁷ He wrote in his opening address to the Council Fathers that "what is needed is that [the Church's] certain and unchangeable doctrine, to which loyal submission is due, be investigated and presented in the way demanded by our times."⁶⁵⁸

⁶⁵⁴ John XXIII, "Ad Petri Cathedram: On Truth, Unity and Peace, in a Spirit of Charity," encyclical, Vatican, the Holy See, 6/29/1959, sec. 61, accessed 3/13/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_29061959_ad-petri.html.

⁶⁵⁵ Melissa Chan, "What Is the Difference Between a Hydrogen Bomb and an Atomic Bomb?" *Time*, 9/27/2017, accessed 3/13/22: <https://time.com/4954082/hydrogen-bomb-atomic-bomb/>.

⁶⁵⁶ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 2.

⁶⁵⁷ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 37-38.

⁶⁵⁸ John XXIII, "Allocutio Ioannis PP. XXIII In Sollemni SS. Concilii Inauguratione," Vatican, the Holy See, 10/11/1962, sec. 15, accessed 3/13/22:

John XXIII also stated in *Ad Petri Cathedram* that he hoped the Council could address his concerns with the declining morality he observed amongst Catholics.⁶⁵⁹ He had also written in his journal of his concerns over growing irreligiosity and secularism when he was a diplomat in France.⁶⁶⁰

Contrary to the opinion of many contemporary scholars, John XXIII could not be said to have felt that the Church was in a grave state of decline due to its lack of modernization. In 1961, he contrasted what he regarded as a severe state of “spiritual poverty” in the modern world with the Catholic Church which he described as “vibrant with vitality.”⁶⁶¹ In *Pope John’s Council*, Michael Davies argued that “vibrant with vitality” were not words one would use to describe a church that was in steep decline and in need of a council to radically reform it. Further, it would not seem likely that John XIII wanted the Church to accommodate itself in a dramatic way to the customs of a modern world which he believed was in a state of “spiritual poverty.”⁶⁶²

An analysis of the preparatory documents written by the theologians chosen by John XXIII’s Curia to prepare for the Council also indicate that he had non-revolutionary hopes for it. These preparatory schemas were titled *Sources of Revelation; Defending Intact the Deposit of Faith; Christian Moral Order; Chastity, Matrimony, the Family, and Virginity; the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy; the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church; and the Constitution on the Blessed Virgin Mary Mother of God and Mother of*

https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/speeches/1962/documents/hf_j-xxiii_spe_19621011_opening-council.html.

⁶⁵⁹ John XXIII, “Ad Petri Cathedram,” 3, 16, 20.

⁶⁶⁰ John XXIII, *Journal of a Soul*, 268-269 sec.10.

⁶⁶¹ John XXIII, “*Constitutio Apostolica Humanae Salutis*,” apostolic constitution, Vatican, the Holy See, 12/25/1961, accessed:

https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/la/apost_constitutions/1961/documents/hf_j-xxiii_apc_19611225_humanae-salutis.html.

⁶⁶² Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 23.

Men.⁶⁶³ These titles indicate that John XXIII was a traditional Catholic who envisioned his council as a continuation of the traditional Catholic religion. All the same, his meekness, characteristic throughout his priesthood, would later be observed in his being persuaded to discard all but one of these preparatory schemas when pressured to do so by progressive Northern European bishops.⁶⁶⁴

The one preparatory schema which John XXIII did not discard due to its acceptability to the progressive bishops was the preparatory schema for the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.⁶⁶⁵ It is worth examining the manner in which the rough draft for *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was prepared.

Due to his experience serving as the secretary of the Pian Commission, Annibale Bugnini was asked to serve as the secretary of the preparatory commission for *Sacrosanctum Concilium* three years before the Council began.⁶⁶⁶ In *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, Alcuin Reid wrote that Bugnini's service as secretary of the preparatory commission was characterized by a progressive reformist agenda as well as an underdeveloped sense of the objective and unchangeable elements of the received liturgical tradition.⁶⁶⁷ Nevertheless, Bugnini was chosen as the preparatory commission's secretary, and he successfully leveraged the power this position afforded him to leave a definitively progressive slant on the schema which he composed.

While the preparatory commission was formally led by the progressive-leaning Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, Bugnini's method of organization gave him more influence

⁶⁶³ "Online texts: The original schemas (drafts) of Vatican II," Catholic eBooks Project, 10/11/2017, accessed 3/10/22: <https://catholicebooks.wordpress.com/2017/10/11/online-texts-the-original-schemas-drafts-of-vatican-ii/>.

⁶⁶⁴ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 57-59.

⁶⁶⁵ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 128.

⁶⁶⁶ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 14.

⁶⁶⁷ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 215.

in the creation of the final document than a secretary would have ordinarily been afforded. Rather than collaborating as a body, Bugnini organized the commission into various sub commissions which had limited communication with one another.⁶⁶⁸ Rather, each sub commission reported directly to Bugnini, who then compiled information from each sub commission as well as the comments made during the commission's plenary meeting into a document.⁶⁶⁹ After each member of the commission read the document, they sent suggestions for changes directly to Bugnini, who then instructed the appropriate sub commissions to respond to such comments.⁶⁷⁰ Bugnini then took the sub commissions' meeting notes and worked them into a second draft which then became the subject of discussion at a second plenary meeting.⁶⁷¹ The comments from this meeting were used by Bugnini to create a third draft which was ultimately approved by Cardinal Cicognani as the official preparatory schema for the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.⁶⁷²

The preparatory document which was ultimately drafted, then, was heavily influenced by Bugnini's "divide and conquer" strategy, referred to by Yves Chiron as the "Bugnini Method."⁶⁷³ Indeed, Bugnini himself admitted in his *Reform of the Liturgy* that he was "the pivotal figure in the entire preparatory work."⁶⁷⁴ While the commission's secretary rarely interjected in the commission's plenary meetings, his technique of separating the commission's one hundred-some experts into segregated groups who met together as an entire commission only rarely allowed him to have a disproportionate amount of influence on the commission's final document.⁶⁷⁵ Additionally, while he may

⁶⁶⁸ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 67.

⁶⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 80-81.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 81.

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid*.

⁶⁷² *Ibid*.

⁶⁷³ *Ibid*, 81-82.

⁶⁷⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 30.

⁶⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 14-16.

have generally refrained from voicing his opinions on record during plenary sessions, Bugnini was not shy from giving suggestions and guidance to members and consultants of the commission before and after their meetings.⁶⁷⁶ He recognized that it was not prudent to reveal his vehemently progressive opinions at plenary sessions lest the drafts he composed should be recognized as disproportionately containing his *own* opinions rather than an unbiased synthesis of the ideas raised by the commission's members.

That Bugnini was able to acquire such a large influence over the writing of the document was significant since his liturgical views were even more radical than many of the Liturgical Movement scholars at this time. For example, while he hoped to persuade the preparatory commission to call for the use of parallel liturgies such as he had created in his *Our Mass* booklet, he could not encourage enough support for this innovation amongst the commission members.⁶⁷⁷

Bugnini wrote that in choosing scholars to serve in the liturgical preparatory commission, it was important that representatives were chosen from “every part of the world in which the liturgical movement was active and prospering.”⁶⁷⁸ This statement implied that the liturgical experience of liturgists who had not accepted the premises of the Liturgical Movement were considered to have little to offer to the preparatory commission. By deliberately excluding scholars who may have rejected progressive liturgical principles, the schema was certain to reflect the radical proposals that the Liturgical Movement scholars had made throughout the 1950s.

What Chiron described as the “Bugnini Method” also included the use of intentionally vague language when discussing ideas which were too progressive to gain

⁶⁷⁶ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 81-82.

⁶⁷⁷ *Ibid*, 82.

⁶⁷⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 14.

widespread support.⁶⁷⁹ When tensions rose in the commission over the use of the vernacular, for example, Bugnini advised the vernacularists to relent on going too far in the debate at this stage.⁶⁸⁰ He advised them that as long as a single open-ended statement could be included in the conciliar document about expanding the use of the vernacular, the post-conciliar commission responsible for interpreting the Council could act upon such a statement to expand the vernacular as much as desired.⁶⁸¹

The theory that Annibale Bugnini and the scholars of the liturgical commission employed vague language in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in order to exploit “loopholes” after the Council can hardly be dismissed as a conspiracy. Bugnini himself is quoted in an archived discussion note as saying to a small group of likeminded scholars in the Commission at a meeting on November 11, 1961:

We must tread carefully and discreetly. Carefully, that proposals be made in an acceptable manner, or, in my opinion, formulated in such a way that much is said without seeming to say anything: let many things be said in embryo, and in this way let the door remain open to legitimate and possible post-conciliar deductions and applications.⁶⁸²

Apparently, this was a strategy that many progressive theological *periti* utilized at the Council itself when it seemed unlikely that a radical proposal would be approved by the bishops on the council floor. In a Dutch periodical published in January of 1965, the progressive theologians Edward Schillebeeckx and Yves Congar spoke of the widespread use of the strategy of “intentional ambiguity,” though they bemoaned this strategy for not

⁶⁷⁹ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 82.

⁶⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 71.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid*, 71-72.

⁶⁸² Fr. Bugnini, “Declaration opening the October 11, 1961 meeting,” quoted in “Pontificia Commissio de sacra liturgia praeparatoria Concilii Vaticani II,” *Documenti, Testi, Verbali* (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano-Edizioni Liturgiche, 2013), 433, quoted in *Annibale Bugnini* by Yves Chiron, 82.

being bold and open enough with the world about the direction in which they wished the Church to head.⁶⁸³

For employing such deceptive strategies to advance his progressive views, which were evidently beyond that of his peers, Bugnini was ultimately removed by John XXIII both from the secretariat of the Liturgical commission as well as from his position at the Pontifical Lateran University in 1962.⁶⁸⁴ Bugnini wrote that he had been accused by members of the Curia of being “ ‘progressivist’ ‘pushy,’ and an ‘iconoclast.’”⁶⁸⁵ As a result either of these accusations or his displeasure with the radical nature of the preparatory schema for the Constitution on the Liturgy, John XXIII deemed Bugnini unfit to continue his service as the liturgical commission’s secretary. Time was short, however; the preparatory document had taken three years to write, and the Council was already at hand. It was deemed impractical to rewrite it before Vatican II’s first session whether John XXIII approved of its contents or not.

Besides his removing of Bugnini from the secretariat as well as from his university position, John XXIII’s displeasure with the liturgical schema could be seen by his publication of the apostolic constitution *Veterum Sapientia: On the Promotion of the Study of Latin* shortly after the liturgical schema was presented to him.⁶⁸⁶ It should not be seen as insignificant that although he was well preoccupied with conciliar planning, John XXIII took the time to write and publish an apostolic constitution which defended the use of Latin in study and the liturgy and articulated arguments for retaining it. In it, he wrote:

⁶⁸³ Ralph Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II: A Firsthand Account of the Council’s Inner Workings* (1964 as *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber*, repr., Charlotte, NC: TAN, 2014), 368-369, Kindle Edition.

⁶⁸⁴ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 84.

⁶⁸⁵ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, page 30, footnote 4.

⁶⁸⁶ Pope John XXIII, “*Veterum Sapientia: On the Promotion of the Study of Latin*,” apostolic constitution, Papal Encyclicals, accessed 3/10/22: <https://www.papalencyclicals.net/john23/j23veterum.htm>.

And We also, impelled by the weightiest of reasons — the same as those which prompted Our Predecessors and provincial synods — are fully determined to restore this language to its position of honor, and to do all We can to promote its study and use. The employment of Latin has recently been contested in many quarters, and many are asking what the mind of the Apostolic See is in this matter. We have therefore decided to issue the timely directives contained in this document, so as to ensure that the ancient and uninterrupted use of Latin be maintained and, where necessary, restored.⁶⁸⁷

Thus, if John XXIII did have a mind to “open up the windows and let out the bad air,” at his council, he verifiably did *not* consider the Church’s traditional language to be anything short of a treasure to be preserved. All the same, it is surprising that John XXIII had not expected Bugnini to guide the preparatory commission in the manner in which he had. An examination of Bugnini’s publications, especially his *Our Mass* booklet, should have indicated to John XXIII exactly what sort of direction Bugnini would guide the preparatory commission.

Procedures were put in place to govern the process by which the various preparatory schemas would be refashioned into conciliar documents. Once the Council began, the world’s bishops were to vote over which bishops would serve on the conciliar commissions. Each conciliar commission was responsible for fashioning one of the preparatory schemas, or “rough drafts,” into a working document to be discussed on the Council floor.⁶⁸⁸ Working conciliar documents were to be sent to the central commission for inspection for doctrinal error.⁶⁸⁹ If a document was cleared by the central commission, it would be presented to all of the Council Fathers who would debate the document and propose changes.⁶⁹⁰ The conciliar commissions were to then respond to the changes

⁶⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸⁸ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 399.

⁶⁸⁹ O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 20.; Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 56.

⁶⁹⁰ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 32.

which were proposed on the council floor by redrafting the document. Once the Council Fathers were pleased with a document, a vote would be held over it.⁶⁹¹ If approved by the world's bishops and the Pope, it would be promulgated as an official document of the Second Vatican Council.⁶⁹² Since John XXIII did not foresee the Council proposing any radical doctrinal or liturgical changes, he likely assumed that the preparatory schemas which had been meticulously prepared over the course of three years would be only gradually tweaked by the conciliar commissions before being promulgated as the Council's final documents.⁶⁹³

According to many traditionalist writers such as Michael Davies, Christopher Ferrara, and Thomas Woods, the bishops of Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium formed an organized voting block before the Council began and met regularly throughout the Council to discuss political strategies.⁶⁹⁴ This group of shrewd bishops have been collectively referred to as the "Rhine Group " or "European Alliance" in texts about the Second Vatican Council such as Ralph Wiltgen's *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber* or Michael Davies *Pope John's Council*.⁶⁹⁵ In progressive texts such as Bokenkotter's *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, the existence of such political strategizing was acknowledged as well, but considered necessary in order for Europe's progressive bishops to "break the stranglehold the [conservative] Curia already held over the Council."⁶⁹⁶

Most accounts of the Second Vatican Council detail the occasion by which the French Cardinal Achille Lienart interrupted the proceedings of the inaugural meeting of

⁶⁹¹ Ibid, 37.

⁶⁹² Ibid.

⁶⁹³ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 14.

⁶⁹⁴ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 35-39.; Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 63.

⁶⁹⁵ Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II*, 10.

⁶⁹⁶ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 399.

the Council to propose that the vote to determine which bishops would be selected for the conciliar commissions be delayed until the bishops could spend some time to get to know one another.⁶⁹⁷ According to Fr. Ralph Wiltgen, this proposal, which broke procedural protocols, was premeditated in the private residence of the German Cardinal Joseph Friggs in order to wrest control of the commissions from the Roman Curia.⁶⁹⁸ A German bishop seconded the motion, and then the rest of the Northern European block of bishops stood up to give a standing ovation, generating enthusiasm for the suggestion.⁶⁹⁹

Joseph Kelly wrote of this incident in *The Ecumenical Councils*, writing that these efforts of the European alliance were necessary in order to free the conciliar commissions from the control of the conservative Roman Curia.⁷⁰⁰ John O'Malley's description of this incident in *What Happened At Vatican II* portrayed it as an entirely spontaneous event, but acknowledged that it was instigated mostly by Northern European bishops who had perennial contentions with the Roman Curia.⁷⁰¹

After John XXIII agreed to delay the voting for the members of the conciliar commissions in response to this breach in protocol, the progressive block of bishops proceeded to lobby in an organized manner to see their own bishops elected to each commission as well as determine which candidates from other national hierarchies were of a like-mind and should be supported by their voting bloc.⁷⁰² As each national bishops' conference began to draw up lists of candidates from their nations to serve on the various commissions, the progressive-minded bishops of the European nations of Germany, Austria, France, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, and two progressive minded African

⁶⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁹⁸ Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II*, 8.

⁶⁹⁹ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 41-42.

⁷⁰⁰ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 186.

⁷⁰¹ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 97-98.

⁷⁰² Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 43-45.

bishops agreed to form one combined list of candidates that would guarantee a large enough voting block to see their candidates elected.⁷⁰³ Ultimately, eight out of every ten of the candidates that the European Alliance put forward for nomination on the commissions were elected, giving the well-organized European alliance an enormous advantage in each commission, and even a majority in the liturgical commission.⁷⁰⁴

A second victory which the Rhine Group achieved was the dismissal of four of the five preparatory schemas which John XXIII's theologians had prepared. Before the Council began, the Dutch bishops, with the help of their theological *periti*, had written and published sharp criticisms of each document except the preparatory schema for *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.⁷⁰⁵ When the Council began, the European Alliance ensured that a copy of this booklet would be given to each bishop. The four preparatory schemas were criticized for their reliance on Scholasticism and for not being relatable to modern man.

Since most of the bishops came to the Council without any preconceived notions about what would be debated there, many were persuaded by the progressive literature which was presented to them.⁷⁰⁶ Progressive theologians also influenced the proceedings by holding lectures between conciliar debates for the bishops, "most of whom were glad to learn about the new trends and methods" in Catholic theology.⁷⁰⁷ In a lecture given in 1975, the traditionalist Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre went so far as to claim that at meetings between the French episcopate, certain bishops were instructed to read premade speeches written by progressive theologians to advance their ideas on the Council floor.⁷⁰⁸

⁷⁰³ Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II*, 9-10.

⁷⁰⁴ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 44.

⁷⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 57.

⁷⁰⁶ *Ibid*.

⁷⁰⁷ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 185.

⁷⁰⁸ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 342.

The conservative Curia did not have counter-arguments prepared to challenge Dutch pamphlets or the eight hundred-some theological experts who flooded the Vatican during the Council.⁷⁰⁹ It was not assumed that traditional Catholic theological formulations would need to be so vigorously defended.⁷¹⁰ As a result, nearly two-thirds of the bishops voted to toss the four preparatory schemas and allow the conciliar commissions to start each document from scratch.⁷¹¹ While a full two-thirds majority was required to dismiss the three years of work of the preparatory commissions, John XXIII agreed to dismiss the four schemas anyways since such a large number of bishops found them unsuitable.⁷¹² As stated above, the only preparatory schema which was not discarded was the “forward-looking and balanced” liturgical schema which was written under the progressive leadership of Annibale Bugnini.⁷¹³

As the Council progressed, according to Davies, the Rhine Group successfully lobbied for key procedural changes on the Conciliar Commissions. One such change was the procedural amendment which allowed as few as five commission members to introduce an amendment into a conciliar draft.⁷¹⁴ This change was proposed, no doubt, fully conscious of the fact that European Alliance bishops made up at least five of the members of each conciliar commission.⁷¹⁵ Another noteworthy procedural change which the European Alliance bishops successfully lobbied for was the extension of permission for non-episcopal theological *periti* to speak at Conciliar debates.⁷¹⁶ This change permitted the most articulate progressive voices in the Church to freely engage in the

⁷⁰⁹ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils*, 185.

⁷¹⁰ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 58.

⁷¹¹ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 400.

⁷¹² *Ibid*, 400-401.

⁷¹³ *Ibid*, 399.

⁷¹⁴ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 49.

⁷¹⁵ *Ibid*.

⁷¹⁶ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 49.

discussions which produced the Council's final documents. Progressive theological *periti* such as Karl Rahner, Edward Schillebeeckx, and Hans Kung would make their opinions known at such meetings in a forceful manner, by some reports at times raising their voices to the level of a scream.⁷¹⁷

The Rhine group bishops regularly met as a whole to discuss strategies for the commissions which their delegates served in. One such meeting, known as the Fulda Conference, became surrounded with so much controversy that the Vatican Press Office felt it necessary to release press releases intended to dissipate concerns over political strategizing.⁷¹⁸ Davies argued that during these meetings, if a theologian could successfully convince the Rhine voting block on a given point, Rhine Group delegates would fight for that point to be implemented into their conciliar commissions.⁷¹⁹ Then, wrote Davies, once the document was presented for a general vote in the Council, the European Alliance bishops could vote as a block in order to ensure that such points were accepted in the final conciliar text.⁷²⁰

John O'Malley's *What Happened at Vatican II* cautioned against perceiving the theological *periti* as being highly influential agents exclusively for radical reform. He wrote that some moderate *periti* such as Fr. Gerard Philips played an important role in helping the Council Fathers reach compromises between theologically conservative and progressive ideas.⁷²¹ He also argued that the majority of theologians had no organized means of lobbying to see their ideas impressed upon the council floor. All the same,

⁷¹⁷ Cardinal J. Heenan, *A Crown of Thorns* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974), 356, quoted in *Pope John's Council* by Michael Davies, 56.

⁷¹⁸ "Vatican Clarifies Fulda Conference," *The Catholic Standard and Times*, vol. 68, no. 52, 9/13/1963, accessed 3/10/22:

<https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=cst19630913-01.2.86&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN----->.

⁷¹⁹ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 48.

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷²¹ O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 199.

O'Malley had no direct response to the evidence given to the contrary by Michael Davies or Ralph Wiltgen.⁷²² In fact, O'Malley tacitly agreed that progressive Northern European prelates such as Cardinal Bea, Frings, König, Lienart, Suenens, and Alfrink, as well as Northern European *periti* such as Rahner, Schillebeeckx, Kung, de Lubac, and Congar had organized as a group and played important roles in the ultimate trajectory of the Council.⁷²³

While recognizing the existence of some sort of a “European Alliance” is helpful in grasping the inner workings of the Council, it is also necessary to avoid subscribing to a theory of a sort of Germanic “hijacking” of the Council’s documents. Such a “hijacking” theory fails to adequately address the near unanimous votes which every single conciliar document received. What such a view is lacking in its analysis of the Council is an acknowledgement that even if the preparatory schemas and the majority of the bishops had entered the Council relatively conservative, progressive bishops were effective not only at seeing their candidates elected to conciliar commissions and lobbying for desired rule changes, but also at convincing their brother bishops to accept their progressive positions. Despite legitimate theories of foul play by European Alliance bishops, it cannot be ignored that nearly every document was approved by the world’s bishops with nearly unanimous support.

Though disgraced just months before the Council began, fortunes soon turned for Annibale Bugnini after befriending Giovanni Montini, the progressive-minded Cardinal Archbishop of Milan. It is unlikely that the two merely bumped into each other in the line for cappuccinos; Montini was a clear favorite for the next conclave, and Bugnini was no

⁷²² Ibid, 120.

⁷²³ Ibid, 121-122.

stranger to Vatican politics. Further, the two may have become familiar with each other during Bugnini's time serving on the Pian commission since Montini was responsible for reporting the commission's findings to Pius XII.⁷²⁴ For his part, Montini himself had argued for a "bold" increase in the use of the vernacular in the liturgy in his response to a questionnaire he received from the Vatican shortly following the announcement of the Council.⁷²⁵ Concerned that Bugnini was not serving as the secretary of the liturgical conciliar commission, Montini protested his removal to the Vatican Secretary of State.⁷²⁶ While this protest would be fruitless, Bugnini and Montini maintained a relationship throughout the Council which flowered into a working relationship after Montini was elected Pope.

The schema for the liturgy was the first to be discussed by the bishops of the Second Vatican Council. While some such as Rita Ferrone suggest that this was done in order to reflect the pastoral nature of the Council, the more obvious reason was that every other preparatory schema had been thrown out and this was the only document that *could* be discussed before replacement schemas had been written.⁷²⁷

On the council floor, the most fierce resistance to the liturgical schema came from the traditionalist Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, the Secretary of the Holy Office of the Inquisition.⁷²⁸ Ottaviani drew attention to the vague language of phrases such as "the order of the Mass is to be revised" which seemed to be a sort of "blank check" written to whichever commission was to be charged with interpreting the constitution after the Council.⁷²⁹ He considered the working schema for *Sacrosanctum* to treat the Mass "as if it

⁷²⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 9.

⁷²⁵ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 61.

⁷²⁶ *Ibid*, 85.

⁷²⁷ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 16.

⁷²⁸ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 138-139.

⁷²⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 88.

were a piece of cloth to be refashioned according to the whim of each generation.”⁷³⁰ Further, and most tellingly, he accused the members of the liturgical commission of reintroducing elements to the schema which they had been ordered to remove by the central commission due to doctrinal concerns.⁷³¹ It was later admitted that these elements, which concerned concelebration and the administration of communion under both kinds, had, in fact, been reintroduced despite the central commission’s instruction that they be removed.⁷³²

As Ottaviani continued dissecting the liturgical schema for about fifteen minutes, an incident occurred which became memorialized as a watershed moment signaling the end of traditional Catholicism on the practical level. As Ottaviani continued his impassioned defense of liturgical traditionalism, he had surpassed the ten-minute time limit for his speech. According to Davies and most traditionalist sources, suddenly his microphone was shut off; the hard-of-hearing cardinal had not heard the bell which warned him that he needed to finish his speech.⁷³³ According to John O’Malley’s telling of the story, Ottaviani was interrupted by another Cardinal who told him he had exceeded his time limit, to which Ottaviani responded “I’m finished! I’m finished! I’m finished!” in a demonstration of outrage after being slighted.⁷³⁴

By either account, after Ottaviani’s speech was awkwardly concluded, the bishops filling St. Peter’s Basilica burst into applause.⁷³⁵ The applause seemed to have been in response to the Cardinal being cut off. So humiliated was Ottaviani by this incident, which lives on both in progressive Catholic circles as a sort of mini conciliar triumph as

⁷³⁰ Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 139.

⁷³¹ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 88-89.

⁷³² *Ibid*, 89.

⁷³³ Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 139-140.

⁷³⁴ O’Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II*, 138.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid*.

well as in traditionalist circles as evidence of mal-intent, that he did not appear in any conciliar meetings for the next two weeks.⁷³⁶ Despite his speech, on the 4th of December, 1963, the same Council Fathers who had applauded his being silenced voted to approve *Sacrosanctum Concilium* with a vote of 2,147 to 4.⁷³⁷

By this time, the Catholic Church had elected a new pope. Giovanni Montini was now leading the Church as Pope Paul VI. Montini was a favorite for the papacy for years after serving as an adviser to Pius XII and later as the archbishop of Milan. His progressive views had prevented him from receiving a red hat by Pius XII, excluding him from practical consideration for the papacy.⁷³⁸ John XXIII made him a cardinal one year into his papacy, however, and in 1963 his progressive views gained him his papacy when a college of cardinals were eager to elect a pope who would continue the Council.⁷³⁹ After *Sacrosanctum* was passed and approved, mostly unchanged from the preparatory schema, Paul VI immediately named Bugnini as the secretary of the Constituent Assembly of the “Consilium” or “Advisors” and the progressive Cardinal Lercaro as its prefect.⁷⁴⁰ The Consilium would oversee the liturgical reform for the next 11 years.

Bugnini and Lercaro immediately began preparations for the first instruction to the Church on the implementation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. They began by choosing a handful of premier liturgical scholars to join them in drafting the instruction to be titled *Sacram Liturgiam*.⁷⁴¹ These scholars were familiar names amongst the Liturgical

⁷³⁶ Ibid, 139.

⁷³⁷ Piero Marini, “The Fortieth Anniversary of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy,” Vatican, the Holy See, accessed 3/10/22:

https://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/2003/documents/ns_lit_doc_20031204_40-concilium_en.htm
l.

⁷³⁸ Kelly, *The Ecumenical Councils of the Catholic Church*, 190.

⁷³⁹ Ibid, 190-191.

⁷⁴⁰ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 49-50.

⁷⁴¹ Ibid, 54.

Movement's elite: Fr. Josef Jungmann, Canon Aime Georges Martimont, Dom Cipriano Vagaggini and Fr. Frederick McManus all took part.⁷⁴²

Technically, "The Constituent Assembly of the Consilium" had no magisterial authority. Its lack of a juridical status would cause no little consternation between its members and the members of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, both of whom felt they held the prerogative to oversee the implementation of the Liturgical Reform.⁷⁴³ In *Annibale Bugnini*, Yves Chiron suggested that Paul VI himself was not certain what role he had in mind for the Consilium when he first established it, nor was he certain if he wanted the Liturgical Reform to be implemented primarily by the Consilium or the Sacred Congregation of Rites.⁷⁴⁴ As time went on, the political shrewdness, if not the merit of their ideas, would afford the Consilium the primary role in "revising the liturgical books."⁷⁴⁵

As Bugnini and the Consilium began their work of interpreting *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, a document many of them had helped write, what ideas exactly did they find therein? What did the document say?

While *Sacrosanctum Concilium* is often lauded for its beautiful spiritual reflections on the Mass and the liturgy, it might be prudent to join the traditionalist Michael Davies in his analysis of *Sacrosanctum* which looks past such poetry in search of the subtle "time bombs" which contained vague permissions for the various revisions of the Missal which would be promulgated by 1969.⁷⁴⁶ In *Pope John's Council*, Davies acknowledged that such a reading of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was not a balanced

⁷⁴² Ibid.

⁷⁴³ Ibid, 50-51.

⁷⁴⁴ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 101.

⁷⁴⁵ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 38.

⁷⁴⁶ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 341-342.

approach to examining the document but was nevertheless necessary in order to appreciate how *Sacrosanctum* instigated the liturgical revolution which followed its promulgation.⁷⁴⁷ Indeed, while a spiritual seeker's reading of *Sacrosanctum* might benefit from meditating upon its poetic beauty, a historian's reading of the document would do better to focus on the statements it contained which granted license for reform. These permissions, often expressed in vague language, should be understood as the true historical legacy of this document since they gave legitimacy to the 1969 changes which upended a thousand years of liturgical tradition. It also should not be dismissed that these vague permissions were likely considered the primary purpose of the document by its writers.

The document's opening sentence stated that it was written to "to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ; to strengthen whatever can help to call the whole of mankind into the household of the Church."⁷⁴⁸ The vague statement "to foster whatever can promote union among all who believe in Christ" was included, notably in the document's first sentence, to justify altering the Mass in order to make it more in line with Protestant services for ecumenical purposes.⁷⁴⁹ Indeed, Bugnini wrote in *The Reform of the Liturgy* that the original draft used the term "separated brethren," which was the customary term for Protestants in the Council's documents, and was changed to say "all who believe in Christ" perhaps to obscure its meaning.⁷⁵⁰ It should also be noted that the opening sentence of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* wrote that the "sacred Council" wished to "adapt more suitably to the needs of our own times those

⁷⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁴⁸ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 1.

⁷⁴⁹ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 345.

⁷⁵⁰ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 33.

institutions which are subject to change” thus making it clear that a reform of the liturgy in response to the central premise of the Liturgical Movement was the intention of the document.⁷⁵¹

Davies argued that the preface’s promise that all ancient rites would be preserved was diminished to have no juridical meaning by the following statement which read that “the Council also desires that, where necessary, the rites be revised carefully in the light of sound tradition, and that they be given new vigor to meet the circumstances and needs of modern times.”⁷⁵² Davies argued that articles 5-13 contained generic Catholic teachings regarding the liturgy which were worded in an orthodox manner, thus putting conservative bishops at ease before introducing more radical proposals.⁷⁵³ It might also be explained that articles 5-13, which constituted the introduction of the constitution after its preface, served to provide a comprehensive definition of the liturgy before applying that definition to provide suggestions for reform. This was the same text structure that Pius XII used in *Mediator Dei*.⁷⁵⁴

Interestingly, articles 5-13 did not offer a clear definition of the Mass as the presentation of Jesus’s literal sacrifice on the cross under the appearances of bread and wine, though it alluded to this perennial idea.⁷⁵⁵ These articles also echoed the common Liturgical Movement condemnation of praying private devotions during the Mass. Article 13 began with a deceptively warm acknowledgement of the benefit of devotions before proceeding to call for new devotions to be “drawn up” which correlated to the liturgical seasons, perhaps to replace the Church’s traditional devotions such as the Rosary.⁷⁵⁶ The

⁷⁵¹ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 1.

⁷⁵² *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 4.

⁷⁵³ Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 348.

⁷⁵⁴ Davies, *Pope John’s Council*, 16-24.

⁷⁵⁵ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 5-13.

⁷⁵⁶ *Ibid*, sec. 13.

very idea that one could simply “draw up” devotions bespeaks an ignorance about the spontaneity from which popular pietistic practices tended to emerge. The Rosary and Sacred Heart devotions, for example, were given legitimacy through the belief that they had been given to the Church through visions of Christ or the Blessed Mother, not in their simply being “drawn up.” Nevertheless, the post-conciliar popularity of monthly liturgical publications such as *Magnificat* and *Our Daily Bread* in the United States can be seen as a fulfillment of *Sacrosanctum*'s 13th article.

It was also noteworthy that articles 5-13 referred to the central liturgical dogma of Christ's presence in the Eucharist by merely stating that Jesus was “especially [present] under the Eucharistic species,” without using the term transubstantiation or clearly defining what that presence meant according to the traditional formulation.⁷⁵⁷ This lack of a clear definition of transubstantiation in *Sacrosanctum* may have led to Paul VI's 1965 encyclical on the mystery of the Eucharist which contained a traditional explanation of Eucharistic dogma.⁷⁵⁸

Article 14 of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* wrote that the goal of fostering “fully conscious, and active participation” in the liturgy was “demanded by the very nature of the liturgy.”⁷⁵⁹ This statement placed pastoral expediency above the value of preserving the objective purity of the worshiping act or of preserving liturgical tradition. By adding the word “conscious” to the quote which was derived from the introduction of Pius X's *Tra Le Sollecitudini*, the crafters of this document disguised a Liturgical Movement innovation neatly in the midst of a quote by the anti-Modernist pope. “Conscious”

⁷⁵⁷ Ibid, sec. 7.

⁷⁵⁸ Paul VI, “*Mysterium Fidei*: On the Holy Eucharist,” encyclical, Vatican, the Holy See, 9/3/1965, sec. 10-11, accessed 3/10/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-vi_enc_03091965_mysterium.html.

⁷⁵⁹ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 14.

participation implied a direct awareness of the lay person in every act of the priest, which was not a traditional value in a liturgy which had clear demarcations between the actions of the priest and the spiritual offering of the laity.

Article 116 stated that “other things being equal, [Gregorian chant] should be given pride of place in liturgical services.”⁷⁶⁰ This vague phrase may seem at first glance to have reiterated the teachings of Pius X, Pius XI, and Pius XII regarding the primacy of Gregorian chant, but in reality it served to make Gregorian Chant “equal” with other forms of sacred music. Furthermore, the article concluded by stating that “other kinds of sacred music, especially polyphony, are by no means excluded from liturgical celebrations, so long as they accord with the spirit of the liturgical action.”⁷⁶¹ The mention of traditional polyphony was likely a smokescreen to distract from the vague permission granted here for “other kinds of music.”

Article 21 reiterated Pius XII’s idea that “the liturgy is made up of immutable elements divinely instituted, and of elements subject to change.”⁷⁶² Perhaps controversially, the writers of *Sacrosanctum* elaborated on this idea by stating that “these not only may but 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 unsuited to it.”⁷⁶³ As the distinction between “human” and “divine” elements of the liturgy afforded a monumental opportunity to progressive liturgists when Pius XII first made it, so it was used strategically during the Second Vatican Council to grant permission for a wide array of possible future changes.

⁷⁶⁰ Ibid, sec. 116.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid.

⁷⁶² Ibid, sec. 21.

⁷⁶³ Ibid.

Article 50 also stated that:

The rite of the Mass is to be revised in such a way that the intrinsic nature and purpose of its several parts, as also the connection between them, may be more clearly manifested...for this purpose the rites are to be simplified...[and] elements which, with the passage of time, came to be duplicated, or were added with but little advantage, are now to be discarded...as may seem useful or necessary.⁷⁶⁴

One might suspect that these suggestions came from the pen of Fr. Josef Jungmann himself, seeing that his *Mass of the Roman Rite* was structured in such a manner as to draw attention to how various historical accretions in the Roman Rite had come to obscure the supposedly original function of the various liturgical actions. This article alone could have served as the justification for many of the changes made in the 1969 reform. However, when reading this article, one should not presuppose that the Council Fathers anticipated what sort of reform this article would ultimately lead to. With the Traditional Latin Mass being the status quo, it would have been hard to predict in 1963 exactly what sort of changes article 50 implied.

Articles 1, 23, 50, 62 all gave justifications for modernizing the liturgy. Davies considered these articles to grant permission for a “constantly evolving liturgy.”⁷⁶⁵ Indeed, a consultor of the Consilium named Fr. Lucien Deiss wrote in 1971 that each *generation* needed to create its own corpus of liturgical music to suit its individual needs.⁷⁶⁶ Such a suggestion would seem ignorant of the reality that parish churches tend to accommodate more than one generation. Article 23 stated “Finally, there must be no innovations unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them; and care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically

⁷⁶⁴ Ibid, sec. 50.

⁷⁶⁵ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 357-358.

⁷⁶⁶ Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 45.

from forms already existing.”⁷⁶⁷ Davies argued that this article, while appearing to be a conservative safeguard against rash innovation, was in fact a permission granting them, as long as the Consilium deemed that “the good of the Church genuinely and certainly required them.”

Article 34 stated that the new liturgy should be marked by a “noble simplicity.”⁷⁶⁸ This might be seen as a euphemism for abbreviating the liturgy to make it less of a time-consuming burden. This same article gave license to suppress “useless repetitions” from the liturgy.⁷⁶⁹ The criteria for determining when a repetition in the liturgy should be considered “useless” was not explained. After the Council, the Consilium would be granted the power to interpret this article however they pleased.

Article 36 stated that “particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved...but since the use of the mother tongue...may frequently be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its employment may be extended. It is for the competent territorial authority...to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used according to these norms.”⁷⁷⁰ While appearing to protect the use of Latin in the liturgy, this article in fact gave permission for an unlimited use of the vernacular at the discretion of territorial bishop’s conferences.

Article 37 stated that the Church did not wish to impose any “rigid uniformity” on individual pastors in matters not concerning liturgical observances.⁷⁷¹ This article was a break with the rigid liturgical laws which standardized worship across the Roman Rite Church since at least the 16th century Tridentine reforms.

⁷⁶⁷ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 23.

⁷⁶⁸ *Ibid*, sec. 34.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid*.

⁷⁷⁰ *Ibid*, sec. 36.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid*, sec. 37

Article 38 gave permission for “legitimate variations and adaptations to different groups” in certain locations, such as mission territories, paving the way for enculturated usages of the Novus Ordo such as the so-called Hindu Rite or the Zaire Rite, both of which will be examined in chapter ten.⁷⁷² Article 40 requested that local ecclesiastical authorities submit requests for adaptations or changes to the liturgy to the Vatican for consideration.⁷⁷³ This article, it would turn out, would be an instrumental tool for radicalizing the Novus Ordo beyond even the texts of the 1969 Missal itself. Later, it would be requests from local ecclesiastical authorities which pressured the Vatican for permission for the celebration of Masses in private households, the suppression of the minor orders, and the practice of receiving communion in the hand.⁷⁷⁴

Interestingly, other proposals in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* never amounted to any actual change. For example, the document encouraged ill-defined “bible services,” and the post-conciliar Consilium did in fact create a rite for such services.⁷⁷⁵ However, the invitation to implement such services would go mostly unheeded by post-conciliar parishes.

Understanding each of the fifteen or so permissions granted in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* demystifies the process by which the Novus Ordo Missal was created. Each change made to the Roman Missal over the course of the 1960s can be justified by one of these points. Of course, the construction and promulgation of the Novus Ordo Missal would have been fruitless if the faithful at large had rejected it.

⁷⁷² Ibid, sec. 38.

⁷⁷³ Ibid, sec. 40.

⁷⁷⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 657-659.

⁷⁷⁵ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 35.

If priests had simply continued to offer the Mass according to the 1962 Missal and if the laity had refused to attend any Novus Ordo masses, the changes to the Mass would have been reversed just as Quignonez's attempted 16th century breviary reform or Cardinal Bea's 1945 psalter reform were ultimately reversed.⁷⁷⁶ To be sure, some priests and laity did resist the new Mass. As will be examined in chapter ten, the Society of St. Pius X spread throughout the world in the decades following the promulgation of the Novus Ordo in part due to the demand for chapels which celebrated the Traditional Latin Mass. However, such traditionalist resistance was minimal due to the tactfulness of Bugnini's Consilium in transitioning to the New Missal, the wide body of literature which supported the changes, and the popular rise of progressive Catholicism which took place immediately following the Second Vatican Council.

Sacrosanctum Concilium was not the only conciliar document which gave many the impression that a progressive interpretation of Catholicism had been enshrined at the formal level. As Schillebeeckx indicated in his 1965 article, vague statements which opened the door for progressive interpretations could be found throughout the conciliar documents.⁷⁷⁷ Additionally, despite the conservative Catholic insistence that Vatican II changed nothing of substance to the Church's teachings, ideas can be found throughout the Council's documents which reversed Church positions or at least attitudes on a number of topics. These changes, overwhelmingly approved by the world's bishops, were instrumental in ushering in a new popular sense of the Catholic religion. Changes included:

⁷⁷⁶ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 36-37 and 131-135.

⁷⁷⁷ Wiltgen, *The Inside Story of Vatican II*, 368-369.

- The idea that Christ's Church "subsisted in" the Catholic Church rather than simply "was" the Catholic Church.⁷⁷⁸
- A positive interpretation of every major world religion rather than an interpretation of each simply as a false religion from which all of its participants needed to be converted.⁷⁷⁹
- A request that nations no longer hold Catholicism as their constitutionally favored religion but recognize the "right to religious liberty" of all of its civilians.⁷⁸⁰
- The mandate that intellectuals in Catholic colleges and universities be permitted to conduct investigations in such a manner that "individual subjects be pursued according to their own principles, method, and liberty of scientific inquiry."⁷⁸¹
- The invitation to theologians to seek solutions to disagreements with Protestants through the "development of doctrine"⁷⁸²

While many traditional Catholic ideas could be found in the sixteen documents promulgated by the Second Vatican Council, reading the texts with an eye for ideas which were approved where formerly they were condemned demonstrates what a break with traditional Catholicism the final outcome of this council was. While comparing the number of traditional statements in the sixteen documents with the number of progressive statements might give the impression that the Council had a net-traditional orientation, this sort of a reading of the Council places undue significance on instances in which the

⁷⁷⁸ Second Vatican Council, "*Lumen Gentium*: Dogmatic Constitution on the Church," Vatican, the Holy See, 11/21/1964, sec 8, accessed 3/11/22: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_const_19641121_lumen-gentium_en.html.

⁷⁷⁹ Second Vatican Council, "*Nostra Aetate*: The Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions," Vatican, the Holy See, 10/28/1965, accessed 3/11/22: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_nostra-aetate_en.html.

⁷⁸⁰ Second Vatican Council, "*Dignitatis Humanae*: On the Right of Persons and Communities to Social and Civil Freedom in Matters Religious," Vatican, the Holy See, 12/7/1965, sec 1, accessed 3/11/22: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651207_dignitatis-humanae_en.html.

⁷⁸¹ Second Vatican Council, "*Gravissimum Educationis*: Declaration on Christian Education," Vatican, the Holy See, 10/28/1965, sec. 10, accessed 3/13/22: https://www.vatican.va/archive/hist_councils/ii_vatican_council/documents/vat-ii_decl_19651028_gravissimum-educationis_en.html.

⁷⁸² *Ibid*, sec. 11.

documents merely restated the status quo and not enough significance on those instances in which the Council broke with traditional Catholicism.

The Second Vatican Council gave Magisterial approval to ideas concerning religious liberty, the Ecumenical Movement, the laudability of what were previously condemned as false religions, and the need for freedom of “scientific investigation” in academia which would contradict the Magisterium’s teachings regarding these topics in past authoritative documents. It should especially not be understated that the Council’s approval of “liberty of scientific inquiry” in its Constitution on Christian Education was perhaps one of the most influential changes made.⁷⁸³ This permission, though receiving little attention in many discussions regarding the Second Vatican Council, was seized upon by Catholic scholars to procure a vague license for “academic freedom” to use whichever progressive “scientific” strategies they felt prudent, untethered to the limitations of traditional Catholic doctrine.

In 1970, the Land O’ Lakes statement, written principally by the President of Notre Dame University Fr. Theodore Hesburgh and advised, among others, by a young priest by the name of Theodore McCarrick, used this statement to argue that in order for the Catholic University “to perform its teaching and research functions effectively, researchers must have a true autonomy and academic freedom from authority of whatever kind, lay or clerical, external to the academic community itself.”⁷⁸⁴ This statement, of course, is an affirmation of the central premise of the centuries-old progressive Catholic movement which deemed secular academia to be more reliable in arbitrating truth than

⁷⁸³ Ibid, sec. 10.

⁷⁸⁴ Theodore M. Hesburgh et. al, “Land O’Lakes Statement: The Idea of the Catholic University,” (Land O’Lakes, WI: privately printed, 1967), accessed 3/11/22: <https://cushwa.nd.edu/assets/245340/landolakesstatement.pdf>; Stephen Beale, “Land O’Lakes 50 Years Later: How the Statement Affected Academia,” National Catholic Register, 7/17/17, accessed: <https://www.ncregister.com/features/land-o-lakes-50-years-later-how-the-statement-affected-academia>.

the Church's Magisterium or Sacred Tradition. Nearly all Catholic universities in the United States soon thereafter adopted the Land O' Lakes statement or drafted similar statements, indicating that most Catholic Universities had embraced the progressive form of the religion by the 1970s.⁷⁸⁵

In the eyes of many, not just the Catholic university but Catholicism itself had become a transformed religion by the end of the Second Vatican Council. Many words have been employed to articulate that after the Council, the Church became "open to the world," as opposed to its traditional attitude that "friendship with the world is enmity with God."⁷⁸⁶ Whereas the Church once asked alongside the Church Father St. Cyprian of Carthage "since the world hates the Christian, why give your life to that which hates you?" it now proclaimed alongside Archbishop Eugène-Jean-Marie Polge that "at the Council the Church began to love *this* world" (emphasis in original).⁷⁸⁷ It was in this context that Annibale Bugnini and the preeminent Liturgical Movement scholars made their final moves to compose and promulgate the Novus Ordo Missal.

⁷⁸⁵ Michael Sean Winters, "For 50 years, Catholic Higher Ed has Followed Land O'Lakes Roadmap," National Catholic Reporter, 7/28/2017, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.ncronline.org/blogs/distinctly-catholic/50-years-catholic-higher-ed-has-followed-land-olakes-roadmap>.

⁷⁸⁶ James 4:4.

⁷⁸⁷ Saint Cyprian, "Treatise VII on the Mortality," in *The Sacred Writings of Saint Cyprian*, trans. Robert Ernest Wallis (North Charleston, SC: CreateSpace, 2012), 274, sec. 24.; *L'Osservatore Romano*, Italian Edition, 9/3/1976, quoted in *The Great Facade*, Ferrara and Woods, 70.

CHAPTER NINE: CONSTRUCTING THE NOVUS ORDO

In January of 1964, just a few weeks after the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Paul VI charged Annibale Bugnini with the task of forming the infant Consilium in order to determine which changes to the Mass could be put into immediate effect. In *The Reform of the Liturgy*, Bugnini explained how the Consilium interpreted *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. It should be noted that Bugnini's interpretation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* should be considered quite authoritative since he was the preparatory schema's principal author. He wrote that *Sacrosanctum* contained eleven key principles which provided both a concise definition of the liturgy and a compass to guide the general reform.⁷⁸⁸

The first guiding principle Bugnini enumerated was that the liturgy was an “expression of the priestly office of Jesus Christ.”⁷⁸⁹ This was because the liturgy made the mystery of Christ's death and resurrection present and was the Church's central act of sacerdotal worship.⁷⁹⁰ Perhaps out of ecumenical concern, he refrained from explicitly using the word “sacrifice” in his description of the Mass. Bugnini's second guiding principle was that the liturgy was the “summit and fount” of the Church's life, which meant that the liturgy was both the “supreme sacred action” of the Church, that it was the primary means of sanctifying the faithful, and that it was the unifying and evangelical hearth of the Church's mission.⁷⁹¹ His third principle was that full, conscious, and active participation of the laity was essential for the liturgy.⁷⁹² It is worth noting once again that

⁷⁸⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 39.

⁷⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 40.

⁷⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 40-41.

⁷⁹² *Ibid.*, 41.

the words “full” and “conscious” were inserted into Pius X’s *Tra Le Sollecitudini* quote in order to imply that the laity should consciously understand each action of the priest as it was happening.

Bugnini wrote that the principle of conscious participation required that the Church adjust its liturgy so that the “mentalities and customs of the various peoples” were acknowledged in the liturgy.⁷⁹³ He also wrote that this principle indicated that each liturgical celebration needed to reflect the community’s life and that the language used in the liturgy needed to be easily understood.⁷⁹⁴

Bugnini’s fourth principle was that the liturgy manifested the Church’s identity. To Bugnini, this meant that each layperson should have an easily understood part to play in the liturgy and that private masses should be discouraged.⁷⁹⁵ His fifth principle was that the liturgy should not be governed by “rigid uniformity,” but that pastors should have the flexibility to adjust the liturgy to the needs of their community and especially to the customs of various cultures.⁷⁹⁶

His sixth principle was that the Church had a duty to adapt those changeable elements of the liturgy whenever these elements became an impediment to the flourishing of the liturgy which he described as a “living organism.”⁷⁹⁷ Bugnini responded to the argument that such an attitude would bring about a loss in the respect owed to liturgical tradition by arguing that it was more “traditional” not to imitate what was formerly done but to rediscover the “spirit that brought those things into existence and that would do other, completely different things at other times.”⁷⁹⁸ The claim that the “spirit” that

⁷⁹³ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁵ Ibid, 42.

⁷⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁹⁷ Ibid, 44.

⁷⁹⁸ Ibid.

inspired the Traditional Latin Mass's solemn rituals and meticulous prayers would choose to *do other completely different things at other times* bespeaks a progressivism which believed that modern man had *completely different* spiritual needs than medieval or ancient man and considered the traditional liturgy to be completely incapable of meeting those modern needs. This was an attitude which was not shared by those Catholics who had transmitted a mostly unchanged liturgical tradition to numerous varied races and cultures for over a millennium.

The next four principles Bugnini extrapolated from *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was first the need to address the liturgical language, second to expand the liturgy's use of the Word of God, third to adjust the liturgy to allow for more catechetical instruction, and fourth to foster more communal singing rather than only choral singing.⁷⁹⁹ The eleventh was a sort of umbrella principle which could legitimize any number of reforms. This principle was that the liturgy needed to be completely reformed based on the conclusion derived from reflecting on the other ten principles.⁸⁰⁰ Bugnini wrote that this final principle called for the mobilization of pastors to begin educating their congregations to prepare for such radical changes.⁸⁰¹ He wrote that it also implied a need to suppress those changeable elements of the liturgy which were added "with but little advantage" over the course of history and reintroduce those elements of the Mass such as the sign of peace which were discarded but would be advantageous to the Church if they were restored.⁸⁰²

Bugnini stated that the Consilium's task was a "work of simplification" to achieve a missal that possessed a "noble simplicity" which was "short, clear, and unencumbered

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid, 45-47.

⁸⁰⁰ Ibid, 48.

⁸⁰¹ Ibid.

⁸⁰² Ibid.

by useless repetitions...within the people's powers of comprehension and as a rule [did] not require much explanation."⁸⁰³ The former part of this statement might be considered a rhetorical veneer over a desire to abbreviate the Mass simply for the sake of making it less of a burden for the priest and the laity. The latter part of the statement might be taken as a bit of clericalism, assuming that the laity were less capable of understanding liturgical prayers and gestures than were the priests. Tellingly, the "people's power of comprehension" refers to a cognitive understanding of the verbal content of the prayers rather than the spiritual contemplation of the Mass as a mystery, implying a shift in emphasis concerning what it meant for the laity to participate in the offering of the Mass.

The Consilium finished their document announcing which changes could be made in the celebration of the Mass just a few months after *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated. Paul VI published this document on January 25, 1964.⁸⁰⁴ This motu proprio, titled *Sacram Liturgiam*, stipulated first and foremost that the clergy be educated in the liturgy, implying an education in the principles of the Liturgical Movement rather than the traditional liturgical education which they had already received.⁸⁰⁵ This stipulation likely served to inspire the publication of a wide array of liturgical articles as well as liturgical catechetical books in the next several years. These texts had the intention of educating those priests as well as the engaged laity in the principles of the Liturgical Reform which guided the Consilium in its construction of the new Missal.

The motu proprio also decreed that dioceses should form commissions to study the reform of sacred music and sacred art.⁸⁰⁶ These commissions would be inspired by the

⁸⁰³ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁴ Ibid, 55.

⁸⁰⁵ Ibid, 56.

⁸⁰⁶ Paul VI, "*Sacram Liturgiam*," motu proprio, Vatican, the Holy See, 1/25/1964, sec. II, accessed 3/11/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_p-vi_motu-proprio_19640125_sacram-liturgiam.html/.

liturgical literature which was rapidly published throughout the 1960s. Commissions dedicated to the reform of Sacred Art also consulted modern advances, if one might call them that, in the Art departments of universities, inspiring the modern styles of art found in many American churches today.⁸⁰⁷ Other changes which were permitted by *Sacram Liturgiam* included the suppression of the hour of Prime in the Divine Office, permission for the celebration of the Sacrament of Confirmation in the Mass, and some changes to the Rite of Matrimony.⁸⁰⁸

After the work of *Sacram Liturgiam* was finished, Bugnini and his fellow Consilium scholars began their work on the general reform of the Mass. Bugnini, the great organizer that he was, divided the general reform of the Church's liturgy into twelve commissions based on twelve major elements of the liturgy.⁸⁰⁹ These elements included the Calendar, the Breviary, the Missal, the prayers common to both the Breviary and the Missal, the Pontifical, the Ritual, the Martyrology, the chant books, the Episcopal Ceremonial, the Non-Roman Rites, the Code of Liturgical Law, and the Papal Chapel.⁸¹⁰ The Pontifical and Papal Chapel were variations of the Roman Missal for Masses celebrated by a bishop or a pope, respectively. The differences between a Pontifical Traditional Latin Mass and an ordinary Traditional Latin Mass were basically imperceptible to the layperson. Additionally, the Code of Liturgical Law was later renamed the General Instructions of the Roman Missal.⁸¹¹

After dividing the liturgical reform into these twelve commissions, Bugnini had the task of sorting the hundreds of scholars and consultants that took part in the work of

⁸⁰⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁰⁸ Ibid, sec. IV-VI.

⁸⁰⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 63.

⁸¹⁰ Ibid, 63-64.

⁸¹¹ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*.

the Consilium into groups which focused on just one of these liturgical subjects. Some of the more important subjects were broken up into several sub commissions. The Breviary was broken up into nine study groups, for example, while the Missal was broken up into seven study groups.⁸¹² While this strategy allowed liturgists to utilize their particular specialties, it also theoretically allowed Bugnini to place those scholars of a like-mind with himself into the more important commissions. Progressive liturgists could be assigned to commissions pertaining to the Mass while any Liturgical traditionalists might easily be placed on less important commissions such as the study group assigned for the Martyrology, a non-mandatory element of the Divine Office which most priests paid little attention to. This is, to be clear, mere speculation.

Once a commission finished a schema on a proposed change, Bugnini forwarded their schema to be reviewed by the theological, pastoral, stylistic, and musical commissions, who then forwarded the schema to a final “super commission” which analyzed the schema for final approval. Then, the super commission forwarded the schema to the liturgical commission.⁸¹³ Formed of the premier scholars of the Consilium, the liturgical commission analyzed and revised the schema before finally presenting it to the Sacred Congregation of Rites for formal approval.⁸¹⁴

Notably, Bugnini originally intended to avoid working through the Sacred Congregation of Rites for formal approval as he perceived this institution as a medieval creation of the Council of Trent which did not reflect the progressive spirit of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.⁸¹⁵ It goes without saying, of course, that none of the members

⁸¹² Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 106.

⁸¹³ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 62.

⁸¹⁴ *Ibid*, 62 and 71.

⁸¹⁵ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 70.

of Congregation of Rites had entered the congregation during the 16th century; the traditionalism of any of its members was of more recent origin than the Council of Trent. When it was determined that approval by the Congregation of Rites would be required, Bugnini originally proposed that the line for the Cardinal Prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Rites to sign would simply say “seen” next to it, implying that his approval was a mere formality.⁸¹⁶ Bugnini’s proposal for this procedure would be denied.

After all documents were signed by the Cardinal Prefects of the Congregation of Rites and of the Consilium as well as by the secretary of the Consilium, they were passed on to the pope for final approval. If the Holy Father approved of the schema, it would either be promulgated immediately or included in the ultimate promulgation of the *Novus Ordo missal*. Between the years 1964 and 1975, a total of 439 schemas would reach papal approval through this process.⁸¹⁷ Toward the end of this chapter, it will be observed that Paul VI’s leadership style led him to approve almost every proposal brought before him, even while some of these proposals conflicted with his personal judgment. For this reason, the final product of the 1969 Missal might be better referred to as the Missal of the Consilium rather than the Missal of Paul VI.

Throughout this process, Bugnini was granted regular special access to the pope. He met almost daily with Paul VI to discuss developments in the Consilium as they occurred.⁸¹⁸ Rumors suggested that Bugnini leveraged his special access to the pope to see his peculiar opinions implemented in the liturgy when these opinions were not shared by other scholars in the Consilium. Alcuin Reid wrote of an account written by the Consilium’s Fr. Louis Bouyer in which Pope Paul VI asked him why the group had

⁸¹⁶ *Ibid*, 71.

⁸¹⁷ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 107.

⁸¹⁸ Alcuin Reid, forward to *Annibale Bugnini* by Yves Chiron, 6.

decided to implement a particular change to the Mass. Fr. Bouyer responded that while the Consilium as a whole was quite disinclined towards the change, Bugnini had insisted that the Pope's mind was absolutely settled on the issue. Paul VI responded to this statement in shock, stating that he himself was against the change but that Bugnini had insisted that the entire Consilium was unanimous in their desire for it, leading him to relent and agree with the innovation.⁸¹⁹ Whether Bouyer's story was true or apocryphal, it would seem to reflect a perception that Bugnini capitalized on his access to the pope to exert a disproportionate amount of influence on the final product of the *Nous Ordo*.

With this system of operation in place, including the disproportionate power afforded to the group's secretary, the Consilium began its work of gradually transforming the Traditional Latin Mass into the *Novus Ordo* between the years of 1964 and 1969. Apart from their task, the pope's advisory body was also charged with the task of responding to questions and requests for experiments or adaptations by individual bishops or bishops' conferences.⁸²⁰ The Consilium was granted the authority to grant permission for "liturgical experiments," and it did so generously in the pursuit of a "scientific" reform of the liturgy.⁸²¹

One of the requests for experiments which was made to the Consilium immediately after its founding was the request for concelebration.⁸²² The Consilium granted bishops and abbots permission to allow controlled experiments of various rites of concelebration and asked that those partaking in such experiments submit reports describing their observations.⁸²³ Bugnini wrote as though requests for liturgical

⁸¹⁹ Ibid, 4.

⁸²⁰ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 205-206.

⁸²¹ Ibid, 262.

⁸²² Ibid, 72.

⁸²³ Ibid.

innovations flooded the Consilium's office; one might speculate that a large number of these requests were made by Rhine Group bishops' conferences.

As Catholics around the world waited for the Consilium to complete its work on the *Novus Ordo*, Catholic publishers responded to the interest felt by priests to better understand the liturgical reform. Once they understood the impetus behind the liturgical changes, these pastors could begin to explain these ideas to their congregations. To serve this need, pastors turned to the liturgical books which were written throughout the 1960s.

In 1960, Charles Davis published *Liturgy and Doctrine: The Doctrinal Basis of the Liturgical Movement*. Describing the Liturgical Movement, Davis wrote that proposing reforms to the liturgy in consideration of the “the pastoral concern of the Church and its unceasing endeavor to fulfill its pastoral charge in the liturgy” was the main goal underlying the Liturgical Movement.⁸²⁴ In other words, Davis believed that the Liturgical Movement was a movement which sought, above all else, to subjectivize the liturgical tradition to the perceived pastoral needs of the contemporary laity.

In the introduction to *Liturgy and Doctrine*, Davis defined the Mass as “the family meal of the Christian community,” refraining from using the term “sacrifice” to describe the liturgical act until the end of his third chapter.⁸²⁵ In emphasizing the Mass as an act of the community and deemphasizing its role as the priestly offering of the immolated flesh of Christ, Davis exemplified what would become a growing trend amongst liturgists in the 1960s of emphasizing the liturgy's role in forming communities rather than in offering the perfect sacrifice to God.

⁸²⁴ Davis, *Liturgy and Doctrine*, 13.

⁸²⁵ *Ibid*, 12 and 56.

Noting this transition in the language liturgical scholars used in speaking of the Mass in the mid to late 1960s is not to suggest that these liturgical texts were devoid of any references to the worship of God or explicitly denied that this worship was a central element of the liturgy. Nevertheless, a trend developed by which references to the community would be made far more frequently in liturgical literature than references to God. This later development of the Liturgical Movement could be said to have developed organically out of the Movement's primary desire to subjectivize the liturgy in order to make it more spiritually beneficial to the ordinary laity.⁸²⁶ This primacy of pastoral effectiveness could be seen as displacing the traditional priority of ensuring that the sacrifice was objectively pleasing to God.⁸²⁷

In 1961, Milton Lomask and Ray Neville published *The Way We Worship*. This text attempted to articulate the distinction between the changeable and unchangeable elements of the liturgy. In an expression of functionalism, Neville and Lomask defined the changeable elements of the liturgy as the purely pragmatic elements which had the purpose of sanctifying and teaching rather than of offering the most pleasing worship to God.⁸²⁸ Perceiving the liturgy as a pedagogical tool, these authors defined sacred art as "visual aids."⁸²⁹ The authors also wrote that "the people of every community build the kind of church they like" to serve their unique spiritual needs.⁸³⁰ No reference was made to the value of preserving the Church's architectural traditions, so long as the style of architecture employed in the construction of a Church pleased the community for which it was built.

⁸²⁶ Ibid, 13.

⁸²⁷ *Baltimore Catechism*, 203 question 356.

⁸²⁸ Lomask and Neville, *The Way We Worship*, 13-14.

⁸²⁹ Ibid, 25.

⁸³⁰ Ibid, 19.

In 1963, *Unto the Altar* was published as a compilation of Liturgical Movement articles edited by Alfons Kirchgässner. The content of the twenty essays, originally published as periodical articles, present a glimpse of the liturgical literature which priests were exposed to in the period immediately following the promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*. In an essay titled “Some Dangers of the Liturgical Movement,” Romano Guardini wrote that the purpose of the upcoming general reform was to bring into full light the role of the liturgy as the mainspring of parish life.⁸³¹ He expressed some concern that this movement had led in many regards to an “attempt to bring the worship of the parish nearer to the reality of daily life” in a manner which banalized the sacredness of the mystery.⁸³² Unafraid to express his concerns with the increasingly radical nature of the Liturgical Movement, it should come as no wonder that Romano Guardini would serve as an inspiration to a young Fr. Joseph Ratzinger.

While expressing caution towards some progressive liturgical ideas, Guardini devoted multiple pages of his essay to criticizing “liturgical conservatism,” which he characterized as a mere emotional instinct to preserve one’s accustomed traditions as good and to condemn the new as irreligious.⁸³³

In another essay titled “Personal Prayer and the Prayers of the Church,” Guardini argued that since modern man liked to emphasize the intellectual and ethical aspects of religion, the liturgy should not depend on an appreciation of mysterious symbolic gestures which modern man could not easily understand.⁸³⁴ Rather, he believed that the

⁸³¹ Romano Guardini, “Some Dangers of the Liturgical Revival,” in *Unto the Altar: The Practice of Catholic Worship*, ed. Alfons Kirchgässner (New York: Herder and Herder, 1963), 13.

⁸³² *Ibid*, 16.

⁸³³ *Ibid*, 18.

⁸³⁴ Romano Guardini, “Personal Prayer and the Prayers of the Church,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgässner, 34.

modern liturgy should make it easy for modern people to follow the prayers of the priest in order to pray along with him.

In “The Mystagogical Sermon” Guardini described the received Traditional Latin Mass as a “shriveled up” remnant of the liturgical tradition of the early Church.⁸³⁵ He also seemed to allude to the condemned work of Teilhard de Chardin in referring to the Church as a “consecrated universe, the new and evolving creation under the rule of the Holy Spirit.”⁸³⁶

Other essays in *Unto the Altar* propagated other Liturgical Movement theories to a wide clerical audience. In his essay “Eucharistic and Liturgical Piety,” Theodor Schnitzler taught that the liturgy should be appreciated as a sacred ritual in all of its parts and that the worship of the consecrated host should not overshadow other elements of the liturgical act.⁸³⁷ In his essay “Holy Week; the Focal Point of Liturgical Work,” Eugene Walter presented the claim that in the early Church, the faithful perceived the feast of Easter not only as the commemoration of Jesus’s resurrection but as “their own resurrection conceived in faith and sealed in the sacrament.”⁸³⁸ One might wonder from which Church father Walter had derived this idea.

This statement would seem to be an instance common amongst progressive liturgical scholars of presenting their own innovative ideas as originating with the early Church without offering any evidence to support such claims. Since the “Church Fathers” were composed of hundreds of priests, monks, bishops, and theologians each with their

⁸³⁵ Romano Guardini, “The Mystagogical Sermon,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner, 168.

⁸³⁶ Romano Guardini, “Personal Prayer and the Prayers of the Church,” 35.

⁸³⁷ Theodor Schnitzler, “Eucharistic and Liturgical Piety,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner, 44.

⁸³⁸ Eugen Walter, “Holy Week - The Focal Point of Liturgical Work,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner, 77.

own personality and cultural background, it is quite difficult to generalize about their tendencies as a whole, especially without providing any citations.

The essays in *Unto the Altar* dealing with liturgical homilies foreshadowed developments in post-conciliar homiletics. Traditionally, homilies tended to be centered around either a dogmatic or moral teaching. This tendency had its origins in the style of preaching found in the New Testament period in which sermons both *proclaimed* the dogmas of the new religion as well as *exhorted* hearers to live a morally upright life.⁸³⁹ In Justin Martyr's brief description of the Christian homily found in his second century *First Apology*, he alluded to the homily's moral and dogmatic character by writing that after the readings, the liturgical presider "verbally instructs, and exhorts to the imitation of these good things."⁸⁴⁰ In the introductory pages of the TAN edition of the Catechism of the Council of Trent, a sermon program was provided which suggested either a moral or dogmatic teaching which a sermon could be preached about for each Sunday Gospel reading of the traditional lectionary.⁸⁴¹ Often, homilies were also structured to fortify congregations against the errors of popular deviant heretical sects. John Chrysostom, as but one example, regularly preached against the errors prevalent in the Antiochene community in which he received his theological training.⁸⁴² While it is difficult to generalize about the homiletical tendencies of the entire Catholic tradition, it should hardly be considered controversial that instruction in the moral precepts and theological

⁸³⁹ O.C. Edwards, Jr., *A History of Preaching Volume 1* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2004), 27% of Kindle sample.

⁸⁴⁰ Justin Martyr, "The First Apology," chapter 67.

⁸⁴¹ "Sermon Guide" in *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans. John McHugh and Charles Callan (Charlotte, NC: TAN books, 1982), 45-60.

⁸⁴² Robert C. Hill, Introduction of *Homilies on Genesis, 1-17*, by John Chrysostom, trans. Robert C. Hill (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1986), 3, accessed 3/13/22: <https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.fhsu.edu/lib/fhsu/detail.action?docID=3134801>.

doctrines of the Catholic religion were traditionally considered to be primary goals of liturgical homilies.

In contrast, in “Holy Scriptures in the Life of the Parish,” Alfons Kirchgassner condemned the teaching of moral or theological dogmas in homilies, claiming that such homilies “dodged the issue [of explaining the scriptures and their application to life] by talking about a dogmatic or a moral topic” instead.⁸⁴³ He believed that the dogmatic or moral homilies heard in many Catholic churches were inferior to the more pastorally beneficial sermons found in Protestant churches, representing a trend amongst progressive Catholics to look to Protestants as examples to be imitated rather than heretics whose ideas were to be abhorred.⁸⁴⁴

In “Some Criteria for Preachers,” Theo Gunkel argued that the “sermon is neither a lecture, nor instruction...it is a message.”⁸⁴⁵ He also wrote that a homily was to be “communicated so that others can hear it.”⁸⁴⁶ Since a homily’s merits were subjective to the needs of the parish, he argued that “there is no objective criterion. The same sermon can be good in one place and bad in another.”⁸⁴⁷ While it may be difficult to determine what exactly Gunkel thought a homily should accomplish, it can be assumed that it was *not* the traditional understanding of a homily as an instruction in the dogmas and moral teachings of the traditional Catholic faith.

Other essays in *Unto the Altar* hinted at the tension which was brewing between Liturgical Movement scholars and traditional choir directors. Whereas the former were formed in progressive liturgical literature, the later had been formed in fidelity to the

⁸⁴³ Alfons Kirchgassner, “Holy Scripture in the Life of the Parish,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner, 153.

⁸⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 154.

⁸⁴⁵ Theo Gunkel, “Some Criteria for Preachers,” in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgassner, 147.

⁸⁴⁶ *Ibid*.

⁸⁴⁷ *Ibid*, 151.

papal teachings regarding sacred music and Gregorian chant. Since Gregorian Chant was difficult for the laity to participate in, the vast majority of Liturgical Movement scholars believed that modern styles of music should be introduced into the liturgy instead. Since this implied an explicit break with the Church's liturgical tradition of sacred chant and the explicit teachings of three 20th century popes, the Liturgical Movement's positions regarding sacred music were not often published in liturgical literature until the movement had picked up significant momentum in the years surrounding the Council. Once they felt confident enough, however, progressive liturgists began advancing a campaign against traditional liturgical music.

In "The Church Choir," Kirchgaessner explained that most choir masters resisted implementing modern music in the Mass because they suffered from a lack of liturgical training. Such was their ignorance that these traditional choir masters could not comprehend the Liturgical Movement's sublime understanding of sacred music.⁸⁴⁸ Choir directors who were trained in sacred polyphony and Gregorian chant and capable of instructing lay choir members to participate in such complex forms of music were obviously well trained in a highly technical form of music, though not in the opinions surrounding sacred music which the Liturgical Movement scholars held. In "The Schola," Paul Gutfleisch did not call for the abolition of traditional Gregorian repertoires, though he did write that the Liturgical Movement had made "firm demands" on choirs to be more inclusive of women and to encourage the participation of the entire congregation in singing.⁸⁴⁹

⁸⁴⁸ Alfons Kirchgaessner, "The Church Choir," in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgaessner, 129, 132.

⁸⁴⁹ Paul Gutfleisch, "The Schola," in *Unto the Altar*, ed. Alfons Kirchgaessner, 120.

Priest's Guide to Parish Worship was a 1964 publication of the Liturgical Conference. The Liturgical Conference was a body of Liturgical Movement scholars based in Washington DC which published general liturgical literature. Today, the Liturgical Conference includes both Catholic and Protestant contributors.⁸⁵⁰ The preface of this book, written by the influential Frederick McManus, called the work of the Consilium “a revolution in liturgical celebration” which was “decreed by the supreme authority in the Church.”⁸⁵¹ Indeed, the Church’s supreme authority *had* embraced the “revolution” of the Liturgical Movement, especially during the 1960s.

The first chapter of this book taught that since there were changeable elements to the liturgy, those elements *needed* to change lest the liturgy become “frozen for too long in the patterns of a particular time and place.”⁸⁵² This book argued that anyone who resisted the Liturgical Movement’s proposed changes to the Mass were likely poorly educated and unwilling to “give themselves” fully to the liturgy.⁸⁵³ This claim represented a growing trend amongst the advocates of the liturgical changes to dismiss critics of the new liturgy as being ignorant, spiritually slothful, or stubbornly set in their ways.

Placing a central focus on the community, the Liturgical Conference taught that the parish liturgy must bend itself to speak individually to the personal life-situations of each member of the congregation and “reflect each of these members as manifestations of the Lord.”⁸⁵⁴ It is notable that while this article did not reference the traditional Catholic doctrine of the true presence of Christ in the Eucharist, it did refer to each parishioner as a “manifestation of the Lord.” This calls to mind Pius X’s concern that the Modernist

⁸⁵⁰ “About Us,” Liturgical Conference, accessed 3/11/22: <https://liturgicalconference.org/about>.

⁸⁵¹ McManus, forward to *Priest's Guide to Parish worship*, vi.

⁸⁵² Liturgical Conference, *Priest's Guide to Parish Worship* (Baltimore: Garamond/Pridemark Press, 1964), 2.

⁸⁵³ *Ibid*, 3-5.

⁸⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 24.

principle of vital immanence would lead to a practical pantheistic theological system which emphasized the subjective experience of God over the objectivity of the Divine.

Concerning Church architecture, the Conference criticized the long naves of traditional churches, such as those found in the ancient churches found in Appendix A, since they supposedly inhibited the active participation of the laity.⁸⁵⁵ These scholars also called for the removal of traditional side altar shrines, statues, and votive candles since they were seen as distracting from the liturgy.⁸⁵⁶ These proposals for changes in Church decor had much in common with Enlightenment-inspired Gallican liturgists who utilized only a single undressed altar and discouraged “distracting” sacred art.⁸⁵⁷ The text also stated that “the altar is primarily a table. It should look like one.”⁸⁵⁸ This statement, made before the Second Vatican Council was even finished, encouraged the replacement of traditional high altars with freestanding table-styled altars. At these table-styled altars, priests began to celebrate the Mass facing the people well before this style of celebration was formally permitted.⁸⁵⁹

The Liturgical Conference also advocated for the receiving of communion while standing before this practice was licit. It was argued that the traditional sign of reverence by kneeling during the reception of Holy Communion should be discarded because standing communion would be more “meaningful and efficient.”⁸⁶⁰

As priests read the progressive liturgical literature of the 1960s and began to instruct their congregations in the principles gleaned from these periodicals and books,

⁸⁵⁵ Ibid, 63.

⁸⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁸⁵⁷ Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy*, 51-55.

⁸⁵⁸ Liturgical Conference, *Priest's Guide to Parish Worship*, 65.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid, 64.

⁸⁶⁰ Ibid, 66.

the “first accomplishments” of the Consilium came to fruition in the spring of 1965.⁸⁶¹ While the Consilium had been at work for over a year by this time, it must be recalled that Vatican II itself did not conclude its work until December of 1965. Thus, the first changes made to the liturgy were granted before the Council had even concluded.

In March of 1965, the vernacular was permitted throughout the entire Mass except for the Roman Canon and the Preface.⁸⁶² However, individual national bishops conferences had to request the use of the vernacular for whichever approved portions of the Mass in which they wanted to see it introduced; along with these requests, conferences needed to submit vernacular translations to be approved by the Consilium.⁸⁶³ In *The Reform of the Liturgy*, Bugnini wrote that while not all bishops' conferences requested the use of the vernacular in each of the permitted portions of the Mass, many did, and several bishops' conferences requested the use of vernacular in the Preface and Canon as well.⁸⁶⁴ In the Netherlands, priests began to illicitly pray these portions of the Mass in the vernacular without Vatican permission as well as construct new Eucharistic prayers to be prayed instead of the Roman Canon.⁸⁶⁵

Concerned with the construction of illicit Eucharistic prayers, Paul VI asked the Consilium to study “the Dutch problem” in 1965.⁸⁶⁶ It is noteworthy that some of the Consilium scholars were by this time of a like-mind with the Dutch innovators regarding the unsuitability of the Roman Canon and the need to create new Eucharistic prayers.⁸⁶⁷

That the Council of Trent anathematized any who said that “ the canon of the mass

⁸⁶¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 99.

⁸⁶² Ibid, 101-102.

⁸⁶³ Ibid, 102.

⁸⁶⁴ Ibid, 105.

⁸⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶⁶ Ibid, 106.

⁸⁶⁷ Ibid, 343.

contains errors, and is therefore to be abrogated” was no impediment to those liturgical scholars who placed little weight on Catholic Tradition.⁸⁶⁸ Thus, not surprisingly, the conclusion reached in response to the Dutch Problem in 1966 was that the Dutch hierarchy should be granted permission to pray the Preface and Roman Canon in the vernacular and that the Consilium should draft three new Eucharistic prayers to be introduced into the new Missal in order to appease the desire to not be bound to the Roman Canon for the Eucharistic offering.⁸⁶⁹ The decision to draft three new Eucharistic prayers was the first instance in which the Consilium implemented a change which the Second Vatican Council did not call for. All the same, such a change could be justified under the vague permission that “new forms should grow organically from those already existing.”⁸⁷⁰

While Pope Paul VI apprehensively granted the Consilium’s request to extend permission for a vernacular canon to the Church of the Netherlands, he did not allow the Consilium to extend this permission to the universal Church in 1966.⁸⁷¹ By 1967, however, due to the persistence of Bugnini and the Consilium, permission to translate the Preface and Roman Canon into the vernacular was granted to the Church at large.⁸⁷² Thus, by 1967, the Church had taken a decided step away from the dogmatic teaching found in Canon 9 of the 22nd session of the Council of Trent which anathematized anyone who proposed “that the mass ought to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue only,” or that the pronouncing of “part of the canon and the words of consecration...in a low tone, is to be condemned.”⁸⁷³

⁸⁶⁸ “Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent,” canon VI.

⁸⁶⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 106.

⁸⁷⁰ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 23.

⁸⁷¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 106.

⁸⁷² *Ibid*, 109.

⁸⁷³ “Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent,” canon IX.

While *Sacrosanctum Concilium* asked that “the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites,” it also stipulated that “it is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in Art. 22, 2, to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used.”⁸⁷⁴ Whereas the former statement might have implied a conciliar demand for the retention of the Latin language in the liturgy, the later statement opened the doors for bishops conferences to decide to what extent the vernacular might replace the traditional Latin of the Mass. This vague language proved to be just the sort of “time-bomb” Michael Davies wrote of in *Pope John’s Council*. In *The Reform of the Liturgy*, defending the extension of the *vulgar tongue* to the entire Roman Mass, Bugnini wrote that “even if the extension of the vernacular to the entire liturgy can be called a broad interpretation (though made by one with the right to make it), it cannot be said to contradict the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy.”⁸⁷⁵

All the same, such tactical vagueness should not imply that the extension of the vernacular to the entire Mass was an authoritative act of the Consilium made against the wishes of the bishops' conferences around the world. It must be recalled that progressive theological, biblical, and liturgical principles had been widely disseminated to the world's bishops at the Second Vatican Council and seemed to be received enthusiastically by the majority of them. Many bishops wrote of their experience at the Council as transforming their perception of Catholicism. Bishop James W. Malone of Youngstown Ohio, for example, wrote that “like everyone else who internalized the Council, it changed everything that I was taught to believe.”⁸⁷⁶ Statements such as these can be hardly

⁸⁷⁴ *Sacrosanctum*, sec. 36.

⁸⁷⁵ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 110.

⁸⁷⁶ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 53.

understood other than that a large number of bishops had been converted to a different form of Catholicism than the one they had grown up with.

When these bishops returned home, liturgical literature served to further advance the Liturgical Movement's principles to the world's clerics. Converted to these principles, especially the primacy of pastoral expediency, functionalism, and the need for each layperson to have a conscious understanding of the prayers of the Mass, the bishops of the world themselves advanced the cause for vernacularism by campaigning for it from Rome. By 1967, every single national bishops conference had requested permission to celebrate the Mass entirely in the vernacular.⁸⁷⁷ Thus, the introduction of the vernacular liturgy must be seen as a triumph of the Liturgical Movement in propagating its principles to the international episcopate rather than a centralized reform imposed from above.

The vernacular was not the only change to the Mass introduced by 1965. Also in 1965, the rubrics of the traditional Missal were officially adapted to accommodate many of the proposals made by the Liturgical Conferences of the 1950s. For starters, it was officially recommended that freestanding altars be introduced into the sanctuary in order to enable celebration facing the people rather than facing the East.⁸⁷⁸ The Prayers at the Foot of the Altar were shortened to omit the choral recitation of the 42nd Psalm.⁸⁷⁹ These rubrics also arranged for the proclamation of the readings of the Mass to be conducted by a lay lector from an ambo facing the people rather than by a priest reading from the altar.⁸⁸⁰ Additionally, the priest was no longer required to privately pray any of the

⁸⁷⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 112.

⁸⁷⁸ The Consilium, "*Inter Oecumenici*: Instruction on Implementing Liturgical Norms," Adoremus, 9/26/1964, chapter V sec. 92, accessed 3/11/22: <https://adoremus.org/1964/09/inter-oecumenici/>.

⁸⁷⁹ *Ibid*, chapter 2: II: 48-c.

⁸⁸⁰ *Ibid*, chapter 5: VI: 96.

prayers sung by the choir.⁸⁸¹ Finally, the Last Gospel was suppressed, ending an eight hundred year tradition of concluding the Mass with the prologue of the Gospel of John.⁸⁸²

The changes made to the Mass in 1965 were never intended to be the finished product of the Consilium. According to Bugnini, merely making adaptations to the Traditional Latin Mass was not possible since it was too “difficult...to take an ancient building in hand and make it functional and habitable without changing the structure! Peripheral alterations [were] not enough; there [had] to be a radical restoration.”⁸⁸³ Bugnini explained in *The Reform of the Liturgy* that the 1965 rubrics were designed merely as a transitional placeholder between the traditional Mass and the ultimate Novus Ordo. If the new Mass was introduced too suddenly, the Consilium feared that the reform “might be jeopardized by such a complete revision.”⁸⁸⁴ Thus, as Catholics around the world became accustomed to a vernacular Mass, lay readers, and certain simplified gestures, Bugnini and the Consilium continued their work of crafting the completely revised Novus Ordo Missal.

The 1965 Missal changes were not the only transitional instructions promulgated by the Consilium. Also in 1965, the Consilium and Paul VI promulgated *Ritus servandus in concelebratione Missae et ritus communionis sub utraque specie*, creating a rite for concelebration by priests.⁸⁸⁵ This rite was drafted after studying the notes submitted by experimental concelebration liturgies conducted over the course of a year.⁸⁸⁶ The Consilium’s original draft limited the number of priest’s who could concelebrate at a given Mass to fifteen, though the Congregation of Rites rejected this number as too high

⁸⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸⁸² The Consilium, *Inter Oecumenici*, chapter 2: I-48-j.

⁸⁸³ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 115.

⁸⁸⁴ Ibid, 114.

⁸⁸⁵ Ibid, 123.

⁸⁸⁶ Ibid, 124-126.

and requested that only the amount of priest's which could physically touch the altar be permitted to concelebrate at a given Mass.⁸⁸⁷

Bugnini, however, believed that the necessity of being able to touch the altar was arbitrary and should not be included in the final document. Thus, the final instruction stated that no more priests could concelebrate at a given Mass than the number that “the church and the altar of concelebration could accommodate, even if all the concelebrants are not right next to the table of the altar.”⁸⁸⁸ Predictably, these vague instructions gradually opened the doors for the phenomenon in which hundreds of priests could concelebrate at a given Mass at a conference or papal event due to a liberal interpretation of this “limitation” of the number of concelebrants.⁸⁸⁹ The instructions also limited the occasions at which a concelebrated Mass could be offered, though these occasions were so diverse and vaguely worded that they offered no real limitations to the practice.⁸⁹⁰

In the spring of 1967, the Consilium and Paul VI promulgated *Tres abhinc annos*. This instruction lay a great emphasis on fostering the participation of the laity in the liturgy and instituted further adjustments to the rubrics to make this participation a reality.⁸⁹¹ It was this instruction which universalized permission for the celebration of the Mass entirely in the vernacular.⁸⁹² This instruction also required that only one Collect be prayed per Mass even on days with multiple feasts, it encouraged the use of experimental lectionaries for weekday masses, it removed the requirement for the priest, servers, and ministers to genuflect before the tabernacle whenever they walked across the sanctuary, it

⁸⁸⁷ Ibid, 127.

⁸⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁰ Ibid, 130-131.

⁸⁹¹ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 125.

⁸⁹² Ibid.

reduced the signs of the crosses during the Canon and kissing of the altar throughout the Mass, and it suppressed the traditional liturgical vestment known as the maniple.⁸⁹³

Tres abhinc annos also renamed the Mass of the Catechumens the “Liturgy of the Word” and the Mass of the Faithful the “Liturgy of the Eucharist.”⁸⁹⁴ Additionally, it encouraged flexibility in the priest’s celebration of the Mass according to the needs of the given parish.⁸⁹⁵ Priests were encouraged to adapt the liturgy for pastoral reasons as they saw fit. Finally, the Holy Thursday morning Mass was rewritten to emphasize a celebration of the priesthood.⁸⁹⁶

Also in 1967, the Consilium published an Instruction on Sacred Music titled *Musicam Sacram* which was the fruit of a years-long struggle between the Constituent Assembly’s scholars and the proponents of Gregorian Chant and Sacred Polyphony. This struggle began in 1964 when the publication of the Consilium’s first formal instruction, *Inter Oecumenici*, did not specifically mention Gregorian Chant or Polyphony, instigating protests by traditionalist musicians who were concerned that its omission was symptomatic of a hostility towards traditional music.⁸⁹⁷ While the Consilium was able to dodge such accusations in 1964 by claiming that this omission in no way undermined the Church’s traditional treasury of music, tensions continued as members of the Senate of the Pontifical Institute for Sacred Music clashed with Bugnini over the contents of a 1965 instruction specifically devoted to the reform of sacred music.⁸⁹⁸ Traditionalist musicians accused the Consilium of favoring a “certain trend” of progressive Catholic musicians over and against the large body of traditionalist musicians who had received their

⁸⁹³ Ibid, 115.

⁸⁹⁴ Ibid, 116.

⁸⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁹⁶ Ibid, 118.

⁸⁹⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 898.

⁸⁹⁸ Ibid, 898-900.

formation in obedience to Magisterial instructions promoting Gregorian Chant which were published by Pius X, Pius XI, and Pius XII.⁸⁹⁹

Bugnini considered attacks against the Consilium's modernization of sacred music as attacks levied "against the entire liturgical reform."⁹⁰⁰ Further, he considered his struggle against traditionalist musicians as "his cross."⁹⁰¹ Essentially, Bugnini and much of the Consilium believed that the music used in the liturgy should foster the easy participation of the laity through the use of vernacular lyrics and easy to learn melodies.⁹⁰² This opinion represented a rupture with the papal teachings on sacred music promulgated throughout the 20th century. Due to the ongoing protests of the Pontifical Institute for Sacred Music against the Consilium's proposed Instruction on Sacred Music, the instruction was unable to gain papal approval for close to two years after the completion of its initial schema.

True to his style of leadership throughout the Council, Paul VI encouraged the Consilium to compromise with the traditionalist musicians, himself attempting to deliberate between the two parties.⁹⁰³ Utilizing vague language that seemed to preserve tradition but in essence permitted a completely progressive interpretation, the Consilium ultimately drafted an instruction which simultaneously paid lip service to the treasury of traditional music while also permitting the use of popular vernacular melodies in the Mass.⁹⁰⁴

⁸⁹⁹ Ibid, 900.

⁹⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁰¹ Ibid.; Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 159.

⁹⁰² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 905-908.

⁹⁰³ Ibid, 902-910.

⁹⁰⁴ Ibid, 911-913.

While the text advised that the faithful learn to sing the prayers of the Proper of the Mass in Latin, this was nowhere stipulated as a requirement.⁹⁰⁵ Additionally, the instruction stated that traditional chant settings could be used with vernacular translations of the prayers of the Mass whenever the translation of the Mass's prayers could be found to work well with traditional chant settings.⁹⁰⁶ This condition, while appearing to be a sort of traditionalist-modernist compromise, would in practice make most traditional chants unusable since these chants tended to embellish each syllable of the Latin prayers with several notes, making it quite awkward to use these settings with the syllables of prayers in different languages.⁹⁰⁷ Thus, while the 1967 Instruction on Sacred Music appeared to pay lip service to traditional sacred chant, in practice it gave open license for the modernization of sacred music.

With the promulgation of each of these documents, the Consilium also began the publication of a liturgical journal titled *Notitiae* which served the purpose of communicating developments in the Consilium with its many international members and consultors.⁹⁰⁸ *Notitiae* also communicated developments in the liturgical reform to the press, and by extension, the readership of the many liturgical periodicals which used *Notitiae* as its source.⁹⁰⁹ This centralized publication went a long way in helping the Liturgical Movement scholars throughout the Church present a coherent and unified explanation for the reasons for the changes to the Church's pastors which they in turn could teach to their congregations.⁹¹⁰

⁹⁰⁵ Ibid, 913.

⁹⁰⁶ Ibid, 908.

⁹⁰⁷ See Appendix E.

⁹⁰⁸ Ibid, 247.

⁹⁰⁹ Ibid, 248.

⁹¹⁰ Ibid, 249.

The Consilium also disseminated information to the world's bishops conferences through regularly responding to questions and requests.⁹¹¹ Just a few months after the rubrical reforms of 1965, an open letter was sent from the Consilium to the world's bishops conferences to address a number of frequently raised questions about the changes.⁹¹² Interestingly, one of the questions addressed in this letter concerned the "problem of locating the tabernacle," since the 1965 instructions recommended offering the Mass *versus populum*.⁹¹³ It should be noted that just thirteen years earlier, Pius XII firmly reiterated the traditional custom which held that "the Most Blessed Sacrament must be kept in an immovable tabernacle set in the middle of the altar" in a speech he delivered at the Liturgical Conference at Assisi.⁹¹⁴ Soon after, Pius XII promulgated the decree *Sanctissimam Eucharistiam* which firmly stated that "in churches where only one altar exists, this cannot be constructed so that the priest may celebrate towards the people."⁹¹⁵ The document also stated that "strictly prohibited are Eucharistic tabernacles located away from an actual altar, for example on a wall, or alongside, or behind an altar, or in shrines, or on columns separate from an altar."⁹¹⁶

Despite Pius XII's affirmation of the traditional placement of the tabernacle and his prohibition of *versus populum* celebrations, the Vatican less than one decade later advised the opposite of both prohibitions.⁹¹⁷ It should be noted, of course, that Pius XII's condemnation of freestanding altars did not emerge from a vacuum. He was responding

⁹¹¹ Ibid, 205.

⁹¹² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 206-208.

⁹¹³ Ibid, 208.

⁹¹⁴ Pius XII, "Allocution to the Assisi Liturgical Congress, 1956," *Una Voce Canada*, 1956, page 9, accessed 3/11/22: <https://unavocecanada.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/Pius-XII-Assisi-Allocution.pdf>.

⁹¹⁵ Sacred Congregation of Rites "Sanctissimam Eucharistiam: Acts of the Most Sacred Congregations of the Sacred Congregation of Rites," *The Latin Mass Society of England and Wales*, 1957, 4, accessed 3/11/22: https://lms.org.uk/sanctissimam_eucharistiam.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid, 8.

⁹¹⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 209.

to the growing popularity of this style of altar. Appendix D, for example, contains a 1930's postcard of the interior of Fr. Coughlin's Shrine of the Little Flower sanctuary which had a freestanding altar since it was built in 1931.⁹¹⁸

Shortly after the first changes were made to the Mass in 1965, the Consilium faced the problem of what Bugnini referred to as illicit experimentation on the part of individual pastors.⁹¹⁹ In response, numerous decrees were promulgated by the Vatican condemning such innovations in the liturgy.⁹²⁰ Despite such stern words, canonical penalties were not encouraged against these dissident priests. Rather, Ordinaries were encouraged to "with kindness but firmness...dissuade those who, whatever their good intentions, sponsor such exhibitions."⁹²¹ Of course, the problem of illicit liturgical practices could be said to have their origin in the liturgical instructions promulgated by the Vatican. Authoritative documents published by the Consilium and Paul VI made a point of emphasizing a non-legalistic following of the rubrics, encouraging pastors to adapt the liturgy according to the perceived pastoral needs of his congregation. Some pastors took this advice more liberally than others.⁹²²

The liturgical literature published between the promulgation of the first changes to the Mass in 1965 and the promulgation of the *Novus Ordo* contained more direct attacks against the Church's liturgical tradition and a more pronounced focus on the community. What's more, Catholic literature in general took a more radical turn in the years immediately following the Council.

⁹¹⁸ Appendix D.

⁹¹⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 257-258.

⁹²⁰ *Ibid*, 257-262.

⁹²¹ *Ibid*, 261.

⁹²² *Ibid*, 116.

In 1966, the Dutch conference of bishops promulgated the so-called “Dutch Catechism” under the lead authorship of Edward Schillebeeckx. It was published in the United States under the title *A New Catechism*. Ultimately, this Catechism was condemned by a team of theologians appointed by Paul VI to evaluate the book’s doctrinal content. This said much about the degree of theological innovation in the book since Paul VI in the same year removed the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith’s ability to maintain an index of forbidden books, implying his preference to not intervene in Catholic literature.⁹²³ Among the controversial teachings of the Dutch Catechism was an implication that the fall of Adam and the transmission of original sin to his descendants was not an objective historical reality.⁹²⁴ Its criticism of the dogma of transubstantiation was even more explicit.⁹²⁵ The Dutch Catechism also formally dissented from dogmatic Church teaching regarding the primacy of the pope and the pope’s ability to speak infallibly *ex cathedra*.⁹²⁶

Another book that proposed radical changes to the Catholic religion was a collection of essays edited by Michael de la Bedoyere titled *The Future of Catholic Christianity*. In it, Bedoyere implicitly acknowledged a connection between the Modernism of the early 20th century and the progressive form of Catholicism which had become popular after the Council, writing that “one recalls the Modernist era when the deeper Catholic thinkers found themselves face to face with religious petrification.”⁹²⁷

⁹²³ Sacred Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, “Notification Regarding the Abolishment of the Index of Books,” Vatican, the Holy See, 1966, accessed 3/11/22: https://www.vatican.va/roman_curia/congregations/cfaith/documents/rc_con_cfaith_doc_19660614_de-indicis-libr-prohib_en.html.

⁹²⁴ Hierarchy of the Netherlands, *A New Catechism: Catholic Faith for Adults*, trans. Kevin Smyth (New York: Herder and Herder, 1967), 10-11.

⁹²⁵ *Ibid*, 344-346.

⁹²⁶ *Ibid*, 365-366.

⁹²⁷ Michael de la Bedoyere, Introduction to *The Future of Catholic Christianity*, ed. Michael de la Bedoyere (Philadelphia & New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1966), xii.

Such a statement implied that the Church's "deeper thinkers," who had been condemned as Modernists in a previous generation, were free to publish books such as his own after the Second Vatican Council.

Though Bedoyere acknowledged that Vatican II had done much in transforming the Church according to progressive principles, he complained that it had not gone far enough in modernizing the Church.⁹²⁸ He mocked the Church's traditional dogmas of divine revelation, writing that "*until the coming of Vatican Council II*, the idea of revelation which appeared to be dominant in the Church was of some mysterious factor working in an incomprehensible unilateral manner" (emphasis mine).⁹²⁹ To explicitly state that the Church had understood divine revelation differently up until the sort of Messianic "coming of Vatican Council II" was to claim that the fundamental dogma concerning where the Church derived revealed truth had changed in the post-conciliar Church.

Another book with a similar purpose was *The Church Tomorrow* by Fr. George H. Tavard. Tavard bemoaned the fact that "Catholics like to lie hidden in the intellectual shell of their classroom Thomism and to avoid venturing out on the highways and by-ways of modern scholarship."⁹³⁰ He argued that even the formally defined dogmas of the Church were not "beyond reform" if the language used in these dogmas had lost their "living meaning."⁹³¹ He compared Catholics such as Pope Pius X, who refused to adopt the methodology of modern academia, to intellectual children, and those who adopted modern scholarly methods and sought to reform "dead" dogmas as intellectual adults.⁹³²

⁹²⁸ Ibid, xiii.

⁹²⁹ Yvonne Lubbock, "Belief is Being: Thoughts on the Survival of Christian Belief," in *The Future of Catholic Christianity*, ed. Michael de la Bedoyere, 12.

⁹³⁰ George Tavard, *The Church Tomorrow* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1965), 21.

⁹³¹ Ibid, 61-62.

⁹³² Ibid, 21.

He criticized the Council of Trent for defining Catholic dogma in an unbalanced and anti-Protestant manner, though he did not provide any specific doctrines which could have been articulated in a more balanced nuanced manner by the Council.⁹³³

In his effort to aid the progressive development of a new “thought of the Church,” which he deemed essential to its survival, Tvard explained traditional Catholic sacraments using modern academic terminology. He wrote that the sacrament of Penance served the function of freeing one from “psychological guilt” as opposed to the traditional belief that Confession freed the penitent from the pain of mortal sin and eternal damnation.⁹³⁴ As Tvard’s understanding of Penance became widespread, it would be no wonder that confessionals found few visitors after the 1960s as Catholics rarely found the need to alleviate feelings of guilt to be greater than their desire to avoid the embarrassment of confessing their sins to a priest. Liturgically, Tvard joined with the Liturgical Movement in criticizing the praying of private “odd devotions” during the Mass and he lauded the Liturgical Movement’s emphasis on involving the congregation in the prayers of the liturgy.⁹³⁵ His description of the Mass did not refer to the real presence of Jesus in the Eucharist or the anaphora as an act of sacrifice. Rather, it referred to the Mass exclusively as a communal celebration, describing private Masses as being “liturgically absurd.”⁹³⁶

The Human Church by Fr. William DuBay was published in 1966 as an attempt to approach the Catholic religion from a Marxist and materialist perspective. He believed that the fulfillment of the Catholic religion required solely a life of secular activism and

⁹³³ Ibid, 25.

⁹³⁴ Ibid, 19, 118.

⁹³⁵ Ibid, 30-32 and 85.

⁹³⁶ Ibid, 32-33, 80.

that Church buildings and religious rituals were mere distractions from this goal.⁹³⁷ He analyzed the Gospels as fallible historical documents which did not give literal details about the life of Jesus but rather of the beliefs about Jesus that the first Christians held.⁹³⁸ Relativizing all of the New Testament to the subjective beliefs of the first generation of Christians, DuBay wrote that “the most Christians can honestly say about God is that he is father.”⁹³⁹ Why, exactly, God’s alleged “fatherhood” was beyond reproach was not explained.

DuBay wrote that the Church was “the greatest obstacle to human progress” for most of its existence, echoing Marxist ideas about the oppressive role religion played in the feudal social structure.⁹⁴⁰ He also wrote that the purpose of the Church’s founding was to “be a model of humanity to man,” not mentioning any role that the Church played in the eternal salvation of souls.⁹⁴¹

If the use of Marxist materialist historiography was not foreign enough to traditional Catholic sensibilities, DuBay also praised the work of Thomas Cranmer in reshaping the Roman Missal into the 1549 Book of Common Prayer. He praised Cranmer especially for relying more heavily on the scriptures than the Catholic Church had in its liturgy.⁹⁴² Why DuBay thought Cranmer’s use of a book as fallible and untrustworthy as the Bible was to be commended was not explained. Concerning the liturgy, DuBay taught that Christ originally intended the Mass to be a simple meal of bread and wine that would bring his followers together into one community.⁹⁴³ Thus, all historical accretions

⁹³⁷ William DuBay, *The Human Church* (New York: Doubleday & Company, INC., 1966), 15.

⁹³⁸ *Ibid*, 17-18.

⁹³⁹ *Ibid*, 18.

⁹⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 38.

⁹⁴¹ *Ibid*, 47.

⁹⁴² *Ibid*, 122-123.

⁹⁴³ *Ibid*, 131.

whatsoever beside the meal aspect of the Mass were impediments to understanding what the ritual was supposed to indicate.⁹⁴⁴

Since he published this book without the approval of his conservative bishop William McIntyre, DuBay was dismissed from the clerical state. After this, he married, birthed a child, then came out as gay and devoted his literary skills to the gay advocacy and environmental protection movements.⁹⁴⁵

Numerous books focusing exclusively on the liturgy were also published after 1965. These later texts could be described as more aggressively combative towards the traditional liturgy than the texts which came before them. *The Mass and the People of God* was a compilation of essays and articles edited by J.D. Crichton and published in 1966. In the article “The Eucharist and the New Testament,” the Benedictine Joseph Dowdall taught that the traditional emphasis on the Mass as a sacrifice contained “defects” and that post-Vatican II terminology was a better articulation of the Mass as understood by the writers of the New Testament.⁹⁴⁶ In “The Community at Worship” J.D. Crichton wrote that the liturgy was “before all *communal* worship, the worship of the whole people of God gathered in one place” (emphasis in original).⁹⁴⁷ In the article “Mass in Schools,” Joseph Daley agreed with Crichton, writing that “the purpose of a corporate ritual is to establish that we are one.”⁹⁴⁸ That the Mass was *before all* to be understood in reference to the community and not the sacrifice offered on the altar was a radically progressive idea in the context of Catholic tradition.

⁹⁴⁴ Ibid, 131-132.

⁹⁴⁵ Mark R. Day, “He Challenged the Cardinal on Racial Injustice,” National Catholic Reporter, 8/7/2019, accessed 3/20/22: <https://www.ncronline.org/news/justice/he-challenged-cardinal-racial-injustice>.

⁹⁴⁶ Joseph Dowdall, “The Eucharist and the New Testament,” in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton (Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1966), 23.

⁹⁴⁷ J.D. Crichton, “The Community at Worship,” in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 43.

⁹⁴⁸ Joseph Daley, “Mass in Schools,” in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 131.

Not only was the community celebrated as the central object of the liturgy, but it was regarded by some as a sort of sacrament of God's Word. In "The Ministry of the Word" Brian Wicker taught that the community was essential for God to speak to the congregation since God only spoke to man through the congregation's communication with one another. Wicker also taught that Christ was only truly present in the Mass when the laity communicated their faith to one another.⁹⁴⁹ That God's revelation and true presence in the Mass took place only through the congregation communicating with one another was an innovation that diminished the objective value of Divine Revelation and the Eucharistic presence.

In "The Community at Worship," Crichton echoed standard Liturgical Movement ideas in favor of introducing folk music into the Mass and ending the reign of Gregorian chant.⁹⁵⁰ He argued that the priest should say the Canon in an audible voice, that communion should be received standing since this was "as much an attitude of respect as kneeling" and that communion should be received on the hands because receiving on the tongue was too childish.⁹⁵¹ Liturgists frequently argued that the reception of communion on the tongue should be abolished because it was a childish gesture. That Jesus once said "Amen, I say to you, unless you turn and become like children, you will not enter the kingdom of heaven" did not seem to deter these liturgists from making this argument.⁹⁵²

In his article "God's Word in the Liturgy," Hubert J. Richards suggested ways in which the readings of the Mass could be better appreciated by the modern laity. For starters, Richards expressed his gratitude to Protestantism for inspiring Catholics to

⁹⁴⁹ Brian Wicker, "The Ministry of the Word," in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 89.

⁹⁵⁰ J.D. Crichton, "The Community at Worship," 51.

⁹⁵¹ Oliver Pratt, "Worship, Community and the Apostolate," in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 58-59.

⁹⁵² Matthew 18:3, New American Bible.

finally begin to appreciate the scriptures.⁹⁵³ This was another instance of the post-1960s tendency to accredit Protestants with a superior appreciation for scripture than the Catholic Church held, an attitude foreign to traditional Catholicism's perception of what should be attributed to heretical sects. Richards also exemplified the progressive tendency to appropriate the Church fathers as a whole to support their personal ideas without offering any citations. Richards wrote that the Scholastic tendency to use the Bible as a source text for theological proofs was foreign to the attitude of the Church Fathers who looked at the "Bible's inspiration as a dynamic force, continuing to make its divine impact on anyone who approached it with faith...[it was] something living, effective, active, exerting its saving power on anyone who came into contact with it."⁹⁵⁴

While this statement may be a mere wordy articulation of the uncontested idea that the scriptures served an important role in the lives of the Church Fathers, it would be incorrect to assume based on this statement that the Church Fathers did not look to the scriptures as a source text for deriving theological conclusions. A wide variety of patristic writers developed a variety of hermeneutics for reading the Scriptures in order to reap doctrinal principles from the Bible. These interpretative methods included searching for allegorical meaning in the stories of the Bible, considering the literal intentions of the scriptural authors, and considering the multiple senses that God may have wanted to communicate through a given passage of scripture.⁹⁵⁵

During this period, many liturgists argued that the traditional Offertory Rite did a poor job expressing the ministerial function of this liturgical act. In "The Theology of the

⁹⁵³ Hubert J. Richards, "God's Word in the Liturgy," in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 68.

⁹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, 69.

⁹⁵⁵ *Patristic Theories of Biblical Interpretation: The Latin Fathers*, ed., Tarmo Toom (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 10-11.

Offertory Collection” Duncan Cloud argued that the ministerial function of this liturgical action was “solely to prepare the materials for the sacrifice and eucharistic meal.”⁹⁵⁶ In the *Priest’s Guide to Parish Worship*, the authors wrote that the function of the Offertory was simply “preparing the bread and wine at the altar.”⁹⁵⁷ Both books implied that the traditional prayers of the Offertory which anticipated the sacrificial offering were inappropriate since they were a distraction from the Offertory’s pragmatic function. This was, of course, only according to what the Liturgical Movement scholars had decided this function of the Offertory Rite was supposed to be. Seeing that many of the Eastern Churches have a sacrificially themed Offertory Rite, it would seem that ancient Christianity in general disagreed with progressives about the ministerial function of this portion of the liturgy. Notably, neither Duncan Cloud nor the Liturgical Conference went so far as to condemn the Offertory prayers of any of these Eastern Churches.⁹⁵⁸

In 1968, as the Consilium began conducting experiments on the Novus Ordo, A. Verheul published *Introduction to the Liturgy: Towards a Theology of Worship*. This text fits within the context of literature which advanced progressive liturgical principles and attacked traditional liturgical principles. Verheul articulated typical invalidations of traditionalist concerns with the changes, writing that if the laity were “‘sick and tired’ of change, it was simply because they did not understand the need for change. They are satisfied with things as they are.”⁹⁵⁹ Verheul also argued that while many lay persons may

⁹⁵⁶ Duncan Cloud, “The Theology of the Offertory Collection: An Historical Analysis with some Practical Conclusions,” in *The Mass and the People of God*, ed. J.D. Crichton, 115.

⁹⁵⁷ Liturgical Conference, *Priest’s Guide to Parish Worship*, 35.

⁹⁵⁸ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 332-333 and 346.

⁹⁵⁹ H.E. Winstone foreword to *Introduction to the Liturgy: Towards a Theology of Worship* by A. Verheul (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1968), 6.

have been “satisfied” with the old Mass, they would be convinced to prefer the new Mass after a proper amount of education.⁹⁶⁰

Verheul believed that the Traditional Latin Mass was plagued with formalism. He wrote that although it awed the senses with “pomp and splendour of chants, vestments, and ceremonies” it had “no soul.”⁹⁶¹ Traditional Catholicism’s Mass, to Verheul, “was a richly ornate facade covering the sad remains of spent vigour.”⁹⁶² To him, the soullessness of the Traditional Latin Mass was caused mostly by its refusal to use the vernacular language; to him, this ensured that the liturgy could not reach the spiritual needs of any members of the congregation.⁹⁶³ This sort of absolute vernacularism was, once again, deemed heretical by the Council of Trent.⁹⁶⁴

In a statement completely foreign to traditional Catholicism, Verheul argued that Cranmer’s Anglican prayer book, which was intentionally crafted to suppress all parts of the Roman Missal which were distinctly Catholic, was a better preservation of the authentic Catholic Tradition than was the Traditional Latin Mass.⁹⁶⁵ Utilizing modern biblical historical critical methods, Verheul also argued that the songs of angels found in the New Testament were actually the liturgical hymns of the local community of the New Testament writers, not songs literally sung by angels.⁹⁶⁶ He also emphasized the Mass’s “community forming power,” especially in the communal reception of the Eucharist.⁹⁶⁷ The “God worshiping power” of these parts of the liturgy was not especially emphasized.

⁹⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁹⁶¹ A. Verheul, *Introduction to the Liturgy: Towards a Theology of Worship* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1968), 33.

⁹⁶² Ibid, 173.

⁹⁶³ Ibid, 144.

⁹⁶⁴ “Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent,” canon IX.

⁹⁶⁵ Ibid, 176.

⁹⁶⁶ Ibid, 45.

⁹⁶⁷ Ibid, 95.

To Verheul, traditional Catholic attitudes towards the Eucharist which emphasized the true presence of Christ gravitated “towards superstitious.”⁹⁶⁸

Lest one should imagine that the progressive ideas and proposals found in these texts represented the isolated views of a handful of rogue theologians and liturgists, it should be noted that each text excluding William DuBay’s *The Human Church* were published with a *Nihil Obstat* and *Imprimatur*, receiving theological approval by the local Ordinaries of these authors. While the granting of permission by ecclesial authorities to allow books to be printed after examining them for doctrinal error does not necessarily reflect the bishop’s personal opinions about the book, personal bias was inevitably a part of the process, seeing that Michael Davies’s 1975 traditionalist *Liturgical Revolution* trilogy was unable to attain a *nihil obstat* and *imprimatur* even without any evident doctrinal or moral problem found therein.⁹⁶⁹

As progressive liturgical principles became mainstream in the Catholic Church, so progressive ethical principles came to displace traditional moral values in the lives of many Catholics. Whereas the natural law principles first developed by Aristotle and later refined by the Scholastic philosophers had traditionally enjoyed pride of place in Catholic moral theology, the popular ethical principles of the secular intelligentsia came to be adopted by many Catholic theologians and laymen alike during the latter half of the 20th century. With most modern Catholics either consciously or subconsciously adopting situation ethics principles, the idea that an action could be intrinsically and absolutely immoral due to its objective rejection of the created order would seem foreign to most Catholics.⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁸ Ibid, 173.

⁹⁶⁹ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, xxx-xxxii.

⁹⁷⁰ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 34 and 71.

Progressive ethics, coupled with the historical critical method of interpreting the scriptures, dismissed traditional Catholic moral condemnations of actions such as sodomy or fornication as being condemned in the scriptures only under certain historical contexts whose natural law explanations were untenable. Considering that many Catholics dismissed traditional Catholic moral teachings which were explicitly condemned in the Bible, it would seem little wonder that even more Catholics dismissed Catholic moral teachings which were *only* condemned by the Church's Tradition.

The 1968 publication of *Humanae Vitae* and its extremely poor reception amongst the faithful occasioned a watershed moment in the history of Catholicism.⁹⁷¹ According to Thomas Bokenkotter, this widespread rejection of Paul VI's teachings in this encyclical was "the most serious crisis for papal authority since Luther."⁹⁷² In *Humanae Vitae*, Paul VI reaffirmed the Church's traditional condemnation of the use of artificial birth control. This encyclical was preceded by the work of a commission established by John XXIII to investigate whether artificial birth control might be morally permissible in the modern world.⁹⁷³ Artificial birth control, or the taking of "medicines of sterility" had been condemned by the *sensus fidelium* of the Catholic Church for centuries and was explicitly condemned in the writings of Church fathers such as Jerome, Augustine, John Chrysostom, and Clement of Alexandria.⁹⁷⁴

Despite the Church's traditional condemnation of medicinal contraceptives, John XXIII responded to the requests of progressive theologians who believed that modern

⁹⁷¹ Ibid, 72.

⁹⁷² Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 411.

⁹⁷³ McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 380.

⁹⁷⁴ "Contraception," Church Fathers, accessed 3/11/22: [https://www.churchfathers.org/contraception.](https://www.churchfathers.org/contraception.;); Jerome, "Letter 22," trans. W.H. Fremantle, G. Lewis and W.G. Martley, in *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, Second Series, vol. 6., ed., Philip Schaff and Henry Wace (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1893), revised and edited for New Advent by Kevin Knight, sec. 13, accessed 3/11/22: <http://www.newadvent.org/fathers/3001022.htm>.

advances both in medical contraceptives, embryology, and moral philosophy warranted a change in the Church's doctrine.⁹⁷⁵ Of course, the existence of this commission did not mean that former papal teachings on the matter such as Pius XI's 1930 *Casti Connubii*, which addressed the exact same question, were no longer morally binding.⁹⁷⁶ Nevertheless, as the Vatican investigated the morality of artificial contraceptives, progressive Catholic works such as the 1966 "Dutch Catechism" preemptively implied that artificial contraceptives were in fact morally permissible, anticipating a formal change in doctrine.⁹⁷⁷ Thus, when Paul VI reaffirmed the traditional Catholic teaching regarding artificial contraceptives in 1968, many progressive Catholic scholars had already come to the opposite conclusion. Thus, the groundwork for a dramatic scandal of academic dissent was laid.

In the United States, the Catholic University of America theologian Fr. Charles Curran famously published a statement of dissent signed by eighty-six other theologians just hours after *Humanae Vitae* was published.⁹⁷⁸ When Charles Curran was removed from his faculty position at the Catholic University of America for dissenting from the papal encyclical, the entire faculty of the university, except for the education department, as well as thousands of students and seminarians protested on the university lawn until Curran was reinstated and the rector of the university resigned.⁹⁷⁹ For the next sixteen years, Curran continued to use his CUA platform to criticize traditional Catholic sexual

⁹⁷⁵ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 36.

⁹⁷⁶ Pius XI, "Casti Connubii: Encyclical on Christian Marriage," encyclical, Vatican, the Holy See, 12/31/1930, accessed 3/11/22:

https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19301231_casti-connubii.html.

⁹⁷⁷ Hierarchy of the Netherlands, *A New Catechism*, 402-403.

⁹⁷⁸ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 49.

⁹⁷⁹ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 64-65.

ethics in a variety of areas, arguing for the moral permissibility of masturbation, abortion, same-sex relationships, divorce and remarriage, sterilization, and premarital sex.⁹⁸⁰

Most of the laity ignored the papal teaching as well. In 1970, an estimated two-thirds of all American Catholic women were on the pill, which, when excluding those who were past menopause, was an enormous majority.⁹⁸¹ By 1987, over 87 percent of US Catholics approved of artificial birth control; this number rose to nearly 90 percent by 1990.⁹⁸² At the episcopal level, the Canadian Bishops Conference joined other continental European conferences in publicly dissenting from Rome's decision.⁹⁸³

In *The 1960s*, James Olson and Mariah Gumpert wrote that during the 1960s, “demographic, political, and social groups all over the country questioned existing social norms, practices, and political systems, pursuing freedom from suppression of all kinds.”⁹⁸⁴ The Catholic Church was by no means immune from this sociological phenomenon. In the context of a decade in which revolutionary protests became commonplace, the promulgation of *Humanae Vitae* found a large body of bishops, clergy, scholars and laity who seemed eager for the occasion to openly declare their liberation from traditional Catholic and the hierarchical Magisterium in favor of a “new Magisterium” of scholars in the fields of modern science, ethics, sexology and psychology.

⁹⁸⁰ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 439.; Weigel, *Witness to Hope*, 523.; Gills, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 108-109.

⁹⁸¹ “The Pope Issues *Humanae Vitae*,” PBS, accessed 3/11/22:

<https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/pill-pope-issues-humanae-vitae-human-life/>.

⁹⁸² Chester Gillis, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 107.

⁹⁸³ The Bishops of Canada, “Winnipeg Statement: Canadian Bishops’ Statement on the Encyclical ‘*Humanae Vitae*,’” ed. Vincent Foy, Life Ethics Centre, January 1997, sec. 26, accessed 3/11/22: <http://www.u.arizona.edu/~aversa/modernism/winnipeg.html>.

⁹⁸⁴ James Olson and Mariah Gumpert, *The 1960s: Key Themes and Documents*, (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2018), xiii.

While the years following the Second Vatican Council saw many victories for progressive Catholicism, the progressives had lacked the ‘Storming of the Bastille,’ moment which *Humanae Vitae* afforded them. Dissent against *Humanae Vitae*, then, served the purpose of symbolizing the end of the truth-determining hegemony of the Magisterium in the eyes of many Catholics.

Even amongst the minority of theologians and bishops who agreed with Paul VI’s restatement of the traditional Catholic position on contraceptives, it was generally agreed that the moral principles underlying this conclusion still needed to utilize modern philosophical ethics rather than traditional natural law principles.⁹⁸⁵ Amongst such theologians were Cardinal Karol Wojtyla, Fr. Joseph Komonchak, Fr. John Ford and Fr. Germain Grisez.⁹⁸⁶ Divisions between progressive and conservative theologians over *Humanae Vitae* would contribute to the modern sense of the division between conservative and liberal Catholics. Yet even while these conservative and progressive theologians diverged over their reception of *Humanae Vitae*, virtually all Catholic theologians were in agreement that the traditional Catholic moral system based on Scholastic natural law principles was ineffective in the modern world.

As the Catholic Church was rocked by moral revolution after the publication of *Humanae Vitae* in 1968, the acceptance of a simplified, modernized, and community-centered missal would seem to be little more than a formality. If the laity were anywhere near as willing to dismiss the traditional Catholic liturgy as they were traditional Catholic moral teachings, the Novus Ordo missal would strike them as little an obstacle at all.

⁹⁸⁵ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 37, 43, 46-47.

⁹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

As we have observed, the construction of the Novus Ordo Missal was the fruit of five years of labor which began immediately after *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was promulgated. As the Novus Ordo was being drafted, various documents, trends, and decrees which we have already examined extended the vernacular throughout the liturgy, popularized the *versus populum* prayer posture, introduced folk music into the liturgy, and simplified the prayers and rubrics of the Mass throughout the 1960s. As these intermediate measures were gradually introduced into the Catholic liturgy, the scholars of the Consilium simultaneously prepared the liturgical books which would ultimately constitute the Novus Ordo Mass.

The creation of the Novus Ordo began with the decision that the nine-hundred-year tradition of distinguishing between the Low Mass, being a Mass said entirely by a priest; a Sung Mass, which was a Low Mass with a choir; and a High Mass, which required a deacon, subdeacon, and a choir, should be suppressed. Rather, the Consilium decided that there should be only one “Normative Mass” which could be amplified or simplified according to the needs of the congregation or the ecclesial rank of the celebrant.⁹⁸⁷

By the middle of the 1960s, some of the scholars of the Consilium also felt there were serious reasons to revise the Roman Canon in order to eliminate its repetition of gestures such as signs of the cross, the saying of “Amen” or “Through Christ our Lord” after each portion of the prayer, and the invocations of certain saints if modern historians doubted their existence.⁹⁸⁸ The recourse to modern historical consensus about the existence of certain saints who were included in the Church’s dogmatic Canon was

⁹⁸⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 340.

⁹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, 340-341.

noteworthy. Other scholars of the Consilium, however, were in favor of retaining the Roman Canon in its traditional form.

Ultimately, Pope Paul VI intervened in the deliberations over the Roman Canon. He declared that the traditional Roman Canon would be preserved with “two or three anaphoras for use at specified times” being created to supplement the perceived inadequacies of the traditional Eucharistic prayer.⁹⁸⁹ As stated earlier, the creation of these additional anaphoras was also inspired by the “Dutch problem.”⁹⁹⁰ Ultimately, the Roman Canon was in fact revised so that the invocations of the historically dubious saints was made nonobligatory, the repetition of the phrases “Amen,” and “through Christ our Lord” was made optional, and most of the repeated signs of the cross were suppressed.⁹⁹¹

In 1967, the Consilium organized an experimental liturgy which took place before an extraordinary synod of bishops gathered to discuss the proposed missal changes. Msgr. Bugnini was the main celebrant of the Mass and a small choir led the congregation of bishops in the singing of the reformed repertoire of chants promulgated in the 1967 Instruction on Sacred Music.⁹⁹² Although this experimental liturgy showcased the Novus Ordo’s reformed prayers and readings, its use of traditional music gave the experimental liturgy a decidedly more traditional aesthetic than many later Novus Ordo masses would possess.

Bugnini considered the experiment to be a failure since so many bishops expressed concern that the Mass contained too much singing, had suppressed too many of the priest’s private prayers, and had suppressed too many gestures of reverence,

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid, 450.

⁹⁹⁰ Ibid, 106.

⁹⁹¹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 767-781.

⁹⁹² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 348-349.

especially the genuflections before the Eucharist.⁹⁹³ Bishops also expressed concern that the new Missal seemed to place a greater emphasis on the Liturgy of the Word than the Liturgy of the Eucharist.⁹⁹⁴ Additionally, the bishops in attendance seemed confused as to what the new term “Normative Mass” meant.⁹⁹⁵

After the synod, Paul VI asked each bishop to complete a questionnaire which probed their perception of the experimental Mass. While many of the bishops approved of the new Missal, most responded with either disapproval or conditional approval. Of the conditions listed, many bishops asked that certain traditional prayers be reintroduced; many others asked for more of the traditional prayers to be eliminated.⁹⁹⁶ One traditional change which was made to the Normative Mass as a result of feedback from the bishops and the agreement of the pope was that the *Orate Fratres* dialogue should be reintroduced. This dialogue is as follows:

Priest: Pray, brothers, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God, the Almighty Father.

People: May the Lord accept the sacrifice at your hands, for our good and the good of all of His Holy Church.⁹⁹⁷

Thus, the Synod of Bishops prevented the Consilium’s effort to suppress this prayer from the Novus Ordo Missal.

Three more experiments of a smaller scale took place with the pope in attendance of each. After each experiment, the scholars presented their observations in a discussion in the pope’s private library.⁹⁹⁸ After each of these discussions, the pope presented a written list of his observations to Bugnini. In one of these written lists, the pope

⁹⁹³ Ibid, 349-350.

⁹⁹⁴ Ibid, 350, 353.

⁹⁹⁵ Ibid, 352.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid, 353-356.

⁹⁹⁷ Ibid, 379.

⁹⁹⁸ Ibid, 364.

expressed a desire that no more changes be made to the Missal beyond those already found in the Normative Mass observed in these experiments.⁹⁹⁹ He also asked for the Penitential Act to be reintroduced to the beginning of the Mass, preferably with the traditional Confiteor.¹⁰⁰⁰ This element of the Traditional Latin Mass had been suppressed with the rest of the Prayers at the Foot of the Altar since they were deemed to have originated as private devotions which had no place in the Missal itself. Ultimately, the Confiteor was reintroduced into the Novus Ordo as an option during the penitential rite, though the Consilium reduced the prayer's references to the Blessed Mother and removed references to St. Michael the Archangel, St. John the Baptist, and Sts. Peter and Paul.¹⁰⁰¹

Paul VI also asked for the Offertory Rite to somehow involve the laity, leading to the creation of the Novus Ordo Offertory dialogue. This prayer read:

Priest: Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the bread we offer you: fruit of the earth and work of human hands, it will become for us the bread of life.

People: Blessed be God forever.

Priest: Blessed are you, Lord God of all creation, for through your goodness we have received the wine we offer you: fruit of the vine and work of human hands it will become our spiritual drink.

People: Blessed be God forever.

This new Offertory prayer received criticism from traditionalists for seeming to undermine the traditional dogma of transubstantiation by referring to the Eucharist only as “the bread of life” and “our spiritual drink” without referencing the literal body or blood of Christ. Interestingly, the original prayer constructed by the Consilium stated that the bread “will become the body of your Only-begotten Son,” and that the wine would

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Ibid, 371.

¹⁰⁰¹ *Daily Roman Missal*, 715.

“become the blood of our Lord, Jesus Christ.”¹⁰⁰² After the deliberations which produced the final reformed Missal, these allusions to traditional Catholic Eucharistic belief were changed to the more vague allusion to the “bread of life” and “spiritual drink,” because it was deemed that the rite should have a “greater simplicity” and be “reduced to a simple offering of the bread and wine.”¹⁰⁰³ One wonders if ecumenical considerations were not a factor in this decision as well.

These discussions also saw the reduction of the Communion Rite prayer: “Lord I am not worthy to receive you under my roof” from three recitations to one since this was deemed a “vain repetition” and that “one would be more forceful.”¹⁰⁰⁴

Paul VI also asked that the Last Gospel might be permitted as a private devotion for priests who were attached to this ancient custom.¹⁰⁰⁵ It is telling that Paul VI, who held absolute authority over the entire Catholic Church, ultimately allowed this *request* of his to be denied by Bugnini and his Consilium. He also permitted further changes to be made to the Normative Mass beyond what he had observed in the liturgical experiments despite his request that no further changes be made. He also expressed disappointment that the *Kyrie Eleison* litany was reduced from nine invocations to three.¹⁰⁰⁶ The simplification of this supposed “vain repetition” was historically problematic, seeing that the *Kyrie Eleison* “Great Litany” in its original Byzantine form was already much longer than the abbreviated Latin Rite version of just nine invocations.¹⁰⁰⁷ Paul VI was also

¹⁰⁰² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 365.

¹⁰⁰³ Ibid, 366.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Ibid, 367.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Ibid, 365.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Ibid, 378.

¹⁰⁰⁷ “The Divine Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom,” Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of America, 3/12/22: <https://www.goarch.org/-/the-divine-liturgy-of-saint-john-chrysostom>.

disappointed that the Offertory prayers had been “mutilated,” but he did not insist that they be restored.¹⁰⁰⁸

Paul VI did, however, insist that the Mass begin with the sign of the cross.¹⁰⁰⁹ Bugnini personally opposed this request for some time, though the Pope’s will in this matter ultimately prevailed. This incident was peculiar; the Liturgical Movement scholars had never proposed an omission of the opening sign of the cross. It is possible that Bugnini saw ecumenical value in suppressing this distinctively Catholic gesture from the Mass since Protestants had traditionally perceived the *signum crucis* to be a superstitious form of prayer. Paul VI also insisted that the acclamation “the Mystery of Faith” not be dropped from the Eucharistic prayers entirely.¹⁰¹⁰ While the Consilium dropped this phrase from the consecration formula itself, it would be reintroduced into the four Eucharistic prayers immediately following the consecration.

It should be noted that Paul VI did not only ask for conservative changes to the first drafts of the Normative Mass. For example, he also asked that the words “Most Holy” be dropped from the prayer for the commingling, which originally read:

Priest: May this mingling of the *Most Holy* Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ bring eternal life to us who receive it (emphasis mine).¹⁰¹¹

As a result of his intervention, the words “Most Holy” were dropped. They were apparently perceived as a useless accretion.

The various departments of the Curia also had the chance to issue requests for changes in the final draft of the *Novus Ordo*. Concerns were expressed that the lack of rubrics in the Missal gave priests too much freedom to adapt the liturgy. The many illicit

¹⁰⁰⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 379.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Ibid, 377-378.

¹⁰¹⁰ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 53.

¹⁰¹¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 380.

liturgical innovations of the 1970s would seem to prove these concerns to be well founded.¹⁰¹² Additionally, at the request of the 87 year old Cardinal Bea, the priestly prayer at the conclusion of the Gospel: “through the words of the Gospel may our sins be wiped away” was reintroduced into the new Missal whereas the Consilium had previously suppressed this prayer.¹⁰¹³ Overall, however, the new Mass was relatively well received by the Roman Curia.

On November 6, 1968, Paul VI gave his formal approval for the Novus Ordo Missal.¹⁰¹⁴ This approval was communicated to the Roman curial departments on January 17th, 1969.¹⁰¹⁵ When the Pope announced his approval for the new Missal to the world on April 28, 1969, he referred to it as “the new order [novus ordo] of the Mass.”¹⁰¹⁶ In these words, Paul VI perhaps unwittingly gave the new Missal a name which highlighted its discontinuity with the traditional order of Catholic worship.

An eight-chapter instruction titled the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* (GIRM) was promulgated alongside the new Missal as an instruction guiding the implementation of the reform.¹⁰¹⁷ Interestingly, it would be the GIRM rather than the Missal itself which instigated the first act of traditionalist resistance against the Novus Ordo Mass.

¹⁰¹² Ibid, 373.

¹⁰¹³ Ibid, 375.

¹⁰¹⁴ Ibid, 383.

¹⁰¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰¹⁶ Ibid, 383.

¹⁰¹⁷ Ibid, 386.

CHAPTER TEN: THE RECEPTION OF THE NOVUS ORDO

Catholics around the world were introduced to the Novus Ordo missal on the first Sunday of Advent in 1969. The responses which the faithful expressed towards the new order of Catholic worship could be generally classified in four ways. The first and the most prevalent response to these changes could be described as a passive acceptance. Most of the faithful harbored neither a passionate attachment to nor animosity towards the Traditional Latin Mass. For them, the introduction of the vernacular and *versus populum* celebrations were seen as sensible and enjoyable changes, but not as altogether life-changing events. A second response to the new liturgy could be described as enthusiastic promotion. Such individuals not only quickly embraced the new forms of prayer and music but often incorporated illicit “liturgical abuses” into their celebrations as an extension of their excitement for the changes.

Amongst conservatively minded Catholics, two types of responses could be observed. On the one hand, many conservative Catholics embraced the Novus Ordo out of the firm conviction that submission to the hierarchy of the Church in each of its formal decisions was an essential duty of a faithful Catholic. This might be described as a conservative and loyal response to the Novus Ordo. Finally, a fourth response to the Novus Ordo could be observed amongst those Catholics who revolted against the liturgical innovations and suppression of the traditional liturgy, forming an intra-Catholic sect known today as traditionalist Catholics. Their reaction to the Novus Ordo could be described as a traditionalist resistance.

Traditionalist Resistance

The first major act of resistance to the Novus Ordo by traditionalists was not a critique of the Missal itself but a critique of the GIRM which accompanied the new Mass. This inaugural act of resistance by the newly forming Catholic traditionalist movement was levied by Cardinals Alfredo Ottaviani and Antonio Bacci. As a reminder, Ottaviani was the senior Cardinal prelate whose microphone was shut off as he vehemently opposed *Sacrosanctum Concilium* on the council floor. Both of these cardinals signed a document written by a group of traditionalist theologians titled *A Short Critical Study on the New Order of Mass*, or the *Ottaviani Intervention*, as this text would come to be known.¹⁰¹⁸ The text was originally intended to be a private letter to the pope with the signatures of a number of high ranking bishops and cardinals.¹⁰¹⁹ If the pope did not respond to the letter within a certain measure of time, the letter was to be made public. However, one of its handlers published the letter against Ottaviani and Bacci's wishes on September 25, 1969.¹⁰²⁰ While this premature publication may have done much to generate enthusiasm for a traditionalist resistance to the new missal, it also prevented Paul VI from seriously considering Ottaviani's concerns since it was easily perceived as a challenge to his authority. Additionally, of the alleged dozen cardinals who had originally planned to sign the document, only Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani and Cardinal Antonio Bacci signed the document after it was prematurely published.¹⁰²¹

The Ottaviani Intervention opened by referring to the new mass as the Novus Ordo Missal. Thus, the term "Novus Ordo" as a proper noun for the new Mass had caught

¹⁰¹⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 284.

¹⁰¹⁹ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 511-512.

¹⁰²⁰ Ibid, 512.

¹⁰²¹ Ibid.

on even before its promulgation. The document's central concern was that "the Novus Ordo represents, both as a whole and in its details, a striking departure from the Catholic theology of the Mass as it was formulated in Session XXII of the Council of Trent."¹⁰²² He wrote that these changes had "every possibility of satisfying the most Modernist of Protestants."¹⁰²³ The text then criticized the GIRM for referring to the Mass primarily as "the Lord's Supper" rather than as a sacrifice.¹⁰²⁴ The GIRM was also criticized for referring to the change of the bread and wine during the consecration as a "spiritual" change rather than a "substantial" change, blurring the line between Protestant and Catholic sacramental theology.¹⁰²⁵ The writers also took issue with the Novus Ordo's suppression of prayers which explicitly referenced belief in the real presence and for introducing prayers such as the new Offertory prayers which seemed to diminish such beliefs.¹⁰²⁶

Interestingly, the authors argued that the reform would alienate Eastern Christians since the new Missal was an implicit repudiation of their own liturgical customs which held more in common with the Traditional Latin Mass than with the Novus Ordo.¹⁰²⁷ This point framed the Novus Ordo as counterproductive to the post-conciliar pursuit of ecumenical unity. The authors also expressed their dismay that Latin, the unifying force of the Latin liturgy, had been replaced by various divisive vernacular languages.¹⁰²⁸ Finally, the writers argued that the Novus Ordo degraded the traditional Catholic

¹⁰²² Alfredo Ottaviani, Antonio Bacci, et al, "Ottaviani Intervention," Latin Mass Society of England and Wales, 9/26/1969, sec I, accessed 3/12/22: <https://lms.org.uk/ottaviani-intervention>.

¹⁰²³ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁴ Ibid, sec. II.

¹⁰²⁵ Ibid.

¹⁰²⁶ Ibid, sec. II-IV.

¹⁰²⁷ Ibid, sec. VII.

¹⁰²⁸ Ibid, VI.

understanding of the role of the celebrant in the liturgy and required him to behave more like a Protestant minister than a Catholic priest during the liturgy.¹⁰²⁹

The *Ottaviani Intervention* served as the groundbreaking traditionalist Catholic response to the Novus Ordo. It articulated in eight chapters the basic manner in which traditionalist Catholics would from then on process the 1969 Missal changes. As a result of some of the concerns Ottaviani raised in his *Critical Study*, the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith actually retracted the first edition of the GIRM, leading to the promulgation of a corrected second edition just one year after its initial publication.¹⁰³⁰ Nevertheless, the texts of the Mass which *The Short Critical Study* criticized would not be changed. Further, and more tellingly, for most of the clergy and laity in 1969, Ottaviani's concerns were seen as non-issues.

In the eyes of many of the scholars, clergy, and laity, Catholicism was not the same traditional religion it had been before the conciliar revolution. Thus, Ottaviani's traditionalist concerns fell mostly upon deaf ears. The *Humanae Vitae* phenomenon had quite proven that appeals to the traditional doctrines of the Catholic Church meant little to the typical Catholic of the 1960s and 70s. Thus, by 1969, the laity were generally quite content to adopt a form of public prayer which would satisfy "the most Modernists of Protestants."¹⁰³¹

After around a decade of education by pastors who themselves had been educated by progressive liturgists, the value of preserving the objective Catholic liturgical tradition was quite foreign to many of the faithful. In its place, the Liturgical Movement's emphasis on full, active, and conscious participation of the laity in each of the prayers

¹⁰²⁹ Ibid, V.

¹⁰³⁰ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 513.

¹⁰³¹ Ottaviani and Bacci, et al, "Ottaviani Intervention," sec. I.

and gestures of the Mass made the vernacularization and simplification of the Missal seem quite reasonable.

While most Catholics were unfazed by the *Ottaviani Intervention*, other Catholics were emboldened to reject the Novus Ordo alongside Ottaviani and Bacci.¹⁰³² The promulgation of the modernized Missal instigated something of a delayed traditionalist reaction against the changes which had been taking place in the Church over the past several decades, especially since Vatican II.

On the day the Novus Ordo was promulgated, an anonymous traditionalist protester mailed a written critique of the Novus Ordo alongside a print of Martin Luther expressing the words “I have conquered!” to the office of the Consilium.¹⁰³³ In Italy, periodicals such as the *Informazioni religiose* criticized the “Montini Mass” as heretical.¹⁰³⁴ In the United States, Father Gommar DePauw founded a traditionalist movement eight weeks after the Novus Ordo was promulgated which denounced the new Mass as a “betrayal of a thousand years of worship in the Western Church.”¹⁰³⁵ In France, various groups began to defiantly celebrate the Mass according to the traditional Missal in private residences, some expressing their conviction that the Pope had lapsed into heresy and thus needed to be deposed.¹⁰³⁶ This French resistance focalized around the person of Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre after he founded a priestly fraternity which exclusively celebrated the Traditional Latin Mass.¹⁰³⁷

In November of 1970, Lefebvre formally erected a seminary which was devoted to the training of young men in the priesthood according to the Church’s traditional

¹⁰³² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 288.

¹⁰³³ Ibid, 289.

¹⁰³⁴ Ibid, 288.

¹⁰³⁵ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 5.

¹⁰³⁶ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 291-293.

¹⁰³⁷ Ibid, 294.

Scholastic and liturgical customs.¹⁰³⁸ The group of priests and seminarians who joined Lefebvre's traditionalist movement took on the name of "The Society of St. Pius X," known colloquially as SSPX. Over the course of the next twenty-some years, Lefebvre saw his priestly faculties formally removed due to his traditionalist resistance as the leader of SSPX.¹⁰³⁹ Later, during John Paul II's pontificate, he was formally excommunicated for illicitly consecrating four bishops to lead the society after he died.¹⁰⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the priestly society continued to grow under his sacramentally valid, albeit canonically illicit, ordinations.

Ultimately, some offshoots branched off from SSPX which adopted the position of sedevacantism. Sedevacantists held that the only explanation as to how recent popes could have been permitted by God to promote what they deemed to be Modernist heresies and liturgical abuses was if those men in the papal white had in reality forfeited the papacy due to their belief in those same formal heresies. Thus, to sedevacantists, the papal "chair was empty." The leaders of one SSPX sedevacantist-offshoot group, the Society of Saint Pius V, or SSPV, came to the sedevacantist conclusion due to their difficulty integrating how the alleged heresies of the Second Vatican Council could have taken place under the leadership of a pope who was supposed to be preserved from error by the Holy Spirit.¹⁰⁴¹ This position, along with their disagreements with Lefebvre over which 20th century liturgical reforms could be incorporated into the society's liturgy, led to the separation of these two groups.¹⁰⁴²

¹⁰³⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰³⁹ "A Story of Providence: Born in a Time of Confusion for Holy Mother Church," Society of St. Pius X, accessed 3/12/22: <https://spx.org/en/about/history>.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 197.

¹⁰⁴¹ Rev. Anthony Cekada, "The Nine vs. Lefebvre: We Resist You to Your Face: The story of our battle in court with Abp. Lefebvre and the Society of St. Pius X," TraditionalMass.org, 2008, page 2, accessed 3/12/22: <http://www.traditionalmass.org/images/articles/NineVLeFebvre.pdf>.

¹⁰⁴² Ibid, 6.

While sects such as the SSPX or the SSPV often cite contradictions in traditional Catholic theology and post-Vatican II theology concerning ecumenism or religious liberty as primary concerns, the emergence of sedevacantist and SSPX chapels throughout the globe only *after* the promulgation of the new liturgy indicates that these groups came into existence primarily in response to the Novus Ordo.¹⁰⁴³ Indeed, the SSPV priest Daniel L. Dolan considered the promulgation of the Novus Ordo itself to be an act of formal heresy which resulted in the *latae sententiae* excommunication of Paul VI.¹⁰⁴⁴

Concerning other Catholics who experienced a traditionalist disdain for the Novus Ordo, responses could vary. The traditionalist Catholic JRR Tolkien, for example, was said to have continued attending his local parish's Novus Ordo Mass rather than seek out a priest who would celebrate the old Mass, though he made the responses to each prayer of the new Mass loudly in Latin until his death in 1973.¹⁰⁴⁵

Paul VI himself set the precedent for how clerics and bishops were to respond to traditionalist resisters of the new Mass. In an address given in March of 1965, he described lay people who raised concerns over the liturgical changes as merely being “confused” or “annoyed.”¹⁰⁴⁶ He stated that complaints over changes in the Mass such as the reception of communion while standing rather than kneeling or the suppression of the Last Gospel and Leonine prayers came only from a person who had “very little

¹⁰⁴³ “A Story of Providence: Born in a Time of Confusion for Holy Mother Church,” Society of St. Pius X, “Opposition,” section.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Most Rev. Daniel L. Dolan, B.F. Dryden, “Canon 188.4 or Where is the Church: Defection from the Faith and Loss of Office,” TraditionalMass.org, 1/22/1980, chapter I:C-8, accessed 3/12/22: <http://www.traditionalmass.org/articles/article.php?id=12&catname=10>.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Shawn Tribe, “35th Anniversary of J.R.R. Tolkien's Death: The Liturgical Thoughts of a Prominent Literary Catholic,” New Liturgical Movement, 9/2/2008, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.newliturgicalmovement.org/2008/09/35th-anniversary-of-jrr-tolkiens-death.html#.YizTFHrMLIU>.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Pope Paul VI “General Audience March 17, 1965,” transcript of speech delivered in Rome in Appendix II of *Pope Paul's New Mass* by Michael Davies, 585.

penetration into the meaning of the religious rites” and gave evidence “not of true devotion and a true sense of the meaning and value of the Holy Mass, but rather a certain spiritual laziness.”¹⁰⁴⁷ In contrast, Paul VI described the “very moving” conversations had with those lay people who had positive reactions to the reforms he had promulgated. He described one such person as a “very distinguished old gentleman of great heart, and of a spirituality so deep as to be never fully satisfied,” who had told his priest “of his happiness at having finally taken part in the holy Sacrifice to the full spiritual measure - perhaps for the first time in his life.”¹⁰⁴⁸

The message here was clear: if you expressed traditionalist Catholic reservations about the new Mass, you were to be regarded as devoid of true devotion, spiritually lazy, and liturgically ignorant. Following the pope’s example of scorning critics of the new Mass, Davies reported in *Pope Paul’s New Mass* that after writing to her Milwaukee archbishop in 1979 over concerns regarding the implementation of the Novus Ordo, an elderly lay woman received a response from Archbishop Rembert Weakland in which he stated that she gave “the impression of being a nasty old woman.”¹⁰⁴⁹

Treatment of traditionalist priests followed a similar program. In 1975, Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre’s disagreements with the Pope resulted in him losing his priestly faculties, or the canonical right to celebrate Mass, even in private.¹⁰⁵⁰ Additionally, The English Fr. Oswald Baker was removed from his parish after refusing to implement the reformed Missal.¹⁰⁵¹ Also in Britain, the Latin Mass Society was

¹⁰⁴⁷ Ibid, 585.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Ibid, 587.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 231.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 197.

¹⁰⁵¹ Ibid, 231.

prevented from celebrating the traditional Missal in Walsingham during the 1970s despite Paul VI's indult granted to this society

In *The Great Facade*, Ferrara and Woods provocatively contrasted the Vatican's treatment of traditionalist priests and bishops such as Lefebvre with their conciliatory approach towards priests and bishops of the Chinese Patriotic Association who openly rejected dogmatic Catholic beliefs about papal supremacy over the Chinese Church.¹⁰⁵² Additionally, priest theologians and bishops who openly dissented from official Church teachings regarding sexual morality such as Fr. Charles Curran rarely, if ever, incurred such severe canonical penalties, though they may have been canonically forbidden from teaching Catholic theology.¹⁰⁵³ While Paul VI's Curia frequently "discouraged" radical liturgical experimentation, no instances can be named in which he stripped priests who obstinately engaged in such actions of their liturgical faculties as he had with Lefebvre. On the contrary, if liturgical experiments such as communion in the hand, illicit anaphoras, or allowing girls to serve as altar servers had caught on, such "abuses" would often eventually attain formal Vatican approval.

This unequal treatment should not be perceived as a conspiracy. Priests who incorporated illicit innovations into their liturgies were essentially supportive of the liturgical reform, albeit to excess, and thus were not to be treated in a proportional manner to those traditionalists who rejected the reforms altogether. Thus, it is understandable that priests such as Boston's Joachim Lally received no canonical penalties after creating national spectacles due to their "clown masses" while traditionalist priests were canonically disciplined for refusing to celebrate the Novus

¹⁰⁵² Ibid, 199-201.

¹⁰⁵³ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 438-439.

Ordo at all.¹⁰⁵⁴ In *Pope Paul's New Mass*, the traditionalist Michael Davies provocatively wrote that “bishops not only wink at liturgical rebellion or liturgical madness, they sometimes participate with gusto.”¹⁰⁵⁵

Enthusiastic Promoters

While the 1969 Missal was perceived as an intolerable breach with tradition by a growing traditionalist resistance, many clerics, laypersons, and scholars enthusiastically embraced the new Mass. At the parish level, this enthusiastic embrace of the Novus Ordo often took the form of introducing liturgical innovations which went beyond the prescribed changes, at times crossing the lines of what Paul VI deemed acceptable. In *Liturgy*, Ferrone argued that “after so many centuries of stagnation, suddenly it seemed as if ‘anything goes.’”¹⁰⁵⁶ Due to this attitude, she wrote:

The liturgy seemed at times like a canvas on which all kinds of concerns could be painted; thus there was a proliferation of different ‘kinds’ of Masses: children’s Masses, folk Masses, traditional Masses, organ Masses, clown Masses, youth Masses, charismatic Masses, and so on.¹⁰⁵⁷

We have already mentioned Fr. Joachim’s Lally’s highly publicized “clown Mass” at which he invited clowns to act out Gospel readings, himself putting on clown makeup after concluding his homily.¹⁰⁵⁸ In *Pope Paul's New Mass*, the traditionalist Michael Davies compiled a list of similar accounts of priests bending liturgical guidelines in order to enthusiastically embrace what they believed was the liturgical “Spirit of Vatican II.”

¹⁰⁵⁴ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 207-211.

¹⁰⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 223-228.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 60.

¹⁰⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵⁸ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 207-211.

In one instance, Davies recounted an article from *The Providence Visitor* which detailed a First Communion Mass. In this Mass, which took place in a backyard garden, a 7 year old to-be communicant proclaimed the readings from his *Little Golden Book of Bible Stories* while a priest sat nearby wearing a short sleeved shirt rather than liturgical vestments.¹⁰⁵⁹ Additionally, a 1977 *National Catholic Reporter* article discussed a “Renaissance Revel and Mass” in which laypersons dressed in Elizabethan costume engaged in a rehearsed ballet and drama throughout a liturgy whose prayers were recited in Shakespearean English.¹⁰⁶⁰ In 1978, an article in *The Pilot* enthusiastically told of a “Football Mass” which included football-themed liturgical adornments and cheerleaders who cheered throughout the liturgy.¹⁰⁶¹ Davies' anecdotal accounts included many other such stories: a priest who drove a Volkswagen into the Church during the entrance procession, Masses held in private residences upon coffee tables, perhaps using an ashtray as a ciborium, Masses which used non-biblical readings, and Masses in which the entire laity recited the anaphora alongside the priest.¹⁰⁶²

While many pastors enthusiastically advanced the liturgical reform beyond the letter of the Consilium’s documents, many Liturgical scholars took up this same cause in the liturgical literature of the 1970s. In 1970, Fr. Lucien Deiss published *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy* in which he aggressively attacked many of the vestiges of the traditional liturgy which had not yet been eradicated from reformed Catholic liturgies. He wrote that pastors needed to apply themselves to “confronting ‘head on’ every kind of formalism, rubricism, and traditionalism” that could be perceived to still remain in their

¹⁰⁵⁹ Ibid, 215.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Ibid, 216.

¹⁰⁶¹ Ibid, 217.

¹⁰⁶² Ibid, 217-224.

churches one year after the Novus Ordo's "great conquest of the Roman Rite."¹⁰⁶³ For example, while many churches had invested in expensive modernization renovations or perhaps had bulldozed their traditional church buildings and built new ones with a modernized design, some churches lagged behind architecturally either through a lack of funds or a "liturgically ignorant" attachment to traditional Catholic church design.

Other church communities retained a traditional attitude of worship in their celebration of the Novus Ordo Missal by continuing to use altar rails or traditional high altars. Deiss criticized the existence of high altars which required priests to celebrate with their backs to the people.¹⁰⁶⁴ He also wrote that altar rails "should have been called 'separation rails'" since they created a physical barrier between the sanctuary and the congregation.¹⁰⁶⁵

Attacking traditional Catholic worship in general, Deiss wrote that the "post-Tridentine liturgy was embedded in an unquestionable immobility which was accepted as hierarchical and soon became tradition...it gave old answers to...new problems, coupled with a warning against 'modernism.'"¹⁰⁶⁶ Here, Deiss utilized a common Liturgical Movement strategy of compartmentalizing the Traditional Latin Mass as a mere "post-Tridentine liturgy," attempting to obscure the continuity between Pius V's Missal and the 8th century Gelasian Sacramentary. Further, it is noteworthy that by the 1970s, progressives such as Lucien Deiss were comfortable explicitly criticizing the Magisterium's prior condemnations of Modernism, taking for granted that their

¹⁰⁶³ Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 2.; Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 11.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 24-25.

¹⁰⁶⁵ *Ibid*, 24.

¹⁰⁶⁶ *Ibid*, 3.

readership would agree that what Pius X had condemned as a heresy was in reality rather laudable.

Deiss continued to criticize elements of what he deemed the “post-Tridentine liturgy.” He wrote that the silence with which the Roman Canon was traditionally prayed was “oppressive.”¹⁰⁶⁷ This critique explicitly contradicted the Council of Trent’s dogmatic anathematizing of “any one [that] saith, that the rite of the Roman Church, according to which a part of the canon and the words of consecration are pronounced in a low tone, is to be condemned.”¹⁰⁶⁸ Deiss criticized Latin for being an unintelligible, and therefore a useless, liturgical language, also contradicting the dogmatic 9th canon of the 22nd session of the Council of Trent.¹⁰⁶⁹

Deiss also criticized the old liturgy for implicit sexism for only allowing men to serve liturgical ministries.¹⁰⁷⁰ This criticism could be seen as a criticism of the Christian liturgy from its very origins since all ancient Christian liturgical roles can be seen as continuations of the all-male Jewish priesthood and the all-male office of rabbi. This criticism could also be seen as an implicit call for further changes to the liturgy since in 1970 the Church only formally permitted male altar servers, female “readers” being permitted only when male “lectors” were not available.¹⁰⁷¹

The main thrust of *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, however, was not to discredit traditional Catholic worship in general, but to equip pastors to liberate their liturgies from the “stifling routine” of Gregorian Chant and Sacred Polyphony which

¹⁰⁶⁷ Ibid, 24.

¹⁰⁶⁸ “Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent,” canon IX.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 216.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Ibid, 50.

¹⁰⁷¹ *General Instructions of the Roman Missal*, sec. 101.; Paul VI, “*Ministeria Quaedam*: Motu Proprio on first tonsure, minor orders, and the subdiaconate,” EWTN, 8/15/1972, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/ministeria-quaedam-9006>.

produced “nothing but silence and boredom.”¹⁰⁷² In this sense, Deiss wrote in explicit opposition to the papal promotions of both forms of traditional music made by Pius X, Pius XI, and Pius XII. To Deiss, “a community which refuses to progress [in adopting modern forms of music] will perish of boredom.”¹⁰⁷³ He identified established *scholas*, or traditional choirs, as major obstacles to modernizing sacred music since individuals trained in traditional chant and polyphony were often too attached to their “stifling routines” to embrace musical innovation.¹⁰⁷⁴ Deiss referred to those holding such traditionalist attitudes as “children in the realm of liturgy.”¹⁰⁷⁵

To illustrate his characterization of these “liturgical children,” Deiss told what was perhaps a fictional story about a time he met a “negro” on the street in a missionary country holding a Gregorian chant book. When prompted, this “negro” could sing the day’s introit with perfect musical skill, but when asked, he had no idea what the Latin text actually meant.¹⁰⁷⁶ It is left to the reader to wonder whether Deiss’s inclusion of the traditional musician’s race was intended to portray traditionalist musicians in general as unintelligent to racially prejudiced readers.

If one might wonder what sort of music Deiss believed should replace traditional repertoires of Sacred Chant, it is worth considering the 185 hymns which were promulgated within the English edition of the *Liturgy of the Hours*. The *Liturgy of the Hours* was the name given to the reformed Divine Office promulgated by the Consilium in 1975. Deiss served as an advisor to the Consilium which promulgated the *Liturgy of the Hours*, and a number of his own compositions were included in its official hymnal.

¹⁰⁷² Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 41.

¹⁰⁷³ *Ibid*, 53.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Ibid*, 41.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 42.

¹⁰⁷⁶ *Ibid*, 42-43.

Since no official hymns were promulgated alongside the Missal, the hymns of the modernized breviary are the best indication available of what the Consilium's scholars considered the ideal forms of sacred music.¹⁰⁷⁷ What sort of music, then, can be found in the *Liturgy of Hours*' official hymnal?

Of the 185 hymns included in the English edition of the new breviary, about 40 percent were written by Protestants, about 30 percent were modern Catholic compositions written after the 1950s, and about 30 percent were traditional Catholic hymns written before the 1950s.¹⁰⁷⁸ Two hymns were written by an agnostic, two hymns were written by a Jansenist, and three of the Protestant hymns were written by Martin Luther himself.¹⁰⁷⁹ Thus, traditional Catholic hymns comprised only about thirty percent of the modern Divine Office's hymns. Deiss himself wrote nine of the hymns included in the *Liturgy of the Hours*. His compositions, such as "Mother of Holy Hope," "Keep in Mind" and "Sion, Sing, Break Into Song" have by and large been ignored by music directors of Novus Ordo celebrations, likely as a result of their agreeing with his premise that the hymns used in worship should not cause the congregation to "perish in boredom."

While the 1967 Instruction on Sacred Music opened the door for the introduction of modern music into the Mass, it did not explicitly forbid the use of traditional music in the liturgy. Lucien Deiss's *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, then, should be considered an unofficial attempt by an advisor of the Consilium to ridicule the use of traditional music as inconsistent with the liturgical principles laid down at Vatican II, even while neither Vatican II nor any officially promulgated documents explicitly stated this.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 547.

¹⁰⁷⁸ The Catholic Church, *Christian Prayer: The Liturgy of the Hours*, trans. International Commission on English in the Liturgy (New York: Catholic Book Publishing Company, 1976) page 1507-1707.

¹⁰⁷⁹ *Christian Prayer: The Liturgy of the Hours*, 1533 hymn 25, 1666 hymn 144, 1584 hymn 69, 1629 hymn 114, 1630 hymn 115, 1565 hymn 54, 1578 hymn 64.

In a word, then, for Liturgical Movement scholars such as Lucien Deiss, the *Novus Ordo* had not gone far enough in modernizing Catholic worship. Whereas conservative forces in the Vatican may have prevented the Liturgical Movement's body of scholars in the Consilium from producing a Missal and accompanying documents which were as progressive as they might have wished, this did not prevent the Liturgical Movement's scholars from advancing their more progressive vision of the liturgy using non-official means. Since many Catholics by this time looked upon progressive scholars as possessing more authority than the official Magisterium, publications such as *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy* went a long way in shaping the implementation of the New Mass.

Traditional sacred music was not the only remnant of traditional Catholic worship which progressive liturgists sought to eradicate. In 1976, the *Modern Liturgy Handbook* was published as a compilation of articles published in the periodical *Folk Mass and Modern Liturgy* throughout the 1970s. In this text, each of the liturgists agreed with James L. Empereur, SJ that "many of the ritual reforms [did] not go far enough and those which have been implemented in the last few years are already in need of reform and adaptation."¹⁰⁸⁰ Although the liturgy had been greatly simplified from the decadent rituals and ceremonies of the Traditional Latin Mass, since the 1970s was a "secular age," Empereur believed that the Church needed to worship with a "secularized liturgy" or else it would not properly articulate the contemporary religious experience of modern man.¹⁰⁸¹ In "The Liturgical Environment" Fr. John Mossi proposed ways that the already simplified liturgy could be made more relevant to those living a secular lifestyle. He

¹⁰⁸⁰ James Empereur, "Where We Are at in the Liturgy," in *Modern Liturgy Handbook: A Study and Planning Guide for Worship*, ed. John Mossi (New York/Ramsey: Paulist Press, 1975), 7.

¹⁰⁸¹ James Empereur, "Liturgy and Secularization," in *Modern Liturgy Handbook*, ed. John Mossi, 31.

suggested that introducing theatrical representations of the readings, liturgical ballet, liturgical mime, media, slideshows, and films during the Mass would help the laity personally relate to the worship act.¹⁰⁸² In a word, Mossi sought to bend the liturgy to stimulate as much of a religious experience amongst the faithful as possible. This approach calls to mind the Modernist principle vital immanence which approached religion not for its objective content but as the occasion for inspiring subjective spiritual experiences.

Approaching the liturgy as an occasion for generating spiritual experiences rather than as an occasion for offering God a pleasing oblation summarizes much of the 1970s liturgical literature. As in the literature of the 1960s, a focus on the worshipping community would seem more prevalent than a focus on the God being worshiped in the publications of this decade.

Deiss argued explicitly against the idea that the liturgy was in and of itself an objectively God-pleasing action. He wrote that the Mass “does not exist by itself; it comes alive *only* when experienced by a living congregation” (emphasis mine).¹⁰⁸³ Deiss implied here that the Mass did not have objective value in and of itself but was valuable only insofar as it generated a religious experience amongst congregants. In the article “Where We Are at in the Liturgy” Empeureur concurred with the subjectification of the liturgy as a means to foster a spiritual experience amongst members of the community. He wrote “if you have no community, you can have no liturgy” since “we cannot pretend that worship is for God rather than people.”¹⁰⁸⁴

¹⁰⁸² John Mossi, “The Liturgical Environment,” in *Modern Liturgy Handbook*, ed. John Mossi, 106.

¹⁰⁸³ Deiss, *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy*, 9.

¹⁰⁸⁴ James Empeureur, “Where We Are at in the Liturgy,” 25-26.

While traditional Catholicism never denied the sanctifying effect of worship, it would have never ranked the subjective benefit to the people as the primary aim of worship, let alone its only purpose, since this orientation would have corrupted the act of worship with a self-centered orientation. In his first edition of *Pope Paul's Mass* in 1975, Michael Davies referred to this liturgical orientation as the "Cult of Man."¹⁰⁸⁵ It should be recalled that Pius X believed that if Modernist principles of vital immanence were taken to their logical conclusions, Catholicism would come to embrace a sort of pantheism that could not clearly distinguish between God and one's self.¹⁰⁸⁶

In order to aid in the construction of enriching worship experiences, the authors featured in *Modern Liturgical Handbook* provided many suggestions which sought to modernize the liturgy beyond the reforms of the 1969 Missal. For these liturgists, there was no utility in preserving an objective liturgical tradition. Rather, as Empereur wrote, it seemed to be agreed upon that "an unchanging liturgy is dead. It must be constantly evolving."¹⁰⁸⁷ For example, in "Good Things Don't Just Happen," Michael E. Moynahan, SJ encouraged pastors to use non-scriptural readings such as excerpts from novels, poems, short stories, essays or plays during the Liturgy of the Word to help communicate the pastor's message.¹⁰⁸⁸ In *Pascendi*, Pius X charged Modernist biblical scholars with an innovative understanding of scripture as being an unremarkable attempt by certain Hebrews to articulate in writing their incomprehensible internal spiritual experiences.¹⁰⁸⁹ Seeing that even the scriptures, then, were perceived by modern progressives as imperfect attempts to articulate an incomprehensible reality, it was logical that the progressives of

¹⁰⁸⁵ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 147.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 19.

¹⁰⁸⁷ James Empereur, "Where We Are at in the Liturgy," 21.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Michael E. Moynahan, "Good Things Don't Just Happen," in *Modern Liturgy Handbook*, ed. John Mossi, 69.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Pius X, *Pascendi*, sec. 22.

the 1970s perceived certain novels, poems, plays and essays as being just as useful in expressing the ineffable spiritual experience as was the Bible.

At times, progressive liturgists also promoted innovative, and heretical, understandings of the theology of the Mass. Since he believed that “a fact historically past cannot...be actualized anew mystically or in the sacrament,” “even by God himself,” Warren Rouse, OFM argued that the Mass did not literally make the sacrifice of Jesus on the Cross present on the altar but was only a means to thank God for that sacrifice which had occurred once and for all in the past.¹⁰⁹⁰ Apart from a generous interpretation, this statement would seem on its face to contradict the Council of Trent’s anathematizing of anyone who professed “that the sacrifice of the mass is only a sacrifice of praise and of thanksgiving; or, that it is a bare commemoration of the sacrifice consummated on the cross, but not a propitiatory sacrifice” of Christ’s “own body and blood.”¹⁰⁹¹ Lest this, or any statement, of *Modern Liturgy Handbook* or Lucien Deiss’s *Spirit and Song of the New Liturgy* be taken as isolated statements of a handful of rogue clerics, it should be considered that both texts received *Imprimaturs* and *Nihil Obstats*.

Not least amongst the “enthusiastic promoters” of the new liturgy were the members of the Consilium itself. Due to the Liturgical Movement’s tendency to approach the liturgy as the subjective religious experience of a given community, the Consilium did not consider their task finished with the promulgation of the reformed Missal in 1969. Rather, immediately following the promulgation of the *Novus Ordo*, Bugnini and the Consilium attempted to publish a document which altered the rubrics of the Mass for celebrations with “special groups.”¹⁰⁹²

¹⁰⁹⁰ John Mossi, “The Liturgical Environment,” 110.

¹⁰⁹¹ “Twenty-Second Session of the Council of Trent,” canons II and III.

¹⁰⁹² Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 426-432.

The Consilium believed that such Masses, likely celebrated in private homes, should omit the sign of the cross, should contain only a single reading, should distribute communion under both kinds, should allow the laity to share their reflections during the homily, and include “other adaptations thought to be necessary,” at the discretion of each national conference of bishops.¹⁰⁹³ Due to push back from the Vatican Secretary of State, the ultimate “Instruction on Masses for Special Gatherings” was much more conservative in nature than the Consilium’s original proposal. The final document did permit irregular Masses in private residences but required liturgical vestments and a faithful following of the Missal and GIRM as would be expected in an ordinary chapel setting.¹⁰⁹⁴

The Consilium did, however, successfully promulgate “The Directory for Masses with Children,” in order to subjectivize the liturgy according to the perceived needs of this demographic of congregants. Since children were perceived as incapable of appreciating the subtle gestures of the liturgy, the Consilium proposed that the Mass be simplified to only emphasize three basic elements of the Mass including the scripture readings, the Eucharistic prayer, and communion.¹⁰⁹⁵ It was also proposed that pastors be given license to choose texts apart from the official lectionary which were better suited for children, that only a single reading be proclaimed, that priests could adapt the texts of the Mass to the language of children, and that due to their small attention spans, audiovisual aids be used to communicate the message of the readings.¹⁰⁹⁶

While not all of these requests were granted by the CDF, the Consilium did succeed in promoting the common practice which would be adopted in many American

¹⁰⁹³ Ibid, 431-432, 434-435.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Ibid, 435-436.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Ibid, 439.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Ibid, 439-440.

Catholic Churches after 1969 of sending children under a certain age to another room during the Liturgy of the Word where they colored pictures of the week's bible story or heard a simple explanation of the reading by a catechist.¹⁰⁹⁷ The children's directory also led to the publication of a children's lectionary with different readings and a more easily understood translation than the one used in the official lectionary.¹⁰⁹⁸ As will be seen below, three new Eucharistic prayers were eventually promulgated for Masses with children which included various dialogue prayers throughout the anaphora which were included with the hopes of keeping children engaged throughout the Eucharistic prayer.¹⁰⁹⁹

The enthusiastic supporters of the Liturgical Reform also successfully achieved the post-1969 change of extending formal permission to receive communion in the hand rather than on the tongue. By contrast, traditional Catholicism only permitted lay communicants to receive the sacrament on the tongue in recognition of the dignity of both the Eucharist as well as the fear of seeing it dropped to the ground.¹¹⁰⁰ Progressive liturgists began to unilaterally advocate the reception of communion in the hands since it was perceived as a less childish gesture.¹¹⁰¹

Advocacy for communion in the hand began in the 1950s by Liturgical Movement writers, yet the Novus Ordo and the GIRM extended no general permissions for reception of communion in this manner. Thus, at the encouragement of liturgists, pastors began to simply instruct their congregations to receive communion in the hand anyways, at times

¹⁰⁹⁷ Ibid, 446.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Ibid, 446-447.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰⁰ Office For the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff, "Communion Received on the Tongue and while Kneeling," Vatican, the Holy See, accessed 3/12/22:

https://www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/details/ns_lit_doc_20091117_comunione_en.html.

¹¹⁰¹ James Empereur, "Liturgy as Proclamation," in *Modern Liturgy Handbook*, ed. John Mossi, 58-59.

even forbidding them to receive on the tongue.¹¹⁰² The illicit practice of receiving communion in the hand began in 1968 in the nations one might suspect: Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, and France.¹¹⁰³ Since the practice seemed impossible to suppress, Paul VI granted permission for the practice in these nations.¹¹⁰⁴ He also opened the door for granting permission for this practice in any other nations where communion in the hand had already spread to a point where it could not be suppressed.¹¹⁰⁵

As more bishops' conferences began to request this innovation, Paul VI asked the Consilium to disseminate a survey amongst the world's bishops to gain their perspective about the topic.¹¹⁰⁶ Bugnini reported that while 567 bishops were in favor of introducing communion in the hand, 1,233 bishops were opposed to it.¹¹⁰⁷ As a result of these responses, Paul VI felt emboldened to oversee the publication of *Memoriale Domini* in 1969 in which the traditional manner of receiving communion on the tongue was defended and where it was argued that the suppression of this practice would lead to a general profanation of the sacrament and a reduction in belief in Transubstantiation.¹¹⁰⁸

In 1973, Paul VI asked Bugnini to publish an article in the Vatican periodical *L'Osservatore Romano* to support his decision to discourage the practice of communion in the hand while cautiously permitting it in extreme circumstances. Bugnini responded to this request by instead writing an article explaining why the reception of communion in the hand was easily perceived by anyone who looked at the manner calmly and without

¹¹⁰² Schneider and Montagna, *Christus Vincit*, 96-97.

¹¹⁰³ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 640.

¹¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 640-641.

¹¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 641.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 647.

¹¹⁰⁸ Congregation of Divine Worship, "Instruction on the Manner of Distributing Holy Communion," EWTN, 5/29/1969, accessed 3/12/22:

<https://www.ewtn.com/catholicism/library/instruction-on-the-manner-of-distributing-holy-communion-2195>.

prejudice as a “reasonable, wise, prudent, and moderate” change in liturgical custom which was “in the spirit of the Council.”¹¹⁰⁹

As the Liturgical Movement continued to gain momentum, the sentiments of the international episcopate towards communion in the hand began to agree with Bugnini’s analysis. This process was aided by Paul VI’s consistent appointment of progressive bishops to empty episcopal chairs in an attempt to secure the lasting success of his reforms.¹¹¹⁰ Ultimately, all of the bishops’ conferences of the world except for the bishops of Sri Lanka asked for permission for communion in the hand once progressive pastors had begun employing the practice illicitly. In the United States, the vote made by the National Conference of Bishops in 1976 to request this indult was contentious to say the least. Many bishops argued that no prevailing custom had yet been established in the country to warrant such a change.¹¹¹¹ The initial vote to request permission for communion in the hand did not receive a two-thirds majority.¹¹¹² After absentee ballots were collected under questionable circumstances, however, the desired number of *yes* votes was attained.¹¹¹³ The American request for this practice was, of course, granted without obstruction from Rome.

In another controversy related to the liturgy, Bugnini and the Consilium successfully lobbied for the suppression of the minor orders which all ancient Christian Churches held as antecedents to the clerical state. Traditionally, a Roman Rite man’s journey to the priesthood entailed being ordained to the minor orders of porter, then acolyte, then lector, then subdeacon, then to the major order of deacon, until finally being

¹¹⁰⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 660-661.

¹¹¹⁰ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 178.

¹¹¹¹ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass* 500-501.

¹¹¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹¹³ *Ibid.*, 501.

ordained a priest. The minor orders of reader, subdeacon and acolyte, as well as an additional order of “chanter” are still preserved in the Eastern Rites and Eastern Orthodox Churches.¹¹¹⁴ However, due to a handful of quotes in the writings of the 3rd century Hippolytus, an anti-pope and schismatic until his final year of life, the Consilium and the Liturgical Movement in general argued that the minor orders should be referred to as liturgical *ministries* rather than minor degrees of the Sacrament of Holy Orders.¹¹¹⁵

In concurrence with the opinion of Bugnini and the Vatican scholars, in the years between 1968 and 1970, numerous bishops' conferences requested permission to suppress the minor orders based on this antiquarian reading of Hippolytus's *Apostolic Tradition*.¹¹¹⁶ Though he personally wished to retain the minor orders, Paul VI deferred to his body of advisors and pressure from progressives amongst the international episcopate and suppressed the four minor orders in August of 1972.¹¹¹⁷

As the 1970s continued, requests were raised by various bishops' conferences for permission to construct additional Eucharistic prayers beyond the four which had been included in the Novus Ordo.¹¹¹⁸ The Consilium was also in favor of expanding the number of Eucharistic prayers. Thus, in 1974, it requested permission to create three new anaphoras for Masses with children and two for the Holy Year of Reconciliation. The Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith expressed its “lively concern” with the increasing the number of Eucharistic prayers due to the “doctrinal confusion presently

¹¹¹⁴ Rev. Alciviadis C. Calivas, “The Sacramental Life of the Orthodox Church,” Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of the United States, 9/3/98, accessed 3/12/22:

<https://www.goarch.org/-/the-sacramental-life-of-the-orthodox-church?inheritRedirect=true>.

¹¹¹⁵ Hippolytus, *Apostolic Constitutions*, chapter 11 and 13 in *Springtime of Liturgy* by Lucien Deiss, 135-136.

¹¹¹⁶ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 740.

¹¹¹⁷ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 156-157.

¹¹¹⁸ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 477-478.

existing in matters liturgical.”¹¹¹⁹ The CDF responded that only one new Eucharistic prayer should be composed for Masses with children and for the Holy Year, respectively.¹¹²⁰ The Consilium attempted to circumvent this decision by appealing directly to the Vatican Secretary of State’s office for permission for their original plan with one less prayer requested for masses with children.¹¹²¹

Paul VI was hesitant to grant the Consilium’s request as he held the same reservations as those raised by the CDF.¹¹²² However, after enough insistence on the part of Bugnini, the Holy Father ultimately granted permission for the Consilium’s request on a three-year experimental basis.¹¹²³ Three new anaphoras were written for masses with children and two were written for the Holy Year, the latter titled “Eucharistic Prayers for Reconciliation.”¹¹²⁴

Immediately after this decision was reached, and well before the three-year experiment was completed, the bishops of the Netherlands and Belgium requested permission to adopt these five Eucharistic prayers permanently.¹¹²⁵ The Pope asked a joint commission of bishops of the Consilium and the Congregation of the Doctrine of the Faith to consider the request. Though the bishops in large part voted in the negative to this request, Bugnini personally appealed to the pope with his own opinion that the request of these two bishops’ conferences should be accepted. As usual, Paul VI granted Bugnini’s request.¹¹²⁶

¹¹¹⁹ Ibid, 479.

¹¹²⁰ Ibid.

¹¹²¹ Ibid, 480.

¹¹²² Ibid.

¹¹²³ Ibid, 481.

¹¹²⁴ Ibid, 482.

¹¹²⁵ Ibid, 482-485.

¹¹²⁶ Ibid, 485-486.

The final, and largely failed, thrust of the Liturgical Movement was the effort to see the liturgy enculturated in each individual bishops' conference. The so-called "Hindu Rite" Mass in India and the Zaire Rite in the Congo are examples of enculturated usages of the Novus Ordo Missal. Both of these enculturated usages incorporated pre-Christian, pagan religious gestures and native customs into the celebration of the Mass.¹¹²⁷ The Hindu Rite quickly became controversial and was subsequently suppressed in 1976.¹¹²⁸ The Zaire Rite is still in use today.

A number of other subtle adaptations of the Novus Ordo were made in nations such as Thailand, Pakistan, Japan, and Laos.¹¹²⁹ The concept of cautiously incorporating certain pagan prayer gestures and rituals into the Mass is not necessarily contradictory to Catholic Tradition, seeing that certain elements of the Roman Liturgy were incorporations of the pre-Christian Roman customs. In *The Early Liturgy*, Joseph Jungmann argued that the "shortness and conciseness, clarity and austerity" of the Roman' Rite's liturgical patrimony were inherited from the pre-Christian religious temperament of the Roman people.¹¹³⁰ Additionally, the pipe organ was also originally a profane instrument popular in the Greco-Roman world.¹¹³¹ What's more, Roman Catholic devotional processions would seem to have descended from idol processions in the

¹¹²⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 269-271.

¹¹²⁸ Ibid, 270.; "Indian Rite Draws Mixed Reactions," *The Catholic Advocate*, vol. 18, No. 9, 20 February 1969, accessed 3/12/22: <https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=ca19690220-01.2.136&e=-----en-20--1--txt-txIN-----;> Ricardo da Silva, "Explainer: What is the Zaire rite—and why is Pope Francis talking about it now?" *America: The Jesuit Review*, 12/7/2020, accessed: <https://www.americamagazine.org/faith/2020/12/07/pope-francis-zaire-rite-catholic-church-amazon-239425>

¹¹²⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 269-272.

¹¹³⁰ Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy*, 127.

¹¹³¹ Thomas Acreman, "The History of the Pipe Organ," *Classic History*, May 28, 2018, accessed 3/12/22: <http://www.classichistory.net/archives/organ>.

ancient Roman world, at least in their external form.¹¹³² The traditional Catholic Ember Days, in which Catholics prayed for a favorable harvest, was also a borrowing of pagan Roman custom.¹¹³³

While incorporating certain pagan practices into the Catholic devotional treasury had some precedents, Bugnini's interest in preserving Catholic dogma in his efforts to enculturate the liturgy could be questioned when considering his interest in incorporating Hindu scriptures into the Mass in India. Reflecting on the controversy over the so-called Hindu Rite, Bugnini wrote in his *Reform of the Liturgy* of his opinion that theologians ought to have duly considered whether readings from the Hindu scriptures such as the *Bhagavad Gita* "might not be used in expressing Christian religious thought" in the Liturgy of the Word.¹¹³⁴ Bugnini wrote that the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith had "always been intransigent" when it came to responding to suggestions that non-biblical readings might be read at the Mass, and so, this suggestion was not duly considered.¹¹³⁵

The attempt to enculturate the liturgy according to the customs of each individual national conference of bishops was cut short in 1975 when Bugnini fell out of favor with Paul VI. During the final stages of the promulgation of the Novus Ordo and in the years which followed it, Paul VI had found himself time and time again disagreeing with the decisions of the Consilium, though his own trust in the consensus of his advisory body of scholars led him to consistently defer to their authority over his own judgment. As we

¹¹³² Jörg Rüpke, *Religion in Republican Rome: Rationalization and Ritual Change*, 1st ed (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), page 38.

¹¹³³ Richard Havermale, *Be Not Afraid-Winter Edition Dec/Jan/Feb 2018-19* (Self-published, 2018), 119.

¹¹³⁴ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 272.

¹¹³⁵ *Ibid*, 273.

have explored, by the mid-1970s, Paul VI had relented to Bugnini's vision for the liturgy in a number of circumstances.

It seemed that by 1975, unlike the "enthusiastic promoters" of the liturgical reform, Paul VI had seen enough innovation in the liturgy. Since it had become evident that Bugnini and the Consilium were still pushing forward to incorporate additional changes to the liturgy beyond the 1969 Missal, Paul VI was faced with the task of determining how to cut off Bugnini's bureaucratic freight train from continuing on its present course. By 1975, Bugnini had proven himself more than capable as a politician and bureaucratic organizer at seeing nearly every one of his wishes promulgated at the universal level. Simply put, if the liturgical changes were going to be concluded, Paul VI needed to think of some way to remove Bugnini from his position of power.

It was thus without warning that on July 14, 1975, Annibale Bugnini was notified that he had been removed from his post in the Consilium and had been assigned as apostolic nuncio to Uruguay.¹¹³⁶ According to Bugnini, the Secretary of State Monsignor Benelli told him "you're better off down there, far away; that way we won't see you anymore."¹¹³⁷ Whether or not this awkward interaction actually occurred, it would seem that Bugnini perceived that he had made some key enemies in the Vatican. Whatever his goals were in reassigning Bugnini as a papal diplomat, Paul VI may well have been influenced in his decision by the suggestions of Bugnini's foes.

In *Liturgy*, Rita Ferrone recorded the observation that "the decade following 1975 was a period of stabilization rather than a period of unrest" in the liturgical reform.¹¹³⁸ She wrote that a sense of the sacred was returning to liturgical celebrations and that the

¹¹³⁶ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 167.

¹¹³⁷ Annibale Bugnini, *Memorie*, 79, quoted in *Annibale Bugnini* by Yves Chiron, 167.

¹¹³⁸ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 67.

period of “revolution” had given place to a period in which Catholics could describe themselves as “relaxing at worship.”¹¹³⁹ It is quite plausible that if Bugnini had not been dismissed in 1975, the period of liturgical revolution may have continued for years beyond 1975.

Necessary though it was, Paul VI treaded difficult waters in settling the question of how to dismiss Bugnini from his secretariat. If Bugnini was disgraced in too explicit a fashion, the credibility of Paul VI’s own Missal reform would have been called into question. However, Bugnini could not merely be “kicked upstairs” to a pastoral or academic post since this would have allowed him to continue contributing to the scholarly discussions of the Liturgical Movement with authority as the architect of the *Novus Ordo*. Thus, Bugnini was assigned as an apostolic nuncio to Uruguay in 1975, removing him by quite some distance from Vatican politics while still not demoting him in too explicit a fashion. After he refused to accept this position due to his inability to speak Spanish, he was later assigned to serve as the Apostolic Nuncio of Iran in 1976 where his fluency in French gave him little opportunity to refuse.¹¹⁴⁰ Thus, by 1976, Annibale Bugnini was effectively isolated from the global Liturgical Movement which Paul VI intended to begin slowing down.

It must be admitted that this summary is the present’s author’s speculation as to why the “Great Architect of the Conciliar Reform” was so suddenly reassigned to serve as a nuncio in Uruguay, and then Iran, without even a red hat to cushion his fall. Bugnini himself believed that his dismissal was a result of the contriving of his enemies in the

¹¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁴⁰ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 177.

Vatican.¹¹⁴¹ In *Annibale Bugnini*, Yves Chiron suggested that Bugnini's reassignment was in part a consequence of Paul VI's own growing distrust of Bugnini.¹¹⁴²

The most often repeated narrative about Bugnini's dismissal, however, is the traditionalist "exile narrative." According to this account, Bugnini was sent into "exile" after Paul VI was presented with evidence that he was a practicing freemason who had infiltrated the Curia in order to purposefully corrupt Roman Catholic worship. Taylor Marshall's popular *Infiltration* includes the typical traditionalist narrative:

In 1975, Archbishop Annibale Bugnini left his briefcase unattended in a Vatican conference room... suffice it here to state that Bugnini was an infiltrated priest and a Freemason. A Dominican priest discovered the unattended briefcase and opened it, in order to discover the identity of its owner. Inside he found documents addressed "to Brother Bugnini," with "signatures and place of origin [that] showed that they came from dignitaries of secret societies in Rome." This became a scandal in Rome and Pope Paul VI was forced to send his chief liturgist and recently minted archbishop to Iran as pro-nuncio, a surprising and obvious demotion and exile.¹¹⁴³

Michael Davies wrote of the same "briefcase" narrative after supposedly hearing it firsthand from a priest "of the very highest reputation" who had come into possession of one of the damning documents.¹¹⁴⁴ In Yves Chiron's treatment of the controversy he did not deny the possibility that Bugnini was in fact a mason, though he did not imply that he was.¹¹⁴⁵

Indeed, beyond mere hearsay, it would seem that a somewhat reasonable body of evidence was presented to the pope in 1975 which implied a masonic connection.¹¹⁴⁶ In

¹¹⁴¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 91-92.

¹¹⁴² Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 174.

¹¹⁴³ Marshall, *Infiltration*, 74 of 257.

¹¹⁴⁴ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 535.

¹¹⁴⁵ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 171-174.

¹¹⁴⁶ Carmine Pecorelli, "La Lista dei Presunti Massoni," *Observatore Politico*, 1976, accessed 3/12/22: https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B65x5F_RAffwQVRjSUVGRUdaWmM/view?resourcekey=0-iX-RFb_D AymKAaHppbMXqw.

The Reform of the Liturgy, Bugnini recounted the same briefcase narrative that Marshall and Davies wrote of.¹¹⁴⁷ For his part, Bugnini did not doubt that Paul VI was presented with evidence that he was a covert freemason. He wrote in his autobiography, for example, that Cardinal Silvio Oddi had personally told him that he had seen a masonic document with Bugnini's own signature on it.¹¹⁴⁸ Bugnini vehemently denied the authenticity of these documents, however, characterizing them as fraudulent attempts to "bespatter the moral purity of the secretary of the reform" in order to undermine the reform itself.¹¹⁴⁹

When Alcuin Reed once asked Cardinal Stickler if Pope Paul VI actually believed that Bugnini was a freemason, Stickler responded "No, it was something far worse."¹¹⁵⁰ One is left to wonder what exactly could be worse in the eyes of Paul VI than belonging to a quasi-religious organization in which membership automatically excommunicated any Catholic.

While the reader is left incapable of determining for certain whether the documents alleging Bugnini's freemason affiliation were authentic or were calumnies intended to discredit his reforms, the later possibility would seem the more plausible. As we have seen, Bugnini's ideas fit completely within the context of mid-20th century progressive Catholic thought. Thus, there is no need to associate him with a secret society in order to understand where he derived his ideas. Additionally, to attribute weight to the theory that a priest who had entered the seminary in adolescence had at some point joined a secret society and climbed the ranks of the Vatican in order to serve a covert mission for

¹¹⁴⁷ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 91-92.

¹¹⁴⁸ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 171.

¹¹⁴⁹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 92.

¹¹⁵⁰ Chiron, *Annibale Bugnini*, 7.

his grandmaster, without tangible evidence, would seem rather imprudent. Thus, while the possibility might stand, however miniscule, that Bugnini was a covert freemason, Bugnini's explanation that these theories were manufactured by his enemies would seem more plausible.

Freemason or not, by 1975, a new Missal had been promulgated and a number of liturgical changes were enacted alongside it. A number of new anaphoras had been crafted, altars had been flipped, altar rails had been destroyed, and Church art and architecture had been modernized. Further, a new lectionary had been crafted, women tossed their chapel veils, communion was received standing and in the hands, and choirs were encouraged to shred their traditional repertoires in favor of modern "folk" compositions. Traditionalists continued to cringe at each liturgical innovation, and by 1975, the Pope himself decided that enough was enough, declaring an end to the twenty-five-year alliance between the Liturgical Movement and the Vatican. Thus, while liturgical progressives would continue exploring liturgical innovations at the local level, the period in which these innovations could expect to receive official recognition was, for the most part, at an end.

Passive Acceptance

While most of the 1970s literature regarding the new Mass could be regarded as either traditionalist resistance or progressive demands for further innovations, this is not to say that these responses characterize the majority of the faithful in their reaction to the new Mass. While the majority of the Catholic faithful drifted with the tides of Catholicism in accepting numerous progressive ideas about the liturgy, this was not to say

that the majority of Catholics were enthusiastic advocates for the liturgical reform. For most Catholics, the general response to the New Mass was a simple and unremarkable acceptance.¹¹⁵¹ In *Pope Paul's New Mass*, Davies argued that an important factor in the uneventful reception of the new Mass was the fact that “the average man in the street or the pew does not think deeply about such matters as politics or religion...there was no more chance of the ordinary parishioners taking an active part for or against liturgical changes than there was of his playing an active role in his political party or trade union.”¹¹⁵²

For such “average laity,” the Mass had simply changed alongside many other cultural and societal changes they had experienced in the 1960s and 70s.¹¹⁵³ The new liturgy did not strike them as altogether inconsistent with their sense of Catholicism, and it was relatively easy to adjust to it after about six years of gradual liturgical changes.¹¹⁵⁴ For these Catholics, the new Missal was nothing much to fuss over.

Priests of this “passive acceptance” demographic generally followed the instructions presented to them by the Vatican and their local bishop without much variation to the right or the left. If their progressive bishops encouraged them to remove their altar rails, they would, and if they were encouraged to incorporate modern hymnals, they would do that as well. However, for many clergymen, there was not an altogether urgent impetus to race to the forefront of liturgical innovation. In response to the tendency of many English priests to merely celebrate the Novus Ordo according to the rubrics and not to embellish the Mass with progressive innovations, editorials in the

¹¹⁵¹ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 410.

¹¹⁵² Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 93 and 98.

¹¹⁵³ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 409.

¹¹⁵⁴ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 96.

Liturgy Bulletin of the English diocese of Southwark or the liturgical journal *Life and Worship* described this mode of implementing the Novus Ordo as a “minimalistic liturgy.”¹¹⁵⁵

It is likely that such “minimalist liturgies” are a mere reflection of the tendency of most people, whether they be teachers, politicians, or priests, to do exactly what they are expected to do: nothing more, nothing less. Some progressives argued that the prevalence of such “minimalist liturgies” was the primary reason that traditionalist resistance to the new rite gained any traction in the 1970s at all. Such progressives believed that since unenthusiastic pastors had implemented the Novus Ordo so poorly, many came to the conclusion that the Traditional Latin Mass was superior to the new Missal. Despite such theories, it seems doubtful that those who clung to the traditional Mass would have been more likely to accept the Novus Ordo had their pastors implemented it in a *more* progressive way.

For the typical laity of the passive acceptance demographic, Mass attendance was a weekly ritual that they valued but did not give much conscious thought to. Bokenkotter wrote that this group of the laity “accepted the changes more or less gracefully but with little enthusiasm.”¹¹⁵⁶ Massa called this response to the changes “dutiful compliance.”¹¹⁵⁷ For them, the vernacular liturgy and seeing the priest face them was generally appreciated since it made participation in the liturgy less spiritually taxing. In *Liturgy*, Ferrone argued that the vernacularization of the liturgy, the celebration of Mass facing the people, and the introduction of modern art and music into the liturgy were the only three changes that most of the faithful were consciously aware of, indicating a general lack of awareness of

¹¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 112.

¹¹⁵⁶ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 410.

¹¹⁵⁷ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 4.

the breadth of the changes.¹¹⁵⁸ The majority of Catholics, and arguably participants in any religion, are not involved enough to engage much more deeply in their religion than in the basic services organized by their clergy.¹¹⁵⁹

Do we possess a plethora of literature from this demographic which likely represents the majority of the Church? One can hardly expect an uninspired Catholic to write a book about a historical change which they considered unextraordinary. Again, the only reforms which many of the laity were aware of was the change in the language and the direction of the priest. This was hardly much to write a book about. Some diocesan and United States' Catholic histories, however, offer a glimpse as to how these liturgical changes were received by the ordinary "go-with-the-flow" faithful.

In *Confidence and Crisis*, Steven M. Avella recounted the uneventful transition to the Novus Ordo style of worship in Milwaukee's urban and suburban parishes. He wrote that pastors gradually adapted to the physical demands of the new liturgy, typically placing a freestanding altar in the middle of the sanctuary and an ambo off to the side to begin the process of architectural renovation.¹¹⁶⁰ As the years went on, pastors gradually took on more ambitious renovation projects, such as the removal of the tabernacle from the sanctuary, the reduction of shrine areas, and the reconfiguring pew arrangements to promote the "unity" of the congregation.¹¹⁶¹ Avella implied that most priests were neither avid supporters of the reform nor traditional resisters of it. He wrote that even as pastors oversaw these changes, many of them did not understand why the changes they implemented were being made.¹¹⁶²

¹¹⁵⁸ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 57.

¹¹⁵⁹ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 98.

¹¹⁶⁰ Steven M. Avella, *Confidence and Crisis*, 260.

¹¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶² *Ibid.*

Avella wrote that the modernization of sacred music in Milwaukee was similarly uneventful. As the Milwaukee parishes responded to the Consilium's Instruction on Sacred Music, Avella recounted that the changes which followed faced little resistance from the faithful. Hymn books were purchased, choirs were moved down from the loft and into the nave, and compositions were chosen which encouraged community singing.¹¹⁶³ He wrote that pianos gradually came to replace organs and new instruments such as guitars were gradually introduced into parish worship.¹¹⁶⁴

As Milwaukee parishes became comfortable with the Novus Ordo, Avella wrote that pastors began to take on a more "informal, humorous, or folksy" attitude while presiding at Mass.¹¹⁶⁵ This new attitude could be contrasted with the solemn and reverent disposition that came naturally with the rubrics of the Traditional Latin Mass which left little room for the pastor to express his personality. Concurrently, as the laity observed their church buildings and their liturgies redesigned to emphasize the "horizontal" relationships they had with one another rather than serve as a "sacral space" which accentuated the awe of the person in the presence of the divine mysteries," churches began to be perceived as places of social gatherings.¹¹⁶⁶ Thus, while it was formerly intuitively understood that silent prayer should be maintained in the Church building, churches became chatty before and after, and sometimes during, Mass after the Novus Ordo was promulgated.¹¹⁶⁷ If the Church building was redesigned into an informal community-oriented structure, most of the laity would intuitively respond to these

¹¹⁶³ Ibid, 261.

¹¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 260.

¹¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

changes by engaging with their community before and after the liturgy rather than engaging with God in silent prayer.

Conservative and Loyal Acceptance

A final reaction to the Novus Ordo was that which Christopher Ferrara and Thomas Woods described as the “Neo-Catholic” reaction, more commonly referred to as the conservative Catholic position. This demographic of priests and laity might have personally preferred the traditional Mass, but the value they placed on obedience to ecclesial authority prevented them from expressing any discontent. Michael Davies went so far in *Pope Paul’s New Mass* to write that “docility to legitimate authority was the most notable characteristic of English-speaking Catholics in those days.”¹¹⁶⁸

Since the new Mass’s breach with liturgical custom and traditions were “willed by the Holy Father,” conservative Catholics reasoned that they were bound to accept these liturgical innovations as being willed by God. This obedience to authority even led some conservative Catholics to vehemently defend the changes against criticisms from traditionalist resistance groups whose criticisms were dismissed as “integrist” or bordering on schismatic.¹¹⁶⁹ In this manner, conservative Catholics perceived it as their duty as faithful Catholics to defend the decisions of the pope, whereas traditionalist Catholics perceived it as their duty to defend the traditional customs of the Church, even at times against the pope. In the years following the promulgation of the Novus Ordo, polemics between conservative and traditionalist Catholics arguably became even more heated than polemics between liberals and either of the two groups combined.

¹¹⁶⁸ Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 97.

¹¹⁶⁹ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 32.

An example illustrating the attitude of conservative laity who submitted to the judgment of progressive clerics was recorded in an April 1977 issue of *The Wanderer*. In this article, an incident in which a priest gave a Liturgical Movement-inspired education campaign amongst his parishioners which attempted to persuade them of the reasons to replace their traditional and ornate high altar with a freestanding table-styled altar. Although a reported ninety percent of the parishioners wished to keep the historic high altar, when the priest claimed that replacing it with a table-styled altar was a matter of obedience to the Church, the parishioners relented as they saw their beloved high altar disassembled and replaced.¹¹⁷⁰

Perhaps aware of the clericalist docility which most conservative-minded laity had towards the leaders of the Church, progressive priests frequently made appeals to authority in their efforts to encourage the conservative laity to express loyalty towards the liturgical reforms. In literature from the early to mid-1960s, it could be observed that the liturgical scholars' references to the "supreme authority of the Church" were made frequently when that authority was expressed in favor of Liturgical Movement principles but ignored when that authority condemned progressive innovations.¹¹⁷¹ After all, the Magisterial liturgical teachings found in *Tra Le Sollecitudini, Divini Cultus, Mediator Dei*, and even the 22nd Session of the Council of Trent had never formally "expired," and thus were still technically the official teachings of the Church after Vatican II.

This selective reading of the Church's "supreme authority" in order to gain the support of this "loyal conservative" demographic could be observed in one article of *The Universe*. In this article, an editor wrote that the *versus populum* prayer posture was

¹¹⁷⁰ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 425.

¹¹⁷¹ Frederick McManus, forward to *Priest's Guide to Parish Worship* by Liturgical Commission, vi.

spreading throughout the Church “because the bishops of the world meeting at the Vatican Council considered it a necessary liturgical change so that the laity could become more involved in the offering.”¹¹⁷² This was quite an interpretation of the documents seeing that Vatican II made no mention whatsoever of celebrating the Mass facing the people. On another instance, a priest who had moved the tabernacle from his Church’s sanctuary to a separate chapel responded to concerns from conservative laity that he was required to do so by the mandates of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and the order of his bishop.¹¹⁷³ When the laity wrote to the bishop, the bishop also stated that this change was in obedience to the Council’s liturgical constitution.¹¹⁷⁴ As in the previous incident, *Sacrosanctum Concilium* never called for the removal of the tabernacle from the main sanctuary, though a 1965 Consilium letter to the bishops’ conferences did permit such a relocation of the tabernacle in large churches.¹¹⁷⁵ Once again, obedience to the hierarchy was called upon to silence opposition towards the liturgical reform.

Due to differences in opinion about whether faithful Catholics had a duty to loyally accept or faithfully resist the liturgical changes, loyal conservatives developed into the natural adversaries of traditionalists who resisted these changes. One major point of contention between the two groups of Catholics was the canonical status of SSPX. The majority of conservative Catholics maintained that the group had fallen into formal schism after Lefebvre’s illicit consecration of four bishops.¹¹⁷⁶ Traditionalist Catholics, on the other hand, typically argued that while Lefebvre and his four bishops were

¹¹⁷² Davies, *Pope Paul’s New Mass*, 425.

¹¹⁷³ Ibid, 454.

¹¹⁷⁴ Ibid, 454-455.

¹¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 209.

¹¹⁷⁶ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 176-177.; Dave Gordon, “R4R: Is the SSPX in Schism? Answering Vigano (Dave),” Timothy Gordon, 9/7/2020, YouTube video, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lsLSN6p0MPU>.

excommunicated, the other priests of the society were not excommunicated, and therefore the group as a whole was not in a state of schism.¹¹⁷⁷ To be sure, the complexity of this debate can hardly be summarized here.

Another example of division between conservative and traditionalist Catholics can be found in the division which divided Walter Matt, the once editor of *The Wanderer*, and Alphonse Matt, his brother. The periodical originally titled *Der Wanderer* was founded in 1867 in Minnesota in order to educate German Catholic immigrants in the United States in their traditional Catholic heritage in opposition to the secular ideas of the German Enlightenment.¹¹⁷⁸ The editorship of the newspaper was eventually given to a young zealous traditional Catholic named Joseph Matt who led the publication from 1899 to 1964. In 1926, Joseph Matt was made a Knight of St. Gregory by Pope Pius XI in recognition of his service to the Church.¹¹⁷⁹ In the 1930s, Joseph Matt began publishing the newspaper in English, writing for a traditional Catholic audience in general rather than for a merely German readership. Joseph Matt chose his son Walter Matt to continue the publication after his retirement.

Tensions began to mount between Walter and his brother Alphonse as the changes surrounding the Second Vatican Council led to a general reform of the Mass. Whereas Walter Matt believed that the “the prospect of a New Mass...would prove disastrous for the Church,” Alphonse Matt urged loyalty to the pope in whatever liturgical decisions he reached.¹¹⁸⁰ Whereas Walter Matt believed the impending changes to the liturgy to be devastating to traditional Catholic worship, Al Matt took the position that while he “did

¹¹⁷⁷ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 196-197.

¹¹⁷⁸ “The Matt Family: A Story of Catholic Journalists,” *The Remnant Newspaper*, accessed 3/12/22: <https://remnantnewspaper.com/web/index.php/more/history-alias>.

¹¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

express some reservations about the extent and character of the reforms...[he] defended the authority of Paul VI over the liturgy.”¹¹⁸¹

As a result of these tensions, Walter Matt left his editorship of *The Wanderer* and formed *The Remnant* in 1968 as the United States’ first traditionalist Catholic newspaper.¹¹⁸² Alphonse Matt continued the editorship of *The Wanderer*, taking up the conservative Catholic position of defending the Magisterium’s decisions as a matter of principle from both progressives and traditionalist Catholics.¹¹⁸³ *The Remnant* would criticize both progressive clergy and scholars as well as the Magisterium when it made decisions which were believed to contradict former conclusions made by the Magisterium before the Second Vatican Council.¹¹⁸⁴ In 1972, Walter Matt began including articles written by Michael Davies and Archbishop Lefebvre in his periodical, exposing Americans to the work of both traditionalist luminaries.¹¹⁸⁵

Neither *The Remnant* nor *The Wanderer* shied away from criticizing one another’s editorials and articles. In the early 2000s, the chapters of Ferrara and Woods’ traditionalist manifesto *The Great Facade* were originally composed as a series of articles published in *The Remnant* in response to a critical review published in *The Wanderer* against Michael Matt’s traditionalist essay “We Resist You.”¹¹⁸⁶

Fr. Richard McBrien, the author of the progressive *Catholicism*, wrote in *The Remaking of the Catholic Church* that the conservative Catholic movement, so unswervingly obedient to the Magisterium, was essential in the defense of the

¹¹⁸¹ Joseph Matt, “History of The Wanderer: A Brief History of The Wanderer’s 150 Years in the Catholic Press Apostolate . . .,” *The Wanderer*, accessed 3/12/22: <https://thewandererpress.com/history10/>.

¹¹⁸² “The Matt Family: A Story of Catholic Journalists,” *The Remnant Newspaper*.

¹¹⁸³ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 14-15.

¹¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸⁵ “The Matt Family: A Story of Catholic Journalists,” *The Remnant Newspaper*.

¹¹⁸⁶ Ferrara and Woods, *The Great Facade*, 14.

modernization of the Church against traditionalist resistance. He wrote that “criticism of the extreme right by moderate conservatives is far more effective than by moderate progressives.”¹¹⁸⁷

Since it was traditionally held that “all must yield obedience to [the Church’s] authority,” submitting to the innovations of Paul VI’s magisterium had a natural appeal to many conservative Catholics.¹¹⁸⁸ Rebellious against their lawful ecclesial leaders was a non-traditional manner of relating to the sacramental representatives of Christ. For this reason, the conservative Catholic position was attractive to many. Since a rejection of the traditionalist position was essential to the identity of this group, a natural rivalry between the two groups was bound to develop.

As John Paul II took office in October of 1978, the conservative Catholic position gained even more momentum as a pope with a seemingly more conservative disposition than his predecessors rose to the throne of Peter. In reality, it would be difficult to argue that John Paul II was more conservative than his predecessor Paul VI. Karol Wojtyla had chosen a name which honored Paul VI and John Paul I out of recognition that the former was his “inspiration and strength” and that he held “reverence, love, and devotion” to the latter.¹¹⁸⁹ While he may not have drawn attention specifically to John XXIII in his explanation as to why he chose his name, his appreciation for the first of the conciliar popes might be seen as implied in his affection for Paul VI or John Paul I, both of whom were admirers of Good Pope John.

¹¹⁸⁷ Richard McBrien, *The Remaking of the Catholic Church* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), 146, quoted in *The Great Facade* by Ferrara and Woods, 181.

¹¹⁸⁸ *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, 149.

¹¹⁸⁹ McBrien, *Lives of the Popes*, 387.

In choosing his name, then, Wojtyla could be said to have affirmed the entire conciliar program of modernization which had taken place over the course of these three pontificates. The perception of John Paul II as an ultra-conservative was a result of him not being the pope who had *overseen* the transition from traditional to modern Catholic worship. Rather, he merely *maintained* the “new order” and tended to prevent it from modernizing any further. His participation in the Second Vatican Council and his episcopal ministry indicate that he was fully supportive of Paul VI’s pontifical ministry.

Some might argue that John Paul II’s decrees regarding the celebration of the Traditional Latin Mass reflect a traditionalist reversal in policy from his predecessor. In 1984, John Paul II did open the door for priests to celebrate the Traditional Latin Mass with the permission of their local Ordinary.¹¹⁹⁰ All the same, Paul VI himself had not entirely closed the door to the celebration of the 1962 Missal to particular priests or groups, especially “old or infirm” priests who could not be reasonably expected to adjust to the reform.¹¹⁹¹ Padre Pio requested this permission from Paul VI, though he himself died before the *Novus Ordo* was promulgated.¹¹⁹² Paul VI also granted this permission to a group of British Catholics who had a particular devotion to the Traditional Latin Mass.¹¹⁹³

Interestingly, when faced with questions from bishops as to whether the celebration of the 1962 Missal was absolutely prohibited without a papal indult, Paul VI’s secretary of state advised Bugnini to respond with an unofficial letter, bearing no juridical authority, to the bishops in question.¹¹⁹⁴ While Bugnini believed that this peculiar

¹¹⁹⁰ Ferrone, *Liturgy*, 68.

¹¹⁹¹ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 296.

¹¹⁹² Alessandro Gnocchi & Maria Palmaro, *The Last Mass of Padre Pio* (Saint Marys, Kansas: Angelus Press, 2019), 67.

¹¹⁹³ Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy*, 298.

¹¹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 297-301.

procedure was intended to avoid causing widespread backlash from traditionalists, the lack of a juridically binding ruling left the door open for a later pontiff such as Benedict XVI to universally extend permission for celebrations according to the traditional Missal to the entire Church.¹¹⁹⁵

If John Paul II could be considered no less conservative than Paul VI in liturgical manners, what of his moral theology? Interestingly, John Paul II's views concerning artificial contraceptives might be described as slightly *less* traditional than Paul VI. While Paul VI defended the Church's traditional moral teaching using Scholastic natural law principles, John Paul II's *Theology of the Body* relied on an innovative philosophical system which dealt with what he called the "language of the body" rather than Thomistic natural law.¹¹⁹⁶ What's more, while Paul VI may have appointed many progressive-minded bishops, John Paul II himself appointed liberals Blase Cupich and Roger Mahony to their first episcopal chairs and he gave the red hat to the progressive bishops Joseph Bernardin, Godfried Danneels, and Theodore McCarrick. He also made the Argentinian Jorge Bergoglio a bishop and later a cardinal, giving progressive cardinal electors a candidate to rally around as their choice in the 2013 papal conclave.¹¹⁹⁷ If not more conservative than Paul VI, then, why would John Paul II be perceived as such?

In 1979, almost as soon as John Paul II's papacy began, he forbade the progressive scholar Hans Küng from teaching Catholic theology.¹¹⁹⁸ He did the same to Fr. Charles Curran, the outspoken opponent of *Humanae Vitae* and other traditional

¹¹⁹⁵ Benedict XVI, "*Summorum Pontificum*: On the Use of the Roman Liturgy Prior to the Reform of 1970," motu proprio, Vatican, the Holy See, 7/7/2007, article 1-5, accessed 3/12/22: https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/motu_proprio/documents/hf_ben-xvi_motu-proprio_20070707_summorum-pontificum.html.

¹¹⁹⁶ Massa, *The American Catholic Revolution*, 45-46.

¹¹⁹⁷ Douthat, *To Change the Church*, 60.

¹¹⁹⁸ Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 438-439.

Catholic sexual teachings in the United States.¹¹⁹⁹ John Paul II opened doctrinal investigations against twenty-two some other theologians including Eduard Schillebeeckx and Karl Rahner, progressive Rhine Group *periti* who were influential at the Second Vatican Council.¹²⁰⁰ Although many of these investigations did not go so far as to formally censure these theologians, John Paul II's Curia did criticize many of their works and ask for clarifications of their use of vague language.

In 1981, John Paul II asked Joseph Cardinal Ratzinger to serve as the prefect of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Pontifical Institute for Biblical Studies, and the International Theological Commission. Both of these men approached Catholicism as “distinctively modern men” who sought to balance their appreciation for the traditional doctrines of the religion with a free utilization of the accomplishments of modern academia.¹²⁰¹ In response to the rise in popular influence of progressive theologians such as Küng, Rahner, and Schillebeeckx, John Paul II and Ratzinger's papacies can be seen as a decades-long attempt to reassert the authority of the Magisterium over the progressive scholars of the Church in order to enshrine the conservative Catholic system in the official teachings of the Church.¹²⁰² In the 1990s, the promulgation of the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* could be seen as a sort of enshrinement of John Paul II and Ratzinger's conservative form of Catholicism. Whether or not these actions were successful at establishing the long-term dominance of the conservative Catholic position will be considered in the conclusion of this thesis.

¹¹⁹⁹ Weigel, *Witness to Hope*, 523-254.

¹²⁰⁰ “Cover story - Theological Disputes,” National Catholic Reporter, 2/25/2005, accessed 3/12/22: https://natcath.org/NCR_Online/archives2/2005a/022505/022505h.php.

¹²⁰¹ Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History*, 193-199.

¹²⁰² *Ibid*, 233-240.

In this “Conservative Spring” of John Paul II and Benedict XVI’s papacies, the conservative Catholic position was emboldened under the official approval of a Magisterium which had demonstrated its willingness to curtail the advance of progressive as well as traditional theologians.¹²⁰³ In the United States, the founding of EWTN in 1981 was also essential in the promotion of the conservative Catholic position, defending John Paul II’s conservative Magisterium as well as criticizing progressive theology and even at times progressive hierarchs.¹²⁰⁴ EWTN broadcasts of daily Mass displayed a conservative and reverent Novus Ordo celebration rather than a Traditional Latin Mass or a progressive liturgy. New conservative religious orders such as *The Companions of the Cross* and *The Legionaries of Christ* served similar roles amongst the ranks of clergy. The “Companions” are a North American religious order founded in the 1980s who are devoted to John Paul II’s call for a “New Evangelization” which was loyal to the Magisterium of the Church.¹²⁰⁵ The “Legionaries” are an international order founded in Mexico with a similar spirituality devoted to evangelization and fidelity to the Church’s Magisterium.¹²⁰⁶

While the period of John Paul II’s papacy was, then, effective at curtailing the spread of the progressive form of Catholicism, it was also effective at preventing a traditionalist resistance to the Novus Ordo from growing beyond the marginal position which it had staked out for itself in the Catholic Church during the 1970s. If a liberal pope had been elected in 1979, many conservatives might have found unswerving obedience to the Magisterium unconscionable and would have drifted towards the

¹²⁰³ “Cover story - Theological Disputes,” National Catholic Reporter.

¹²⁰⁴ Gillis, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 229-230.

¹²⁰⁵ “Unite: About Us,” Companions of the Cross, accessed 3/12/22: <https://companionscross.org/about-us/>.

¹²⁰⁶ “LC Spirituality,” Regnum Christi, Legionaries of Christ, accessed 3/12/22: <https://legionariesofchrist.org/lc-spirituality/>.

traditionalist position. However, with a conservative pope on the throne who had a reputation for investigating progressive theologians, many conservatives found expressing disobedience to his papacy to be unnecessary if not sinful.

Thus, by the time the 1990s began and a new generation of Catholics had come of age who had never known the Traditional Latin Mass, the successful implementation of the Novus Ordo would seem all but complete. With progressives, go-with-the-flow Catholics, and conservatives all agreeing to promote the new liturgy against the Traditional Latin Mass, traditionalist Catholics would be far outnumbered in their efforts to resist the “new order.”

CONCLUSION

In 1969, decades of scholarship and advocacy by progressive liturgists culminated with the promulgation of the Novus Ordo Missal. Throughout the 1970s, many pastors implemented reforms in sacred music, art, and architecture alongside the texts of the new Mass which dramatically reshaped the liturgy. The success of this revolution in Catholic worship was dependent upon the spread of progressive and conservative forms of Catholicism which both sought to modernize the ancient religion in varying ways. By the 1990s, the traditional order of Catholic worship had been all but forgotten.

It is worth considering the state of the Church some fifty years after this revolution. Does the historical data indicate that the Novus Ordo has achieved its goal of rendering the Mass more relatable to the modern faithful? Such an analysis need not engage in value judgements about the theological merit of the new Missal itself. Rather, in this conclusion, we will consider the state of liturgical participation since the reform and consider a variety of possible interpretations of this data. After this, a few predictions will be provided concerning the long-term trajectory of the Catholic Church.

The traditionalist resistance, the progressive advocates for further changes, the disinterested and moderately satisfied, and the conservative supporters of the Magisterium reflect the four main responses to the changes in the Mass. Yet, these responses only characterize those Catholics who continued to practice their faith after the missal changes were made. It cannot be ignored that since the implementation of the Novus Ordo, weekly Mass attendance, being the principal determinant of whether an individual is a practicing or non-practicing Catholic, has plummeted. A 1976 article in *The Tablet* bemoaned the observation that Churches in Liverpool were experiencing an

exodus of young congregants between the ages of 15 and 25.¹²⁰⁷ In the United States, whereas self-reported weekly Mass attendance was at 75 percent in 1955, this number had fallen amongst self-identified Catholics to 54 percent by 1975, to 46 percent by the mid-1980s, where it leveled out until 2008, falling again to 39 percent in 2017.¹²⁰⁸

While Mass attendance was lower in European nations before the Council, the reduction in Mass attendance has dropped even further in these nations than it has in the United States over this same period of time. In France, for example, Sunday Mass attendance fell from 41 percent in 1964 to just 8 percent in 2002.¹²⁰⁹ Further, in the United States, the Catholic Church of the last fifty years has experienced the greatest net loss of membership of any religion in the nation. Tellingly, 14 percent of the American population in 2018 identified as former Catholics, comprising what some refer to as the fastest growing religious demographic in the nation.¹²¹⁰

The priesthood has also been deeply troubled since the Second Vatican Council and the Missal reform. Richard Schoenherr and Lawrence Young referred to the period immediately following the promulgation of the *Novus Ordo* as one of a “mass exodus” of the clergy.¹²¹¹ Traditionalists would be quick to suggest that the *Novus Ordo* should be held responsible for these negative developments in Catholic vitality ever since it was introduced. However, one cannot immediately assume *post hoc ergo propter hoc*. Progressives and conservatives could easily counter that such religious defections may have occurred at an even more dramatic rate had the liturgy not been modernized.

¹²⁰⁷ Davies, *Pope Paul's New Mass*, 109.

¹²⁰⁸ Lydia Saad, “Catholics' Church Attendance Resumes Downward Slide,” Gallup, 4/9/2018, accessed: <https://news.gallup.com/poll/232226/church-attendance-among-catholics-resumes-downward-slide.aspx>.

¹²⁰⁹ Davies, *Pope John's Council*, 8.

¹²¹⁰ David Masci and Gregory A. Smith, “7 facts about American Catholics,” Pew Research Center, 10/10/2018, accessed: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/10/10/7-facts-about-american-catholics/>.

¹²¹¹ Schoenherr and Young, “Quitting the Clergy: Resignations in the Roman Catholic Priesthood,” 468.

Progressives might even argue that such defections could have been prevented had the liturgy been more radically reformed. One's preconceived notions would govern how they judged between these rivaling speculations.

Whatever its cause, it can be quantifiably observed that the decades immediately following the introduction of the Novus Ordo could be described as devastating to the life of the Church. Whatever its strengths might have been, the Novus Ordo did not achieve any quantifiable success in accomplishing its goal to renew the Church, bring modern men back into the pews, or usher in a "springtime of evangelization."¹²¹² Simply put, millions of Catholics and former Catholics around the world have found no compelling reason to attend Novus Ordo services.

If not as a direct result of the new Missal itself, why has the Church experienced record losses in the decades following the implementation of the Novus Ordo? While traditionalists would hold that the new Missal *has* caused widespread defections from regular sacramental practice, it would be helpful to also consider the wider context surrounding the implementation of the new Mass. Just as it is useful to consider the creation of the Novus Ordo within the context of the transformations in the religion in general over the course of the 20th century, it is also reasonable to consider the state of distress of the present-day Catholic Church in the context of these same transformations.

The 1960s saw progressive Catholic scholars rise to a position of prominence in the hierarchy which had just decades before placed works such as theirs on its Index of Forbidden Books. The 1970s saw the birth of a loud minority of traditionalist resisters to these changes. Then, the 1980s saw the beginning of three decades of conservative popes

¹²¹² John Paul II, *Springtime of Evangelization: The Complete Texts of the Holy Father's 1998 Ad Limina Addresses to the Bishops of the United States* (Santa Fe, CA: Basilica Press, 1999), title page.

who generally had antagonistic relationships with both progressive and traditionalist Catholics, excommunicating the head of the SSPX while also stripping progressives such as Hans Küng of their rights to identify as teachers of Catholic theology. The post-conciliar Church, then, has been one in which progressive Catholics proclaim one vision of the religion, conservative Catholics proclaim another, and traditionalist Catholics proclaim a third. Bickering between all three of these groups of co-religionists has dominated much of the Church's periodical literature since the 1960s, making the religion seem incoherent to many of its participants as well as to outsiders.

Thus, Catholicism has become a confusing religion. How is the dispassionate layperson to know which vision of Catholicism is correct on any given doctrinal, liturgical, or moral question? A confusing faith has a limited capacity to persuade its laity to devote their lives to it. Indeed, how could the laity be expected to devote themselves to a religion that itself would seem not to know what it believes or how it believes one should worship?

Further, if a given Catholic were to be convinced of the progressive interpretation of Catholicism, they may defect or cease practicing their faith out of frustration that not enough progressive changes had taken place in the Church. To them, if a single priest refused to baptize the adopted child of a same-sex couple or preached against contraceptives, which would be enough to alienate them from the religion, even while other progressive clerics would agree with them on both issues. At the same time, Catholics convinced of the conservative or traditionalist position may defect or stop practicing the faith after becoming scandalized by progressive homilies which departed from traditional Catholic dogma.

Ideology aside, of course, for a large number of former Catholics or non-practicing Catholics, it is likely that the general secularization of society and the reduction of religious values in Western civilization has led to an increased apathy towards religious life of any form.

In what state would the Catholic Church find itself in if it had never modernized its liturgy in 1969? To ask such a question is to isolate the reform of the Mass in a manner in which it cannot be separated from the general history of the modern Church. Since the 18th century, the desire to utilize the rationalistic methods of Enlightenment-inspired schools of thought was felt throughout the Church's intellectual circles. Indeed, despite the attempts of eight consecutive 18th, 19th, and 20th century popes to condemn the use of such methodologies in Catholic studies, the desire to use these methods only increased exponentially after the papacy of Pius X.

While cautious to avoid being labeled as Modernist, such progressive thought found its way into mainstream Catholic biblical exegesis, liturgical scholarship, catechetical pedagogy, ecumenical activism, historiography, and more by the latter half of the 20th century. When Pope John XXIII called for an ecumenical council to cautiously modernize the traditional Catholic religion, the growing progressive trends within the bosom of the Church burst through the floodgates, enshrining numerous principles of secular academia in the constitutions of an ecumenical council.¹²¹³

In a word, it is difficult to imagine what could have possibly been done to curtail the spread of the progressive form of Catholicism within the religion that the late 18th, 19th and early 20th century leaders of traditional Catholicism had not already attempted. For whatever reason, the attractiveness of progressive academia drew such a large

¹²¹³ See Chapter Four: The Second Vatican Council.

number of Catholic intellectuals that, in a religion which was extremely intellectual and dependent on its seminary houses of study for the training of each of its pastors, the ultimate spread of progressivism would seem a force too great to restrain. No number of official condemnations of progressive styles of scholarship nor official commendations of Scholastic methodologies seemed enough to prevent its growth.

It was in this intellectual context, and only in this context, that the Liturgical Movement which bequeathed the *Novus Ordo* emerged. The Liturgical Movement did not *need* to propose the specific liturgical innovations which it seemed to settle on by the 1950s. In the 1940s, it would have been quite difficult to predict exactly what shape a general reform of the Mass would take. However, as progressive Catholicism rose in prominence in the 1960s, and as politically brilliant liturgists such as Annibale Bugnini gained the pope's confidence, it became clear that the Traditional Latin Mass would soon give way to a progressive "new order" of worship.

Where is Catholicism today, and where is it going? The Church today is standing in the shadow of the chaotic history which it has navigated throughout the last three centuries. Traditionalists continue to resist the now fifty-two-year-old "new" missal, progressives continue to advocate for further changes to the Church's doctrines, ethics, and liturgy, and conservatives continue to levy criticisms against both groups competing with them for dominance within the one Catholic religion.

Yet, by and large, a modest adoption of modern academic methods has been implicitly granted even in traditionalist circles. Few traditionalists, for example, criticize John Paul II's *Theology of the Body* for its deviation from Scholastic methods in formulating the case for traditional Catholic sexual moral conclusions, though some

hardline traditionalists such as Timothy Flanders oppose even this body of work today.¹²¹⁴ Further, it is noteworthy that the USCCB, which is consistently criticized by American traditionalist groups, recently promulgated a guide on sacred music which placed censures on a number of progressive hymns such as “All Are Welcome” and “Let Us Break Bread Together on Our Knees” due to their ambiguous doctrinal content.¹²¹⁵ Thus, it seems that even the leadership of the American Church, which has been characterized by critics as leaning progressive since the Council, has taken clear steps toward a more traditional understanding of sacred music.

Beyond such subtle signs of a synthesis of Catholicism’s presently competing schools of thought, however, it would seem that the ecclesial status quo of an uneasy tension between Catholicism’s scholarly progressivism, popular traditionalism, and 1990’s Catechism-defined conservatism will be maintained for the foreseeable future. If any changes are to be predicted for the next generation, progressivism would seem to have the advantage. Of the 128 cardinals currently eligible to vote in the next conclave, 73 were named by Pope Francis, greatly increasing the chances that the future pontiff and his episcopal nominations will continue to reflect the present pontiff’s progressive-leaning vision of Catholicism.¹²¹⁶

Despite the short-term advantage progressives seem to hold in Church governance, that advantage may begin to wane by the latter half of the 21st century. In a video lamenting the restrictions Pope Francis placed on the celebration of the Traditional

¹²¹⁴ Flanders, *Introduction to the Holy Bible for Traditional Catholics*, 165 of 262.

¹²¹⁵ “USCCB Committee: ‘All Are Welcome’ Not a Welcome Hymn at Mass,” National Catholic Register, 12/11/2020, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.ncregister.com/cna/4-hymns-not-welcome-at-mass>.

¹²¹⁶ Jeff Diamant, “Under Pope Francis, the College of Cardinals has become less European,” Pew Research Center, 11/23/2020, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2020/11/23/pope-francis-shaping-a-college-of-cardinals-that-is-less-european/>.

Latin Mass in 2021, the Catholic youtuber Brian Holdsworth proposed a thought-provoking prediction concerning the future of the episcopacy.¹²¹⁷ In the coming decades, most of the baby-boomer bishops (born between 1946 and 1964) who served as the pioneer pastors during the implementation of the new Missal will begin to retire.¹²¹⁸ As they do, whoever succeeds Pope Francis will find very few Generation X priests (born between 1965 and 1980) to replace them as a result of the decades of vocation droughts which the Church experienced between the 1970s and 90s.¹²¹⁹ Since vocations began to increase in the late 90s by millennial men inspired by John Paul II's conservative style of Catholicism, one might imagine that millennial priests (born between 1980 and 1996) will be necessarily asked to fill episcopal chairs for what would seem to be decades-long reigns.¹²²⁰ The ability such millennial bishops might have to make long lasting changes to the Church could be profound.¹²²¹

These younger conservative priests have come of age during a period in which Pope Francis has for the first time provided traditionalist and conservative Catholics with an occasion for unity. In *Amoris Laetitia*, Pope Francis used the same sort of vague language characteristic of progressives during the Council to open the door for the reception of communion to divorced and remarried Catholics in explicit contradiction of John Paul II's ruling on the same moral question.¹²²² This encyclical served as a sort of

¹²¹⁷ Brian Holdsworth "Francis Sidelines the Latin Mass," Brian Holdsworth, 7/16/2021, YouTube video, 45:00, accessed 3/22/22: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5TJxGNd680>.

¹²¹⁸ "Baby Boomers: The Gloomiest Generation," Pew Research Center, 6/25/2008, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/2008/06/25/baby-boomers-the-gloomiest-generation/>.

¹²¹⁹ Gillis, *Roman Catholicism in America*, 246-249.

¹²²⁰ Michael Dimock, "Defining generations: Where Millennials end and Generation Z begins," Pew Research Center, 1/27/2019, <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2019/01/17/where-millennials-end-and-generation-z-begins/>; Bokenkotter, *A Concise History of the Catholic Church*, 502-503.

¹²²¹ Brian Holdsworth "Francis Sidelines the Latin Mass," Brian Holdsworth, 7/16/2021, YouTube video, 45:00, accessed 3/22/22: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=a5TJxGNd680>.

¹²²² Weigel, *The Irony of Modern Catholic History* 271-273.

breaking point for many conservatives in the Church in which they could not conscientiously maintain their principled loyal defense of the Magisterium's decisions since they had defended Pope John Paul II's decision in the exact opposite manner for years up until Pope Francis's 2014 decree.

Over the course of Francis's papacy, many conservatives who once unilaterally defended the Magisterium's decisions have moved steadily towards traditionalist positions of resistance to Francis's Magisterial innovations. Taylor Marshall, for example, has moved since 2015 from defending Pope Francis's reputation to writing books such as *Infiltration* which argue that Francis is the epitome of freemasonry's hope for infiltrating the Catholic hierarchy.¹²²³ Additionally, Michael Voris's Church Militant apostolate has changed its Benedict XVI-era policy "that most Catholics should neither read nor have easy access to articles and essays that could be judged critical of the Pope" to releasing near daily videos highly critical of Francis.¹²²⁴ To name but one other example, Patrick Coffin's resignation from the papally-loyal conservative program *Catholic Answers Live* followed by his launching of a traditionalist Catholic podcast which was highly critical of Francis's regime, to the point of arguing that he is an antipope, should be seen as no coincidence.¹²²⁵

Of course, other conservative Catholic leaders such as Jimmy Akins and Bishop Robert Barron have maintained their commitment to defending Pope Francis's

¹²²³ Taylor Marshall, "My thoughts on Pope Francis and Breeding Like Rabbits," Taylor Marshall, January 2015, accessed 3/12/22: <https://taylormarshall.com/2015/01/thoughts-pope-francis-rabbits-external-papacy.html>; Taylor Marshall, *Infiltration*, 181-257.

¹²²⁴ Steve Skojec, "Can a Catholic Criticize the Pope?" One Peter Five, 5/21/2015, accessed 3/12/22: <https://onepeterfive.com/can-a-catholic-criticize-the-pope/>; "Search query: Michael Voris and Pope Francis," YouTube, 3/12/22: https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=the+vortex+pope+francis.

¹²²⁵ Patrick Coffin, "Seven Pieces of Evidence That Francis Is an Antipope," Patrick Coffin Media, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.patrickcoffin.media/seven-pieces-of-evidence-that-francis-is-an-antipope/>.

Magisterium despite their prior defense of opposite decisions by previous popes.¹²²⁶ All the same, the gradual merger between the conservative and traditional Catholic movements which seems to be taking place, as well as the manner in which the Traditional Latin Mass has shocked the Church's leaders in the popularity it has found amongst Millennial and "Gen Z" Catholics (born after 1996) must cause us to wonder whether or not a sort of "traditionalist liturgical movement" might not be presently in its early years of formation. If that is the case, one cannot rule out the possibility that the 21st century might yet see a traditionalist transformation in the Catholic liturgy just as radical as the transformation which took place in the century before.

¹²²⁶ Jimmy Akin, "Pope Francis's New Document on Marriage: 12 Things to Know and Share," *Catholic Answers*, 4/7/2016, accessed 3/12/22: <https://www.catholic.com/magazine/online-edition/pope-franciss-new-document-on-marriage-12-things-to-know-and-share.>; Bishop Robert Barron, "Bishop Barron on Pope Francis' "Amoris Laetitia", " *Bishop Robert Barron*, 6/2/2016, YouTube video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-5ruTwxILqs>.

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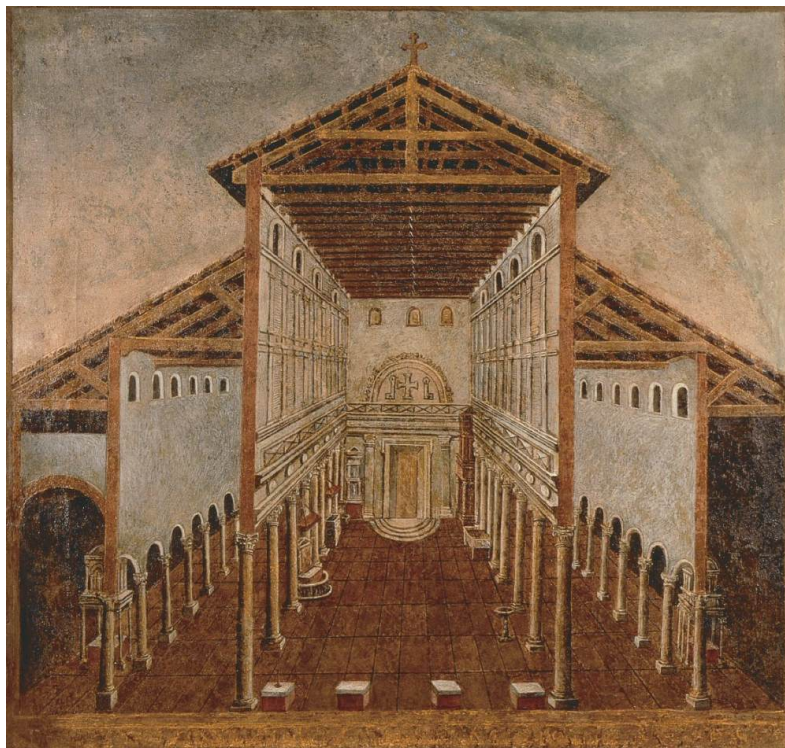
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APPENDIX A



Painting of “Old St. Peter’s” by Domenico Tasselli.¹²²⁷



Digital reconstruction of the interior of Old St. Peter’s Basilica.¹²²⁸

¹²²⁷ “Reconstruction of the Interior of Old St Peter’s,” Web Gallery of Art, accessed 3/13/22: https://www.wga.hu/html_m/t/tasselli/oldpete2.html.

¹²²⁸ Maffeo Vegio, *Eyewitness to Old St. Peter’s: Maffeo Vegio’s ‘Remembering the Ancient History of St Peter’s Basilica in Rome’ with Translation and a Digital Reconstruction of the Church*, ed., Christine Smith and Joseph F. O’Connor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019) cover art.



Cut-away view of the interior of the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori delle Mura [St. Paul outside the Walls], from *Views of Rome* by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, 1749.¹²²⁹



Digital reconstruction of the Basilica of Saint Maria Maggiore.¹²³⁰

¹²²⁹ “Cut-away view of the interior of the Basilica of S. Paolo Fuori delle Mura [St. Paul outside the Walls], from *Views of Rome*,” Art Institute of Chicago, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.artic.edu/artworks/48092/cut-away-view-of-the-interior-of-the-basilica-of-s-paolo-fuori-delle-mura-st-paul-outside-the-walls-from-views-of-rome>.

¹²³⁰ Bernard Frischer and Carmen Valenciano, “Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore,” (UCLA, 2000), accessed 3/13/22: <https://vsim.library.ucla.edu/xmlui/handle/20.500.11991/2909>.



Digital reconstruction of St. John Lateran's Cathedral.¹²³¹



Hypothetical reconstruction of Santa Sabina.¹²³²

¹²³¹ Lex Bosman, Paola Liverani, Iwan Peverett, and Ian P. Haynes, *The Basilica of Saint John Lateran to 1600*, ed., L. Bosman, I. P. Haynes, and P. Liverani, *British School at Rome Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), cover art.

¹²³² Lucas Viar, "The Basilica of Santa Sabina: Origins and Transformations," *Liturgical Arts Journal*, 12/5/2019, accessed 3/13/22: <https://www.liturgicalartsjournal.com/2019/12/the-basilica-of-santa-sabina-origins.html>

APPENDIX B



Photograph of Romano Guardini's innovative chapel arrangement at the community of Burg Rothenfels.¹²³³



Guardini's chapel at Burg Rothenfels during Holy Mass, which is still used for Catholic liturgical celebrations today.¹²³⁴

¹²³³ Bernhard M. Fiedler, "Burgkapelle - Burg Rothenfels am Main," (Schnell & Steiner, Munich) accessed online 5/5/20 at https://www.aphorisma.eu/catalog/product_info.php?products_id=7001.

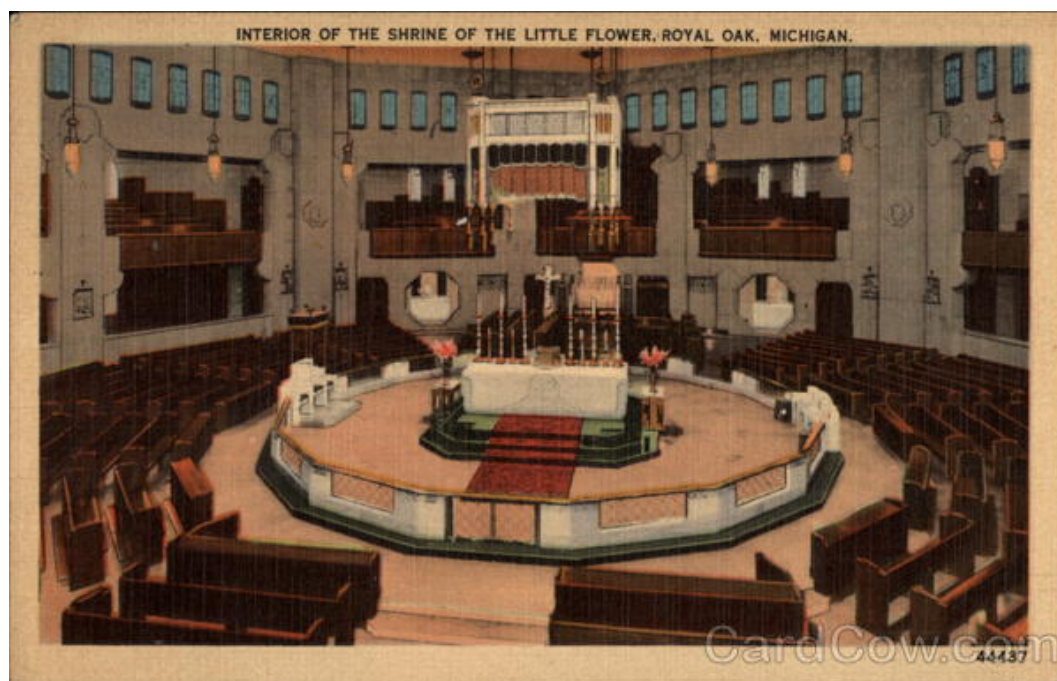
¹²³⁴ Marian T. Horvat, "Renouncing the Papacy, Benedict XVI Quotes Guardini," Tradition in Action, Accessed online 3/13/22: https://www.traditioninaction.org/HotTopics/f069_Guardini.htm

APPENDIX C



2nd century “Fractio Panis,” mural discovered in the Catacombs of Priscilla.¹²³⁵

APPENDIX D



1940 Postcard of the interior of the Shrine of the Little Flower interior in Royal Oak,
Michigan.¹²³⁶

¹²³⁵ “Fractio Panis,” Web Gallery of Art, accessed 3/13/22:

https://www.wga.hu/html_m/zearly/1/2mural/3priscil/1greek2.html

¹²³⁶ “Interior of the Shrine of the Little Flower,” Card Cow, accessed 3/13/22:

<https://www.cardcow.com/281885/interior-shrine-little-flower-royal-oak-michigan/>.

APPENDIX E

IV. — Aux Fêtes Doubles. 1.

(Cunctipotens Genitor Deus)

1. **K** Yri- e * e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Chrí-
 ste e- lé- i-son. *ij.* Ký-ri- e e-
 lé- i-son. *ij.* Ký-ri- e * ** e- lé- i-son.

X. 5.

The score as it looks in modern chant notation

A traditional Gregorian Chant setting.¹²³⁷

¹²³⁷ “Anonymous: Kyrie IV (Cunctipotens genitor),” Todd Tarantino, accessed 3/13/22: <http://www.toddtarantino.com/hum/kyrie4.html>.

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