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ARTYKUŁY · ARTICLES

REV. TOMASZ BAĆ

The Renewal of the Ambrosian and the Hispano-Mozarabic Liturgy after the Second Vatican Council

The renewal of the liturgy and its general reform made after the Second Vatican Council generally concerns the Roman Rite, which all instructions of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* refer to. The conciliar fathers were well aware of the fact that there is a need for renewing other rites and traditions existing in the Church.¹ In the introduction to the first conciliar constitution it was stated that: “In faithful obedience to tradition, the sacred Council declares that holy Mother Church holds all lawfully acknowledged rites to be of equal right and dignity; that she wishes to preserve them in the future and to foster them in every way. The Council also desires that, where necessary, the rites be revised carefully in the light of sound tradition, and that they be given new vigor to meet the circumstances and needs of modern times” (Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 4).

In the Latin Church, from among many local rites which, throughout centuries and alongside the Roman Rite, served as evidence of the richness of the Christian liturgy, tradition and culture, only two rites were

¹ In the context of liturgy renewal after the Second Vatican Council the terms “rite” and “liturgy” may be considered to be synonyms, although their meaning is not, in fact, identical; cf. A. M. Triacca, *La Liturgia ambrosiana*, [in:] *La Liturgia: panorama storico generale*, Genova 2002, p. 88 (Anàmnesis, 2).

preserved: the Ambrosian Rite, continuously practised in the greater part of the Archdiocese of Milan, Italy, and some parishes of adjacent dioceses and the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite, which is the everyday liturgy in one of the chapels in the Primate Cathedral in Toledo. These are the two “lawfully acknowledged rites” that article 4 of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy refers to.²

The sheer fact that in the Western Christianity traditions other than the Roman one were preserved is of great importance not only for the local churches in Milan and Toledo, but also for the Universal Church as a whole. That is why getting acquainted with the history and the fruits of the process of their renewal lets us perceive the 20th century liturgical reform in the Catholic Church in a broader light.

1. The Ambrosian and the Mozarabic Liturgy on the Threshold of the Conciliar Renewal

Despite the common foundation in the conciliar constitution, the renewal of the two rites was separate and had different dynamics, methodology and range. However, the most crucial difference between the two rites lies in the origin of the process of renewal. The Ambrosian Rite is the rite of the particular Church, which formed throughout centuries and was the basis of the Christian culture connected with Milan – one of the most important centres of Western Christianity. The Ambrosian Liturgy is rooted in the times of St. Ambrose, although the beginnings of its codification are connected with the liturgical reforms in the Latin Church in the Carolingian period, and its extremely dynamic development was never endangered.³ The Church in Milan has always had her own liturgical tradition, more or less respected by the Roman Church, and great pastors associated with it such as Carlo Borromeo († 1584), Andrea

² Cf. V. A. Lenti, *Liturgical Reform and the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites*, “Worship” 68 (1994), p. 418–419.

³ Cf. C. Krakowiak, *Ryt i liturgia ambrozjańska*, „Vox Patrum” 34–35 (1998), p. 156.

Carlo Ferrari († 1921) and Alfredo Ildefonso Schuster († 1954) not only guaranteed the preservation of this tradition, but also the development and enormous influence on the Christian identity of the faithful. What is more, the Christianity in Milan has always been integrally connected with the Ambrosian Rite. Many centuries of tradition and strong attachment of the clergy and the faithful form the basis of the strong drive to discover and renew *ambrosianum mysterium*, which means the most typical elements of Ambrosian culture, liturgy and spirituality. Because of that, right after the Second Vatican Council, the Church in Milan was faced with the necessity of rethinking her own liturgical identity.⁴

Due to the turbulent history of the Mozarabic Liturgy, its situation before Vaticanum II was completely different. The beginnings of Christianity on the Iberian Peninsula can be traced to the Apostolic times, and the Church in Spain flourished in the 6th and the 7th centuries. That is when her own liturgy reached its peak in the pastoral and theological dimensions.⁵ The great Fathers of the Visigothic period (from 589 to 711): Leander and Isidore of Seville and Eugenius, Ildefonsus and Julian of Toledo played an important part in the process of formation of the Spanish liturgy. The Arab seizure of the greater part of the Iberian Peninsula starting from 711 AD, as well as internal theological disputes in the Spanish Church, made the papacy more suspicious about the liturgy, which was already at that time referred to as *Mozarabic*, and was significantly different from the Roman one. The pressure from Rome and the growing influence of the Benedictines from Cluny resulted in the decision of the Council of Burgos in 1080 to substitute the traditional Spanish liturgy with the Roman one. It was part of the policy of Pope Gregory VII whose activities consistently aimed at building the unity of the Church based on the papal liturgy. Despite some problems, the decisions of the Council of Burgos were introduced almost in the whole, gradually reclaimed from the Arabs, kingdom of Alfonso VI. The only place where the celebration of the old Spanish rite remained unchanged was Toledo, conquered by

⁴ Cf. C. Alzati, *Il Lezionario della Chiesa ambrosiana: la tradizione liturgica e il rinnovato „ordo lectionum,”* Città del Vaticano-Milano 2009, p. 65.

⁵ Cf. J. Pinell, *La Liturgia ispanica*, [in:] *La Liturgia: panorama...*, op. cit., p. 73

Alfonso VI in 1085. It was the place where, despite the malevolence of the bishop, the monk from Cluny – Bernard de Sedirac, in six parishes the faithful were able to take part in the liturgy so dear to them.⁶ The next few centuries were the period of the fall of the Mozarabic liturgy. At the turn of the 15th and the 16th centuries Cardinal Francisco Ximénès de Cisneros decided to renew and publish Mozarabic liturgical books on the basis of the manuscripts he was familiar with, that came from one euchological tradition. In this way *Missale mixtum secundum regulam beati Isidori dictum mozárabe* (1500) and *Breviarium secundum regulam beati Isidori* (1502)⁷ were created. Cardinal Cisneros chose the *Corpus Christi* chapel in the Primate Cathedral of Toledo as a place for the daily celebration of the Holy Mass and the breviary offices in accordance with the renewed Mozarabic liturgical books.⁸ The task of taking care of the Mozarabic liturgy was given to the group of specially designated Chapter of canon priests. The following reform of the liturgical books, comprising in their republishing, was made by Cardinal Francisco de Lorenzana, who published *Breviarium gothicum* in 1775, and *Missale gothicum* in 1804.⁹ From the 11th up till the 20th century Toledo was the only place in which the ancient Spanish Church liturgy was continuously celebrated. The reforms, first of Cardinal Cisneros and then of Cardinal Lorenzana, were made in the spirit of the times in which they were introduced, so

⁶ They are traditional Mozarabic parishes of Toledo: Parish of St. Justa and Rufina, St. Eulalia, St. Luke, St. Mark, St. Torquatus and St. Sebastian. Apart from the *Corpus Christi* chapel in the Primate Cathedral of Saint Mary of Toledo, the Mozarabic liturgy is systematically celebrated in two more city parishes (Parish of St. Justa and Rufina and Parish of St. Eulalia).

⁷ They concerned the so-called Tradition “B,” included in the Mozarabic books of the Toledo parishes, which, most probably, originated in Seville. It is quite different from the so-called Tradition “A,” which comes from the north of Spain; Cf. J. Pinell, *Liturgia hispánica*, Barcelona 1998, p. 39–40.

⁸ Cf. Á. Fernández Collado, *La Catedral de Toledo en el siglo XVI: vida, arte y personas*, Toledo 1999, p. 129–130.

⁹ Cf. F. M. Arocena Solano, *Ryt hiszpańsko-mozarabski*, „Roczniki Liturgiczno-Homiletyczne” 1 (2010), p. 6–7.

one of their characteristics was obviously “romanisation,” which meant introducing elements characteristic for the Roman liturgy celebrated at that time in Toledo. In this way, on the threshold of the Second Vatican Council, the Mozarabic Liturgy celebrated in accordance with *Missale* and *Breviarium gothicum* kept its traditional euchology and the basic structure of *ordo missae*, however, the ritual form and many typically Roman ritual elements made it similar to the Roman liturgy of that time. It needs to be emphasised that, despite its limited range, the Mozarabic Liturgy is a real Liturgy of the Church – living and celebrated every day for many centuries.¹⁰ Its renewal in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council results directly from its vitality and its influence on the life and identity of the Spanish Church.

From the aforementioned historical conditions of the development of both liturgies we can easily conclude that both the range of the Mozarabic Rite as well as its form and influence on the spirituality of the faithful and their culture that have been taking place for almost a thousand years were much more limited than the same elements of the Ambrosian Rite. It is therefore no surprise that the post-conciliar liturgical renewal in the Ambrosian circles began as early as late nineteen sixties, while the need of reform of the Mozarabic Rite was not recognised till mid-seventies.

2. Common Elements for the Renewal of Both Rites

Despite many differences in the history of both non-Roman rites of the Latin Church, the post-conciliar renewal of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites points to the elements that the two Liturgies have in common. Firstly, the renewal itself is based on the deep theological reflection on the significance of the local Church – the result of both the conciliar Dogmatic Constitution on the Church *Lumen gentium* and the

¹⁰ Cf. G. Ramis, *Pervivencia y actualidad del rito hispano-mozárabe*, “Notitiae” 19 (1983), p. 283.

Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops *Christus Dominus*. It is thanks to the conciliar ecclesiological reflection that liturgy became the space of manifestation for the local Church, and, as a result, ancient and traditional rites were appreciated.¹¹ The experience of the Church in the 20th century clearly showed that liturgy can be renewed in the spirit of tradition only when the process has strong ecclesiological foundations. The process of renewal of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites was inspired by and based on the experiences of the reform of the Roman Liturgy, which was simultaneously taking place. What seems to be particularly important for the process itself is the way of interpreting the instructions of the Constitution on Liturgy, methodology of work, the choice of sources and the pastoral aspects of the renewal.¹²

The second element that the post-conciliar processes of renewal of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites have in common is the fact that both of them are based on source texts and historical research, at the same time attempting to preserve all that is unique and original for each of these traditions. Their renewal was possible due to intense historical, patristic and liturgical research on the beginnings and origins of both rites. The conducted historical research revealed the abundance of authentic Ambrosian and Mozarabic traditions, which made it obvious for the Churches in Milan and Toledo that their liturgical identity needed to be rethought in the spirit of the Second Vatican Council.¹³

Another common element of the renewal of the two rites are the great Church pastors, outstanding scholars and Spanish and Italian theologians, who initiated and conducted the process. The renewal of the Ambrosian Rite was initiated, and then supervised for a number of years, by Cardinal Giovanni Colombo, the Archbishop of Milan from 1963 to 1979.¹⁴ In

¹¹ Cf. C. Alzati, *Ambrosianum mysterium: la chiesa di Milano e la sua tradizione liturgica*, Milano 2000, p. 201.

¹² Cf. V. A. Lenti, *Liturgical Reform...*, op. cit., p. 418.

¹³ Cf. A. Ivorra, *A 20 años de la reforma del misal hispano-mozárabe*, "Studium Legionense" 53 (2011), p. 140–141.

¹⁴ The Archbishop of Milan holds the title of the "Chief of the Ambrosian Rite" (Italian: *Capo Rito Ambrosiano*). The reform initiated by Cardinal Colombo was continued by

this period, a group of excellent historians, liturgists and theologians, including Inos Biffi and Giacomo Biffi (who later became a cardinal and the Archbishop of Bologna), worked on the renewal of their own liturgical tradition.¹⁵ The renewal of the Hispano-Mozarabic rite was started and carried out with great determination by Cardinal Marcelo González Martín, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Primate of Spain from 1971 to 1995.¹⁶ Among the scholars-specialists, father Jordi Pinell, a Benedictine from the Catalan Abbey of Montserrat, was the one who had the greatest influence on the renewal of the Mozarabic Liturgy, through his historical and liturgical studies, personal involvement and determination.¹⁷

Despite the common elements, the processes of renewal of the two rites were autonomous, and the choices made at different stages of the reform resulted from the suggestions of the main – Roman – stream of the Church Liturgy renewal after *Vaticanum II*. Therefore, it seems expedient to present the reform of each of the rites separately.

3. The Ambrosian Liturgy Renewal and Its Results

The beginnings of the renewal and the reform of the Ambrosian Liturgy can be found in the activity of the representatives of the Liturgical Movement in the context of the Church of Milan, among whom the one

his successors: Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini and Cardinal Dionigi Tettamanzi, who promulgated the gradually renewed liturgical books.

¹⁵ It needs to be emphasised that the renewal of the Ambrosian Rite would not have been possible without the efforts of Pietro Borella, Angelo Paredi, Enrico Cattaneo, and among younger scholars: Marco Navoni, Claudio Magnoli and Cesare Alzati.

¹⁶ Cf. J. López Martín, *El „Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum” del Cardenal González Martín, „Salmaticensis”* 39 (1992), p. 273. The Archbishop of Toledo holds the title of the Hispano-Mozarabic Rite Superior (Spanish: *Superior Responsable del Rito Hispano-Mozárabe*).

¹⁷ A. Ivorra, *A 20 años...*, op. cit., p. 140. For many years J. Pinell was also a professor of the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Liturgy in Rome; cf. I. Scicolone, *Liturgia e poesia: il Prof. Jordi Pinell i Pons*, [in:] *Psallendum: miscellanea di studi in onore del prof. Jordi Pinell i Pons*, O.S.B., a cura di I. Scicolone, Roma 1992, p. 19–30.

who has affected the reforms the most is Cardinal Alfredo Ildefonso Schuster, the Archbishop of Milan from 1929 to 1954.¹⁸ He was the one who initiated and supported important historical and theological research on the Ambrosian liturgical heritage, as well as successive publishing of the liturgical sources of the Church in Milan.¹⁹ When the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy was proclaimed, the scholarly research on the Ambrosian Rite had been developing for many years and questions concerning the traditional rite arose. After the Second Vatican Council the Church in Milan considered resigning from the Ambrosian tradition and accepting in the Milan Church the renewed Roman Rite with some traditional Ambrosian elements preserved.²⁰ The discussions among the clergy concerning this issue were quite heated, which resulted in the interest of Pope Paul VI in the matter, partly due to the fact that he himself had been the Archbishop of Milan from 1954 to 1963. During the audience on 11 April 1970 the Pope made it clear that giving up the Ambrosian tradition was unacceptable, and the mission that the Church in Milan was facing was the renewal and the reform of her own liturgy. The Pope's attitude made it possible for Cardinal Colombo to initiate the process of the Ambrosian Rite renewal in the spirit of and in accordance with the norms laid down in the Conciliar Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium*.²¹

The aforementioned doubts and differences of opinions were crucial for the history of the Ambrosian Rite as thanks to them, on the threshold of the renewal, the reformers were not faced with institutional or legal problems, but with theological issues resulting from the awareness of liturgical autonomy of the Church in Milan, which was caused by opening to the conciliar ecclesiology, emphasising the role and significance

¹⁸ At the turn of the 19th and the 20th centuries serious studies on the origins of the Ambrosian Liturgy were conducted first by Antonio Maria Ceriani, and then by Marco Magistretti and Achille Ratti, who later became Pope Pius XI.

¹⁹ Cf. B. Neunheuser, *Riforme della liturgia ambrosiana: progetti – iniziative – realizzazioni – speranze*, [in:] *Studi Ambrosiani in onore di mons. P. Borella*, ed. C. Alzati, A. Majo, Milano 1982, p. 177–183.

²⁰ Cf. C. Alzati, *Il Lezionario della Chiesa ambrosiana...*, op. cit., p. 81–82.

²¹ Cf. C. Alzati, *Ambrosianum mysterium...*, op. cit., p. 202.

of local churches.²² For more than a thousand years the Ambrosian Rite has been a part of the tradition which shapes the identity of the Church in Milan and the position of the St. Ambrose Diocese in the spiritual and theological image of the Catholic Church. Its renewal, similarly to the renewal of the Roman Rite, was necessary and, at the same time, natural and could only be undertaken by the whole local church guided by their own pastor.²³ In the end, the reform and the renewal of the Ambrosian Liturgy was supposed to be based on three foundations. The first one was supposed to be the Ambrosian tradition of the local church, the second one – theological and pastoral criteria of the Second Vatican Council documents, and the third one – the changing social context of the contemporary world.²⁴ In this way the ‘preservation and renewal of the Ambrosian Liturgy’ that Cardinal Colombo mentioned in his pastoral letter to the clergy and the faithful of his Diocese on 21 November 1970 became possible.²⁵

The model for the renewal of the Ambrosian Liturgy was supposed to be the *Roman Missal* of Paul VI, published in 1970, in which the whole conciliar attempt to make liturgy the source of Christian life and strengthen the real participation of the faithful in the celebrated mysteries was reflected. In the attempt of taking advantage of the experiences gained during the renewal of the *Roman Missal*, in the aforementioned pastoral letter Cardinal Colombo set up the Committee for the Reform and Development of the Ambrosian Rite, which was responsible for preparing projects concerning reforms of particular elements of the Ambrosian Rite in order to present them for assessment in front of proper liturgical

²² More on the doubts caused by the Ambrosian Rite reform on the threshold of the conciliar renewal, cf. A. M. Triacca, *Riforma liturgica*, [in:] *Dizionario di liturgia ambrosiana*, a cura di M. Navoni, Milano 1996, p. 454–455.

²³ Cf. F. Dell’Oro, *Il nuovo Messale della Chiesa ambrosiana*, “Rivista Liturgica” 64 (1977), p. 538–539.

²⁴ Cf. A. M. Triacca, *La Liturgia ambrosiana...*, op. cit., p. 107.

²⁵ Cf. I. Biffi, *Il nuovo messale della Chiesa ambrosiana: spirito e principi della sua riforma*, “Ambrosius” 52 (1976), p. 81–82.

bodies of the St. Ambrose diocese.²⁶ It soon turned out that this method of work was not effective enough in the Church of Milan and, after one year of activity, the Committee was dissolved.²⁷ It was the turning point of the reform and the works continued under the supervision of Inos Biffi, together with a group of specialists on the Ambrosian Liturgy.²⁸ Thanks to their involvement in 1976 the renewed *Ambrosian Missal* was published.²⁹ Five years later its Latin version was released and in 1986 and 1990 – its two completed editions were published.³⁰

The renewal of the Missal is strongly connected with the renewal of the *Ambrosian Calendar*. In 1970 in Milan the new Roman Calendar, published a year before in accordance with the instructions of the Second Vatican Council and, to some extent, substituting the previous Calendar of Lombardy, was officially adopted. In this way, without much hesitation, crucial changes concerning the typical Ambrosian elements were implemented. Two of them were particularly important. Firstly, the characteristic six-week Advent in Milan was substituted with the Roman four weeks, and the Roman concept of ordinary time, previously uncustomary for the Ambrosian tradition, was introduced *per annum*. It was only after the intervention of Paul VI that Milan returned to its traditional six-week

²⁶ Cf. F. Dell'Oro, *Il nuovo Messale...*, op. cit., p. 540–543.

²⁷ Cf. ibidem, p. 545–546.

²⁸ Cf. B. Neunheuser, *Riforme della liturgia ambrosiana...*, op. cit., p. 184. At this stage of the reform Inos Biffi cooperated closely with Enrico Galbiatti, as well as Franco Brovelli and Gianfranco Ravasi.

²⁹ *Messale Ambrosiano secondo il rito della santa Chiesa di Milano, riformato a norma dei decreti del Concilio Vaticano II, promulgato dal Signor Cardinale Giovanni Colombo, Arcivescovo di Milano*, vol. 1–2, Milan 1976. The Missal starts with the pastoral letter of Cardinal Colombo, decrees of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments signed by its Prefect, Cardinal James Knox, *Norms and Rules of the Ambrosian Rite Use (Principi e norme pr l'uso del Messale Ambrosiano)* consisting of 354 points and *The General Norms of the Liturgical Year and Calendar (Norme generali per l'ordinamento dell'anno liturgico e del calendario)*.

³⁰ More on the completed editions of the *Ambrosian Missal*, cf. M. Navoni, *La seconda ristampa del Messale Ambrosiano*, "Ambrosius" 67 (1991), p. 152–177.

period of celebrating the Ambrosian Advent, but the issue of the typical for the Milan tradition period *de Tempore* needed to wait for the next thirty years to be addressed.³¹

The issue of a lectionary concordant with the tradition of the Church in Milan is an important aspect of the process of the renewal and reform of the Ambrosian Rite. The first lectionary, so far *ad experimentum*, was published together with the Missal in 1976.³² It contained only the structure of the Lent, Octave of Easter and the Easter Time and some traditional elements of the celebrations connected with the mystery of the Lord's Nativity. In the remaining liturgical times the *Roman Lectionary* used in other Italian dioceses was reached for.³³ For the fully renewed Ambrosian *ordo lectionum* Milan had to wait for more than thirty years. After decades of intensive works and studies,³⁴ on Maundy Thursday 2008 Cardinal Dionigi Tettamanzi promulgated the final form of the *Ambrosian Lectionary*, which contained all times of the Liturgical Year and fully preserved many elements traditional for the Liturgy of the Word characteristic of the Church in Milan.³⁵ At this stage the reform of the Ambrosian Rite was complete. It had come over the temporary and partial character of its lectionary from 1976, which in 2008 gave the church communities celebrating the Ambrosian Rite a complete and characteristic system of

³¹ Cf. N. Valli, "Redemptionis enim nostrae magna mysteria celebramus": il ciclo *de Tempore* nella liturgia ambrosiana, "Rivista Liturgica" 96 (2009), p. 508.

³² *Lezionario Ambrosiano edito per ordine del Sig. Cardinale Giovanni Colombo Arcivescovo di Milano: ad experimentum*, Milano 1976.

³³ Cf. C. Alzati, *Il Lezionario della Chiesa ambrosiana...*, op. cit., p. 83–84.

³⁴ Cf. C. Magnoli, *Piccola guida al nuovo Lezionario ambrosiano*, Milano 2008, p. 7–10.

³⁵ *Lezionario Ambrosiano secondo il rito della santa Chiesa di Milano, riformato a norma dei decreti del Concilio Vaticano II promulgato dal Signor Cardinale Dionigi Tettamanzi, Arcivescovo di Milano e Capo Rito*, Milano 2008. The pastoral letter of Cardinal Tettamanzi, the decree of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments signed by its Prefect Francis Arinze, as well as the *Introduction* (*Messale Ambrosiano, Lezionario, Premesse*) consisting of 231 points, were also published in the first volume.

scripture readings for the whole Liturgical Year.³⁶ Although publishing the *Ambrosian Lectionary* provoked numerous discussions among specialists,³⁷ required openness from particular communities, as well as implementing and accepting quite serious changes in the content and structure of the Liturgy of the Word, it can be said that the new lectionary was universally well received in all the places where the Ambrosian Rite is celebrated.

The next element of the Ambrosian Liturgy reform after the Second Vatican Council is the renewal of the *Liturgy of the Hours according to the Rite of the Holy Church in Milan*. Throughout the centuries, the Ambrosian Liturgy preserved rich traditions concerning *officium divinum*. However, after *Vaticanum II*, parallelly to the reform of the Roman Liturgy, the Ambrosian clergy, in a way spontaneously, turned to the Roman *Liturgia horarum*, considering it to be in more agreement with contemporary spirituality and the character of pastoral work. Roman *Officium divinum* in connection with the Ambrosian Missal and Calendar formed a kind of anomaly, which disturbed the liturgical unity of the Church in Milan.³⁸ The renewal of the Liturgy of the Hours became a natural consequence of the general process of the renewal of the Ambrosian Rite, which had been taking place since 1970. The renewal of the Ambrosian officium was faced with some difficulties, comparable with the renewal of the missal. Initially, of Cardinal Colombo's will and following the advice of Paul VI, from 1973 the issue of the breviary reform was entrusted to Aimé Georges Martimort, whose project turned out to be similar to the renewed Roman *Liturgy of the Hours*. For fear of the threat to the Ambrosian identity of the office, the works of Martimort's Committee were suspended in 1977

³⁶ Cf. C. Magnoli, *Il Lezionario ambrosiano per i tempi liturgici*, "Rivista Liturgica" 96 (2009), p. 488.

³⁷ Cardinal Giacomo Biffi was, apart from other scholars, one of the critics of the new Lectionary. Cesare Alzati, the main architect of the renewal of the Ambrosian liturgy of the word, entered into a dispute with the Cardinal. Traces of their opinion exchange can be found in press publications from 2010; cf. <http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/1342120> (17 Jan 2013).

³⁸ Cf. A. M. Triacca, *Ambrosiana, liturgia*, [in:] *Liturgia*, a cura di D. Sartore, A. M. Triacca, C. Cibien, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano) 2001, p. 29.

by the then secretary of the Ambrosian Rite Congregation and auxiliary bishop of Milan Giacomo Biffi.³⁹ He was the one who continued the works on completing the reform of the Ambrosian *officium divinum* since 1980. The first outcome of the reform was completing the works on the office of lauds, minor hours, vespers according to the psalter divided into four weeks, as well as the compline and some offices connected with the liturgical year, published in 1981 under the title referring to the Milan tradition - *Diurna laus*. Between 1983 and 1984 Cardinal Carlo Maria Martini promulgated the renewed five-volume *Liturgy of the Hours according to the Holy Ambrosian Church Rite*.⁴⁰ The book of the *Liturgy of the Hours* perfectly inscribes in the tradition of the Church in Milan, at the same time bearing great similarity to the reformed Roman *officium divinum* earlier introduced in the universal Church. The wide range of texts of the Ambrosian origin, the return to the foundations of the prayer characteristic for the Milan Church, and wide celebratory possibilities make the renewed Liturgy of the Hours a ripe fruit of reflection on the liturgical identity of the local church. The clergy and the communities of the Ambrosian Rite have been using it for almost thirty years with no need of reaching for the Roman office.

During the process of the Ambrosian Rite renewal other liturgical books were also prepared, and were gradually published and introduced for use during celebrations. Among them we can find *Funeral rituals* (1977 and 2002) and *First Communion and The Worship of the Eucharist Outside Mass* (1984), as well as semi-official books containing the traditional Ambrosian chant.⁴¹ Till now some of the liturgical books of the Church in Milan have not been renewed, so we can say that the post-conciliar liturgical reform is still in progress. It needs to be kept in mind that the publication of liturgical books is not only accompanied by extensive re-

³⁹ Cf. C. Alzati, *Ambrosianum mysterium...*, op. cit., Milano 2000, p. 205.

⁴⁰ *Liturgia delle ore secondo il rito della santa Chiesa ambrosiana, riformata a norma dei decreti del Concilio Vaticano II e promulgata dal Cardinale Carlo Maria Martini Arcivescovo di Milano*, t. 1–5, Milano 1983–1984.

⁴¹ Cf. A. M. Triacca, *Ambrosiana, liturgia...*, op. cit., p. 35–36.

search, but also by the liturgical formation of the faithful, which can be seen in numerous works on the renewed Ambrosian Liturgy.⁴²

4. The Hispano-Mozarabic Liturgy Renewal and Its Results

The renewal process of the ancient Mozarabic Liturgy needs to be analysed in the context of the renewal of the Roman and the Ambrosian Rites, since it began in the mid-seventies, when the renewed Roman and Ambrosian missals were already being used in liturgy. The Church reform after the Second Vatican Council strongly influenced the way of perceiving liturgy as the essence of the ecclesiastical identity. The church in Spain was strongly influenced by this change of attitude, as it had in its possession the incredibly valuable Mozarabic Liturgy, which for centuries had been seen as venerable antiquity and archaeological relic rather than the living liturgy that has the power to influence the lives and the faith of Christian communities.

Presenting the process of the Mozarabic Liturgy renewal different authors tend to present it in a broader historical context, mentioning its various stages: pre-history, history and contemporary times.⁴³ The pre-historical stage of the Mozarabic Liturgy renewal is reflected in the 20th century academic and pastoral interest in the Mozarabic Rite in the whole Spain, which in many places – after receiving the approval of the Congregation of Rites – initiated the celebration of the liturgy in accordance with the existing liturgical books.⁴⁴ The climax of this process was

⁴²Sussidi Liturgici collection of the Publishing House Ancora in Milan can serve as an example of a publication providing introduction to the renewed Ambrosian liturgy of the word.

⁴³ Cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe en el contexto del movimiento litúrgico*, [in:] *El movimiento litúrgico y la reforma litúrgica*, Barcelona 2009, p. 110.

⁴⁴ Cf. M. Ramos, *Revisión “ex integro” de la liturgia hispano-mozárabe*, “Ephemerides Liturgicae” 99 (1985), p. 508–509.

the celebration of the Holy Mass in the Mozarabic Rite in the conciliar auditorium, in front of all the Fathers of *Vaticanum II*, on 15 October 1963.⁴⁵ Two events of academic character had a strong impact on the decision to renew the Mozarabic Rite. The first one was the I International Congress on Mozarabs, which was held in Toledo in 1975⁴⁶; the second one was funding and the activity of the St. Eugene Institute of Visigoth and Mozarabic Studies.⁴⁷ The research on the origins of the Mozarabic Liturgy, conducted in the atmosphere of the conciliar renewal, became the next step towards the reform of the Mozarabic Rite. On 12 July 1982 Cardinal González Martín set up the Committee for the Mozarabic Rite Reform, the aim of which was the revision and renewal of the liturgical books used in the Mozarabic Liturgy celebration.⁴⁸ The President of the Committee was the Cardinal himself, its works were supervised by Jordi Pinell, and Gabriel Ramis acted as its secretary.⁴⁹ The main goal of the Committee was preparing a new edition of the missal, as well as the renewed ritual of baptism, confirmation, marriage and funeral. The renewal of order rituals was not taken into consideration, as in the current

⁴⁵ Cf. F. Fernández Serrano, *Documentos del rito mozárabe en el entorno del Concilio Vaticano II*, [in:] *Liturgia y musica mozárabes. Ponencias y Comunicaciones presentadas al I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozárabe. Toledo 1975*, Toledo 1978, p. 228.

⁴⁶ During the Congress father Pinell gave his famous lecture on the need of the Mozarabic Rite renewal; cf. J. Pinell, *El problema de las dos tradiciones el antiguo rito hispánico. Valoración documental de la tradición, en vistas de una eventual revisión del Ordinario del la Misa mozárabe*, [in:] *Liturgia y musica mozárabes...*, op. cit., p. 3–44.

⁴⁷ Instituto de Estudios Visigótico-Mozárabes de S. Eugenio established on 9 June 1977, is thought to be the result of the 1975 Congress; cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe en el contexto...*, op. cit., p. 114.

⁴⁸ Cf. A. Ivorra, *A 20 años...*, op. cit., p. 139.

⁴⁹ Cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe*, [in:] *La reforma litúrgica: una mirada hacia el futuro*, Bilbao 2001, p. 158–160. During the eleven years of its activity, the Committee had the following members: José Aldazábal, Antonio Cabrera, Jaime Colomina, Jordi Gibert, Balbino Gómez-Chacón, Andrés Pardo, Jordi Pinell, Gabriel Ramis, Manuel Ramos, Cleofé Sánchez, Jaime Sancho, Lamberto de Echevarría, Manuel-Francisco Sánchez, Juan-Miguel Ferrer, Juan-Javier Flores, Javier Altés and Juan María Canals.

situation of the Spanish Church it would be difficult to imagine deacon or presbyter ordination in the Mozarabic Rite, not to mention the ordination of bishops. Similarly, the ritual of the anointing of the sick was not prepared either, since no such need was recognised. Nor was the ritual of penance, due to the theological and historical problems associated with it. During the works on the reform of the Mozarabic Rite the process of the breviary renewal was not initiated.⁵⁰

The Committee for the Mozarabic Rite Reform worked intensively for a few years in communication with the Vatican Congregation for Divine Worship, and, as a result of its efforts, the renewed liturgical books of the Mozarabic tradition were published. In 1991 the first volume of the renewed *Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum* was released.⁵¹ In the same year the first volume of the renewed Lectionary appeared, under the traditional for the Mozarabic Liturgy title *Liber Commicus*. Both these books contained the euchology and readings of the *de Tempore* cycle.⁵² In 1994 the second volume of *Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum* was published, and in 1995 – the second volume of *Liber Commicus*.⁵³ In both these books a much greater emphasis was put on the use of liturgical sources than in case of the Ambrosian Liturgy. That is why both in the structure of celebration and in the texts one can notice incredible variety, characteristic for the Mozarabic tradition almost from the very beginning.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe en el contexto...*, op. cit., p. 118–119.

⁵¹ *Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum*, vol. 1, ed. Conferencia Episcopal Española – Arzobispado de Toledo 1991. The Missal was preceded by the introduction of Cardinal González Martín and the decrees of the then President of the Spanish Episcopal Conference Cardinal Ángel Suquía Goicoechea and the Prefect of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments Cardinal Eduard Martínez Somalo. The book included *Praenotanda* consisting of 170 points.

⁵² *Liber Commicus*, vol. 1, ed. Conferencia Episcopal Española – Arzobispado de Toledo 1991.

⁵³ *Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum*, vol. 2, ed. Conferencia Episcopal Española – Arzobispado de Toledo 1994; *Liber Commicus*, vol. 2, ed. Conferencia Episcopal Española – Arzobispado de Toledo 1995.

⁵⁴ Cf. V. A. Lenti, *Liturgical Reform...*, op. cit., p. 426.

Since the missal and the lectionary are the only liturgical books of the Mozarabic tradition renewed after *Vaticanum II*, many of the aims of the reform have not been achieved. The rites of the Christian initiation and marriage were prepared by the Committee, but were never presented in front of the Spanish Episcopal Conference, and, as a result, could not have been approved by the Holy See. The reform of the funeral rite has never moved beyond the project stage.⁵⁵

This phase of the reform was crowned with the celebration of the Eucharist in accordance with the new *Missale Hispano-Mozarabicum*, which was presided by Pope John Paul II on the 28 May 1992 in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome.⁵⁶ Despite the fact that the missal and the lectionary of the Mozarabic Rite were published, the reform itself was not complete. Since 1993 further works connected with the renewal and appropriate celebration of the Rite have been supervised by the Committee for the Continuation of the Mozarabic Rite Reform.⁵⁷

5. The Ambrosian and the Mozarabic Rite Today – Future Perspectives

The Ambrosian Liturgy is currently celebrated in the whole Archdiocese of Milan and in more than one hundred parishes from neighbouring dioceses. It is therefore a living liturgy, forming great cultural and spiritual

⁵⁵ Cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe en el contexto...*, op. cit., p. 118.

⁵⁶ Cf. J. Colomina Torner, 1992: *Toledo mozárabe en Roma*, „Toletum” 28 (1992), p. 153–154.

⁵⁷ The so-called Comisión de seguimiento, the members of which are chosen Mozarabic priests from Toledo. It fulfils the instructions of *Praenotanda* 158–170 (*El Misal Hispano-Mozárabe. Prenotandos*, Barcelona 2002, p. 59–62) concerning the norms connected with the practical use of the renewed missal, both in Spain and abroad; cf. G. Ramis, *La reforma del rito hispano-mozárabe en el contexto...*, op. cit., p. 119.

heritage of the Church in Milan.⁵⁸ Its reform and renewal were necessary, so that it could express *ambrosianum mysterium* at the same time responding to contemporary conditions and needs. The analysis of the whole process, especially of its turbulent beginning, convinces us that the Ambrosian Rite is deeply rooted in the devotion and spirituality of the faithful.

The aim of the renewal of the Mozarabic Liturgy after *Vaticanum II* was not an attempt to restore the rite in the whole Spain. It never seemed justified, or even possible. Specific liturgical tradition is an important element of the Christian patrimonium of Spain, therefore, the reflexion on its origins and its development became a way of discovering the richness of tradition maintained by the Church. Today the Hispano-Mozarabic Liturgy is celebrated every day only in Toledo and at regular intervals in Madrid and Salamanca.⁵⁹ Occasional celebrations are organised in other parts of Spain. The post-conciliar reform drew people's attention to the existence of the almost forgotten rite of the Spanish Church and to its pastoral influence on the faithful living in the 20th and the 21st century.

The outcome of the process is much more than publishing the liturgical books – it is also the extension of the local Church theology. Despite the fact that there is still much work connected with the renewal of both rites, the liturgical identity of the faithful formed in the liturgical Ambrosian and Hispano-Mozarabic spirituality grew stronger thanks to the Second Vatican Council and the reform. The liturgical heritage of Milan and Toledo cannot be seen merely as a treasure to be preserved and protected. It must also be appreciated as a clear expression of spirituality and ecclesiastical awareness.

Looking at the process of renewal of both liturgies from today's perspective, it seems that it needs to develop in two main directions. The first one is the continuation of academic research on sources, the second one

⁵⁸ Cf. M. Mauri, *La geografia del rito ambrosiano*, "Rivista Liturgica" 96 (2009), p. 657. There are a few million faithful living in the Ambrosian Rite area.

⁵⁹ Cf. A. Ivorra, *A 20 años...*, op. cit., p. 161. Currently about one thousand families belong to the two Mozarabic parishes of Toledo. Half of them live in Toledo, about two hundred families – in Madrid, and others – in different parts of Spain; cf. R. Gómez-Ruiz, *Mozarabs, Hispanics, and the Cross*, Maryknoll NY 2007, p. 6–7.

– the formation of the faithful to participation in the liturgy and to its better understanding. The second direction of development seems to be particularly important, as, in a way, it makes the wishes of the conciliar Fathers come true, since from the very beginning the main aim of the reform was supposed to be the “new vigor to meet the circumstances and needs of modern times” (SC 4).

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KS. TOMASZ BAĆ

Summary

The Renewal of the Ambrosian and the Hispano-Mozarabic Liturgy after the Second Vatican Council

The reform of the Catholic liturgy following the Second Vatican Council was primarily concerned with the Roman Rite, but two other liturgical traditions of the Western Church – the Ambrosian Rite in Milan and the Mozarabic Rite in Toledo – also required renewal. The revision of the Roman liturgical books was followed by a similar revision of the Ambrosian Missal, Lectionary, Liturgy of the Hours and the rituals of some sacraments. The renewed Mozarabic missal and lectionary (*Liber Commicus*) were published between 1991 and 1995. The reform of the Ambrosian and Mozarabic Rites in the past forty years has shown the liturgy as one of the most important components of the identity of the local Church.

Keywords

Ambrosian Liturgy, Ambrosian Rite, Mozarabic Liturgy, Mozarabic Rite, liturgical reform, liturgical renewal, Second Vatican Council

Streszczenie

Odnowa liturgii ambrożyjskiej i hiszpańsko-mozarabskiej po Soborze Watykańskim II

Reforma liturgii katolickiej po Soborze Watykańskim II odnosiła się przede wszystkim do obrządku rzymskiego, ale odnowy wymagały także dwie pozostałe tradycje liturgiczne Kościoła zachodniego: obrządek ambrożyjski w Mediolanie i obrządek mozarabski w Toledo. Odnowa rzymskich ksiąg liturgicznych stała się wzorem dla reformy ksiąg ambrożyjskich: mszału, lekcjonarza, liturgii godzin oraz rytuałów niektórych sakramentów. Odnowione mozarabskie księgi liturgiczne: mszał i lekcjonarz (*Liber Commicus*) zostały natomiast opublikowane między rokiem 1991 a 1995. Posoborowa reforma rytu ambrożyjskiego i mozarabskiego dokonana w ciągu ostatnich czterdziestu lat jest świadectwem tego, że liturgia należy do najważniejszych fundamentów tożsamości Kościoła lokalnego.

Słowa kluczowe

Liturgia ambrożyjska, ryt ambrożyjski, liturgia mozarabska, ryt mozarabski, reforma liturgiczna, odnowa liturgiczna, Sobór Watykański II

REV. ROMAN BOGACZ

Second Vatican Council Fathers and Their Concern about Catholic Biblical Studies

The decision of Pope John XXIII to convoke the Second Vatican Council was made with care about the Church in heart. It was necessary to reform a number of aspects of Church life, such as liturgy and prayer, but it was also crucial to reform and alter theology, being the whole Catholic doctrine, and its approach to different fields of science. The Sacred Scripture is the foundation of theology. Despite different efforts that had been made since the proclamation of Pope Leo XIII Encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* (1893), the Catholic Biblical Studies were left behind the rapidly developing Protestant Biblical Studies. The following text is merely a summary of all the efforts of the Church that had to be made, in order for the Catholic Biblical Studies to meet the requirements that they were faced with. Apart from the documents of the Church prepared for various conciliar sessions, working on this article the author used two other books, both published in Polish: *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka* by rev. Eugeniusz Dąbrowski¹ and a collective work, published thanks to the efforts of the Polish Theological Society, entitled *Idee przewodnie soborowej Konstytucji o Bożym Objawieniu*.²

¹ E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, Poznań-Warszawa-Lublin 1967.

² K. Wojtyła i inni, *Idee przewodnie soborowej Konstytucji o Bożym Objawieniu*, Kraków 1968.

1. Before the Council

Fifty years after the Encyclical of Leo XIII was released, a difficult and tempestuous conflict concerning the Bible and natural sciences was taking place. Attempts were made to prove the Bible inerrant in all fields. The conflict was finally resolved by Pope Pius XII, who published the Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) in which he clearly stated that the aim of the authors of the Bible, inspired by the Holy Spirit, was not presentation of natural science facts, but, most importantly, revelation of God and guiding people to salvation.

Before the Council biblicalists had to face new problems that had arisen. The development of archaeology and new discoveries called for the confrontation if the history presented in the Bible, being the history of salvation, corresponds with data revealed by the archaeological discoveries made. The works in Jericho turned out to be problematic, as they proved that the city was destroyed in 15th century B.C. In that case, when did the Israelites flee from Egypt? Does the order of events in the Bible comply with the history discovered by different scientific methods supporting history? In the attempt of solving the difficult historical issues, some exegetes, in their search for the truth, began to analyse the question of literary genres in the Sacred Books. It initially caused many objections among biblicalists.³ Moreover, the application of the historical-critical method was strongly criticised. One Italian author claimed that the Sacred Scripture ought to be commented on in the form of mystically - pious deliberations.⁴ However, Pope Pius XII found his claims in opposition with the doctrine of the Catholic Church and ordered to put his work in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*. What is more, the Pontifical Biblical Commission was ordered to prepare a special letter addressed to Italian bishops, in which the Commission explained that the literal sense of the

³ Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 49.

⁴ Rev. Dolindo Ruotolo, under a pseudonym 'Da'ın Cohenel', published a thirteen-volume commentary on the Sacred Scripture in which he criticised Catholic biblical schools, including the Pontifical Biblical Institute in Rome, accusing them of implementing harmful rationalism in the Catholic teachings.

text of the Bible must first be determined, and only then is it possible to proceed with further mystical analysis.⁵ Two years later the Encyclical *Divino afflante Spiritu* was published, in which the Pope commanded the exegetes who knew the original languages of the Sacred Scripture and were working on explaining and commenting on the text of the Bible to focus on determining the literal meaning of the text, and then, to work on the theological content, teaching about the faith and tradition. He also urged them not to focus only on finding coherence between the biblical texts and natural science, history or philosophy.

After World War II the Pontifical Biblical Institute played an important role in Rome. It gathered outstanding biblicists and it became an important Catholic scholarly centre. However, among the Institute members heated discussions took place. One of them was provoked by an article prepared by L. Alonso Schökel, a professor of PBI, entitled: *Dove va l'esegesi cattolica?*⁶ Answering the question posed in the title of the article: where is the Catholic exegesis going?, the author elaborated on the problem with great care. He showed that exegesis is fulfilling the commands of the Encyclical of Pius XII *Divino afflante Spiritu*. In his article, he included personal views and judgements of different authors working on biblical issues. It raised even greater controversy, especially among the more conservative authors, who were concerned about the Catholic faith and its stability, if Catholic exegesis were to follow the Protestant one. One of the opponents was Antonino Romeo, who stated that L. Alonso Schökel, M. Zerwick, S. Lyonet, J. Levi were making a number of exegetic mistakes, which by no means could comply with the Catholic faith.⁷ The objections against each of them were specified and stated clearly. E. Vogt commented on the matter on behalf of the Pontifical Biblical Institute. He explained A. Romeo's objections in a detailed manner. His presentation

⁵ Pius XII, *Litterae ad Archiepiscopos et Episcopos Italiae* (20 August 1941), [in:] *Enchiridion Biblicum. Documenti della Chiesa sulla Sacra Scrittura*, Bologna 1993, no. 522–533.

⁶ L. Alonso Schökel, *Dove va l'esegesi cattolica*, "La Civiltà Cattolica" 111 (1960), p. 449–460.

⁷ A. Romeo, *L'Enciclica "Divino afflante Spiritu" e le "Opiniones Novae"*, Roma 1960.

was supported by the representatives of the Pontifical Biblical Commission. Since the discussions were still taking place, the Pontifical Biblical Institute published an official response to allegations made.⁸ With an intention of terminating all discussions, the Congregation of the Holy Office published a general notice on 20 June 1961.⁹ As a result, A. Romeo was silenced and stopped provoking discussions, a few months later, however, M. Zerwick and S. Lyonnet lost their right to lecture in PBI.

During the period directly preceding the Second Vatican Council, the question of co-ordinating all data concerning Jesus Christ that appeared in the Gospels was an important issue for Catholic Biblical Studies. In the hitherto Catholic exegesis the Gospels were treated strictly as chronicle writings, but there are discrepancies between some facts from Jesus' life, e.g. descriptions of His childhood and the Passion. Trying to apply new exegetical methods, the literary genres of particular fragments of the Bible were being analysed. Questions arose whether it was speech or rather written descriptions of events that had a more historical character. A detailed analysis of this problem seems like a fascinating task. It was, unfortunately, impossible to include a minute description of all disputes concerning this problem in this short article.¹⁰

2. The Council and the Biblical Studies

The controversies preceding the Second Vatican Council partly determined the issues that the Council Fathers had to take care of in order for the Catholic Biblical Studies to be able to face the challenges that rapidly

⁸ *Pontificium Institutum Biblicum et recens libellus R.mi D.ni A. Romeo*, "Verbum Domini" 39 (1961), p. 3–17.

⁹ *Enchiridion Biblicum*, no. 634.

¹⁰ An example of an attempt to synchronise the events from the life of Jesus is a small publication by J. Steinmann, *La vie de Jésus*, Paris 1959. E. Dąbrowski is highly critical towards the methodology applied in this booklet; cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 64–65. Nowadays both the booklet's content and the methodology used would probably be more easily accepted.

developing science had posed. The problem of the Bible versus natural science, history, and rapidly developing archaeology had to be addressed and solved. The problem of the historical accuracy of data included in the Gospels was an important issue. Another thing was the analysis of the process of writing the Gospels, as well as the Old Testament Books. Catholic biblicists were still unable to apply research data on biblical literary genres to their biblical texts analysis. In their analyses they were often restricted by authoritarian commands of Church authorities.

2.1. Disputes and controversies

Cardinal E. Ruffini,¹¹ only days before the Council, published a conservative article in which he criticised the efforts of biblicists based on the attempt to apply literary genres to research on historical biblical books. The criticised biblicists were the ones trying to separate in biblical texts historical data from the narrative, in which the details presented are often inconsistent with historical research.

In the presence of huge criticism of the Protestant exegesis concerning historicity of the Bible, Cardinal A. Bea published a memorial on: *L'historicité des Evangiles*. The aim of this publication was providing the Council Fathers with pastoral material which could be taken into consideration during their proceedings. In his text, cardinal A. Bea criticised the method of the history of form, established by the Protestant circles for the analysis of the Gospels. He also discussed the issue of historical accuracy of the Gospel, especially the credibility of Jesus' words quoted in the Bible (*ipsissima verba Jesu*). In his work he does not rule out that some statements and expressions might have been modified. In his text, the author seems very careful while formulating opinions, although he clearly states that this broader perception of the quoted words of Jesus does not exclude the truth of biblical inspiration that the Books were written under.

¹¹ E. Ruffini, *Generi letterari e ipotesi di lavoro nei recenti studi biblici*, „L'Osservatore Romano,” 24 VIII 1961.

The most important achievement of the Second Vatican Council concerning biblical issues is the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, promulgated during the penultimate session on 18 November 1965. The works on the Constitution went on for the whole period of the conciliar proceedings. They started during the first conciliar session on 14 November 1962. The Theological Commission prepared a Schema entitled *De fontibus Revelationis*. The works on the Schema were supervised by Cardinal A. Ottaviani. Other Commissions assisted in the process. The Schema consisted of five chapters:

- I. Two Sources of Revelation
- II. Inspiration, Inerrancy and Biblical Genres
- III. The Old Testament
- IV. The New Testament
- V. Sacred Scripture and the Church

Since Cardinal A. Ottaviani's eyesight was poor, during the session on 14 November 1962 the Schema was read by the biblicist, then well-known in Rome, S. Garofalo. The atmosphere surrounding the works on the Sacred Scripture was so tense that heated discussions were still very common. Some theologians even tried to prepare their own schema projects, which, however, were never officially presented or discussed.

After the first Schema reading the majority of Council Fathers savaged the text, which was thought to be far too conservative. Among the Cardinals who were very critical towards the text's conservative form there were: Cardinal J. Frings from Cologne, P. E. Léger from Montreal, F. König from Vienna, A. Bea from Rome and many others. Among the supporters there were: E. Ruffini from Palermo, G. Siri from Genoa and F. Quiroga y Palacios from Santiago de Compostela.¹²

The disputes showed numerous discrepancies and divisions among the Council Fathers. Further discussions were attempted, but they did not lead to any kind of compromise, quite the contrary, they revealed even greater differences of opinions. It was quite clear that some bishops were in favour of the conservative and careful approach to research on the Sacred Scripture, and, as a result, aimed at preserving the hitherto

¹² Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 114–115.

achievements in the field of theology and Biblical Studies. Others opted for greater freedom and development in research on the Bible, advocating the application of the recent historical and archaeological discoveries into the works on biblical texts analysis, and supporting the investigation of literary genres and forms used in the Bible. On 20 November 1962 the voting was held. 1368 bishops voted against the Schema, 822 wanted to continue working on the prepared document. About 100 more votes were needed to reject the Schema, so the works on it continued. A mixed commission was appointed. Its works were supervised by Cardinal A. Ottaviani and Cardinal A. Bea. Two months later the commission agreed on all issues, except for the problem of the relationship between the Sacred Scripture and Tradition and vice versa.¹³

One of the basic arguments against the Schema was the fact that, although the title clearly stated that it was the Schema on Divine Revelation, this particular issue was not addressed. The Fathers pointed out that there was no need to determine this relationship. Moreover, it was noticed that the Schema did not discuss the question of inspiration enough, as it mostly repeated the statements included in the Encyclical of Leon XIII *Providentissimus Deus*. The inerrancy of the Sacred Scripture and its extent were not determined either.

2.2. Pilgrimage of Pope Paul VI to the Holy Land

The Second Vatican Council, especially the part concerning biblical issues, was of great importance for the organisation of Pope's Pilgrimage to the Holy Land from 4 to 6 January 1964. In the speech closing the second conciliar session the Pope specified the aim of his trip and his wish to personally relive the most important mysteries of salvation, to invite those who were disconnected from the Church and to offer His Church to Christ in the place where He Himself was born and died, and having risen from the dead, ascended to Heaven, asking Him to keep the peace.¹⁴

¹³ Cf. A. Wenger, *Vatican II. Première Session (L'Eglise en son temps)*, Paris 1963, p. 116–117.

¹⁴ Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 139.

It is noteworthy that the situation in the Holy Land was very complicated at that time. In 1948 the State of Israel was re-established and it was in the state of war with Jordan. The most important for all Christians holy places in Jerusalem and Bethlehem were located in Jordan. Galilee, however, was located in Israel. Considering the terribly complicated political situation of this area, the Pope distanced himself completely from all kinds of political issues, giving his Pilgrimage a purely religious character.

The Pope's Pilgrimage began in Amman, where the Pope landed with his companions. Then he could relive the experience of the Chosen Nation entering the Promised Land by crossing the River Jordan. It is also the place of John the Baptist's activity. The Holy Father visited Jericho, and then, crossing the Judean Desert, he went to Bethany. He stayed in the building of the Apostolic Delegation, located right next to the Mount of Olives, which made it possible for him to visit different Christian sanctuaries situated on the Mount of Olives. He participated in the Way of the Cross and prayed in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The next part of the Pilgrimage led him through the territory of Israel. The president of Israel welcomed the Pope in Tel Megiddo. From there the Holy Father went to Nazareth, and then to Capernaum, having passed Tiberias, Tabgha and the Mount of Beatitudes. On the next day the Pope participated in the cruise on the Sea of Galilee. The next stage of his Pilgrimage was Mount Tabor, and, after his return to Jerusalem, the Pope visited the Cenacle, which was then located within the borders of Israel.

On 6 January 1964 pope Paul VI visited Bethlehem. Having returned to his residence on the Mount of Olives, he met with Patriarch Athenagoras I of Constantinople, as one of the aims of his Pilgrimage was bringing different fractions of Christianity closer. The two meetings with Patriarch Athenagoras took place on 5 and 6 January 1964. They were of paramount importance for the proceedings of the Second Vatican Council, the character of which became more ecumenical and tightened the relations between the Western and the Eastern Churches.

The Pilgrimage of Paul VI revealed the need of getting to know the Holy Land, its history and archaeology, in the research on the Sacred Scripture. It also emphasised the fact that the care about the Catholic faith must be expressed by the care about the unity of the Church. It is

therefore worth the efforts of all Christian biblicists to try to find the scientific truth included in the Sacred Books.

2.3. Tasks of Catholic Exegetes in the Light of the Instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *On the Historical Truth of the Gospels Sancta Mater Ecclesia*

On 21 April 1964 the Pontifical Biblical Commission published the Instruction in which it presented the tasks and the mission of the exegetes who decide to do research on the text of the Gospel. The document was published in response to undermining the value of historical data in the Gospel, as well as impairing the authenticity of the words and teachings of Jesus, which were claimed to be coming not from Christ Himself, but from biblical authors, who freely interpreted and quoted them.

The Pontifical Biblical Commission commented on the difficult work of exegetes with great respect, emphasising their effort in looking for scientific truths included in the Sacred Scripture. The document pointed out the need of achieving proficiency in Greek and the application of the newest achievements of the historical-critical method in their research on biblical texts. All biblicists were urged to reach for the results of research done by the Church Fathers, and take care to stay faithful to the truth and the Church while conducting their analysis.¹⁵

The Instruction was published due to the fact that many Catholic biblicists more and more often reached for the research method created by Protestants, referred to in German as *Formgeschichte* – the form criticism method. Its developers, namely M. Dibelius,¹⁶ K. L. Schmidt¹⁷

¹⁵ Cf. *Instructio De historica Evangeliorum veritate*, [in:] *Enchiridion Biblicum*, no. 646.

¹⁶ M. Dibelius (1883–1947) published his theories concerning the origins of the Gospel in the book entitled: *Die Formgeschichte des Evangelismus*, Tübingen 1919.

¹⁷ K. L. Schmidt (1891–1956) in his work: *Der Rahmen der Geschichte Jesu. Literarkritische Untersuchungen zur ältesten Jesusüberlieferung*, Berlin 1919, indicated that neither the place of events, nor their chronology should be taken into consideration in the Gospels, as they are all random.

and R. Bultmann¹⁸ among others, came to far-reaching conclusions. They claimed that the New Testament Gospels should be classified as the so-called small literature, which meant that they were a disorderly collection of smaller literary forms, created by the Christian community. The primary Christian community consisted of small groups of Jesus' disciples, which began gathering after his death and reminiscing about the events connected with his life and activity. The more years had passed since his death, the more legendary the stories referring to those events became. The task of exegetes, according to Bultmann's method of smaller literary forms analysis, is demythologizing the Gospel. However, they were Bultmann's students who pointed out that the Gospels were written with much thought and were addressed to particular Christian communities. Before the *Redaktionsgeschichte* method developed, the Catholic exegesis faced a huge challenge of how to defend the historical truth in the Gospels, as well as the authenticity of the words of Jesus and His teaching. It is no surprise that Catholic exegesis was reluctant to use the method and scholarly achievements of R. Bultmann, since his analysis led to the conclusion that the Gospels had no historical value and could only present the Christ of faith, and claimed that our knowledge about historical Jesus was restricted to the fact that he had existed.¹⁹ Accepting this theory was out of the question, which is why the Conciliar Fathers paid so much attention to the analysis of the Sacred Scripture.

2.4. Schema *De divina Revelatione*

After the first conciliar session on 21 November 1962 Pope John XXIII stopped the discussions on the Schema *De fontibus Revelationis* and appointed a mixed commission, the aim of which was perfecting the Schema's project. The new altered project was entitled *De divina Revelatione*. It was ready on 21 April 1964. During the second session, however, the project was not under discussion. The Conciliar Fathers presented their com-

¹⁸ R. Bultmann, *Die Formgeschichtliche Methode. Eine Darstellung und Kritik*, Giessen 1924.

¹⁹ Cf. R. Bultmann, *Jesus*, Berlin 1951, p. 11.

ments and opinions, which were then taken into consideration. On 30 September 1964, with the beginning of the third conciliar session, the project was discussed. The discussion lasted for a week. Other imperfections were found and corrected. The new Schema was not a fierce point of dispute. It consisted of the following chapters:

- I. Revelation Itself
- II. Handling on Divine Revelation
- III. Sacred Scripture, Its Inspiration and Divine Interpretation
- IV. The Old Testament
- V. The New Testament
- VI. Sacred Scripture in the Life of the Church

During the third session, similarly to the first one, two tendencies emerged. One more conservative, the other opting for alterations in the approach to the question of truths included in the Sacred Scripture. According to Cardinal F. König, for example, some content of the Bible comes from people and the traces of the historical and cultural traditions can easily be detected in them. In such situations God's authority should not be involved with this content.²⁰

On 6 October all discussions concerning the Schema were finished, and it was sent back to the Commission in order for the last changes to be introduced. A year later, during the fourth session, after all the changes, corrections and modifications had been made, the project was put to the vote between the 20 and 22 September 1965. Almost every single paragraph was voted on separately. There were still too many votes against some of them.

Due to this lack of unanimity, Pope Paul VI intervened personally. He met with Cardinals moderators of the commission working on the project. One of them put and presented his comments in writing. Next, the Pope met with other Conciliar Fathers, and also with theologians. The works on the project were finally going at a faster rate. Commissions and sub-commissions gathered. Discussions were held, changes in the project were implemented. The so-called 'truth' in the Bible proved to be the most controversial. Does it concern all the events included in the

²⁰ Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 218.

Bible, or only the issue of the truth of salvation (*veritas salutaris*)? Similar concerns were raised in connection with the Gospels, especially with the issue of the historical truth they contained. Do they contain historical data, or are they chronicles of events concerning the life and activity of Jesus Christ? Finally, on 29 October 1965 the Schema was adopted and the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* was approved. Pope Paul VI proclaimed it during the ceremonial sitting of the Council on 18 November 1965. That is when the final voting also took place in which 2344 out of 2350 Fathers voted for the Constitution, only 6 were against.²¹

The most important issue that this document, prepared with so much effort, clarifies is the Catholic teaching concerning Divine Revelation. It specifies what Divine Revelation is.²² The document states: "In His goodness and wisdom God chose to reveal Himself and to make known to us the hidden purpose of His will" (*Dei Verbum*, no. 2).

2.5. Trial of Christ and Declaration *Nostra Aetate*

Another important issue that was discussed during the Second Vatican Council was the Catholic Church's approach to the question of responsibility for the trial of Christ, and, as a consequence, taking a stand on the inter-religious dialogue between Christianity and Judaism.

From the very beginning of Christianity the problem of responsibility for sentencing Jesus to death was discussed upon. There are three different standpoints on that matter:

1. Sanhedrin was fully responsible
2. Lay the blame on Pontius Pilate
3. The trial of Jesus took place before the Sanhedrin and the Roman Governor only approved and executed their sentence.

²¹ Cf. S. Grzybek, *Rys historyczny Konstytucji Dei Verbum*, [in:] *Idee przewodnie soborowej Konstytucji o Bożym Objawieniu*, Kraków 1968, p. 30.

²² Cf. K. Wojtyła, *Znaczenie Konstytucji Dei Verbum w teologii*, [in:] *Idee przewodnie soborowej Konstytucji o Bożym Objawieniu*, Kraków 1968, p. 9.

The discussion began as a result of the recommendation of Pope John XXIII, who wanted, once and for all, preclude the possibility of persecuting nations for religious reasons. National socialism in Germany often referred to holding all Jews responsible for the death of Christ. In the name of this responsibility the Jewish nation was persecuted and murdered.

In the Declaration the Conciliar Fathers expressed the view that although Sanhedrin condemned Jesus to death and pressed for execution handing Him over to Pilate, the biblical texts of St. Peter and St. Paul completely exclude the assertion that all Jews are a nation rejected by God. The Declaration states: "Although the Church is the new people of God, the Jews should not be presented as rejected or accursed by God, as if this followed from the Holy Scriptures."²³

Conclusions

The Second Vatican Council took up a very difficult question: how should the truth included in the Sacred Scripture be understood? The Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* showed that the truth most importantly concerns the question of salvation. Other issues are not crucial for the message of Divine Revelation. They may be concordant with the truth, but they are not essential for the Divine Revelation.

An important event during the Second Vatican Council was the proclamation of the Instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*. Its achievements concern three important issues. The Encyclical of Pius XII *Divino afflante Spiritu* in exegesis of the Old Testament emphasised the need of taking literary forms in the Bible into consideration. The Instruction pointed out that the rule applied to the New Testament as well, including the Gospels. Moreover, *Sancta Mater Ecclesiae* instructed that the application of literary criticism of the text is an important starting point in its exegesis. The third achievement was the approval of some elements of the *Formgeschichte* method in research

²³ *Enchiridion Biblicum*, no. 666.

on biblical texts, with the exclusion of its incorrect philosophical and theological presuppositions.²⁴

The Second Vatican Council opened the door for Biblical Studies, making it possible to take advantage of all available scholarly achievements in the wide range of research on the Sacred Scripture.

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Summary

Second Vatican Council Fathers and Their Concern about Catholic Biblical Studies

The article presents the significant development of theological and biblical thinking since the beginning of the 20th century until the end of the Second Vatican Council. The tension between natural sciences and Biblical Studies, and thenceforth between historical studies and the matter of historical truth in the Bible, became the cause of numerous disputes, and controversies that Catholic theologians could not manage. Additional difficulties were caused by dubious conclusions of the Protestant exegetes, who stated that based on the Gospels there is only one reliable fact about the historical Jesus – the fact that he had existed (R. Bultmann). The very systematic and persistent work of the Council Fathers led to the formulation of the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*. This document described the nature of Divine Revelation and acknowledged all scientific research of the Catholic theologians and biblical scholars.

Keywords

The Second Vatican Council, biblical studies

²⁴ Cf. E. Dąbrowski, *Sobór Watykański II a biblistyka katolicka*, p. 272.

Streszczenie

Troska Ojców Soboru Watykańskiego II o biblistykę katolicką

Artykuł ukazuje znaczny rozwój myślenia teologicznego i biblijnego na przestrzeni od początku XX wieku aż do zakończenia obrad Soboru Watykańskiego II. Zaistniałe napięcia pomiędzy naukami przyrodniczymi a biblistyką, a następnie pomiędzy naukami historycznymi a kwestią prawdy historycznej zawartej w Biblii stały się powodem licznych sporów i trudności, z którymi teologowie katoliccy nie umieli sobie poradzić. Dodatkowo trudności stawały się jeszcze bardziej nabrzmiałe z powodu zbyt daleko idących wniosków wyciąganych przez egzegetów protestanckich, stwierdzających między innymi, że na podstawie Ewangelii nic więcej nie można powiedzieć o Jezusie historycznym jak tylko tyle, że istniał (R. Bultmann). Bardzo systematyczna i wytrwała praca Ojców Soboru doprowadziła do sformułowania Konstytucji Dogmatycznej o Objawieniu Bożym *Dei Verbum*. Dokument ten przede wszystkim ukazał, na czym polega Boże Objawienie, a także otworzył szeroko drzwi dla wszelkich naukowych badań prowadzonych przez biblistów i teologów katolickich.

Słowa kluczowe

Sobór Watykański II, biblistyka

REV. CZESŁAW KRAKOWIAK

Numerus concelebrantium

According to the earliest information on the Eucharist, coming from between 1st and 3rd centuries, the celebration in Christian communities was presided by the bishop surrounded by his presbyterium.¹ At that time there were no fixed texts or rubrics for the celebration of the Mass, therefore the bishop improvised the anaphora, during which he said the words of consecration and his presbyters put hands on consecration gifts.² This kind of celebration of the Eucharist is referred to as ceremonial or silent,³

¹ See L. Beauduin, *Concélébration eucharistique*, “Les Questions Liturgiques et Paroissiales” 7 (1922), p. 275–285; 8 (1923), p. 23–24; J. M. Hanssens, *De concelebratione eucaristica*, “Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica” 16 (1927), p. 143–154, 181–210; 17 (1928), p. 93–127; 21 (1932), p. 193–219; L. Beauduin, *La concélébration*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 7 (1946), p. 7–26.

² See B. Botte, *Note historique sur la concélébration dans l'Eglise ancienne*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 35 (1953), p. 11; B. Neunheuser, *La concélébration dans la tradition de l'Eglise occidentale*, [in:] B. Neunheuser [et al.], *Théologie et pratique de la Concélébration*, [Tours] 1967, p. 13–18; P. Tirot, *La concélébration et la tradition de l'Eglise*, “Ephemerides Liturgicae” 101 (1987), p. 33–59, 182–214.

³ G. Mattheeuws, *La concélébration co-consécratoire et la prière eucharistique*, “Questions Liturgiques” 82 (2001), p. 192, describes it as “concélébration silencieuse.” F. Vandenbroucke, *La concélébration, acte liturgique communautaire*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 35 (1953), p. 54–55, also differentiates between the sacramental concelebration, which he refers to as “formulé” and silent concelebration: “La concelebration, dans la tradition et la pratique, se distingue en deux types, formulé et silencieux.” He emphasises that they are different from “la messe communautaire, dite improprement concelebration cérémonielle.”

as the sacramental words were only said by the bishop.⁴ Source texts do not mention the number of presbyters concelebrating with the bishop. We can only assume that all the priests who could be present during the Mass concelebrated it with him. With time, especially in Rome, concelebrations like that came to be reserved for festival days and other solemn occasions.⁵ Since the beginning of the 8th century the presbyters gathered around the altar and recited the canon words. This form of concelebration of the Holy Mass is referred to as Sacramental.⁶ In the medieval period the con-

⁴ During the Mass presbyters were silent up till the 8th century (“des concélébrants muets”): “le silence des concélébrants s’est maintenu jusqu’à la fin du VIII^e siècle”; Ph. Rouillard, *Les divers types de concélébration eucharistique au long des siècles*, “Ecclesia Orans” 18 (2001), p. 228–229. Distant concelebration was also recognised (“la concélébration à distance”) – a piece of the consecrated Hostia from the papal Mass, the *fermentum*, was sent to communities outside the city, as a sign of unity with the Bishop of Rome; see P. Nautin, *Le rite de fermentum dans les Eglise de Rome*, “Ephemerides Liturgicae” 96 (1982), p. 510–522; A. Chavasse, *A Rome l’envoi de l’eucharistie, rit unificateur de l’église locale*, “Revue bénédictine” 97 (1987), p. 7–12; Cz. Krakowiak, *Fermentum – sancta*, [in:] *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 5, Lublin 1989, col. 136.

⁵ See B. Neunheuser, *La concélébration dans la tradition de l’Eglise occidentale*, op. cit., p. 20–22.

⁶ According to Pius XII sacramental concelebration only takes place when the priests say the consecration words; cf. *Magnificate Dominum mecum* (2 November 1964): “tot sunt actiones Christi, Summi Sacerdotis, quo sunt sacerdotes concelebrantes”; “Acta Apostolicae Sedis” 46 (1956), p. 669. He presented a similar attitude in his letter for the Liturgical Congress in Assisi (1956) – if the priests do not say the words of the consecration, the concelebration is ceremonial, not sacramental: “les célébrants doivent eux-mêmes dire sur le pain et le vin: Ceci est mon Corps, Ceci est mon Sang, sinon, leur célébration est pur cérémonie”; Pius XII, *Vous Nous avez demandé*, “Acta Apostolicae Sedis” 48 (1956), p. 718. The standpoint of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith is similar (23 May 1957) – for the worthy celebration (of the Eucharist), one must say the words of the consecration: “ex institutione Christi, ille solus valide celebrat, qui verba consecratoria pronuntiat”; “Acta Apostolicae Sedis” 49 (1957), p. 370; see P. Tirot, *La concélébration et la tradition de l’Eglise*, p. 33–59; G. Mattheeuws, *La concélébration co-consécratoire et la prière eucharistique*, p. 227–235.

celebration only took place on certain feast days and at the ordination of priests.⁷ Following the representatives of the Liturgical Movement, some advocated the return to the practice of concelebration of Mass both in the 19th and the 20th century.⁸

During that period the concelebration of Mass was restricted by law to particular occasions,⁹ what is more, if there were many priests, only one presided and others took the Holy Communion from him.¹⁰ Even at the beginning of the 20th century, e.g. during a papal conclave, by virtue of the Apostolic Constitution of Pius X *Vacante Sede* (25 December 1904), the cardinals “listened” to the Holy Mass and took Communion.¹¹ It was Pius XI who allowed the cardinals to celebrate the Eucharist privately during conclave.¹² The practice of the so-called synchronised Mass, con-

⁷ See B. Neunheuser, *La concélébration dans la tradition de l'Eglise occidentale*, op. cit., p. 22–26.

⁸ See B. Xibaut, *La concélébration dans le Mouvement liturgique et dans l'œuvre de Concile*, “La Maison-Dieu” 2004 no. 224, p. 7–78; L. Beauduin, *La concelebration*, op. cit., p. 7–26.

⁹ “Non licet pluribus sacerdotibus concelebrare, praeterquam in Missa ordinationis presbyterorum et in Missa consecrationis Episcoporum secundum Pontificale Romanum” (*Codex iuris canonici*, Roma 1917, can. 803); “Praemissio quod concelebratio sacramentalis in latina casibus limitatur a iure statutis” (*De musica sacra* no. 38, “Acta Apostolicae Sedis” 50 (1958), p. 444).

¹⁰ See *Note de la Commission épiscopale de Pastorale et de Liturgie*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 234 (1953), p. 145–147; A. M. Roguet, *La pratique des messes dites „communautaire*, ibidem, p. 148–158; P. Jounel, *La concélébration et la concélébration de la messe*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 83 (1965), p. 176–177.

¹¹ “Mane sequenti, post clausum praecedenti nocte Conclave, [...] conveniunt Cardinales in eo praesentes, qui infirmitate non sunt impediti, induti super vestem crocea aut mozzeta violacea [...] ad designatum Sacellum, et ibi celebrata consueta Missa, et facta Cardinalium Communione, ac postea recitato Hymno Veni Creator Spiritus cum oratione de Spiritu Sancto, statim ad negotium electionis procedere debent” (Pius X, *Vacante Sede*, no. 44).

¹² “ut liceat cuilibet Cardinali sacrum facere; qui vero, quavis de causa, se a sacro peragendo abstinuerim is in designato sacello et consueta Missa ad sacram Synaxim accedat”; Pius XI, *Motu proprio Cum proxime ex occasione Conclavis*, “Acta Apostolicae

sisting in simultaneous celebrations of the Holy Mass at a few side altars, when different priests say the same words and make the same gestures as the priest presiding at the main altar, was also quite common. This way of celebrating the Eucharist was banned by the Instruction on Sacred Music and the Sacred Liturgy *De musica sacra* no. 39 (9 March 1958).¹³ During the Second Vatican Council, by virtue of the Constitution *Vacantis Apostolicae Sedes* of Pius XII, during conclave the cardinals participated in one Holy Mass and received Communion, if, for some reason, they could not celebrate privately.¹⁴

1. The Issue of Mass Concelebration during the Second Vatican Council

In bishops' *vota* for the Second Vatican Council only few proposals concerned the return to the practice of Mass concelebration. Out of a total of 9384 *Propositiones*, 1855 concerned liturgical issues, and only 15 con-

Sedis" 14 (1922), p. 146; see A. Honoré, *Les rites concélébrés dans la liturgie latine actuelle*, "La Maison-Dieu" no. 35 (1953), p. 56–71.

¹³ "Prohibentur vero sic dictae «Missae synchronizatae», illae scilicet Missae hoc peculiari modo celebratae, quod duo vel plures sacerdotes, in uno vel pluribus altaribus, ita simultanee Missam celebrant, ut omnes actiones et omnia verba uno eodemque tempore et peragantur et proferantur, adhibitis quoque, praesertim si numerus sacerdotum ita celebrantium magnus sit, modernis quibusdam instrumentis quibus absoluta haec uniformitas seu «synchronizatio» facilius obtineatur" ("Acta Apostolicae Sedis" 50 (1958), p. 445); see A. M. Roguet, *Les messes synchronisées*, "La Maison-Dieu" no. 35 (1953), p. 76–78.

¹⁴ "Mane sequenti, post clausum praecedenti nocte Conclave, ac post solitum campanulae sonum, conveniunt Cardinales in eo praesentes, qui infirmitate non sunt impediti, ad designatum Sacellum, et ibi celebrata consueta Missa, et facta Cardinalium Communionem, qui se a Sacro peragendo quavis de causa sponte abstinuerint ac postea a Sacrista..." (Pius XII, Constitutio Apostolica *Vacantis Apostolicae Sedes*, "Acta Apostolicae Sedis" 38 (1946), p. 85).

cerned Mass concelebration.¹⁵ The Central Commission of the Second Vatican Council in the Schema *De sacra Liturgia* already included some rules concerning Holy Mass concelebration. The Commission stated that the conciliar *vota* postulated Mass concelebration during gatherings of the clergy, e.g. during the retreat, formation meetings, pilgrimages, etc., especially when there is difficulty to celebrate individually.¹⁶ Then it concerned mostly solving practical problems.

In the first Schema *De sacra Liturgia* on Mass concelebration the following issues were discussed: when Mass concelebration is allowed, what rites to follow, what is the accepted number of concelebrants.¹⁷ Whether particular circumstances called for Mass concelebration and the number of concelebrants depended upon the decision of the ordinary.¹⁸ Similar rules were repeated in the second Schema discussed on 23 June 1962.¹⁹ In Schemata III and IV the number of concelebrants was omitted.²⁰ During all discussions on the Schema of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, during five General Congregations between 29 October and 6 November 1962, 27 utterances concerned Mass concelebration. 28 Fathers supported the return to Mass concelebration, 9 were against. 7 motions concerning allowing concelebration were presented. They concerned extending permission for concelebration during the Chrism Mass on Holy Thursday, synods, abbot blessings, convent and solemn masses, clergy gatherings and when the choice

¹⁵ See B. Xibaut, *La concélébration dans le Mouvement liturgique et dans l'œuvre de Concile*, op. cit., p. 16–17.

¹⁶ “Ad conventus sacerdotum, uti sunt exercitia spiritalia, cursus studiorum, pregrinationes, etc., praesertim ubi singulae Missae incommodo celebrari nequeunt” (*De sacra Liturgia*, art. 44).

¹⁷ See *Acta et Documenta Consilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando*, Series I (Praeparatoria), vol. II, pars III, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis 1964–1969, p. 107–109.

¹⁸ “De opportunitate concelebrationis et de numero concelebrantium, in singulis casibus, Ordinarii loci erit iudicare” (ibidem, p. 109).

¹⁹ See *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*, vol. I, pars I, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis 1970–1980, p. 281.

²⁰ See ibidem, vol. II, pars II, p. 286; vol. II, pars IV, p. 578–579.

of private celebration is preserved. The motions were voted on on 10 October and 22 November 1963. During these debates the number of concelebrants was no longer discussed.²¹ The text of the Constitution concerning Mass concelebration, adopted by the Council Fathers almost unanimously, emphasises that it manifests the unity of the priesthood; presents cases when concelebration is allowed; indicates when concelebration is dependent upon the decision of the ordinary; and points out that the regulation of the discipline of concelebration in the diocese pertains to the bishop (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* no. 57).²² During the Council the decisions concerning Mass concelebration were made with the hope to enable the priests' communal celebration of the Eucharist, especially during councils, synods, congresses, in sanctuaries, as well as seminars and orders.

²¹ See *ibidem*, vol. I, pars I, p. 262–303, especially p. 280–281. Out of a total number of 2178 voters 2158 Conciliar Fathers voted for points 57 and 58 of the Constitution, concerning Mass concelebration; see S. Madeja, *Il problema della concelebrazione nel suo sviluppo storico dagli inizi del movimento liturgico*, Roma 1982, p. 36–40.

²² Due to the fact that the end of the second conciliar session was planned for the 8 December 1963, when the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy has already been approved, C. Vagaggini addressed a letter to Pope Paul VI in which he suggested allowing at least the bishops' representatives, the Council participants, to concelebrate with him. He also expressed his opinion on the number of concelebrants, consistent with the later *Ritus servandus*: "Numerus concelebrationum ita limitetur ut actio suam dignitatem obtineat et omnes concelebrantes possint feliciter decenterque verba dicere et titus peragere quae sibi a presenti decreto praescribuntur. Ratio itaque sedula habeatur de dispositione ecclesiae et altaris, de sacra suppellectile prompta, de requisitis ministris et concursu populi. Immo numquam accipitur plures concelebrantes quam quinquaginta, donec aliter a Commissione de Liturgia postconciliari provideatur" (C. Braga, *Una concelebrazione mai realizzata*, "Ephemerides Liturgicae" 118 (2004), p. 6–7). C. Braga mentions that the letter has never been published.

2. Mass Concelebration after the Proclamation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

In accordance with the instructions included in the Constitution on Liturgy,²³ the Congregation for Divine Worship prepared and, by the virtue of the *Ecclesiae semper* (7 March 1965)²⁴ decree, proclaimed the rites for concelebrated Mass and the rites for the Holy Communion in both forms.²⁵ During the works on the schema *Ritus servandus in concelebratione Missae* different proposals concerning the number of concelebrants were made. A. Bugnini writes that the Pope initially agreed for 20 to 25 concelebrants. There were concerns that a larger number of concelebrants will make orderly and worthy celebrations impossible, that is why the number cannot be larger than 50, and one criterion still needs to be followed: the proximity of the altar.²⁶ If, under some par-

²³ According to the Instruction *Inter Oecumenici* (26 September 1964), the priests who are not obliged to celebrate for the sake of the faithful, may concelebrate on more solemn occasions.

²⁴ Sacra Rituum Congregatio, *Decretum generale quo ritus concelebrationis et Communionis sub utraque specie promulgantur*, "Acta Apostolicae Sedis" 57 (1965), p. 410–412. On the theology of concelebrated Mass see P. Thion, *De la concélébration eucharistique*, "Nouvelle Revue Théologique" 86 (1964), p. 579–607; R. Zielasko, *Teologiczny sens koncelebracji eucharystycznej*, [in:] *Wprowadzenie do liturgii*, red. F. Blachnicki [et al.], Poznań 1967, p. 338–344; J. F. Chiron, *Les enjeux symbolique de la concélébration*, "La Maison-Dieu" 2004 no. 224, p. 107–137; J. Kobienia, *Koncelebra – litigiczny znak jedności*, "Liturgia Sacra" 8 (2002) no. 1, p. 11–22.

²⁵ Sacra Rituum Congregatio, *Ritus servandus in concelebratione Missae et ritus Communionis sub utraque specie*, Città del Vaticano 1965; see F. Greniuk, *Przepisy rubryczystyczne dotyczące koncelebry*, [in:] *Wprowadzenie do liturgii*, op. cit., p. 344–353; F. Dell'Oro, *Aspects juridiques et rituels de la concélébration*, [in:] *Théologie et pratique de la Concélébration*, op. cit., p. 239–268; S. Madeja, *Il problema della concelebrazione nel suo sviluppo storico dagli inizi del movimento liturgico*, op. cit., p. 52–53.

²⁶ "Ut concelebrantes circum altare stare possint" (*Ritus servandus*, no. 4); see: G. Boselli, *Les débats sur la concélébration après Vatican II*, "La Maison-Dieu" 2000 no. 224, p. 29–59.

ticular circumstances, the number of concelebrants is larger than 50, the Holy See has to be informed.²⁷ In *Praenotanda*, following *Sacrosantum Concilium* no. 57, the days on which concelebration of the Holy Mass is permitted were listed, with emphasis put on the fact that only one concelebration a day was allowed in a church or oratory, to stress the unity of the priests. Only when the number of priests is very large (*magnus numerus sacerdotum*), the ordinary or his superior may grant permission for a few (*pluries*) celebrations of this type at different times.²⁸ They are responsible for moderating (*moderari*) concelebration on their territory.

Eventually, the number of concelebrants allowed was completely omitted in *Ritus servandus*, since it depends on different circumstances (*singulis in casibus*). Firstly, it depends on the church and the altar at which the priests concelebrate. It is required for the concelebrants to surround the altar from the sides in such a way that the altar is well visible for the faithful, although many of the concelebrating priests will not be able to touch it.²⁹ *Ritus servandus* contains an important rule: concelebrants should stay close to the altar, so that they can stand around it (*circum stantes*).³⁰

²⁷ "Concelebrantes tamen plus quam quinquaginta. In casibus peculiaribus, res Apostolicæ Sedi proponatur" – Schema from 20 December 1964; A. Bugnini, *La riforma liturgica* (1948–1975), Roma 1997, p. 137. A. G. Martimort, *Le rituel de la concélébration eucharistique*, "Ephemerides Liturgicæ" 77 (1963), p. 168, held an opinion that the number of concelebrants should not exceed 60–80, provided that the venue is big enough. According to him, it should generally be between 12 and 25 priests: "ne pourra jamais dépasser soixante à quatre-vingts concélébrant dans une sanctuaire exceptionnellement vaste. Généralement, douze à vingt-cinq sera le chiffre le meilleure."

²⁸ *Ritus servandus*, no. 1–2.

²⁹ "Numerus concelebrantium, singulis in casibus, definiatur ratione habita tam ecclesiae quam altaris in quo fit concelebratio, ita ut concelebrantes circum altare stare possint, etsi omnes mensam altaris immediate non tangent. Provideatur tamten ut sacer ritus a fidelibus bene conspici queat: quare opportunum erit ut concelebrantes circa latus altaris, quo versus populum respicit, non consistant" (*Ritus servandus*, no. 4).

³⁰ "Tunc Episcopus celebrans principalis una cum ceteris concelebrantibus ad altare accedit, debitam reverentiam facit et cum presbytero assistente altare ascendit idque osculatur. Ceteri concelebrantes, facta debita reverentia, in plano, circa altare consistunt, ita

Since then legal norms and liturgical regulations included in *Ritus servandus* became effective in the whole Church.³¹ However, meetings of priests on the occasion of e.g. congresses, synods and others were connected with the participation in the concelebrated Mass, regardless of the number of concelebrants. This decision was supported by the argument that if the number of concelebrants had been limited, it would not have been in agreement with the spirit of the renewed liturgy and the return to Mass concelebration. At the same time, in this way the problem of the so-called individual celebrations and the communal dimension of the Eucharist, advocated by the Liturgical Movement, was emphasised.

Initially, Mass concelebration was permitted only under strictly specified circumstances.³² With time, Church documents not only started to allow the concelebration of the Eucharist,³³ but even encouraged it, since “concelebration of the Eucharist aptly demonstrates the unity of the sacrifice and of the priesthood. Moreover, whenever the faithful take an active part, the unity of the People of God is strikingly manifested, particularly if the bishop presides.”³⁴ The Instruction *Eucharisticum mysterium* emphasises the importance of Mass concelebration for priests stating that it

tamen ut impedimento non sint in ritibus ad offerorium peragendis. Si vero opportunum videtur, concelebrantes ad altare accedere possunt antequam celebrans principalis cantet orationem super oblata” (*Ritus servandus*, no. 29)

³¹ “Normae quae sequuntur servari debent quotiescumque Missa iuxta ritum romanum concelebratur...” (*Ritus servandus*, no. 6).

³² “Hoc mode sane, per ritum concelebrationis veritates magni momenti, quae vitam spiritualement et pastoralement sacerdotum atque christianam fidelium institutionem respiciunt, vivide proponuntur et inculcantur” (Decree *Ecclesiae semper*, [in:] *Ritus servandus*, p. 7).

³³ Instruction *Tes abhinc annos* (4 May 1967), no. 27, with reference to Mass concelebration, reminds that all concelebrants ought to be clad in liturgical vestments – cf. *Ritus servandus*, no. 12. However, if there is an important reason, e.g. if the number of concelebrants is larger than the number of vestments available, concelebrants, except for the presiding one, do not have to use the chasuble, they are, however, obliged to wear the alb and the stole.

³⁴ Congregation for the Divine Worship, Instruction *Eucharisticum mysterium* (25 May 1967), no. 47, “Acta Apostolicae Sedis” 59 (1967), p. 565.

“both symbolizes and strengthens the brotherly bond of the priesthood” (cf. *Dogmatic Constitution on the Church* 28; *Decree on the Ministry and the Life of Priests* 8).³⁵ The concelebrated Mass becomes an ordinary form of Eucharistic celebration “unless it conflicts with the needs of the faithful.” According to this Instruction “it is desirable that priests should celebrate the Eucharist in this eminent manner” and “should welcome visiting priests into their concelebration.” The competent superiors should, therefore, facilitate and encourage concelebration,³⁶ and where there is a great number of priests, the competent superior may give permission for concelebration to take place even several times on the same day, but at different times or in different sacred places.³⁷ In this way the Holy Mass becomes a symbol and sacrament of Church unity and builds this unity in a more effective manner. When concelebrated, the Holy Mass shows the unity of the presbyterium of the local Church, especially if presided by the bishop. If the concelebrated Mass is presided by a presbyter, he also represents the bishop, and other presbyters concelebrating with him experience the unity of their priesthood. Concelebration understood and experienced in this way not only symbolizes, but also helps to strengthen the bond among presbyters, as well as the bond between the presbyters and the bishop.³⁸

³⁵ Ibidem.

³⁶ “Hinc superiorem competentes faciliorem reddant, immo foveant concelebrationem” (ibidem).

³⁷ “Ubi tamen magnus habetur numerus sacerdotum [...] etiam pluries eodem die fiat, sed temporibus successivis, vel in locis satis diversis” (ibidem, p. 566).

³⁸ See S. Hartlieb, *Koncelebra a przeżycie wspólnoty*, “Collectanea Theologica” 44 (1974) z. 4, p. 86–89; A. Franquesa, *La concélébration dans les communautés sacerdotale*, [in:] *Théologie et pratique de la Concélébration*, p. 189–220; R. Falsini, *La concélébration dans les réunions du clergé*, ibidem, p. 221–237; G. Boselli, *Concelebrazione eucaristica e ministero presbiterale*, “Rivista Liturgica” 97 (2010), p. 67–80.

3. Mass Concelebration after the Publication of the Missal of Paul VI

The ordinary form of Mass celebration in the *Missal of Paul VI* published in 1970 is the Holy Mass with the people (*Missa cum populo*). However, when the priests are not obliged to celebrate “for the good of the Christian faithful” or, for different reasons, individually, concelebration is advised (*Missa concelebrata*). Detailed instructions concerning Mass concelebration are included in the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* from 1970.³⁹ What is more, in order to emphasise “the significance of the rite or of the festivity,” under some clearly determined circumstances, there is a possibility of multiple (*pluries*) concelebrations on the same day.⁴⁰ It is also accepted to celebrate more than one Holy Mass on the same day not only “for the benefit of the faithful,” but also for the spiritual good of the priesthood⁴¹ and for emphasising the significance of a particular rite or solemnity. Concelebrations in which the priests of each diocese concelebrate with their own Bishop at stational Masses, especially on the more solemn days of the liturgical year, are held in high regard.⁴² No edi-

³⁹ *General Instruction of The Roman Missal* 1970, no. 153–208; 1975, 2002 and 2008, no. 199–251.

⁴⁰ *General Instruction of The Roman Missal* 1970, no. 158; 2008, no. 204.

⁴¹ *General Instruction of The Roman Missal* 1970, no. 157; 2008, no. 203. For the concelebration not to become an opportunity for financial profit, the Congregation for the Divine Worship in their Declaration *De concelebratione* (7 August 1972) included the following rule: “Sacerdotibus, qui in bonum pastorale fidelium celebrant et alteram Missam concelebrant, nullo titulo pro Missa concelebrata stipendium percipere licet” (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*” 64 (1972), p. 563). It means that the only reason for multiple concelebrations can be the need of spiritual progress and a fuller sign of participation. In the Declaration only the second concelebration (*altera*) is mentioned; see: P. Majer, *Non licet sacerdoti plus semel in die celebrare. Znaczenie normy kan. 905 § 1 o jednokrotnym sprawowaniu Eucharystii w ciągu dnia*, „Wiadomości Archidiecezji Lubelskiej” 73 (1999), p. 957–972.

⁴² *General Instruction of The Roman Missal* 2008, no. 203.

tion of the *General Instruction of the Roman Missal* introduces limitations on the number of concelebrants.

In the last years the practice of Holy Mass concelebration was popularised, especially under the guidance of Pope John Paul II (1978–2005), during his pastoral visits, in which thousands of priests participated. Similarly, the World Youth Day not only gathered hundreds of thousands of young Christians, but also thousands of priests accompanying them (presbyters and bishops), who concelebrated with the Pope.⁴³ A similar practice took place during the celebrations of Paschal Triduum and during canonization Masses, especially in a Jubilee. During Eucharistic congresses, national and international, the Masses were concelebrated by thousands of presbyters in local Churches as well.

Such enormous Eucharistic gatherings in which thousands of presbyters concelebrate present the unity of priesthood and the common ministry of the faithful, as well as the unity of the Church as the ministerial People of God, but they also generate great practical problems. That is why this issue was discussed during the Synod of Bishops concerning the Eucharist in 2005. The Synodal gathering of Bishops passed the problem on to the Pope in the form of a *propositio*, suggesting the analysis of the widespread practice of large-scale concelebrations.⁴⁴ Benedict XVI addressed this issue in the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Sacramentum caritatis* (22 February 2007).⁴⁵

The Pope first emphasises the great importance of this kind of Mass concelebration, “especially when the Bishop himself celebrates, surrounded by his presbyterate and by the deacons.” Then he points out that “it is not always easy in such cases to give clear expression to the unity of the pres-

⁴³ In 1997 in Paris – about 4 thousand. A similar situation took place in Cologne in 2005 during the World Youth Day, when Benedict VI presided and 15 thousand presbyters concelebrated with him; see A. Kiciński, *Historia Światowych Dni Młodzieży. Historia Papieskiej Szkoły Modlitwy*, [in:] *Modlitwa w katechezie*, red. S. Kulpaczyński, Lublin 2002, p. 331–381.

⁴⁴ “Si chiede, pero, agli organismi competenti che studino meglio la prassi della concelebrazione quando il numero dei celebranti è molto elevato” (*Propositio* no. 37).

⁴⁵ Benedict XVI, Apostolic Exhortation *Sacramentum caritatis*, no. 61.

byterate, especially during the Eucharistic Prayer and the distribution of Holy Communion.” That is why he suggests that it is important to make sure these kind of celebrations do not lose their proper focus, which “can be done by proper coordination and by arranging the place of worship so that priests and lay faithful are truly able to participate fully,” at the same time making it clear that he is speaking of “exceptional concelebrations, limited to extraordinary situations.”

The problem of Holy Mass concelebrations when a large number of the faithful is present (*Celebrazione della Santa Messa in presenza di grandi assemblee di fedeli*) was discussed during the working session of the consultants of the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments and some other experts, mostly professors of Catholic universities in Rome (10 March 2007).⁴⁶ A few months later (7 June 2007) the Congregation for Divine Worship held a meeting with the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, the Office for the Liturgical Celebrations of the Supreme Pontiff, the Pontifical Council for the Laity, the Pontifical Committee for International Eucharistic Congresses and the Pontifical Council for the Family, during which some indications were formulated.⁴⁷

The Congregation emphasises the great ecclesiastical importance of such celebrations, especially if presided by the Pope, and when the participants are well prepared in the liturgical, catechetical and spiritual sense. The most important element is the contact between the concelebrants and the people, in the spirit of the active participation principle (*actuosa participatio*) of all participants, who cannot merely act as a “crowd” (*folla*), but should be a community (*comunità*). Participation of a large number of the faithful cannot be limited to external manifestation only; it needs to be a real celebration, manifested by bodily postures and internal deeds of the liturgy participants. The Congregation holds an opinion that Eucharistic celebration in such a way is the best form of prayer (*il rito più*

⁴⁶ See F. Arinze, A. M. Ranjith, *Le grandi celebrazioni: una riflessione in corso*, “Notitiae” 43 (2007), p. 535.

⁴⁷ Ibidem, p. 537–542.

idoneo) and that is why it should be limited to extraordinary situations, especially when presided by the Pope or the diocesan Bishop.⁴⁸

Another problem is the celebration venue itself. The indications of the Congregation are as follows: the participants should be able to see the altar and the pulpit well, in order to share the sense of participation in the celebration, even though it takes place in the open air. Therefore, if it is possible, enclosed spaces should be chosen for celebrations.

There are situations in which the Congregation suggests limitations on the number of concelebrants.⁴⁹ Everything depends on the appropriate preparation of the presbyterium where the celebration is supposed to take place, on the number of liturgical vestments available, etc. The concelebrants should be able to keep good contact, at least eye contact, with the altar, and should be able to take the Communion in both forms. Sacred vessels with the Communion bread should be kept close to the altar. Liturgical gestures of the presiding priests and concelebrants must be visible for the faithful. The unity of the whole gathering around Christ, present at the altar and in the Eucharistic bread is then possible.⁵⁰ With this aim in mind, the Congregation suggests establishing (*ad hoc* and *ad tempus*) appropriate offices (*uffizi*) in dioceses or for the whole country, which will organise and prepare the Holy Mass liturgy for large-scale celebrations with a large number of concelebrating priests.⁵¹

In the light of the currently binding general regulations and the more detailed Church indications concerning Mass concelebration it must be stated that it is the preferred form of celebration of the Eucharist when there are at least a few priests ready to participate. The concelebrated Mass has priority over individual celebration.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 537–538.

⁴⁹ “La limitazione – almeno in alcuni casi – del numero dei concelebranti secondo precisi parametri” (ibidem, p. 539).

⁵⁰ Ibidem, p. 539–540.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 541; see D. Lebrun, *Difficultés de la concélébration et ministère du prêtre*, “La Maison-Dieu” no. 224 (2004), p. 67–85.

⁵² In this context an important instruction concerns inviting visiting priests to common concelebration, as they are sometimes encouraged by local pastors to participate in

A real problem appears only if there is a very large number of priests who are willing to concelebrate the Mass. Both Pope Benedict XVI and some suggestions of the Roman Dicasteries seem to advocate limiting the number of concelebrating priests. The regulations of the *Ritus servandus*, published in 1965, requiring that the concelebrants stay in the presbyterium and surround the altar, are being brought to attention. In such case, the number of concelebrating priests will depend on the size of the church presbyterium or chapel, or the venue chosen for the priests during large-scale celebrations.

The presence and participation of the lay faithful is also connected with the number of concelebrating priests. Since the celebration of the Eucharist is supposed to be the manifest of the unity of the priesthood, the sacrifice and the Church as the people of God, it should also be visible during concelebrated Mass. It is sometimes the case that the number of concelebrating priests is larger than the number of lay faithful present at the Mass, and sometimes there are no lay faithful present at all. The question then arises what image of the Church is formed during a concelebrated Mass when the number of presbyters is larger than the number of the faithful attending.

This issue is discussed in the Instruction of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches for the *Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches*.⁵³ Following the *Constitution on Divine Liturgy* no. 57, that concelebration with the Bishop or other presbyter is a way of manifesting the unity of the priesthood, the Instruction suggests that sometimes concelebration should not be performed. It concerns situations in which the number of the concelebrants is disproportionate to the number of lay faithful. It is the second important criterion for deciding on the number of concelebrants permitted. Concelebration, being iconic of the Church, should respect the hierarchical nature of the community, which consists not only of ministers, but all the people living in Christ as well. The number of concelebrants should not be so big that they are forced to occupy places

the Eucharist and take Communion with the lay faithful (*modo laicorum*).

⁵³ Congregazione per le Chiese Orientali, *Istruzione per l'applicazione delle prescrizioni liturgiche del Codice dei canoni delle Chiese Orientali*, Libreria Editrice Vaticana 1996.

intended for the faithful, which means they are outside the presbyterium and make worthy celebration more difficult.⁵⁴

The return to Mass concelebration by virtue of the Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in the Latin Church and accepting this form of celebration as ordinary when there are many priests was well received by both the clergy and the laity. Not only does concelebration solve the problem of individual celebration, it also emphasises and strengthens the unity of ministry. The theological value of this form of celebration is even more important. The concelebrated Mass shows the Church of Jesus Christ, which, united in faith, at one altar, presided by a priest (bishop or presbyter), offers the Holy Sacrifice as one community (of the clergy and the laity), which consists of different offices, ministries and charisms.

It can be noticed that the Holy See has recently been presenting a tendency to limit the number of concelebrants in a way that enables all of them to stay close to the altar. It seems impossible in situations when the presbyterium of the Bishop wants to concelebrate liturgy with him, or during pastoral meetings in which hundreds of priests participate. Since neither the *Constitution on Divine Liturgy* nor *Ritus servandus* officially limit the number of Mass concelebrants, the hitherto practice is in accordance with the regulations in force.

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⁵⁴ “Vi possono essere ragioni che sconsigliano però la concelebrazione, in particolare quando il numero dei concelebranti sia sproporzionato rispetto a quello dei laici presenti. La concelebrazione liturgica, in quanto «icona» della Chiesa, deve rispecchiare la natura di comunità gerarchicamente articolata, comprendente non solo i ministri sacri ma tutto il gregge di coloro che, sotto la loro guida, vivono in Cristo. Si abbia cura che i concelebranti non siano in quantità tale da prendere posto nella navata dove stanno i fedeli, e quindi al di fuori del santuario in modo tale da impedire lo svolgimento dignitoso del rito” (ibidem no. 57, p. 49–50).

Summary

Numerus concelebrantium

The concelebration of Mass restored in the Latin Church by the Constitution on Divine Liturgy (no. 57–58) was initially permitted only in specific situations. One of the requirements was for the Bishop or his Delegate to preside. In the process of concelebration rite preparation the Congregation for Divine Worship attempted to determine the permitted number of concelebrants. However, in *Ritus servandus*, published in 1965, we can only find information that the number of concelebrants is dependent on the particular circumstances in which concelebration is taking place, such as the size of the presbyterium. *Ritus servandus* indicates that the concelebrants need to surround the altar, at the same time not obscuring the view for the faithful. Currently, the concelebrated Mass can be presided by any presbyter. This form of Mass celebration has become ordinary practice and is advised when there are many priests and there is no need for individual celebration for the sake of the faithful. In recent years a tendency to limit the number of concelebrants can be noticed.

Keywords

Eucharist, concelebration, presbyters, priesthood, liturgy renewal, Eucharistic community, number of concelebrants

Streszczenie

Numerus concelebrantium

Msza św. koncelebrowana przywrócona w Kościele łacińskim przez Konstytucję o liturgii (nn. 57–58) początkowo była dozwolona jedynie w uściślonych przypadkach. Wymagano także, aby przewodniczył jej biskup lub jego delegat. W procesie przygotowywania przez Kongregację Kultu Bożego obrzędów koncelebry próbowano określić także liczbę koncelebrujących kapłanów. Jednak w wydany w 1965 r. *Ritus servandus* zaznaczono jedynie, że zależy to od konkretnych warunków, w których ma

miejsce koncelebracja Mszy św. Najważniejszym kryterium jest wielkość prezbiterium, aby koncelebrujący mogli otaczać ołtarz, nie zasłaniając go wiernym. Obecnie Mszy św. koncelebrowanej może przewodniczyć każdy prezbiter. Taka forma sprawowania Mszy św. stała się zwyczajną praktyką i jest zalecana zawsze wtedy, gdy jest wielu kapłanów i nie ma konieczności indywidualnej celebracji dla dobra wiernych. W ostatnich latach zauważa się tendencję do ograniczania liczby koncelebrujących, zachowując wskazania *Ritus servandus*. Potwierdza to podejmowanie tego problemu przez Kongregację Kultu Bożego, która przypomina i uzasadnia wcześniejsze przepisy Kościoła. Podkreśla się, że powinny być one zachowane, zwłaszcza w wielkich koncelebracjach i poza zwykłymi miejscami sprawowania Mszy św. Każda bowiem Msza św. koncelebrowana powinna ukazywać i w znakach wyrażać jej teologiczne znaczenie, tzn. jedność kapłaństwa, jedność Ofiary Chrystusa i jedność ludu Bożego.

Słowa kluczowe

Eucharystia, koncelebra, prezbiterzy, kapłaństwo, odnowa liturgii, wspólnota eucharystyczna, liczba koncelebransów

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Topicality of the Second Vatican Council Constitution *Dei Verbum* in Contemporary Biblical Studies

The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* of the Second Vatican Council is an epoch-making step for the progress made in studies on the Holy Scripture. The development of Biblical Studies reaches its apogee in this particular document, at the same time giving directions for further search for the essence of God's plan presented in the words of hagiographers.

After the publication of this conciliar document a few other crucial texts were released, which lead to broadening the knowledge of the Bible in which God expressed His teachings in a human way, with the use of different literary genres and through hagiographers.¹ The aforementioned documents are three texts prepared by the Pontifical Biblical Commission: *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, *The Jewish People and Their Sacred Scriptures in the Christian Bible* and *The Bible and Morality*. Among important publications one also needs to mention the Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Verbum Domini* of Benedict XVI and an important tool for the development of faith which is the *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, promulgated by John Paul II on the 30th anniversary of the Second Vatican Council.

¹ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 12.

Each of these documents contains some fundamental ideological element deriving from the conciliar thought of *Dei Verbum*, adding, however, an element of new understanding, research fields or methods of analysis of biblical texts. We will try to have a closer look at the influence the Constitution on Divine Revelation had on the world of academic research on the Bible after the Second Vatican Council. This article will first cover the Revelation of God and his plan of salvation of man, then it will talk about passing on the deposit of faith that was expressed by hagiographers in the Holy Scripture and, lastly, it will elaborate on the necessary response of every man to God's invitation to participate in the dialogue with the vivifying Word of God.

1. In His goodness and wisdom God chose to reveal Himself²

Inconceivable in his being by any other creature, God decided to present His own nature to the creations that He had brought to life on earth in time and space. He did it in a way that made it possible for the beings created by Him to accept the truth about Him and His salvific will, since He had equipped them with wisdom to do so. God revealed Himself to people many times and in many ways, to finally speak to people through His beloved Son (cf. Heb 1 : 1–2). This dialogue, initiated by God, is a completely natural environment, thanks to which man can become familiar with God and who He is by nature, by means of the dialogue in Christ, through the Word that God addresses to people and the response from man that He receives.³ Benedict XVI in his Apostolic Exhortation *Verbum Domini* emphasises this particularly important aspect of the Word of God, which lies at the foot of the united Europe. The monastic culture, which was the inspiration for the Christian roots of the Old Continent, came from nothing else but fascination of man with the Word of God,

² Cf. *ibidem*, no. 2.

³ Cf. Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Verbum Domini*, no. 6.

recorded in the Bible.⁴ We can therefore see the biblical foundations of European culture at the very beginning of its existence. The Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* brings a new wave of the “famine for hearing the word of the Lord” (cf. Am 8: 11), which has been present in the global society for the last 50 years, especially in Europe.

The conciliar Constitution says much about the way in which God addresses people through the Bible and Tradition: God speaks in the Sacred Scripture to men and in human fashion,⁵ which shows the marvelous “condescension” of the eternal wisdom of His Revelation⁶ in order to adapt to human perception possibilities and current level of culture development. We need to emphasise that despite the great scientific development that the world experienced over the last few centuries, the willingness to understand what God has to say to people did not follow. The contemporary man is not much interested in God Himself, or in what he has to say to people. The dwellers of the world come up with countless fields of scientific research to which they put their minds, at the same time not responding to the salvific dialogue with the Incarnate Word.⁷ The Council reminds that “one does not live by bread alone, but by every word that comes forth from the mouth of God” (Mt 4: 4) and encourages to look further and higher.

In the Post-Synodal Exhortation *Verbum Domini* Pope Benedict XVI talks a lot about coming closer to God “speaking” to man as a friend and inviting him and taking him into the fellowship with Himself. God is the One, who addresses men with words – with His words He creates, orders and heals everything. Whatever comes from this “verbalised” design of God is either good or very good (cf. Gen 1). We can therefore talk about the cosmic and the eschatological dimension of the Word, its power of

⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 32.

⁵ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 12.

⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 13.

⁷ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality. Biblical Roots of Christian Conduct*, I, 5.1b.

creation and realism of discourse.⁸ The first way in which God spoke to man of all times is the divine work of creation, made by the spoken Word – Logos: “God said [...] and there was” (Gen 1:3). Also after the sin in paradise God says the Word to the fallen man: “where are you?” (Gen 3:9), proving that He is the one to speak first, uttering the Word that has the power to heal the man, who had lost the battle with the Satanic temptation, and is in the state of sin and death.

An important element of understanding the idea of the hagiographers is deciphering the sense behind their words. Since the Bible was written with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, it has two basic dimensions: literal and spiritual. The latter includes three more sub-dimensions: allegorical, moral and anagogical. Therefore, these four basic dimensions of the Sacred Scripture contain the greatest message of the Word of the Lord, which in these basic senses teaches the man about the truth of salvation. *The Catechism of the Catholic Church*, which in itself is a summary of the 30th anniversary of the conciliar renewal, contains a famous Latin couplet: “*Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia*.”⁹ When familiar with the Bible, one can understand better what was said by God about the salvation of man. It cannot, however, happen without the analogy of faith, understanding of different literary genres, accepting the unity of the biblical content and the living tradition of the Church.

2. The hagiographers committed the message of salvation to writing¹⁰

The teaching of the conciliar Constitution *Dei Verbum* aims at presenting the content of the Sacred Scripture. The hagiographers wrote down

⁸ Cf. Benedict XVI, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Verbum Domini*, no. 6–21.

⁹ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 118: “The Letter speaks of deeds; Allegory to faith; The Moral how to act; Anagogy our destiny.”

¹⁰ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 7.

only the words that God wanted them to hand on to man for his salvation. That is why the Books of the Bible teach the truth that was preserved of God's will and for our salvation in a certain and faithful way.¹¹

Blessed John Paul II, making an introductory speech on the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission entitled *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, pointed out that interpretation of the Sacred Scripture is of great significance both for the Christian faith and the life of the Church.¹² It means that the analysis of the sense that God included in the inspired words, which contemporary men are in contact with through the Bible, is of paramount importance both for those who receive the words of God and for their lives – it is the moral conduct of the faithful. The Pope points out an important truth, which is present in the diversity of forms of the Words of the Lord. For many, it is difficult to understand the intention of God since they misinterpret the Absolute, or even negate it. Assuming that God is a being that does not accept diversity and destroys everything that stands in its way is contradictory with the idea of God in the Bible, who is perceived as the Creator of all forms of life: spiritual, intellectual, moral and physical.

An important rule advocated by John Paul II is for the biblicists to assist the faithful in finding in the Sacred Scripture the living Word of the Lord, possessing the power of unifying human souls with God the Saviour. According to the Pope, another crucial thing is promoting the biblical thought among contemporaries, in order to facilitate the salvific work of the power included in the sacred texts. A deep thought of the then Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger needs to be mentioned here, who, in the preface to *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, says: "I believe that this document is very helpful for the important questions about the right way of understanding the Holy Scripture and that it also helps us to go further."¹³ It seems that the aim of this document is discovering

¹¹ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 11.

¹² Cf. John Paul II, *Address on the occasion of the celebrations of the first centenary of the encyclical Providentissimus Deus and the 50th anniversary of the encyclical Divino Afflante Spiritu*, "Acta Apostolicae Sedis. Commentarium Officiale" 86 (1994), p. 232.

¹³ *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, Preface.

the right way of understanding the content of the Sacred Scripture and noticing the new horizons of the inspired Word. J. Ratzinger in his statement touches on the mental process that takes place inside the addressee of the sacred text, and what the Word of God inspires him to do. From the altered personality of the “new man,” who is inspired by the Word of Revelation, comes concrete action for the sake of his salvation, as well as the salvation of others redeemed by Jesus Christ.

The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church is divided into four parts. Firstly, it discusses the most basic methods and approaches to Bible interpretation, then it refers to hermeneutic issues and, finally, to specific dimensions of the Catholic interpretations of the Bible and their reference to the life of the Church. Each of these main sections is divided into sub - sections, which present the views of the members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission on different issues, as well as the needs of contemporary Biblical Studies, in a deeper, more detailed way. The conciliar biblical renewal that *Dei Verbum* encourages when it discusses the accessibility of the Bible and a number of professional commentaries on the Bible,¹⁴ has its historical confirmation here. As far as the methods and approaches to the Sacred Scripture interpretation are concerned, the Biblical Commission began its analyses with the presentation of the historical-critical method. It is a basic but crucial research tool in Biblical Studies,¹⁵ although it is currently criticised by many. Apart from this one, other methods are used: rhetorical, narrative and semiotic. The canonical approach, which reaches for the Jewish traditions of interpretation, is also well known, as well as the approach concerning the history of text interaction.¹⁶

It is extremely important for the Biblical Studies to turn to the Tradition present in the community of the believers in the Church from the very beginning, rather than the ‘bible-centrism’ of contemporary believers’ lives. Currently people do not feel like subordinating their thoughts and discoveries to the judgement or supervision of anyone, especially not

¹⁴ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 22.

¹⁵ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Interpretation of the Bible in the Church*, I, A.

¹⁶ Cf. *ibidem*, I, B–C.

the Church and her Magisterium. That is why there is a risk of millions of interpretations of the inspired text, interpretations that have no reference to Tradition or ecclesiastical spirit. There exists a close connection and communication between the Sacred Tradition and the Sacred Scripture,¹⁷ for they merge into a unity of God Revelation. According to the Constitution *Dei Verbum* "Sacred tradition and Sacred Scripture form one sacred deposit of the word of God, committed to the Church."¹⁸ One should therefore not be separated from the other, since then there is not one deposit of the word of God, but there are two. And there is only one Revelation, like there is one God, who speaks to man in a human fashion, hoping to initiate the dialogue between man and Himself.

It is common knowledge that the Bible consists of two main parts: the Old and the New Testaments, which are, however, unified in accordance with the rule defined by Saint Augustine: "Novum in Vetere latet et in Novo Vetus patet."¹⁹ According to the Constitution *Dei Verbum*, the Old Testament prepares for the coming of Christ, announces this coming by prophecy and indicates its meaning,²⁰ whilst the New Testament states that the kingdom of God on earth was established by Christ.²¹ Since the Sacred Scripture consists of texts that come from different times and places in the history of mankind, the biblical renewal focuses not only on the better understanding of the Gospel and Jesus, but also on everything that helps to understand the divine plan of salvation expressed through the signs and images of the texts of the Old Covenant, as understanding the Old Testament conditions the right interpretation of the message presented by the New Testament.

¹⁷ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 9.

¹⁸ Ibidem, no. 10.

¹⁹ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 129: "the New Testament lies hidden in the Old and the Old Testament is unveiled in the New"; cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 16.

²⁰ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 15.

²¹ Cf. ibidem, no. 17.

Sacred biblical authors, with the use of their human words, wrote down the Word of God, which has the power to alter the whole man, the power to introduce him to the mystery of salvation completed by the Incarnate Word – Jesus Christ. One can notice that the hagiographers faithfully followed the Word of God, in order not to falsify it in any way and serve the Revelation of the Lord. They never attempted to alter the Word, their role was only to communicate it to everyone who wants to stop and brood over the texts they had written down. They created their works under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, basing them on their own considerations, ways of communication and literary rules prevailing in their times, keeping the readers they were addressing in mind (cf. Lk 1:1–4). One can therefore be certain that what can be found in the Bible is actually the Word of God, the Word that He speaks to His creation in the salvific dialogue, the creation on which he wishes to bestow a communion with Him, through His presence in the Eucharist and the Bible. This communion will be eschatologically fulfilled when the man fully understands the intention of God in His eternal kingdom.

Since the texts written under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit are available to us, we must also consider the consequences that the Constitution *Dei Verbum* had for the contemporary world. The Bible, its worthy interpretation, as well as methods and approaches to its interpretation, require some action on the side of man. As one can have the Bible on the shelf in his house, or, as it happens more and more often, downloaded to his computer, e-book or other multimedia device, one can own it, but never really read it. And sometimes, even if he reads it, the questions arise if he puts its words into practice, if he learns from it a new way of thinking and living in accordance with the revealed rules. The Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* put a lot of effort in making sure that the Bible can become a constant element of contemporary people's lives, as "ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ."²²

²² Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 25; St. Jerome, *Commentary on Isaiah*, Prol., PL 24, 17.

3. The obedience of faith is to be given to God who reveals²³

It seems obvious that God who reveals Himself to man needs to be listened to. Seeing the immensity of grace and the wisdom of the Word which, through the Bible and the Tradition, has been animating people over the centuries, knowing the various ways in which God communicates with people, we must notice God's "humbleness" in the dialogue with His creation.

The conciliar Constitution *Dei Verbum* states that the Church, taught by the Holy Spirit, is concerned to move ahead towards a deeper understanding of the Sacred Scriptures.²⁴ These words express probably the most important human activity, which is making attempts to understand the inspired words of God. In order to do it in the best possible way and avoid making mistakes in the process, it is necessary to apply the methods of Bible interpretation that the document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission describes. The right methods and approaches are crucial, in order to make it possible to understand the inspired Scripture. On the other hand, constant broadening of one's horizons is necessary, in order for the human mind to be able to understand even more precisely what God wanted to say through the hagiographers. In the spirit of the conciliar Constitution, it is our obligation to 'modernise' the methods and approaches to the Sacred Scripture and constantly develop our abilities to interpret what we received from God.

Another important indication of the conciliar Constitution *Dei Verbum* concerns the fact that the Church has always venerated the divine Scriptures, just as she venerates the body of the Lord.²⁵ Veneration of the Word of God is, most importantly, connected with liturgy. In the Eucharistic liturgy we encounter two sources of grace coming from Christ

²³ Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 5.

²⁴ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 23.

²⁵ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 21.

Himself which are His Body and Blood, connected inseparably with His Word. None of the seven sacraments that the Church has at her disposal happens without the Word of God. It is therefore clear that the Church has always venerated the Word of the Lord, as well as the Eucharist.²⁶ Veneration of the Word of God should be exercised by regular reading of the Sacred Scripture, but also by the obedience to the voice of the Church, which has been entrusted exclusively with the task of authentic and worthy interpretation the Word of God. This authority is exercised in the name of Jesus Christ, and the teaching office is not above the Word of God, but serves it, teaching only what has been handed on and guarding it scrupulously.²⁷

The Church encourages the believers to commune with the Bible, as through the reading and study of the sacred books the Word of God may spread rapidly and be glorified.²⁸ The Conciliar Fathers point to the reading and study, which should take place in the spirit of the Church. It is important to read first and only later - study. The act of “inhaling” in one’s mind the Word of God is emphasised. This same Word is then “digested” by the reasonable analysis of the accepted Word. These two actions, however, cannot be reversed. One cannot first analyse and then read the Word of God, as this might *a priori* impose a way of interpretation constricting the Word of God, instead of opening one’s mind to what God wants to pass on the reader.

Reading the Word of God and understanding what the Lord is trying to communicate to men is integrally connected with the way of life of the “man of the Word.” It is not enough to hear what God said and not fulfil His will. In the Gospel according to Matthew, Jesus tells the story of two sons, whose father ordered them to go and work in his vineyard (cf. Mt 21:28–32). One of them said in reply: “Yes, sir,” but did not go (v. 30), the other one said: “I will not,” but afterwards he changed his mind and

²⁶ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality. Biblical Roots of Christian Conduct*, I, 3.4.1b.

²⁷ Cf. Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 10.

²⁸ Cf. *ibidem*, no. 26.

went (v. 29). The second one in fact did what his father had asked them to do, although in the beginning he did not want to. In our approach to the Word of God one must above all gather all his strength and focus on fulfilling the will of the Lord, which is shown in the Bible and in the Tradition – the Revelation of the Lord. This necessity of putting the Word read in the Bible to reality is elaborated on in another document of the Pontifical Biblical Commission entitled *The Bible and Morality*.²⁹

Conclusions

Having presented the ways in which the Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* prepared by the Second Vatican Council affects the interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, summing up the conclusions reached in this analysis seems to be in place. The most important issue that needs to be emphasised is that, according to the Conciliar Fathers, “we now await no further new public revelation before the glorious manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ.”³⁰ The most basic conclusion is that everything that is necessary for salvation is included in the Revelation of God: the Sacred Scripture and the Tradition of the Church. That is why it is crucial to analyse both the Bible and the Tradition. An important contribution in the process is the work of extraordinary biblicalists – the members of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, as well as the authority of Pope Benedict XVI – the author of the Post Synodal Apostolic Exhortation *Verbum Domini*.

The most important sign of the topicality of *Dei Verbum* in contemporary Biblical Studies is the wide-spread and fruitful promotion of the Word of God in all fields of human activity, in the world of media, entertainment and also academic research. The world of art and culture

²⁹ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality. Biblical Roots of Christian Conduct*, II, 1.1.3 and II, 1.2.3.

³⁰ Second Vatican Ecumenical Council, Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum*, no. 4.

should not be overlooked either, as strong bonds between the artistry of the human heart and the Word of God can be noticed.

The second dimension of the topicality of the Constitution is the necessity of constant modernisation of analytical techniques and methods that all documents of the Magisterium emphasise. The newest scientific accomplishments need to be applied in Biblical Studies. The aim in mind is to make sure the text written with the inspiration of the Holy Spirit will be understood by the contemporary man, and will touch on issues important for him nowadays, giving him answers to problems that trouble him. The Bible is the book of life, written centuries ago, but always up to date, as it shows man in his earthly environment which is entered by God the Saviour and the Creator.³¹

The key message of both the Constitution on Divine Revelation and subsequent important commentaries of different Church figures is the fact that, through well guided reading and interpretation of the Word of God, all men of all times can meet with God, since, through divine revelation, God chose to show forth and communicate Himself and the eternal decisions of His will regarding the salvation of men (*Dei Verbum*, 6). The Word of God, read in the spirit of the Church, leads to the encounter between man and God, who first speaks to men in partial and various ways through the prophets, and then in His Son (cf. Heb 1: 1–2; *Dei Verbum*, 4).

What direction are the Biblical Studies of the 21st century going to take? This question needs to be thought over and answered with much consideration. The Second Vatican Council and its Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation *Dei Verbum* constitute a necessary point of reference for all those who love the Word.

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³¹ Cf. B. Zbroja, *Bóg – Zbawca i Wyzwawiciel*, [in:] *Z badań nad Biblią*, vol. 7, Kraków 2003, p. 93–103.

Summary

Topicality of the Second Vatican Council Constitution *Dei Verbum* in Contemporary Biblical Studies

The article discusses the issue of how strongly contemporary ecclesiological and scholarly approach to the Sacred Scripture is rooted in the Second Vatican Council Constitution *Dei Verbum*. The Bible originates from the faith of the Church, and, together with Tradition, helps to build this faith. The text consists of three sections. The first one focuses on God, who reveals Himself and His plan of salvation to man. Then, the ways in which God communicates with man through human authors and the long process of writing the inspired sacred books are mentioned. The last part emphasises how important it is for man to respond to the Word of God, which will enable the salvific dialogue of man with his Father, through His Son in the Holy Spirit. The community of Church faith is a natural environment of research, devotional reading and encounters with the Word of God, which are the elements of Christian life that the Constitution *Dei Verbum* (no. 25) encourages to implement.

Keywords

Second Vatican Council, Constitution *Dei Verbum*, Pontifical Biblical Commission, Benedict XVI, Exhortation *Verbum Domini*, Biblical Studies, topicality

Streszczenie

Aktualność Konstytucji *Dei Verbum* Soboru Watykańskiego II we współczesnej biblistyce

Artykuł traktuje o zakorzenieniu konstytucji o Bożym Objawieniu Soboru Watykańskiego II we współczesnym naukowym i eklesjologicznym podejściu do Pisma Świętego. Biblia bowiem wyrasta z wiary Kościoła i tę wiarę, wraz z Tradycją, buduje. Całość opracowana jest w trzech punktach. Najpierw uwaga skupia się na Bogu, który objawia człowiekowi samego siebie i swą wolę zbawienia ludzkości. Następnie jest mowa o sposobach ko-

munikowania się Boga z człowiekiem przy pomocy autorów ludzkich oraz długi proces tworzenia dzieł natchnionych kanonu ksiąg świętych. Jest wreszcie podkreślona konieczność odpowiedzi człowieka na Boże Słowo, dzięki czemu istota ludzka wchodzi w dialog zbawczy ze swoim Ojcem, przez Jego Syna w Duchu Świętym. Wspólnota wiary Kościoła stanowi naturalne środowisko badań, lektury i życia Słowem Bożym, do czego zachęca w swoim zakończeniu Konstytucja *Dei Verbum* (nr 25).

Słowa kluczowe

Sobór Watykański II, Konstytucja *Dei Verbum*, Papieska Komisja Biblijna, Benedykt XVI, Adhortacja *Verbum Domini*, biblistyka, aktualność

REV. BOGUSŁAW MIELEC

Liturgy and Morality. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in the Context of Moral Theology

The fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* by the Second Vatican Council (4 December 1963) is a great opportunity to analyse the relation between liturgy and morality. Their mutual ties, confirmed by the Divine Revelation, are one of the foundations of the existence of Christians and the Church. According to H. U. von Balthasar, the conjunction between liturgy and morality is the very fragment of the Revelation which reveals its fullness; this fullness flows and radiates through fragments, which is made easier and more natural when the fragments themselves are aware of their own incomplete character¹. Through the Revelation infinite God gives Himself to man in the fragments comprehensible for him in his human perception.

However, there is a risk of fragmentation of this infinite Whole in the Christian reflection and Christian works. The risk concerns the co-relation between liturgy and morality as well, being the distinction between the theoretical and the practical approach towards the two, up to the point when the two concepts become separated, or even contradicted, which, as a result, make the full and authentic participation in the Theo-Drama² in

¹ Cf. H. U. von Balthasar, *Das Ganze im Fragment*, Einsiedeln 1963, p. 122.

² Reference to the concept of H. U. von Balthasar presented in the five volumes of his *Theodramatik (Theo-Drama)* published by Johannes Verlag in Einsiedeln between 1973 and 1983.

which God co-operates with man impossible. That is when both liturgy and morality are in danger of becoming mere parodies of their original concepts.

According to the *Catechism of the Catholic Church* published in 1992, the Revelation indicates that the faith professed in the *Creed* is celebrated in the liturgy and then attested by the moral deeds of a Christian and supported by individual and communal prayer. In this way, the Catholic hermeneutics of the Divine Revelation is a true image of Christian existence as defined by Paul: it is “only faith working through love” (Gal 5:6). It means that orthopraxy does not exist without orthodoxy, and vice versa. However, R. Guardini points out that the Catholic understanding of this co-relation emphasises “the primacy of the Logos over the Ethos, and by this, harmony with the established and immutable laws of all existence”³, as its source is God who creates, makes the covenant with people, redeems and saves. Only then can man respond to God’s gifts with his own moral and liturgical acts.

All these elements help to shape some logical aspect of the interpretation of the connection between liturgy and morality in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in the context of moral theology. The starting point must be the analysis of the Revelation data, which the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy considers to be crucial for determining the essence of the Catholic liturgy. The next step to be taken is the interpretation of two key liturgical categories, namely “active participation” and “sacrifice”, which show the co-relation between liturgy and morality. The article finishes with an attempt to formulate a few basic conclusions connected with the issue in question.

1. Revelation Data

One of the characteristics of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, chronologically the first document of *Vaticanum II*, is its pastoral aim, namely the “restoration and promotion of the sacred liturgy”, realised by describing liturgy in the context of the history of salvation. It means that the right approach to determining the essence of Christian liturgy ought to

³ R. Guardini, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, transl. Ada Lane, New York 1935.

originate from the history of salvation. Therefore, the nature of liturgy is seen in the subsequent stages of God's plan of salvation as indicated in the Constitution: "the wonderful works of God among the people of the Old Testament" (SC 5), "the work of salvation" accomplished by Christ, the acts of the Church, in which Christ is always present (SC 6–7) as well as the eschatological future of the "heavenly liturgy" (SC 8). In order to analyse the issue in question, we need to scrutinise the God – man – community relations, basing the analysis on the biblical data available.

In the Old Testament the exodus, essential for the Chosen People, culminates through the covenant on Sinai (Ex 19 and 20), in which three interrelated elements are determined: worship, law and ethos. According to J. Ratzinger, "on Sinai the people receive not only instructions about worship, but also an all-embracing rule of law and life. [...] A people without a common rule of law cannot live. It destroys itself in anarchy, which is a parody of freedom, its exaltation to the point of abolition. When every man lives without law, every man lives without freedom"⁴. It means that the Sinaitic Covenant is not restricted to the "liturgical acts" understood as a number of practices minutely described by the Torah (e.g. Lev 1: 1–5: 26; 6: 1–7: 38)⁵. "Liturgy" of the Old Covenant is co-defined by the Ten Commandments, as it refers to man understood in a relational way. The reference to God, neighbours and yourself has a moral dimension, regulated by the hierarchically organised set of proscriptions and commandments, determining the responsibilities of the Chosen People (deontological interpretation). However, it is possible and desirable to interpret the Ten Commandments as a set of values and laws which constitute genuinely human, personal and social order. It consists of the so-called "vertical values" referring to the relationship between God and man: the worship of the Absolute, the respect for its presence in the world (the "name" of God) and the sacral dimension of time, as well as the so-called "horizontal values", which determine the morality of human relations. Among them we can find: family, life, the unity of a married

⁴ J. Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, transl. J. Saward, San Francisco 2000, p. 18.

⁵ More on the sacrificial ritual in: T. Brzegowy, *Pięcioksiąg Mojżesza. Wprowadzenie i egzegeza księgi Rodzaju 1–11*, Tarnów 1997, p. 87–91.

couple, freedom and dignity of all men, material possessions⁶. Following those values, regulations and commandments is seen as an equal criterion of the worship relation to God and His Covenant.

This event, which is the foundation of the Chosen People in the theological sense, establishes the co-relation between liturgy and morality, which is anything but random. It is well depicted by the story of the “golden calf” (Ex 32), which, according to J. Ratzinger, symbolises seeing God as equal to man, which poses a threat to the Covenant and suggests subjecting Him to the autonomous rule of man. “The narrative of the golden calf is a warning about any kind of self-initiated and self-seeking worship. Ultimately, it is no longer concerned with God but with giving oneself a nice little alternative world, manufactured from one’s own resources. Then liturgy really does become pointless, just fooling around. Or still worse it becomes an apostasy from the living God, an apostasy in sacral disguise. All that is left in the end is frustration, a feeling of emptiness. There is no experience of that liberation which always takes place when man encounters the living God”⁷.

In this context, liturgy, being a theandric act, can be perceived in the context of dramatic anthropology, since historical human existence is a moral drama, and therefore a complication, tension, catastrophe or reconciliation⁸. There is always some anthropological risk of misinterpretation of a theophany, and there is a risk of liturgically-moral misbehaviour that results from it. There are many historical narratives in the Old Testament that depict such situations (e.g. 1 Kings 11 : 4–13; 18 : 20–40).

The reaction to this is the Old Testament prophetism. “The prophetic literature first linked divine worship with respect for rights and justice. The preaching of Amos (5 : 21) and Isaiah (1 : 10–20) particularly are typical of this theological intuition.”⁹. We need to, however, differen-

⁶ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality. Biblical Roots of Christian Conduct*, no. 30–31.

⁷ J. Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, op. cit., p. 23.

⁸ Cf. H. U. von Balthasar, *Teodramatyka*, vol. 1: *Prolegomena*, tłum. M. Mijalska, M. Radkiewicz, W. Szymona, Kraków 2005, p. 17.

⁹ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality*, op. cit., no. 35.

tiate between two main tendencies. The first one, characteristic of the so-called early prophets from before the exile (Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Nahum and Habakkuk) is the criticism of syncretic worship, magically-sensual, external, separated from the morality demanded by Yahweh. Amos comments on it clearly: "Seek good and not evil, that you may live; Then truly will the LORD, the God of hosts, be with you as you claim" (Am 5: 14). The evil is seen as tangible social, economical and political injustice towards the weak (e.g. proselytes, orphans or widows)¹⁰. The prophets oppose to religion which is at the service of politics, which becomes the ideology of the state and its elites, as well as their subordinate priests (cf. e.g. Hos 4: 4–8), the result of which is always a personal and social sin¹¹.

The second tendency visible in the Old Testament prophecies introduces us to the problem of eschatological issues. In the writings of both Jeremiah (31: 31–34) and Ezekiel (11; 36) the new covenant is announced. The covenant which is presented as the utter gift of God, given regardless of the historical unfaithfulness of man and community. Deutero-Isaiah (40–55) announces the promise of the eternal and ultimate covenant. Zechariah additionally presents the vision of purification, which can be hastened by morally good actions of men (8: 14–17 cf. also Mal 3: 1–3), and Malachi pronounces the prophecy of the perfect, universal offering (Mal 1: 11). However, the coming of the era of salvation is more and more often connected with the so-called messianic promises (e.g. Jer 23: 5n; Ezek 17: 22–24; Hag 2: 20–23; Zech 6: 9–15), which, with time, concentrate in one person – the "Servant of Yahweh" (Isa 42: 49; 50: 4–11; 52: 13–53: 1–12), the "Son of Man" (Dan 7)¹², and the "meek and just" King (Zech 9: 9–10).

We can therefore form a thesis that the eschatological perspective of the prophets sees the liturgical (sacrificial) and moral actions of the Old

¹⁰ Cf. S. Bastianel, L. Di Pinto, *Biblijne podstawy etyki*, tłum. S. Obirek, Kraków 1994, p. 55–58.

¹¹ Cf. T. Hergesel, *Rozumieć Biblię*, vol. 1: *Stary Testament. Jahwizm*, Kraków 1990, p. 316–323.

¹² Cf. S. Bastianel, L. Di Pinto, *Biblijne podstawy etyki*, op. cit., p. 65–72.

Testament man in an anthropologically relative way. For Salvation requires faith in the actions of God in the past and present, but, most importantly, in the future. According to G. von Rad, the prophetic eschatology boils down to proclaiming to Israel the new works of God in history, which will go far beyond the old promises and the events overlooked and rejected by the Chosen Nation¹³. The announcement of this unknown dimension of the works of God can be also interpreted with reference to the mutual relation between liturgy and morality.

The New Testament fulfils what the Old Testament announces, and means a direct connection of God and the life of man. According to J. Ratzinger, the oneness of both Testaments means the “three steps of shadow, image, and reality”¹⁴. In Jesus Christ eschatology connects with history, although it does not identify itself with it. As far as the topic of this article is concerned, the most important thesis is that the life of Christ is both action and worship¹⁵. That is why He is perceived as a “universal formal norm of moral conduct” and a “specific personal norm” for both liturgy and morality of the New Covenant. On the one hand, the salvific work of Christ is a historical event of Passion, Death and Resurrection; on the other hand, there is its liturgical celebration in the Eucharist and in other sacraments in the time of the Church which “already” refers to the eternity of God, but is “not yet” there. The salvific work of Jesus takes place at a particular time in history and happens “once for all” (Lat. *semel*, Gr. *ephapax*; cf.: e.g. Heb 9 : 12; 10 : 12). But, as J. Ratzinger concludes, “what is perpetual takes place in what happens only once”¹⁶, it is everlasting. It happens “for us” and “because of us”. Therefore, a Christian sees liturgy in three ways: as a constituting event, a liturgical act, and a personal incorporation of Christ. “His self-giving is meant to become mine, so that I become contemporary with the Pasch of Christ and assimilated unto

¹³ Cf. G. von Rad, *Teologia Starego Testamentu*, tłum. B. Widła, Warszawa 1980, p. 455.

¹⁴ J. Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, op. cit., p. 54.

¹⁵ Cf. Międzynarodowa Komisja Teologiczna, *Moralność chrześcijańska i jej normy*, [in:] *Od wiary do teologii. Dokumenty Międzynarodowej Komisji Teologicznej 1969–1996*, red. J. Królikowski, Kraków 2000, p. 34.

¹⁶ J. Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, op. cit., p. 56.

God”¹⁷. It is this third dimension of liturgy that “expresses its moral demand”¹⁸ and it refers to the preceding works of God, made present in the liturgy, in order to make His descent our ascension, also through liturgy and morality. M. Kunzler suggests that God’s descent (katabatic/redemptive aspect) makes human ascension possible (anabatic, or latreutic aspect of liturgy) through worship and celebration¹⁹.

It all forms the new shape of the co-relation between liturgy and morality. Liturgy makes it possible for man to “ascend to God”, which is also full of moral sense. In other words, the revealed morality is “not primarily the human response but a revelation of the God’s purpose and of the divine gift. [...] for the Bible, morality is the consequence of the experience of God”²⁰. We can therefore conclude that the “Law” in the liturgically-moral sense, which in the New Covenant is Christ Himself, is what we may call “a way to follow”²¹ in Christ. This statement finds its evangelical foundation in the words of Jesus: “I am the way and the truth and the life” (Jn 14:6).

This is the synthesis of the New Testament teaching concerning the co-relation between liturgy and morality, which we learn to understand by means of theological analysis. St. Paul expresses it in the most concise way when he mentions *logike latreia* (Rom 12:1): “I urge you therefore, brothers, by the mercies of God, to offer your bodies as a living sacrifice, holy and pleasing to God, **your spiritual worship**”. According to J. Ratzinger the notion of *logike lateria* must be regarded as “the most appropriate way of expressing the essential form of Christian liturgy”, as it is how “the logos of creation, the logos in man, and the true and eternal Logos made flesh, the Son, come together”²².

In this approach we can notice the original, New Testament combination of faith, liturgy and morality, as well as the co-relative forms of

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 58.

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 59.

¹⁹ Cf. M. Kunzler, *Liturgia Kościoła*, tłum. L. Balter, Poznań 1999, p. 11.

²⁰ Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality*, op. cit., no. 4.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² J. Ratzinger, *The Spirit of the Liturgy*, op. cit., p. 50.

evangelisation, namely the kerygma, liturgy and parenesis. As J. Corbon emphasises, the New Covenant takes us beyond the division between worship and moral life²³. It is an apt interpretation of the Pauline *logike latreia*, worshipping God “in Spirit and truth” (Jn 4:23–24). The truth of God and the truth of man, the moral sense of which is expressed in *agape*. Christ is the incarnation of this love, and man was called to it through imitating the Logos through *metanoia*, the personal conversion.

Therefore, if liturgy makes the Incarnate Word present, one of the conditions to make this presence real is accepting His every word in its full religious and moral sense. Indicatively-imperative character of the teaching of Christ is inseparable from His work in the liturgical celebration of the Church. The calling which initiated His own mission: “Repent, and believe in the gospel” (Mk 1:15), “Come after me” (Mt 4:19), the Sermon on the Mount and the interpretation of the Ten Commandments, as well as the detailed indications concerning the relation to God, one’s neighbours and oneself, they all clarify the moral conditions of authentic celebration.

Biblical data, interpreted with the oneness of both Testaments in mind, present the multi-dimensional relation between liturgy and morality. It opens the next stage of our presentation of this co-relation in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council.

2. Religiously-moral sense of *participatio actuosa*: the offering

Understanding one of the crucial statements from the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy seems easier in the light of the data analysed. The Constitution states that: “Before men can come to the liturgy they must be called to faith and to conversion” (SC 9). The Christian relation God – man – community requires a theologically motivated moral conversion, which can be referred to as the “life by faith” (cf. Heb 10:38), since,

²³ Cf. J. Corbon, *Liturgia. Źródło wody życia*, tłum. A. Foltńska, Poznań 2005, p. 193.

as indicated by the *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, “the sacred liturgy does not exhaust the entire activity of the Church” (SC 9).

Therefore, it is important to make sure that “the faithful take part fully aware of what they are doing, actively engaged in the rite, and enriched by its effects” (*participatio actuosa*; SC 11), which emphasises the importance of the earlier mentioned religiously-moral sense of the celebration, and suggests only secondary meaning of the external correctness, which encloses in respecting the liturgical forms, detailed regulations and cultural elements etc. Contradicting these two elements of active participation would be a mistake with regard to the Bible, Tradition and the teachings of the Church. According to J. Ratzinger “active participation in liturgical celebrations”, which is an important notion in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, by no means can be reduced to its formal dimension. He claims that some pragmatists of the liturgical reform thought that all parts of the liturgy needed to be recited aloud by all its participants, which would make the celebration attractive and effective. However, in Ratzinger’s opinion, it is the *sense* of the words uttered and understanding them that constitutes one of the elements of the aforementioned *participatio actuosa*. The *actio* does not consist in standing up, sitting and kneeling down, but, most importantly, in the internal processes taking place, which make the celebration itself a dramatically important event²⁴.

His comments have their justification in biblical anthropology. The fact they come in compliance with it is the main methodological criterion of moral reflection²⁵, which comes prior to the conscious and free works of man as a religiously-moral subject. A human being, as “the image of the invisible God” (Col 1 : 15) is a spiritually-corporal creation, in which the spirit determines its humanity. One of its crucial dimensions is a rational and unconstrained relation to good. That is the moral implication of the revealed fact of creation, as well as the historical forms of the covenant, which include specific definitions of good. It is therefore the

²⁴ Cf. J. Ratzinger, *Liturgia zmienna czy niezmienna? Pytania do Josepha Ratzingera*, [in:] idem, *Opera omnia*, vol. XI: *Teologia liturgii. Sakramentalne podstawy życia chrześcijańskiego*, red. K. Gózdź, M. Górecka, tłum. W. Szymona, Lublin 2012, p. 583.

²⁵ Cf. Pontifical Biblical Commission, *The Bible and Morality*, op. cit., no. 95.

inside of a human being that holds the moral sense and is a condition of the authenticity of his actions.

On the other hand, the second methodological criterion of moral reflection points to the Christian sense of spirituality, which consists in aiming at perfection through the imitation of Christ, who is “the model par excellence of perfect conduct”²⁶. The most important issue here is acting in accordance with the values of the Gospel, the synthesis of which are the beatitudes. Their radicalism expresses and realises the filial relation of Jesus to the Father. Reconciliation, forgiveness and unconditional love take up a central position in this relation. The morality in imitating Jesus Christ, the self-portrait of whom are the beatitudes²⁷, makes the communion with the Lord, who works in the liturgy of the Church, possible.

The moral dimension of the liturgical *participatio actuosa* may be referred to as the Christian existential hermeneutic circle. Imitating Christ gives us the ability to access liturgy more deeply, which lets us derive from its teachings, which, through God’s grace, makes gradual conversion possible. That is the *participatio actuosa* advocated by the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. Seen from the Christian perspective, every act of worshipping the Father, every opportunity to serve one’s neighbour in the name of Christ is a chance to deepen the connection with the Lord²⁸. At the same time, this co-relation between liturgy and morality is an explanation of the dynamics of the Christian relationship with God. Since liturgy is nothing less than “an exercise of the priestly office of Jesus Christ”, during which “the sanctification of the man” takes place, and for that reason is “a sacred action surpassing all” and, therefore, “no other action of the Church can equal its efficacy by the same title and to the same degree” (SC 7). On the one hand, liturgy is perceived as “the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed”, which can be reached by living a moral life. On the other hand, however, the liturgy is the “the font from which all [...] power flows”, namely God’s

²⁶ Ibidem, no. 100.

²⁷ Cf. John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Veritatis splendor*, no. 16.

²⁸ Cf. *Synowie w Synu. Teologia moralna fundamentalna*, red. R. Tremblay, S. Zamboni, tłum. B. Widła, Warszawa 2009, p. 434.

grace (SC 10). The grace itself is understood as the ability to experience the theological virtues of faith, hope and love, which “are the foundation of Christian moral activity; they animate it and give it its special character. They inform and give life to all the moral virtues”²⁹.

The liturgical analysis of *participatio actuosa* requires some reference to current existence of a Christian, since *Sacrosanctum Concilium* must be interpreted in the context of all Conciliar documents, in accordance with the hermeneutics of continuity and integration, as it is the only right way of interpreting the document in question. We need, therefore, to refer to the Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et spes*, especially to the moral dramatic anthropology included in it. It is a concept of man seen in the entirety of his historical reality. This dramatism is characterised by the tension between “the bondage of sin”, which is the source of mutual distrust, enmities, conflicts and hardships (cf. GES 2 and 8), and the theological facts of creation and redemption (cf. GES 2). Between them we can find the “already”, but “not yet” completed act of salvation. The moral anthropology of this document assumes the dramatic sense of existence of man, which is the reason why he suffers from internal divisions (cf. GES 10).

As such, it is the subject of the relation between liturgy and morality, in which the grace of God meets the freedom of man, also in its sinful form. Both the history of religion and the Revelation of the Old Testament point to offerings made by man as expiation for his sins, which is an inherent element of this relation. The New Covenant changes the direction of making offerings. The Christian concept of the offering of Christ for the salvation of man is connected with the calling to imitate Christ, as “Following Christ is [...] the essential and primordial foundation of Christian morality”³⁰. It is then a completely new and specific relationship with the priest and the Offering present in the liturgical celebration of the Eucharist. In this sense, conscious and active participation is the ability to offer oneself (cf. SC 48). The offering seems to be a necessary

²⁹ *Catechism of the Catholic Church*, no. 1813.

³⁰ John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Veritatis splendor*, no. 19.

element of the liturgical *participatio actuosa*. That is why the Christian offering becomes the liturgical and moral *actio*.

In Christian liturgy the offering stands for the free and conscious, and thus spiritual, participation in the salvation work already completed by Christ. In morality the offering is understood as a process in which grace makes human purification and change possible, and human participation in this process is voluntary, initiated by one's works and fighting one's internal and external resistance of one's sinful nature and history. In this relation, which has its liturgical and moral dimension, Christ forestalls man through His offering, at the same time calling for man's participation in the offering through the commandment of love. The time and space in which this relation exists is the world, ethically ambivalent, good and evil, in which there is a need for devotion, righteous works, moderation in the desire for earthly values and fortitude towards the dramatic tension of the historical existence of man. The grace one receives through liturgy does not relieve men from the obligation to act morally, e.g. through spiritual death or, in case of martyrdom, physical death as well.

Only through self-sacrifice is it possible for man to return to the source of harmony with God from whom he originated. It happens in this way as in our history and nature we can only access God in a human way, which means in human relationships, in the reality of our bodies, in the context of history³¹. That is why the only thing man can actually offer God is himself. Because of that men are considered to be sacramental beings, as what was really given to man and accepted by him becomes a visible sign of invisible God.

3. Final remarks

This presentation of a part of the entirety which grants us access to indefinite reality of God must stay open to further research and analysis.

³¹ Cf. J. Ratzinger, *Sakramentalne podstawy egzystencji chrześcijańskiej*, [in:] idem, *Opera omnia*, t. 11: *Teologia liturgii. Sakramentalne podstawy życia chrześcijańskiego*, red. K. Gózdź, M. Górecka, tłum. W. Szymona, Lublin 2012, p. 200.

The author, a theologian and moralist, aimed at pointing out the existence of the co-relation between liturgy and morality, which is revealed in the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. A methodological argument to support this hermeneutics is the interdisciplinarity of moral theology, the subject of which is God working in man. When analysed together, liturgy and morality reveal a specific aspect of this work of God. It is also a form of co-operation with man through grace and freedom, which can only partly be experienced by humans. To some extent it also concerns liturgy and morality, and, therefore, human works as well. Their co-relation leads to a conclusion that in the Catholic interpretation grace cannot be demoralised, as "There is only One who is good. If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments" (Mt 19:17).

Freedom, on the other hand, cannot be deprived of its theological genealogy, which in the Constitution *Sacrosanctum Concilium* is referred to as the "sacred liturgy", as it expresses the truth of God, who, in the Decalogue, introduces Himself as "I, the Lord, [...] your God, who brought you out of [...] that place of slavery" (Ex 20:2). In the last book of the New Testament He is worshipped as the one "who loves us and has freed us from our sins by his blood" (Rev 1:5). So the co-operation of God and man means a constant co-relation between grace and freedom, and, as a result, between liturgy and morality. What is more, this co-relation between the two protects them from being reduced to ritualism and moralism. "What man is and what he must do becomes clear as soon as God reveals himself"³². *Katabasis* of God conditions *anabasis* of man, also in the liturgically-moral sense. This article and the analysis of the problem that it contains was the author's attempt to understand this issue better.

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REV. BOGUSŁAW MIELEC

³² John Paul II, Encyclical Letter *Veritatis splendor*, no. 10.

Summary

Liturgy and morality. Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in the Context of Moral Theology

The fiftieth anniversary of the promulgation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of *Vaticanum II* encourages attempts of its interpretation in the context of moral theology. It leads to the conclusion that there is a co-relation between liturgy and morality in the history of salvation. The Revelation of the Old Testament reveals the conjunction between worship and morality. Attempts to separate the two in the history of the Chosen People raise objections of prophets. Their criticism, however, comes together with the announcement of the future in which God will reveal the divisions between worship and morality. The New Testament shows the fulfilment of this promise in Jesus Christ. His salvific work establishes the Christian liturgy, in which man participates as a physical, as well as a spiritual being. The salvation, made present in the liturgy of the Church, is a relation, the co-operation of God and man, grace and freedom. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* presents this revealed truth, emphasising the objective and subjective dimensions of liturgy as the work of Christ, in which a Christian participates actively, freely and consciously (*participatio actuosa*). The participation is mostly spiritual, therefore moral at the same time. Only then can the external elements of liturgy take place, including its detailed forms, gestures, attitudes and behaviours of the sacred liturgy participants. It means that the liturgical *participatio actuosa* requires moral works through imitation of Christ leading to conversion. That is when “faith works through love” (cf. Gal 5:6). It leads us to the notion of sacrifice, which, as far as man is concerned, requires a total change. Sinful man presented with the love of the Triune God may respond to it with his own, gradually maturing love. The process constitutes the drama of God and man, which is the tension between grace and freedom, which is then represented by the co-relation between liturgy and morality. What is more, this particular co-relation makes an authentic experience of liturgy possible, protecting it from being reduced to sheer moralism and ritualism.

Keywords

Second Vatican Council, *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, *Gaudium et spes*, co-relation between liturgy and morality, drama, covenant, prophetism, eschatological tension, active

participation, sacrifice, imitation, conversion, moral and theological virtues, *katabasis* of God, *anabasis* of man

Streszczenie

Liturgia i moralność. Próba teologiczno-moralnej lektury Konstytucji o liturgii świętej *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

50. rocznica uchwalenia Konstytucji o liturgii świętej zachęca do teologiczno-moralnej interpretacji tego dokumentu *Vaticanum II*. Jej owocem jest stwierdzenie istniejącej w historii zbawienia korelacji pomiędzy liturgią i moralnością. Objawienie Starego Testamentu odsłania koniunkcję kultu i moralności, a próby jej rozerwania w historii Narodu Wybranego spotykają się z ostrym sprzeciwem proroków. Krytyka ta zawiera jednak zapowiedź nowej przyszłości, w której Bóg usunie podział między kultem a moralnością. Nowy Testament przedstawia realizację tej obietnicy w wydarzeniu Jezusa Chrystusa. Jego zbawcze dzieło ustanawia chrześcijańską liturgię, w której człowiek uczestniczy jako istota duchowo-cieleśna. Zbawienie aktualizowane w liturgii uświęca przez łaskę, która może być przyjęta jako miłość Boga respektująca wolne działanie człowieka. Zbawienie uobecnianie w liturgii Kościoła jest bowiem relacją, współdziałaniem Boga i człowieka, łaski i wolności. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* wyraża tę objawioną prawdę, podkreślając obiektywny i subiektywny wymiar liturgii jako dzieła Chrystusa, w którym chrześcijanin czynnie, świadomie i owocnie uczestniczy (*participatio actuosa*). Jest to przede wszystkim udział duchowy, zatem również moralny. Tylko wtedy możliwy jest zewnętrzny wymiar liturgii, w którym zawierają się szczegółowe formy, postawy, gesty i różnego rodzaju działania uczestnika świętej liturgii. Oznacza to, że liturgiczna *participatio actuosa* wymaga moralnego działania poprzez konkretne naśladowanie Chrystusa, prowadzące do nawrócenia. Wówczas „wiera działa przez miłość” (por. Ga 5, 6). W ten sposób dochodzimy do pojęcia ofiary, która w przypadku człowieka polega na jego całościowej przemianie. Grzeszny człowiek obdarowany miłością Trójjedynego Boga może na nią odpowiedzieć własną, stopniowo dojrzewającą miłością. Proces ten konstituuje dramat Boga i człowieka, czyli napięcie pomiędzy łaską i wolnością, któremu odpowiada właśnie korelacja liturgii i moralności. Co więcej, zależność ta pozwala na autentyczne doświadczenie liturgii i moralności, chroniąc je przed redukcją do rytualizmu i moralizmu.

Słowa kluczowe

Sobór Watykański II, *Sacrosantum Concilium*, *Gaudium et spes*, korelacja liturgii i moralności, dramat, przymierze, profetyzm, napięcie eschatologiczne, czynne uczestnictwo, ofiara, naśladowanie, nawrócenie, uświęcenie, cnoty teologalne i moralne, *katabasis* Boga, *anabasis* człowieka

RECENZJE · REVIEWS

TOMASZ MARIA DĄBEK OSB

Renata Jasnos, *Deuteronomium jako „księga” w kontekście kultury piśmienniczej starożytnego Bliskiego Wschodu*, Akademia Ignatianum, Wydawnictwo WAM, Kraków 2011, 485 pp. (Humanitas. Studia Kulturoznawcze. Badania)

The work presented in this review shows the creation of the Book of Deuteronomy in the broad context of writing and culture in the ancient Near East.

The paper consists of three parts. The first one is devoted to the selected aspects of the writing culture in the ancient Near East, with particular focus on Israel and Judea. The introduction shows the beginnings and the development of writing and writing culture (p. 27–36), the second chapter discusses the beginnings and the development of the scribal culture in Israel and Judea: the history of writing in the researched area – from the Cuneiform script in Canaan through the attempts leading to the creation of the alphabet, to Hebrew writing; the level of literacy in the areas of biblical Israel and Judea in 12th–9th and 8th–6th centuries; the conditionings of the development of writing in Israel and Judea: cultural, economically – administrative, social and political; the historical aspect of literacy in biblical accounts; the linguistic situation and literacy in the Persian period and the scribal culture of Israel and Judea: text storing places – archives, people creating and copying the texts – writers (archaeological and biblical data, titles and names of biblical writers, writing functions, writing skills, level of education, pre-exile families of

writers, the connections of courtly writers with the temple, the question of writers' education (p. 37–91). The third chapter of the first part discusses selected aspects of the cultural context of the writings in the Near East: text functions, ancient perception of writing and text recording (the belief in the incredible power of writing, mythical association of writing with gods and magic in Egypt and Mesopotamia), written record of extraordinary content – secret knowledge and letters of gods, the concept of authorship and the authority of the text, the tension between invention and duplicating the content (p. 93–134). The fourth chapter concerns the question of intercultural interactions: the evaluation of the cultural influences phenomenon, the significance of Ugarit as a mediator and witness of cultural influences caused by historical phenomena, the interruption, continuation and adaptation of the influences. It finishes with a question concerning research taking into account parallels in the cultural environments which shaped biblical authors, and the originality of the Bible in comparison with the prevailing cultural influences (p. 135–145).

Part two is entitled: “Deuteronomy as *sēfer*” and also consists of four chapters. The first one discusses the terminology connected with writing: *sēfer* as a piece of writing, letter, written documents; the verb *kātab*, which means ‘to write’; other terms associated with writing meaning ‘writer’ and at the same time ‘superior’ or ‘a divorce letter’; less commonly used terms connected with writing as well as ambiguous terms referring to a word in general and to its different forms and the word *tōrah* meaning science – law (p. 149–170). The second chapter presents selected aspects of the scribal culture in Deuteronomy: the material aspect – writing tools and materials; the personal aspect – who the writer is, types and functions of writing; Deuteronomy as a written work – what it includes as a book of law, the covenant and the meaning of “words”, the relation between the Book of Deuteronomy and the “Book” of *Torah*, aims and functions of the “Book” of *Torah* in Deuteronomy, the relation between the “Book” of *Torah* and the stone tablets in Deuteronomy and the Book of Exodus (p. 171–218). The third chapter talks about the “Book” of *Torah* in other traditions of the Hebrew Bible: the Book of Joshua, the Books of Kings, the Books of Chronicles, the Book of Ezra, the Book of Nehemiah and the prophetic books of the Old Testament (p. 219–238).

In the fourth chapter, the structure of the Book of Deuteronomy in the process of forming the text is presented, with special emphasis on the context, form, its complex structure and the terminology analysis with reference to its structure (p. 239–254).

Part three, which consists of five chapters, is devoted to Deuteronomy as the element of culture. The first chapter is entitled: “Oral and written tradition in Deuteronomy”. The author discusses the relation between the rhetoric of a literary text and the primary oral form. She presents the characteristic features of the oral message in literature: repetitions, formative style, performance (instructions presented in a nice and dynamic form, meant to be remembered), oral forms of law presentation. She tries to assess the oral dimension of Deuteronomy and show the oral and written dynamism of this book. In the last part of the chapter the author discusses the changes that took place in the oral record under the influence of writing (p. 257–280). The second chapter analyses the revealed wisdom and knowledge in Deuteronomy: Revelation and record as the work of God and Moses, the comparison between the secret knowledge of neighbouring peoples and the biblical wisdom as a domain and gift of God and Moses and the mythical wise man *apkallū* (p. 281–297). The third chapter shows the written law, its aims and functions, with particular emphasis on the divine right of kings and its reference to the revealed law in the context of Near-Eastern concept of power; laws and other legal writings; two stone tablets and the Ten Words of Jhwh and the function of the chest (the Ark of the Covenant) with reference to mythological records, inscriptions of treaties and the country law – the fact that the Law of God was announced in the Promised Land was a proof that the land itself was bestowed on the people of Israel by God (p. 299–336). Chapter four is the analysis of the process of shaping Deuteronomy as a piece of writing, which results in a new method of research on the composition of old texts: *Kompositionsgeschichte* – the history of composition, which, unlike the editorial history, emphasises the gradual introduction of changes in the message which is not treated as a piece of writing of a particular author, but as the image of tradition enriched throughout the centuries depending on the needs and prevailing conditions. The author points out the relation between the elements of the literary workshop and the

process of text composition. She uses 'the model of Gilgamesh' as a point of reference for the identification of particular stages of the book development, introduces it to the new research method of *Kompositionsgeschichte* and makes attempts to confront it with selected theories. She draws the readers' attention to the complexity of the message, gives examples of the negative hypothesis verification: the image of the king in Deuteronomy as opposed to the Books of Kings, discusses the 'editions' of the Book of Deuteronomy in accordance with the most recent material available on the subject (p. 337–376). The last chapter presents the synthesis of the Scripture theology and writing in Deuteronomy through the analysis of the oral and written record, characteristics of God as a writer, the mediators of the revelation in the tradition of Deuteronomy, the authority of the text and its significance deriving from the authority of its writer and his words, as well as the importance of writing on the basis of the covenant document, written laws and knowledge (p. 377–398).

The conclusion sums up the research presented in the dissertation.

The English summary makes the basic concepts of the work available to foreign readers. The list of Tables gives quick access to data presented in the book.

The vast Bibliography includes many interesting texts, mostly in English, but also in Polish and four other languages, divided into four sections:

1. The Ancient Near-East and the Writing Culture (p. 428–441);
2. The Writing Culture in the Bible (p. 441–450);
3. The Book of Deuteronomy (p. 450–456);
4. Others (including introductions and commentaries on other biblical books; p. 457–462).

The book includes various Indices, e.g. Subject Index, Biblical Reference Index, and others.

The text is written in a clear, comprehensive style. Detailed introductions and summaries at the beginning and end of each part of all chapters show and help follow the correlation of particular research elements and the course of research itself.

The dissertation is an example of an extraordinary academic achievement, valuable not only for biblical scholars and theologians, but also for other representatives of contemporary Humanistic Studies. It shows the

author's great skill, seen especially clearly in her conscious analysis of the problematic issue of cultural influences, attention to similarities, the use of common motifs, perception of differences and their use to express different content (from p. 135) as well as the method of *Kompositionsgeschichte*, which shows the gradual development of conveying the message of God's Revelation by the chosen ones – prophets – and then recorded and further interpreted by writers – the wise men. Observing the process of the formation of biblical texts we must free ourselves from contemporary intellectual patterns, as well as from Greek and Latin literary concepts, try to understand the intellectual elites of the analysed period and their ways of work and thinking.

The dissertation presented in this review is a perfect example of the appropriate scholarly approach. It enriches Polish biblical literature, sheds new light on the creation and development of the Deuteronomic tradition and serves as great help for everyone interested in biblical issues, as well as the development of writing and culture.

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