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LITURGICAL LANGUAGE AS A COURSE FOR THEOLOGICAL THOUGHT

The Case of Dom Prosper Guéranger and the Vatican II Council[1]

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In 1962, the fathers of the newly opened Vatican II Council heatedly debated on the language to be used in the celebration of the liturgy of the Roman rite, mainly revolving around two provisions contained in the Schema on the Liturgy:

> 24. [*Liturgical language*]. The use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Western liturgy. However, when "in not a few rites, the use of words in the vernacular can appear to be greatly advantageous to the people," a greater place may be granted to it in the liturgy. The Episcopal Conferences in each region—having consulted with the bishops of the neighboring regions of the same language, if this be the case—may propose to the Holy See the limits and manner for the vernacular to be admitted into the liturgy.[1]

[1] *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II* (henceforth referred to as AS) I/I, 272: "24. [*Lingua liturgica*]. Latinae linguae usus in Liturgia occidentali servetur. Cum tamen 'in non paucis ritibus vulgati sermonis usurpatio valde utilis apud populum exsistere' possit, amplior locus ipsi in Liturgia tribuatur, imprimis autem in lectionibus et admonitionibus, in nonnullis orationibus et cantibus. Sit vero Conferentiae Episcopalis in singulis regionibus, etiam, si casus ferat, consilio habito cum Episcopis finitimarum regionum eiusdem linguae, limites et modum linguae vernaculae in Liturgiam admittendae Sanctae Sedi proponere" (AS has quoted here Pius XII, Litt. Encycl. *Mediator Dei*: AAS 39 [1947], 545).

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> 41. [*Language*]. A more suitable place may be assigned to the vernacular in Masses with a congregation, primarily however in the readings, communal prayers, and some songs according to the norm of article 24 of this Constitution.[2]

Using this conciliar debate on liturgical language as a point of departure, this article demonstrates how the eventual decision of Vatican II in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 36 and 54 to allow a greater use of the vernacular in the Latin rites indicates and constitutes a certain shift away from the position of the French ultramontanist and polemicist Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875) and his operative ecclesiological context.[3] The founder of the Benedictine Abbey of Solesmes is widely recognized as the main catalyst for the total Romanization of the liturgy in France during the nineteenth century.[4] With the publication in 1841

[2]AS I/I, 280: "41. [*Lingua*]. Linguae vernaculae in Missis cum populo congruus locus tribuatur, imprimis autem in lectionibus, oratione communi et nonnullis cantibus, ad normam articuli 24 huius Constitutionis."

[3]"36. 1. Particular law remaining in force, the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites. 2. But since the use of the mother tongue, whether in the Mass, the administration of the sacraments, or other parts of the liturgy, frequently may be of great advantage to the people, the limits of its employment may be extended. This will apply in the first place to the readings and directives, and to some of the prayers and chants, according to the regulations on this matter to be laid down separately in subsequent chapters. 3. These norms being observed, it is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in Art. 22, 2, to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used; their decrees are to be approved, that is, confirmed, by the Apostolic See. And, whenever it seems to be called for, this authority is to consult with bishops of neighboring regions which have the same language. 4. Translations from the Latin text into the mother tongue intended for use in the liturgy must be approved by the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned above …. 54. In Masses which are celebrated with the people, a suitable place may be allotted to their mother tongue. This is to apply in the first place to the readings and 'the common prayer,' but also, as local conditions may warrant, to those parts which pertain to the people, according to the norm laid down in Art. 36 of this Constitution" (*Sacrosanctum Concilium* 36 & 54).

[4]For more on the life and works of Prosper Guéranger, see for example Cuthbert Johnson, *Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875): A Liturgical Theologian—An*

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of the second of his three-volume *Institutions Liturgiques*, he further intensified his ongoing campaign against the various French diocesan rites, sometimes also called the "neo-Gallican rites," consequently implicating himself in a public controversy with some French bishops who in turn defended the legitimacy of their own local liturgies.[5] Despite this level of opposition, Guéranger was nevertheless able to ultimately realize in 1875, the year of his death, the goal of his lifelong project—the uniform implementation of the Roman liturgical books across the whole diocesan landscape of France. This article deals with one particular aspect of Guéranger's liturgical theology, namely his liturgical essentialization of Latin which, to this day, is considered as the language proper to the celebration of the Mass in its Tridentine form.[6] Guéranger's views on liturgical language, as will be shown later, were

Introduction to His Liturgical Writings and Work, *Analecta Liturgica* 9, *Studia Anselmiana* 89 (Roma: Pontificio Ateneo S. Anselmo, 1984); Vincent Petit, *Église et Nation—La question liturgique en France au XIX^e siècle* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010); Marie-Hélène Deloffre, *Confesser L'Église—Introduction à l'ecclésiologie de dom Guéranger* (Solemnes: La Froidfontaine, 2006); David Hayes & Hyacinthe Defos du Rau, trans. & ed., *In a Great and Noble Tradition—The Autobiography of Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805–1875), Founder of the Solesmes Congregation of Benedictine Monks and Nuns* (Herefordshire: Gracewing, 2009). See also Arno Schilson, "Rinnovamento dallo spirito della restaurazione. Uno sguardo all'origine del movimento liturgico in Prosper Guéranger," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 12:3 (1991): 569–602.

[5]For more on the neo-Gallican rites, see for example Anscar Chupungco, ed., *Handbook for Liturgical Studies: Introduction to the Liturgy* Vol. 1 (Collegeville, Minnesota: The Liturgical Press, 1997), 163; Ellen F. Weaver, "The Neo-Gallican Liturgies Revisited," *Studia Liturgica* 16:3/4 (1986/1987): 54–72; C. Davy-Rigaux, B. Dompnier, D.-O. Hurel, eds., *Les cérémoniaux catholiques en France à l'époque moderne—Une littérature de codification des rites liturgiques* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009); Xavier Bisaro, *Une nation de fidèles: l'Église et la liturgie parisienne au XVIII^e siècle* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

[6]See for example Benedict XVI, *Summorum Pontificum*: "The use of the old Missal presupposes a certain degree of liturgical formation and some knowledge of the Latin language."

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later carried into the discussions during Vatican II by some Council fathers aligned with or sympathetic to his liturgical school of thought.

The Vatican II Debate on Liturgical Language[7]

One of the matters for consideration at the forefront of the Vatican II debate on liturgical language was the meaning of the "active participation" [*actuosa participatio*] of the faithful in the liturgy, a catchphrase which came to be largely associated with the type of reform advocated by the pre-conciliar liturgical movements and which had appeared in several places in the Schema on the Liturgy.[8] At this point in time, the Roman rites were predominantly celebrated in Latin—predominantly and not absolutely, for one must take into account here certain legitimate exceptions, such as the case of the centuries-long tradition of the Glagolitic rite or the limited use of the vernacular approved by the Holy See for the mission territories of India.[9] Given this predominance of the use of Latin in the liturgy, a number of Council fathers argued that "active participation" required

[7]See also Mathijs Lamberigts, "The Liturgy Debate," in Giuseppe Alberigo & Joseph A. Komonchak, eds., *History of Vatican II* Vol. 2 (Maryknoll, New York and Leuven: Orbis and Peeters, 1997), 107–166; Monika Selle, "Latein und Volkssprache im Gottesdienst: Die Aussagen des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils über die Liturgiesprache," PhD. diss. (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, 2001), esp. 213–290.

[8]For more on the history and use of "active participation," see for example Jozef Lamberts, ed., *The Active Participation Revisited—La participation active. 100 ans après Pie X et 40 ans après Vatican II* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005); Bernad Botte, *From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal* (Washington, D.C.: Pastoral Press, 1988); Armando Cuva, "La notion de participation dans Sacrosanctum concilium," *La Maison-Dieu* 241 (2005): 137–149; Jozef Lamberts, "L'évolution de la notion de 'participation active' dans le Mouvement liturgique du XX^{e} siècle," *La Maison-Dieu* 241 (2005): 77–120. For the mention of "active participation" in the Schema on the Liturgy, see also AS I/I, 267, 269, 273, and 279.

[9]For a brief history on the use of bilingual rituals in the Latin rites immediately before Vatican II, see for example Cyril Korolevsky, *Living Languages in Catholic*

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the intelligibility of the language used in the celebration of the liturgy, which in this case meant the vernacular rather than Latin:

> [Cardinal Maurice Feltin, Archbishop of Paris:][10] If however we wish to confess the truth, may not we be far from good reason to speak to the faithful in our teaching or exhortation in words which they do not understand; or to invite them to a prayer brought to them in a language unknown to them so that they can actively join themselves to it? The Latin language, I certainly admit, is not a burden to some people whose everyday speech is closer to it; but I know in many other regions, especially in the Missions, the exclusive use of this language in the liturgy presents a more serious obstacle.[11]
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> [Cardinal Giovani Montini, Archbishop of Milan:][12] For let us not forget that St. Paul in 1 Cor. 14 clearly teaches us and namely asserts that

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Worship—A Historical Inquiry, trans. Donald Attwater (London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co, 1957), 109–114.

[10]Maurice Cardinal Feltin was born on May 15, 1883 in Delle, France, ordained priest on July 03, 1909, appointed Bishop of Troyes on Dec. 19, 1927, ordained bishop on Mar. 11, 1928, appointed Archbishop of Sens-Auxerre on Aug. 16, 1932, appointed Archbishop of Bordeaux-Bazas on Dec. 16, 1935, appointed Archbishop of Paris on Aug. 15, 1949, with an additional appointment to the Military Ordinariate of France on Oct. 29, 1949, and elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santa Maria della Pace on Jan. 12, 1953, with an additional appointment as Bishop of France, Faithful of Eastern Rites on Jun. 16, 1954. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II as well as in the conclave of the papal election in 1963. See "Maurice Cardinal Feltin †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bfeltin.html (accessed November 22, 2013); "Military Ordinariate of France, Military," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dmlfr.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[11]AS I/I, 368: "Si autem vera fateri volumus, nonne longe a bona mente sit nos fidelibus ad eos docendos velhortandos alloqui, sermone quem non intelligunt; aut eos precibus lingua ab eis ignota prolatis ut sese activeconiungant invitare? Lingua latina, fateor quidem, quibusdam populis quorum sermo propinquior, oneri non est; sed scio in multis aliis regionibus, praesertim missionum, huius linguae in Liturgia usum exclusivum etiamgraviora incommoda praebere."

[12]Giovanni Battista Enrico Antonio Maria Montini was born on Sep. 26, 1897 in Concesio, Italy, ordained priest of Brescia on May 29, 1920, appointed Archbishop of Milan on Nov. 01, 1954, ordained bishop on Dec. 02, 1954,

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> the one who prays in the *ecclesia* ought to understand with one's mind what one verbalizes and, knowing what it says, to respond "Amen". The liturgy was truly instituted for people, and not people for the liturgy. It is the prayer itself of the Christian community; if we wish that this community not abandon our temple, but in order that they freely approach it and thereupon be formed towards the interior life of the soul and worthily express their faith, then the impediment of language—a language which cannot be understood or is suitable only to a very few people and which induces our people not to participate in the divine cult but instead alienates it from them—must prudently, but without delay and hesitation, be removed.[13]
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> [Louis La Ravoire Morrow, Bishop of Krishnagar, India:][14] The schema laudably urges "active and conscious participation" of the faithful in the liturgy. But such participation, active and conscious, is hardly a possibility especially for the less educated, that is, the masses of the faithful, as long as the liturgy is celebrated in an unfamiliar language. In

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elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santi Silvestro e Martino ai Montion on Dec. 15, 1958, later elected pope on Jun. 21, 1963, and died Aug. 06, 1978. See "Pope Paul VI, Giovanni Battista Enrico Antonio Maria Montini †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmontini.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[13]AS I/I, 315: "Non enim licet nobis oblivisci quod S. Paulus in cap. 14, *1 Cor.* diserte docet, scilicet affirmateum qui orat in Ecclesia, mente intelligere debere id, quod ore efferat et respondere « Amen » scientem quiddicat. Liturgia nempe pro hominibus est instituta, non homines pro Liturgia. Ipsa est precatio communitatis christianae; si cupimus, ne haec communitas templa nostra deserat, sed ut eo libenter accedat ibique ad interiorem animae vitam formetur et fidem suam digne exprimat, prudenter, sed sine mora et cunctatione, amoveri debet impedimentum linguae quae intelligi nequit, vel admodum paucis tantum est accommodata, quaeque gentem nostram non ad participandum cultum divinum allicit, sed ab eo abalienat …."

[14]Bishop Louis La Ravoire Morrow, S.D.B. (Salesians of Saint John Bosco) was born on Dec. 24, 1892 in Weatherford, Texas, USA, ordained priest of the Salesians of Saint John Bosco on May 21, 1921, appointed Bishop of Krishnagar, India on May 25, 1939, and ordained bishop on Oct. 29, 1939. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Louis La Ravoire Morrow, S.D.B. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmorrow.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

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> what way can "their minds be in accord with the voice", as our schema desires, if they do not understand the voice that speaks?[15]
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> [Enrique Rau, Bishop of Mar del Plata, Argentina:][16] The faithful are altogether ignorant of the Latin language, even in the Latin regions. A difficulty arises today even for the clergy. As I have said, in the public schools the Latin language is not sufficiently taught, and neither for seminarians. Nor is any hope present that this will be better advanced in the future. How can the faithful consciously and devotedly participate if they do not understand the sacred words themselves?[17]
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> [Paul John Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta, along with some US bishops:][18] The office of the bishop is the care of souls. These souls however are not incompetent and unthinking, but intelligent and conscious. For centuries, pastors of souls have preached the Gospel in a way that is easily grasped, and that is good. In the most recent

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[15]AS I/I, 467: "Schema laudabiliter urget 'actuosam et consciam participationem' fidelium in Liturgia. At talis participatio, actuosa et conscia, est vix possibilis, praesertim pro incultis, i.e., pro massa fidelium, quamdiu Liturgia celebratur in lingua ignota. Quomodo possent 'suam mentem voci concordare', sicut schema nostrum desiderat, si non intelligunt quid vox dicat?"

[16]Bishop Enrique Rau was born on Sep. 29, 1899 in Coronel Suárez, Argentina, ordained priest on Dec. 23, 1922, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of La Plata and Titular Bishop of Voncaria on Mar. 20, 1951, ordained Bishop on Jul. 01, 1951, appointed Bishop of Resistencia on Oct. 23, 1954, and appointed Bishop of Mar del Plataon Mar. 13, 1957. He participated on all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Enrique Rau †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/brau.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[17]AS I/I, 481: "Fideles omnino ignorant linguam latinam, etiam in regionibus latinis. Crescit in diem difficultasetiam pro clero … in scholis publicis lingua latina non sufficienter docetur, nec pro seminaristis. Nec ulla spesadest res in futurum melius iri. Quomodo participare possunt fideles conscie et pie si verba ipsa sacra non intelligunt?"

[18]Archbishop Paul John Hallinan was born on Apr. 08, 1911 in Painesville, Ohio, ordained priest of Cleveland on Feb. 20, 1937, appointed Bishop of Charleston on Sep. 09, 1958, ordained bishop on Oct. 28, 1958, and appointed Archbishop of Atlanta on Feb. 19, 1962. He attended all Sessions except the Third. See "Archbishop Paul John Hallinan †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bhallinan.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

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> years, we have opened the way for the Christian faithful to participate more intimately in the liturgy through the responses themselves translated from Latin, which is better …. If the order of the Mass is clarified more and laid out more intelligibly, this renders the souls of the faithful conscious and knowledgeable, truly prepared to complete the sacred action.[19]
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> [Cardinal Julius Döpfner, Archbishop of Munich:][20] The constitution satisfies what innumerable faithful expect—truly expect—from the Council …. It prepares the way so that all may actively participate in listening to the Word and also in the celebration of the mysteries through the prayers of Holy Mother the Church. It likewise widely opens the doors so that the faithful from all nations can follow in a language with full understanding and with a complete affection of the heart what they do externally.[21]

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[19]AS I/II, 75–76: "Officium episcopi est cura animarum. Istae autem animae non sunt inertes et mutae, sed sunt intelligentes et consciae. A saeculis, pastores animarum Evangelium modo facili captu praedicaverunt, id quod bonum est. Ultimis annis, christifidelibus viam aperuimus ad magis intime Liturgiae participandum per responsiones ab ipsis lingua latina factas, quod melius est …. Si ordo Missae magis clarificatur, et magis intelligibiliter disponitur, hoc reddet animas fidelium conscias et scientes, vere praeparatas ad actionem sacram peragendam."

[20]Julius August Cardinal Döpfner was born on Aug. 26, 1913 in Hausen, Germany, ordained priest of Würzburg on Oct. 29, 1939, appointed Bishop of Würzburg on Aug. 11, 1948, ordained bishop on Oct. 14, 1948, appointed Bishop of Berlin on Jan. 15, 1957, elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of S. Maria della Scala on Dec. 15, 1958, and appointed Archbishop of München und Freising on Jul. 03, 1961. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II and participated in the conclave for the papal election in 1963. See "Julius August Cardinal Döpfner †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bdopfner.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[21]AS I/I, 319: "Quod innumeri fideles a Concilio exspectant—exspectant vere—constitutio implet …. Viam parat, ut omnes in auditone Verbi et celebratione mysteriorum necnon in orationibus Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae actuose participent. Portas etiam quam latissime aperit, ut fideles ex omni gente et lingua cum plena intelligentia et perfecto cordis affectu sequi possint, quod externe agunt."

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Some Council fathers did not in principle oppose the need to make the rites more linguistically comprehensible, but, desiring to restrict rather than expand the application of the vernacular in the liturgy, they qualified "active participation" to mean the use of bilingual missals as was already customary in the celebration of the Mass in some places:

> [Cardinal Francis Spellman, Archbishop of New York:][22] Those who do not understand the Latin language can have at hand "Missal" books with a version in the vernacular in which they can satisfactorily follow the action of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.[23]
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> [Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, Archbishop of Palermo:][24] Certainly the majority of the faithful do not understand the Latin language, but

[22]Francis Joseph Cardinal Spellman was born on May 04, 1889 in Whitman, Massachusetts, ordained priest of Boston on May 14, 1916, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Boston and Titular Bishop of Sila on Jul. 30, 1932, ordained bishop Sep. 08, 1932, appointed Archbishop of New York on Apr. 15, 1939, appointed Archbishop of the Military Ordinariate of the United States of America on Dec. 11, 1939, and elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santi Giovanni e Paolo on Feb. 18, 1946. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II and in the 1958 and 1963 conclaves for the papal election. See "Francis Joseph Cardinal Spellman †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bspellman.html (accessed November 22, 2013); "Military Ordinariate of United States of America, Military," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dmili.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[23]AS I/I, 318: "Ii qui linguam latinam non intelligunt ad manus habere possunt libros « *Missales* » cum versione in lingua vernacula, qua actionem S. Sacrificii sat facili sequi possunt."

[24]Ernesto Cardinal Ruffini was born on Jan. 19, 1888 in San Benedetto Po, Italy, ordained priest of Mantova on Jul. 10, 1910, appointed Secretary of the Congregation of Seminaries and Universities on Oct. 28, 1928, appointed Archbishop of Palermo on Oct. 11, 1945, ordained bishop on Dec. 08, 1945, and elevated to Cardinal and Cardinal-Priest of S. Sabinaon on Feb. 18, 1946. He was in all four Sessions of Vatican II and in the papal elections of 1958 and 1963. See "Ernesto Cardinal Ruffini †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bruffini.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

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nowadays, more easily than in the past, all can have at hand a missal according to one's own language.[25]

[Cardinal Antonio Bacci:][26] Furthermore, the Missal in use today comes translated into the national languages.[27]

[Alexandre Gonçalves do Amaral:][28] If anyone therefore wishes to follow the Mass with a true understanding of the meaning of the words—and this is the ideal to be greatly desired—, one may acquire a bilingual missal.[29]

[Benedict Reetz, Benedictine Abbey of Beuron, Germany:][30] A moderate use of the vernacular may be granted by the Holy See for the

[25]AS I/I, 366: "Plerique sane fidelium linguam latinam non intelligunt, sed hodie, facilius quam heri, prae manibus omnes habere possunt missale secundum uniuscuiusque linguam."

[26]Antonio Cardinal Bacci was born on Sep. 04, 1885 in Giugnola, Italy, ordained priest of Florence on Aug. 09, 1909, elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Deacon of S. Eugenio on Mar. 28, 1960, and appointed Titular Archbishop of Colonia in Cappadocia on Apr. 05, 1962. He participated in all four Sessions and in the papal election of 1963. See "Antonio Cardinal Bacci †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bbacci.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[27]AS I/I, 409: "Praeterea hodie in usu venit Missale in nationales linguas conversum."

[28]Archbishop Alexandre Gonçalves do Amaral was born on Jun. 12, 1906 in Carmo da Mata, Brazil, ordained priest of Belo Horizonte, Minas Gerais on Sep. 22, 1929, appointed Bishop of Uberaba on Aug. 05, 1939, ordained bishop on Oct. 29, 1939, and appointed Archbishop of Uberaba, Minas Gerais on Apr. 14, 1962. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Archbishop Alexandre Gonçalves do Amaral †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgondaa.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[29]AS I/I, 418: "Si quis igitur voluerit—et hoc optimum est et valde desiderandum—sequi Missam cum vera intelligentia sensus verborum acquirat missale bilingue."

[30]Abbot Benedikt (Johannes) Reetz, O.S.B., was born in 1897 in Ripsdorf, Germany and appointed abbot of the Order of Saint Benedict (Beuron) in 1957. He was present at the first three Sessions of the Council. See "Abbot Benedikt

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> rituals, the reading of the Gospel and Epistles, and for various songs and prayers. The homily in fact is always held in the vernacular and with regard to the rest, all can have at hand a Roman Missal in Latin and at the same time in the vernacular.[31]

Furthermore, there were also some conciliar interventions that seemed to relativize and even disregard the very notion of linguistic intelligibility, emphasizing instead the apophatic nature of the liturgy and the key subjective experience of "mystery" within the liturgical celebration:

> [Reetz:] In the community it is not necessary that all take action nor all understand everything, but each has one's own proper part. For this reason it is not very much to be insisted that all understand all the words. And with regard to the rest, Christ the Lord always maintains the first place in the Christian community and he understands everything …. The mystery of faith in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass must not be exceedingly removed, but be more veiled so that the reverence of divine things is increased. The Latin language or even the Greek or Slavonic or any other sacred language is as if an "iconostasis" or a veil of the sacred mystery …. [The] faithful must not understand everything, but it is sufficient that they understand the universals and not all the particulars. The active participation of the faithful does not only consist in songs and prayers, but even in their vision of what is done at the altar. Saint Thomas already speaks of them who do not understand what is sung in church, and he wrote in the *Summa Theologica*: "Even if they do not

(Johannes) Reetz, O.S.B. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/breetz.html (accessed November 22, 2013). On the relationship between the Benedictine abbeys of Solesmes and Beuron, see Louis Soltner, "Beuron und Dom Guéranger," *Erbe und Auftrag* 51 (1975): 5–10; Cyrill Schäfer, ed., *Solesmes und Beuron—Briefe und Dokumente 1862–1914*, *Studien zur monastischen Kultur* 6 (St. Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 2013).

[31]AS I/I, 472: "… Usus moderatus linguae vulgaris a Sancta Sede conceditur pro Ritualibus, pro lectione Evangelii et Epistolae et pro variis cantibus et orationibus. Homilia denique semper habetur in lingua vulgari et de cetero omnes prae manibus habere possunt Missale Romanum in lingua latina simul et vulgari."

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> understand what they sing, they nevertheless understand on account of what they sing and this suffices in the stirring up of devotion …."[32]
>
> [Cardinal Pietro Parente:][33] … the Latin language, just like the other approved and esteemed liturgical languages, precisely because they transcend the vernacular language, are suitable in fostering the sense of mystery especially in the celebration of the Mass. Ascetics and psychologists have well ascertained that that sense of mystery can exercise a powerful influence in raising souls to the divine.[34]

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[32]AS I/I, 470–472: "In communitate non est necessarium ut omnes faciant neque omnes omnia intelligant, sed unusquisque partem suam propriam habet. Ex hac ratione non est nimis urgendum ut omnes omnia verba intelligant. Et de cetero Christus Dominus in communitate christiana semper primum locum obtinet et omnia intelligit …. Mysterium fidei in Sacrosancto Sacrificio Missae non debet nimis detegi, sed potius velari, ut rerum divinarum reverentia augeatur. Lingua latina vel etiam graeca aut slavica vel quaecumque alia lingua sacra est quasi 'iconostasis' vel velum mysterii sacri … fideles non debere intelligere omnia, sed sufficere ut intelligant universalia et non omnia particularia. Actuosa participatio fidelium non tantum consistit in cantu et oratione, sedetiam in visione eorum, quae in altari aguntur. S. Thomas iam loquitur de iis qui in ecclesia non intelligunt quaecantantur, et scribit in *Summa Theol*.: 'Etsi non intelligunt quid cantant, intelligunt tamen propter quid cantant ethoc sufficit ad devotionem excitandam' …."

[33]Pietro Cardinal Parente was born on Feb. 16, 1891 in Casalnuovo Monterotaro in southeast Italy, ordained priest of Naples on Mar. 18, 1916, appointed Archbishop of Perugia on Sep. 15, 1955, ordained bishop on Oct. 23, 1955, appointed Titular Archbishop of Ptolemais in Thebaide on Oct. 23, 1959, appointed official of the Congregation of the Holy Office on Oct. 23, 1959, later appointed Secretary of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on Dec. 07, 1965, and elevated to Cardinal on Jun. 26, 1967. He was present at all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Pietro Cardinal Parente †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bparente.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[34]AS I/I, 426: "… lingua latina, sicut aliae linguae liturgicae admissae et probatae, praecise quia transcendunt linguam vernaculam, apta sunt ad fovendam sensum mysterii, praesertim in celebratione Missae. Ascetae ac psychologi bene compertum habent quam efficacem influxum exercere valeat ille sensus mysterii in extollendis animis ad divina."

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> [Carlos Eduardo Melo, Bishop of Palmas, Brazil:][35] Let us consider this: in the silence itself of the people, the "mystery of faith", the mystery of the Mass is expressed and produces the highest psychological impression in the souls of the faithful.[36]

Cardinal Valerian Gracias,[37] Archbishop of Bombay (Mumbai), had actually earlier alluded to this apparent antithetical opposition between linguistic intelligibility and ritual "mystery," but with an ironical twist:

> For many years now, we have in the Indian East, not only with the permission but even with the urging of the Holy See, various rites in the vernacular language, in the major languages purely of the Indians (of which the official number is fourteen). By these means, we can administer certain sacraments and carry out certain rites entirely in the vernacular, except in the [sacramental] form and [the sacrament of] anointing for which one must use Latin. And this indeed so that the faithful may have an active participation in the rites. Our experience shows that not only the faithful are so well-instructed in this way, but even [our] friends among the non-Catholics who often assist in these rites are able to participate in them in an intelligible way. And for them, it is more because in their religions they understand nothing that their

[35]Bishop Carlos Eduardo de Sabóia Bandeira Melo, O.F.M., was born on Jul. 01, 1902 in Petrópolis, Brazil, ordained priest of the Order of Friars Minor on Jan. 04, 1925, appointed prelate of Palmas and Titular Bishop of Girba on Dec. 13, 1947, ordained bishop on Mar. 14, 1948, and appointed Bishop of Palmas on Apr. 11, 1958. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Carlos Eduardo de Sabóia Bandeira Melo, O.F.M. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bsabbm.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

[36]AS I/I, 443 [sic, 543]: "Consideremus: in ipso silentio populi 'mysterium fidei', mysterium Missae exprimitur et psychologiae maximam impressionem in animas fidelium producit."

[37]Valerian Cardinal Gracias was born on Oct. 23, 1900 in Karachi, India, ordained priest of Bombay on Oct. 03, 1926, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Bombay and Titular Bishop of Thennesus on Apr. 11, 1946, appointed Archbishop of Bombay on Dec. 04, 1950, and elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santa Maria in Via Lata on Jan. 12, 1953. He participated in all four Sessions and in the conclave of 1963. See "Valerian Cardinal Gracias †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgarcias.html (accessed November 22, 2013).

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> ministers say, even to those who are educated, because among the Hinduists, for example, it is held in the dead language Sanskrit; with the followers of Zoroaster, i.e., Parsis, it is held in the dead language of Avesta-Pahlavi. Among them there is a concept of religion where the more the mysterious and unintelligible the rites, the more they experience the majesty of the unknown diety. Most certainly among us Catholics, at least among the mature, we do not wish that the same circumstances prevail.[38]

At another level, several pro-Latin fathers also raised the dangers the use of the vernacular posed to the unity of the Church, especially in regions where linguistic differences were a source and catalyst of political factionalism and nationalistic tensions. Given this divide, they cited the advantage of Latin as a politically neutral, supranational, and common language for Catholics coming from diverse and even rival nations or tribes.

> [Józef Gawlina, Bishop Emeritus of the Military Ordinariate of Poland:][39] On the other hand, it appears that the introduction of certain

[38]AS I/I, 402–403: "Iam per plures annos nos habemus in Indiis orientalibus, non solum cum licentia, sed etiam impulsu Sanctae Sedis, varia ritualia in linguis vernacularibus, in linguis maioribus pure indianis (quarumnumerus officialis est 14). His mediis nos possumus administrare quaedam sacramenta et peragere quasdam caeremonias integre in lingua vernaculari, exceptis forma et unctionibus, pro quibus oportet uti lingua latina. Ethoc quidem ut fideles habeant actuosam participationem in caeremoniis. Nostra experientia ostendit non solumfideles esse tali modo bene instructos, sed etiam amicos inter non-catholicos, qui saepe assistunt his caeremoniis, in eis posse participare modo intelligenti. Et hoc, eo plus quia in eorum religionibus intelligunt nihil quod ministri dicunt, etiam illi qui sunt culti, quia apud Hinduistas, exempli gratia, adhibetur lingua mortua Sanscrit, apud sequaces Zoroaster, i.e. Parsis, adhibetur lingua mortua Avesta-Pahlavi. Apud eos conceptus religionis estquo plus caeremoniae sunt mysteriosae et inintelligibiles eo plus sentiunt maiestatem Deitatis incognitae. Certissime inter nos catholicos, saltem apud excultos, nolumus quod eaedem conditiones praevaleant."

[39]Archbishop Józef Gawlina was born on Nov. 18, 1892 in Strzybnik, Poland, ordained priest on Jun. 19, 1921, appointed Bishop of the Military Ordinariate of Poland and Titular Bishop of Mariamme on Feb. 15, 1933, ordained bishop on Mar. 19, 1933, resigned as Bishop of the Military Ordinariate in 1947,

https://publications.lst.edu/

> parts of the Mass in the vernacular, although attractive at first glance, nevertheless is not to be admitted on account of harmful results, considering especially the reason of nationalistic vexations … which people in various bilingual regions aggravate. For there is a danger that the "living" language of a certain nation among others may be considered as an instrument of "denationalization" and not a few people may back away from the Mass. But Latin is not of any nation and it serves all people; wherefore anywhere on earth, all people in the Catholic West feel at home in hearing the Mass in the Latin language.[40]

> [Bacci:] In my opinion, the national languages are not to be introduced into the celebration of the Mass not only because that which we wish to attain—this greater participation of the people in the eucharistic sacrifice and a greater understanding of the hearers of the things which are read by the priest—can be attained in another way … [namely] through the homily held in the vernacular [and] through the catechism for the people where everything is appropriately explained and accommodated to the intelligence of the people …. As a matter of fact, we cannot not only pursue here the proposal which sought to achieve this greater understanding on the part of the people, this greater participation; but also there are dangers, discriminations, and contensions that are easily introduced in not a few regions of mixed languages …. For in what language, if not in Latin, will the Mass be celebrated …? What about in certain cities in Switzerland where there are three languages in use? What about in Canada (New France) where the English and French languages are in use? What about in parts of the Belgian nation where two languages are equally held? And so forth

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appointed Titular Archbishop of Madytus on Nov. 29, 1952, attended the first three Sessions of Vatican II, and died on Sep. 21, 1964. See "Archbishop Józef Gawlina †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgawl.html (accessed November 27, 2013); "Military Ordinariate of Poland, Military," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/diocese/dmlpl.html (accessed November 27, 2013).

[40]AS I/I, 434: "Pars vero altera, nempe interpositio alicuius partis S. Missae in lingua vernacula, quamvis primo aspectu alliciens, tamen ob nocituros eventus non admittenda videtur, ratione praesertim habita irritationis nationalisticae, qua animi … in variis regionibus bilinguibus exasperantur. Periculum enim est, ne lingua « viva » cuiusdam nationis, ab alia, uti instrumentum « denationalizationis » consideretur et non paucos a Missa repellat. Lingua vero latina nullius est nationis omnibusque servit; quapropter omnes ubique terrarum catholici occidentales sentiunt se 'domisuae' audientes Missam in lingua latina."

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> …. There is certainly [much] to be feared here in this proposal, lest nationalism and its struggles are carried into the altar and imposed on the eucharistic sacrifice, which indeed there is no one who does not see this to be greatly detrimental; whereas on the contrary, the Latin language must be a bond of unity, as the Supreme Pontiffs have asserted.[41]
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> [Luigi Maria Carli, Archbishop of Segni:][42] Consider, I pray you, the case of a certain nation in which the faithful use several languages and belong to a common ancestry, certainly living but hostile among themselves. Will not the use of one of the vernacular languages ahead of the others be the kindling for discords and enmities? And thus the liturgy, by no means unites, [but] rather more and more divides the people and stirs up hatred within religion itself![43]

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[41]AS I/I, 408–410: "In Missae celebratione, meo consilio, linguae nationales inducendae not sunt, tum quia id affere potest grave periculum et damnum, tum quia id ipsum, quod omnes obtinere cupimus, hoc est maior populi participatio eucharistico sacrificio, et maior intelligentia audientium earum rerum quae a sacerdote leguntur, alio aptiore modo … obtineri potest …. Per homiliam vulgari lingua habitam, per catechesim ad populum, qua omnia opportune explanatur et ad intelligentiam populi accommodentur …. Etenim id quod attingere quaeritur, hoc est maior intelligentia ex parte populi, magis participatio, non modo hac ratione assequi non possumus, sed etiam facile inducuntur pericula, discrimina, contentiones in non paucis regionibus mixtae linguae …. Quanam in quibusdam urbibus Helvetiae ubi tres linguae in usu sunt? Qua enim lingua, quae latina non sit, celebrabitur Missa …. Quanam in Canadia (vulgo Canada) ubilingua anglica et gallica in usu sunt? Quanam in partibus Belgicae nationis, ubi pariter duae linguae habentur? Etc. …. Profecto hac ratione timendum est ne nationalismus et contentiones eius afferantur ad altare et inferantur in eucharisticum sacrificium, quod quidem valde detrimentosum esse nemo est qui non videat; cum contra lingua latina, ut Summi Pontifices asserunt, vinculum esse debet unitatis."

[42]Archbishop Luigi Maria Carli was born on Nov. 19, 1914 in Comacchio, Italy, ordained priest on Jun. 20, 1937, appointed Bishop of Segni on Jul. 31, 1957, and ordained bishop on Sep. 21, 1957. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Archbishop Luigi Maria Carli †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcarli.html (accessed November 27, 2013).

[43]AS I/I, 456: "Cogitetis, quaeso, casum alicuius nationis in qua fideles pluribus utantur linguis et pertineant stirpibus promiscue quidem viventibus sed inter se hostilibus. Nonne usus unius linguae vernaculae prae aliis fomes

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> [Thomas Cooray, Archbishop of Colombo:][44] … through a common language, controversies are avoided … (not rare in these days when political rivalries among nations prevail) around which is foremost among the different national languages; for example, if one may use French or English, why actually not the language of India or China or Sinai, etc.? … Divine Providence through twenty centuries preserved the Latin language in the Western Church. There does not seem to be a sufficient reason to change today this perhaps mysterious order of things of Divine Providence.[45]
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> [Charles Calewaert, Bishop of Ghent:][46] In our times more than in the past, an external symbol or sign of unity is necessary, especially using

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esset discordiae et simultatum? Et sic Liturgia, nedum uniret, animos potius magis magisque divideret, et odium in ipsam Religionem excitaret!"

[44]Thomas Benjamin Cardinal Cooray, O.M.I., was born on Dec. 28, 1901 in Periyamulla, Negombo, Sri Lanka, ordained priest of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate on Jun. 23, 1929, appointed coadjutor Archbishop of Colombo and Titular Archbishop of Preslavus on Dec. 14, 1945, ordained bishop on Mar. 07, 1946, succeeded as Archbishop of Colombo on Jul. 26, 1947, and later elevated to Cardinal on Feb. 22, 1965. He attended all four Sessions of the Council. See "Thomas Benjamin Cardinal Cooray, O.M.I. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcooray.html (accessed November 27, 2013).

[45]AS I/I, 431: "per linguam communem evitantur contentiones … (haud rarae his diebus, quando aemulationes politicae inter nationes praevalent) circa primatum inter varias linguas nationales; verbi gratia, si liceat uti lingua gallica vel anglica, quare non etiam lingua vel indica vel serica seu sinaica, etc? … Divina Providentia per viginti saecula conservabat linguam latinam in Ecclesia occidentali. Non videtur adesse ratio sufficiens mutandi hodie hanc dispositionem divinae Providentiae forsan arcanam."

[46]Bishop Charles Justin Marie Ernest Calewaert was born on Oct. 17, 1893 in Deinze, Belgium, ordained priest on Apr. 23, 1922, appointed Bishop of Ghent on Jan. 28, 1948, ordained bishop on Mar. 08, 1948, attended the first two Sessions of the Council, and died on Dec. 28, 1963. See "Bishop Charles Justin Marie Ernest Calewaert †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcale.html (accessed November 27, 2013). See also Mathijs Lamberigts, "Msgr. Calewaert, Bishop of Ghent and *Sacrosanctum Concilium*" in D. Donnelly, J. Famerée, M. Lamberigts, & K. Schelkens, eds., *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council* (Leuven, Paris & Dudley, MA: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2008), 611–632.

https://publications.lst.edu/

> the modern means of bringing people of every race and language, even those from widely dispersed regions, so easily together …. Now truly the Latin language, inasmuch as it is a supranational language, is a very clear sign—indeed an effective psychological agent—of this unity …. [When] everything in the liturgical language is proclaimed and chanted in the vernacular, after several years the faithful, namely the more simple-minded, will no longer recognize the *Kyrialis Romani* [Penitential] chant in Latin, and they will be entirely strangers in all things in a Mass celebrated outside of their own country and thus, an immoderate nationalism will be presented an opportunity, where, slowly without perceiving it, the faithful are drawn into constituent churches of nations independent from Rome, and this is a very serious danger that threatens Christian unity in our time.[47]

This claim of the political neutrality and universality of Latin was however indirectly countered by the written intervention of the bishops of Africa where they suggested that the Latin language was in fact politically associated with the legacy of European colonialism:

> [Gilbert Ramanantoanina, Archbishop of Fianarantsoa:][48] The bishops of the continent of Africa, Madagascar and the [surrounding] islands

[47]AS I/I, 474–475: "Nostris temporibus magis quam antea necessarium est symbolum vel signum externum unitatis, praesertim cum mediis modernis vectationis gentis ex omnis tribu et lingua … tam facile convenient etiam ex dissitis regionibus. Iamvero lingua latina, utpote lingua supernationalis, est praeclarum signum, immo actor psychologicus efficax huius unitatis … quando omnia in lingua liturgica lingua vulgari proclamantur et canuntur, post aliquot annos fideles iam not cognoscent vel simpliciores cantus Kyrialis Romani in lingua latina, et omnino alieni erunt in moni Missa celebrata extra propriam patriam et ita, ansam praebebitur immoderato nationalismo, quo, sensim sine sensu, trahentur fideles ad constituendas Ecclesias nationales independentes a Roma, et hoc est periculum valde grave quod nostris temporibus imminet unitati chrisitianae."

[48]Archbishop Gilbert Ramanantoanina, S.J., was born on Dec. 13, 1916 in Ambositra, Madagascar, ordained priest of the Society of Jesus on Aug. 01, 1948, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Fianarantsoa, Madagascar and Titular Bishop of Acmonia on Jan. 12, 1960, ordained bishop on Apr. 24, 1960, and appointed Archbishop of Fianarantsoa on Apr. 02, 1962. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Archbishop Gilbert Ramanantoanina, S.J. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bramg.html (accessed November 27, 2013).

https://publications.lst.edu/

> do not doubt the sense of the truth in the expression "in the Western liturgy" that is found in the text of the Schema; for the Western liturgy is distinguished from those that flourished in the Christian East. However, given the circumstances of today arising from the political emancipation of the peoples of Africa, the term "Western" evokes to the ears of many of them bygone times and it seems the Church is exceedingly connected with the culture and history of the people of the European West. Therefore, the term may be deleted and … the name Roman rite and affiliated rites is proposed.[49]

Furthermore, they as well as other Council fathers similarly based in the Mission territories also accentuated the specificity of Latin to the Western civilizations and cultures:

> [Ramanantoanina:] The bishops of the continent of Africa, Madagascar, and the [surrounding] islands, however much they take effort to entirely preserve the use of the Latin language, nevertheless deem of supreme importance the use of the vernacular in those parts of the liturgy that turn to the people. The principal reason is that the use of the vernacular in those parts of the liturgy serves the interests of a better and active participation of the people and a more suitable and more fruitful religious formation. Indeed the liturgy celebrated in the vernacular will naturally become the optimal expression of their own Christian culture: thus indeed in their experience of the Holy Mass, the Sacraments, and the Divine Office and in the instruction provided therein, these will more easily touch their minds, will be better retained in their memory, and more intimately penetrate their own life and culture.[50]

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[49]AS I/I, 420: "Episcopi continentis Africae, Madagascar et insularum non dubitant de vero sensu expressionis « in liturgia occidentali » quae in textu schematis invenitur; distinguitur enim liturgia occidentalis ab illis quae in Oriente christiano florent. Attamen, datis hodiernis circumstantiis ex emancipatione politica populorum Africae exortis, vocabulum « occidentali » auribus plurimorum eorum evocat tempora peracta et Ecclesiam nimis connecta videtur cum cultura et historia populorum europae occidentalis. Ergo vocabulum deleantur et … nomen ritus romani et rituum affinium proponitur."

[50]AS I/I, 420: "Episcopi continentis Africae, Madagascar et insularum, quamvis usum linguae latinae servare omnino intendant, tamen maximi momenti existimant usum linguae vernaculae in iis Liturgiae partibus quae ad populum dirigunt. Ratio praecipua est quod usus linguae vernaculae in istis Liturgiae partibus ad meliorem et actuosam populi participationem et ad

https://publications.lst.edu/

> [Alfonso Ungarelli, Bishop of Azura:][51] Not only in expression and manner of speaking, but also the frame of mind itself and the way of life are deeply connected with the language of whatever people. It cannot be that the Latin language drags along with itself very many human institutions which, even if venerable, must not at all be imposed on other nations. For people are not obliged except in receiving the divine call, [and] not at all in accepting the culture of the West, having given less esteem to their own culture. Thus, the Christian religion of the Latin language, and therefore with the culture of the West introduced, will appear absolutely foreign to the non-Latin people; and will be held as a strange religion which produces a discrepancy from the customs and institutions of their native land. The Catholic religion in that case becomes a detested religion, not out of the nature of the preached Word of God, but by reason of the human instrument by which the Gospel is clothed. Therefore we deem as necessary that the Latin language be rightly reserved for the people of the West, as the people in the Western civilization thus need not be imbued with the new printed liturgy adapted to one's particular language. If we do not do this, the evangelization of the world will be advanced more languidly and slowly.[52]

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aptiorem magisque fructuosam efformationem religiosam inserviet. Etenim Liturgia vernacula lingua celebrata naturaliter fiet optima expressio culturae eorum christianae: ita enim sensu et doctrina Sanctae Missae, Sacramentorum et divini Officii mentem eorum facilius attingent, memoriae melius retinebuntur, vitam et culturam eorum intimius penetrabunt."

[51]Bishop Alfonso Maria Ungarelli, M.S.C., was born on May 02, 1897 in Marrara, Italy, ordained priest of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart on Dec. 22, 1928, appointed prelate of Pinheiro, Maranho, Brazil and Titular Bishop of Azura on Nov. 13, 1948, and ordained bishop on Mar. 27, 1949. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Alfonso Maria Ungarelli, M.S.C. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bunga.html (accessed November 27, 2013).

[52]AS I/I, 337: "Non tantum locutio et dictio, sed et ipsa forma mentis et ratio vitae penitus coniungitur cum lingua cuiusque populi. Fieri non potest quin lingua latina secum trahat permultas institutiones humanas quae, etsi venerabiles sint, nullatenus debent aliis gentibus imponi. Gentes enim non obstringuntur nisi ad nuntium divinum accipiendum, minime ad humanitatem occidental accipiendam, sua posthabita humanitate. Ita christiana religio linguae latinae, ideoque humanitati occidentaliinserta, populis non latinis videbitur prorsus aliena, et habita erit pro religione extera, quae in discrimen datmores

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> [Peter Kobayashi, Bishop of Sendai, in the name of all the Japanese bishops:][53] For our Japanese culture, I thus assert, is in no way founded in any Western culture either of the Romans or the Greeks, but in the ancient culture of the East and especially in the Chinese culture. Therefore, the Latin language does not signify anything else to us Japanese except something pertaining to the Western world; if therefore the use of Latin in the liturgy exceedingly prevails, the faithful can become familiar with the liturgy only with great difficulty, and the unconverted will go on to consider the Catholic religion as something Western[,] totally alien from the Japanese mentality. In addition, the Latin language in Japan is entirely unknown so that through the use of Latin, our people are therefore impeded from approaching the divine treasure contained in liturgy …. Therefore for the sake of the progress of the Catholic Church among all our people, I think it is entirely necessary that a greater use of the vernacular in the sacred liturgy, indeed in the liturgy of the Mass, be appropriately granted.[54]

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et institutiones patrias. Catholica religio, igitur, fit religio invisa, non ex natura Verbi Divini praedicati, sed ex apparatu humano quo Evangelium vestitur …. Quapropter necessarium aestimamus linguam latinam reservandam esse gentibus vere occidentalibus, ita ut populis humanitate occidentali non imbutis novae Liturgiae accommodentur in suis propriis linguis exaratae. Si hoc non facimus, evangelizatio mundi languidiores ettardiores progressus faciet."

[53]Bishop Petro Arikata Kobayashi was born on Sep. 22, 1909 in Kobe, Japan, ordained priest of Osaka on Mar. 21, 1935, appointed Bishop of Sendai on Feb. 21, 1954, and ordained bishop on May 03, 1954. He attended all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Petro Arikata Kobayashi †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bkoba.html (accessed November 28, 2013).

[54]AS I/I, 525–526: "Cultura enim nostra iaponensis, ut ita dicam, nullo modo fundatur in aliqua cultura occidentali vel romanorum vel graecorum, sed in cultura antiqua Orientis, et specialiter in cultura sinensi. Quare, lingua latina non aliud significat apud nos Iaponenses, nisi aliquid pertinens ad mundum occidentalem; si ergo in Liturgia nimis praevalet usus linguae latinae, fideles valde difficile cum liturgia familiares fieri poterunt, et infideles considerare pergent Religionem catholicam ut quid occidentale, totaliter alienum a mente Iaponiae. Insuper lingua latina in Iaponia omnino incognita est ita ut, per usum linguae latinae populus noster impediatur ab accessu ad thesauros divinos in Liturgia contentos …. Pro progressu igitur Ecclesiae catholicae in nostro populo omnio necessarium puto ut maior usus linguae vernaculae in sacra Liturgia, etiam in Liturgia Missae, apte concedatur."

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> [Cardinal Yü-Pin, Archbishop of Nanjing:][55] Many vernacular languages are appropriate for their complete use in the liturgy, indeed in the Mission areas, for example in China of which the written language, although it has a four-millenia history, is used until now, not only among the Chinese people, but even among the people of neighboring nations, so that about a third of the human population makes use of this writing everyday. With this language in its ideography, syntax, and monosyllabication having an overall shape different from Latin, it is, in accordance with its more suitable measure and rhythm, greatly appropriate for the understanding of the Roman Missal and in rendering it more easily in one's mind.[56]

Another attitude brought into the debate was the centuries-long habit of competition, if not antagonism, between Catholics and Protestants. Two Council fathers from the Anglo-Saxon tradition observed that in their own countries and in comparison to the Protestant churches, there were more Catholics attending the liturgical rites, thanks to the use of Latin in the liturgy:

> [Cardinal William Godfrey, Archbishop of Westminister:][57] It is well known that in the present time our Catholics, great in number, assist at

[55]Paul Cardinal Yü Pin was born on Apr. 13, 1901 in Lan-si Sien, China, ordained priest on Dec. 22, 1928, appointed vicar-apostolic of Nanking [Nanjing] and Titular Bishop of Sozusa in Palaestina on Jul. 07, 1936, ordained bishop on Sep. 20, 1936, appointed Archbishop of Nanking, and later elevated to Cardinal on Apr. 28, 1969. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Paul Cardinal Yü Pin †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/byupin.html (accessed November 28, 2013).

[56]AS I/II, 128–129: "Multae linguae vernaculae sunt idoneae ad usum completum liturgicum, etiam in terris Missionum, v.g. in Sinis quarum lingua scripta, quamvis quater millenariam historiam habeat, nunc adhuc usurpata, non solum apud populum sinensem, sed etiam apud populos finitimarum nationum, ita ut quasi tertia pars humanitatis hac scriptura quotidie utatur. Haec lingua, toto caelo a lingua latina differens, ideographica, synthetica, monosyllabica, proinde mensuris rythmisque aptior, valde idonea est ad Missale romanum interpretandum ac intellectu facilius reddendum."

[57]William Cardinal Godfrey was born on Sep. 25, 1889 in Liverpool, UK, ordained priest on Oct. 28, 1916, appointed Apostolic Delegate to Great Britain and Titular Archbishop of Cius on Nov. 21, 1938, ordained bishop on Dec. 21,

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> Mass and listen to the word of God. While our churches are full, other churches on the contrary not rarely have small congregations, with these churches [especially the Anglican Church] having not opposed the use of language in the vernacular form which is fairly beautiful and not classical.[58]
>
> [Cardinal James McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles:][59] In the recent times, even in North America so materialistic, the growth of Holy Mother the Church was a true miracle, with the sacred liturgy language having been preserved in the Latin language. The efforts of Protestantism fall short, and Protestantism makes use of the vernacular.[60]

1938, appointed official to Poland in 1943, appointed Archbishop of Liverpool on Nov. 10, 1953, appointed Archbishop of Westminster on Dec. 03, 1956, appointed Administrator of England and Wales on Jun. 10, 1957, elevated to Cardinal and appointed Cardinal-Priest of Santi Nereo ed Achilleo on Dec. 15, 1958, attended the First Session of the Council, and died on Jan. 22, 1963. See "William Cardinal Godfrey †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgodfrey.html (accessed November 29, 2013).

[58]AS I/I, 374–375: "Notum est quod hodierno tempore catholici nostri, magno numero, assistunt Missae etaudiunt verbum Dei. Ecclesiae nostrae plenae sunt dum, e contra, ecclesiae aliorum non raro habent parvas congregationes, et hoc non obstante usu linguae vulgaris forma sat pulchra necnon classica … [praesertim in ecclesia anglicana]."

[59]James Francis Aloysius Cardinal McIntyre was born in New York on Jun. 25, 1886, ordained priest of New York on May 21, 1921, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of New York and Titular Bishop of Cyrene on Nov. 16, 1940, ordained bishop on Jan. 08, 1941, appointed coadjutor Archbishop of New York and Titular Archbishop of Paltus on Jul. 20, 1946, appointed Archbishop of Los Angeles, California on Feb. 07, 1948, and elevated to Cardinal and Cardinal-Priest of Sant' Anastasia on Jan. 12, 1953. He participated in the papal elections of 1958 and 1963, and was present in all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "James Francis Aloysius Cardinal McIntyre †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmcintyre.html (accessed November 29, 2013).

[60]See AS I/I, 370: "Saeculis recentibus, etiam in America Septentrionali tam materialistica, incrementum Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae vere mirabile fuit, retenta sacra Liturgia in lingua latina. Conatus protestantismi deficiunt, et protestantismus lingua vulgari utitur."

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Some pro-Latin fathers also warned that the use of the vernacular in the liturgy would result in the repetition of the ecclesial schism and factionalism linked to the Reformation:

> [MacIntyre:] The Protestant sects shifted to the vernacular and they dissolved themselves into innumerable factions.[61]

> [Giovanni Peruzzo, Archbishop of Agrigento:][62] In the Augsburg Confession, nothing was more desired except the chants of the people in the vernacular language during the time of the Mass. But what happened? The substitution [of Latin] by the vernacular in the Mass, in general, was the first act of separation from Holy Mother the Church. This serious assertion is not mine, but of the Lord Abbot Guéranger who is truly the father of the renewal of the liturgy. In his words: "The departure from the liturgical language, almost always, even with the dispensation of the Supreme Pontiff, by a certain inexplicable reason not known to us, leads to schism and to the full separation from the Catholic Church." One may examine what he affirms, as you can read it in volume II of his *Institutions Liturgiques*. These words, these facts must render us very much cautious in this matter of so great an importance.[63]

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[61]AS I/I, 370: "Sectae protestanticae linguae vulgari se converterunt et in factiones innumeras se dissolverunt."

[62]Archbishop Giovanni Battista Peruzzo, C.P., was born on Jul. 14, 1878 in Molare, Italy, ordained priest of the Congregation of the Passion on Jan. 13, 1901, appointed Auxiliary Bishop of Mantova, Italy and Titular Bishop of Euroea in Epiro on Jan. 18, 1924, ordained bishop on Feb. 10, 1924, appointed Bishop of Oppido Mamertina on Oct. 19, 1928, appointed Bishop of Agrigento (Girgenti), Italy on Jan. 15, 1932, appointed Archbishop (Personal Title) of Agrigento on Mar. 29, 1952, attended the first Session of Vatican II, and died on Jul. 20, 1963. See "Archbishop Giovanni Battista Peruzzo, C.P. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bperuzzo.html (accessed November 23, 2013).

[63]AS I/I, 595: "In Confessione Augustana (Augsburg), nihil aliud petitum fuit nisi cantus popularis in lingua vernacular, tempore Missae. Sed quid evenit? Substitutio linguae vulgaris in Missa, generatim, primus fuit actus separationis a Sancta Matre Ecclesia. Gravis haec affirmatio non est mea, sed domini abbatis Guéranger, qui vere pater est renovationis liturgiae. En sua verba: « Separatio a lingua liturgica per quamdam inexplicabilem rationem, a nobis non cognitam, fere semper, etiam habita dispensatione Summi Pontificis, adduxit ad schisma et ad plenam separationem ab Ecclesia catholica ». Quod affirmat ille probat,

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Countering this position, several advocates of the vernacular cited the ecumenical agendum declared in the Introduction of the Schema on the Liturgy, namely "to foster in whatever way whatever can bring about the union of the separated brethren into the Church,"[64] and here they stressed the merits of the vernacular:

> [Sergio Méndez Arceo, Bishop of Cuernavaca:][65] It will be psychologically impossible that our non-Catholic Christian brethren will accept the Latin language in the liturgical prayers and readings.[66]
>
> [Adam Kozłowiecki, Archbishop of Lusaka:][67] It is for us to ask whether insisting excessively on the use of the Latin language may actually bring about the union of the separated brethren. Allow me to add these words stated from the Acts of the Apostles after the first ecumenical council of Jerusalem: "For it seemed to the Holy Spirit, and to us, to impose no further burden on you than these necessary things: that you abstain from the sacrifices of idols and from blood and from what is strangled, and from fornication, [and] having guarded yourselves from

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uti vos legere poteritis in volumine III eius *Institutions Liturgiques*. Haec dicta, haec facta nos reddere debent permultum cautos in hac re tanti momenti."

[64]AS I/I, 262: "quidquid ad unionem fratrum separatorum in Ecclesia quoquo modo conferre potest, fovere;"

[65]Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo was born on Oct. 28, 1907 in Tlalpan, Mexico, ordained priest on Oct. 28, 1934, appointed Bishop of Cuernavaca, Morelos on Mar. 11, 1952, and ordained bishop on Apr. 30, 1952. He participated in all four Sessions of the Council. See "Bishop Sergio Méndez Arceo †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmendeza.html (accessed November 29, 2013).

[66]AS I/I, 358: "Psychologice impossibile erit fratres nostros christianos non-catholicos linguam latinam in oratione et lectione liturgica accepturos esse."

[67]Adam Cardinal Kozłowiecki, S.J., was born on Apr. 01, 1911 in Huta Komorowska, Austria, ordained priest of the Society of Jesus on Jun. 24, 1937, appointed Vicar Apostolic of Lusaka, Zambia and Titular Bishop of Diospolis Inferior on Jun. 04, 1955, ordained bishop on Sep. 11, 1955, appointed Archbishop of Lusaka on Apr. 25, 1959, and later elevated to Cardinal on Feb. 21, 1998. He participated in all four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Adam Cardinal Kozłowiecki, S.J. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bkozl.html (accessed November 29, 2013).

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these, you will do well." Neither may we impose other burdens except only the necessary burdens.[68]

[Ungarelli:] Now if the entire liturgy in the West must preserve the use of Latin, an impediment not necessary to the union with the separated brethren—for example, with the Protestants who use the vernacular—is retained; and perhaps they may more easily enter into the Catholic Church with the impediment of language removed.[69]

Guéranger's Opposition to the Use of the Vernacular in the Liturgy

How can these examples, selected from the conciliar discussions on liturgical language during the very first session of Vatican II, be thematically linked to the position of Prosper Guéranger in the matter of liturgical language? Taking cue from the quotation cited in the intervention of Archbishop Peruzzo, it is now time to further inspect the stance of Guéranger with regard to the use of the vernacular in the context of the liturgy. In his *Institutions Liturgiques*, Guéranger attempts to delegitimize the various French diocesan rites by associating them with what he coins as "the anti-liturgical heresy" intimately linked with Jansenism and certain strains of Protestantism.[70] In here, he states:

[68]AS I/I, 422–423: "Quaerendum nobis est utrum nimia insistentia in usu linguae latinae ad unionem fratrum separatorum revera conferat. Liceat mihi adducere hic verba ex Actibus Apostolorum post primum concilium oecumenicum Hierosolymitanum dicta: « Visum est enim Spiritui Sancto, et nobis, nihil ultra imponere vobis oneris quam haec necessaria: ut abstineatis vos ab immolatis simulacrorum, et sanguine, et suffocato, et fornicatione, a quibus custodientes vos bene agetis ». Ne imponamus onera alia nisi tantum onera necessaria."

[69]AS I/I, 336: "Iam vero, si universa Liturgia occidentalis servare debet usum linguae latinae … impedimentum retinetur non necessarium conciliationi cum Fratribus separatis, ex. gr. cum protestantibus, qui lingua vernacula utuntur, et in Ecclesiam catholicam forsitan facilius introirent, dempto impedimento linguae …."

[70]Dom Prosper Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 1 (Le Mans and Paris: Fleuriot and Débécourt, 1840), 405–425; *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 2 (Le Mans

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> 8. Since the liturgical reform had for one of its principal aims the abolition of actions and formulas of mystical signification, it is a logical consequence that its authors had to vindicate the use of the vernacular in divine worship. This is in the eyes of sectarians a most important item. Cult is no secret matter. The people, they say, must understand what they sing. Hatred for the Latin language is inborn in the hearts of all the enemies of Rome. They recognize it as the bond among Catholics throughout the universe, as the arsenal of orthodoxy against all the subtleties of the sectarian spirit, a weapon more powerful than the papacy. The spirit of rebellion which drives them to confide the universal prayer into the idiom of each people, of each province, of each century, has for the rest produced its fruits, and the Protestants themselves constantly perceive that the Catholic people, in spite of their Latin prayers, relish better and accomplish with more zeal the duties of the cult than most of the Protestant people do. At every hour of the day, divine worship takes place in Catholic churches. The faithful Catholic who assists leaves one's mother tongue at the door. Apart from the sermons, such one hears nothing but mysterious words which, even so, are not heard in the most solemn moment of the Canon of the Mass. Nevertheless, this mystery charms one in such a way that one is not jealous of the lot of the Protestant, even though the ear of the latter doesn't hear a single sound without perceiving its meaning. While the Protestant Church gathers with great effort once a week, the Christian purists, the Church loyal to the papacy[,] ceaselessly sees its many altars besieged by its religious children; every day, they detach themselves from their work to come and hear these mysterious words which are of God because they nourish the faith and alleviate the pains. We must admit it is a master blow of Protestantism to have declared war on the sacred language. If it should ever succeed in ever destroying it, it would be well on the way to victory. Exposed to profane gaze, like a virgin who has been violated, from that moment on the Liturgy has lost much of its sacred character, and very soon people find that it is not worthwhile putting aside one's work or pleasure in order to go and listen to what is being said in the way one speaks [at] the marketplace.[71]

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and Paris: Fleuriot and Débécourt, 1841), 170–255; *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 3 (Paris: Julien, Lanier et Ce, Editeurs, 1851), xix–xxiv.

[71]Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 1, 419–421. Unless otherwise stated, the English translations of this section of *Institutions Liturgiques* are borrowed from "The Anti-Liturgical Heresy," http://catholicapologetics.info/modernproblems/newmass/antigy.htm (accessed November 29, 2013). On the

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In this extract, which can also be said to represent the polemical style found throughout the *Institutions Liturgiques*, Guéranger frames his polemical discourse against the use of the vernacular in the liturgy by capitalizing on the conventional contradistinction between Catholic and Protestant identities, as well as the sacred and secular spheres. Thus, for example, the Catholic worshippers, in contrast to the Protestants, leave their own mother tongue, the vernacular of the secular marketplace, at the door of the Church as they enter the physical space marked out by the liturgy and by Latin, the language proper to the liturgy. Likewise, the differentiation between Latin and the vernacular is cast as an opposition between the sacred language of Rome and the secular speech of the sectarian Gallicanist State. One can therefore note here that the polemical impact of the text strategically relies on the existing ethos of animosity between Catholics and Protestants and between the antithetical movements of ultramontanism and Gallicanism which extensively characterized Guéranger's religious milieu.

Consequently, one must pay special attention to the fundamental differences between the historical contexts of Guéranger and the Vatican II Council. Whereas Guéranger conducted himself under an existing climate of anti-Protestantism typical of the Catholicism of his day, Vatican II, on the other hand, had already adopted a more reconciliatory and open-minded approach towards Protestants, thanks largely to the pre-conciliar ecumenical movement received by the Council. Furthermore, Guéranger's operative horizon was spatially confined to Europe in general and his native France in particular; it has also been argued that his ultramontanist vision of the Church at work in his writings was that of "a unique nationality in the West" [*nationalité unique en Occident*].[72] By contrast, Vatican II had a more

theme of liturgical language, see also Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 2, 253–254; Vol. 3, 161–215.

[72]Peter Raedts, "Prosper Guéranger and Liturgical Unity," in Robert Norman Swanson, ed., *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship* (Suffolk and New York: Ecclesiastical History Society, 1999), 333–344; see also Peter Raedts, "The Church as Nation State: A New Look at Ultramontane Catholicism (1850–1900)," *Nederlands archief voorkerkgeschiedenis* 84 (2004): 476–496.

https://publications.lst.edu/

enlarged geographical purview that embraced and highly valued the Mission territories outside Europe, some of which at the time of the Council were politically characterized by the emergent movements and strong sentiments of anti-colonialism and indigenous nationalism.

Given these contextual differences, and given the eventual decision of Vatican II to allow for a greater vernacularization of the Latin liturgy, one can note here the ironic reversals of history: if the vernacular was stereotypically typecasted as a cause and marker of the Protestant schism, the vernacular in the eyes of Vatican II would in turn be a source of the healing of this split. If in the European context of the ultramontanist campaign against Gallicanism the use of Latin in the liturgy served to strategically set the Church apart from the secularizing tendencies of the State, in the context of anti-colonialism in the Mission territories it would, on the contrary, ideologically align and identify the Church with the history of colonialism of the European powers. Thus, the shift in the policy on liturgical language during Vatican II is indicative and constitutive of a shift in the operational climate and context of the Church—from anti-Protestantism to ecumenism, and from ultramontanism to anti-colonial nationalism. It is therefore not merely a shift on the level of language, but is suggestive and determinative of a broader shift in the ecclesiological context that plays a significant influence on the shape the Church consequently envisions for itself.

The Latin Language and the Tridentine Form of the Mass

During the conciliar debate, while some fathers insisted that the entirety of the Mass be celebrated in Latin,[73] there were others

[73]See, for example, the interventions of Costantini and McIntyre (AS I/I, 462 and AS I/II, 108, respectively). Bishop Vittorio Maria Costantini, O.F.M., was born on Jan. 16, 1906 in Gubbio, Italy, ordained priest of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual on Jul. 07, 1929, appointed Bishop of Sessa Aurunca on May 28, 1962, and ordained bishop on Jul. 08, 1962. He was present in all

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on the other hand who proposed that the vernacular be granted for the more "didactic parts" of the Mass while retaining Latin for the "sacrificial part":

> [Feltin:] Cannot this general norm be held: the use of the vernacular language can be permitted for all those parts for which the priest himself turns to the faithful: namely the proclamation of the Word of God, the exhortations, and the admonitions; for all those parts which are spoken by the people, or by the people united with the priest or recited by them in alternative succession. This principle may be applied in the celebration of the Mass, indeed by all means not only in the Mass of the Catechumens, lest only this part, to the disadvantage of the other part [the Mass of the Faithful], becomes penetrable to the faithful.[74]

> [Cooray:] In the celebration of the Mass, as I have said, the use of the Latin language is to be observed in the parts which properly pertain to the sacrifice. As for the rest, especially in the didactic parts, freedom may be granted to the Episcopal Conferences …. The use of the vernacular in the sacrifice itself is not necessary. Certainly the sacrifice is a social cult act, but it is not an act to be completed by all, but only by the priest delegated on behalf of human beings …. From here, it is sufficient that the assembly of the faithful can participate through written commentaries or through the living voice offered.[75]

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four Sessions of Vatican II. See "Bishop Vittorio Maria Costantini, O.F.M. Conv. †," http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bcostv.html (accessed November 30, 2013).

[74]AS I/I, 368: "Nonne adhiberi posset haec generalis norma: vernaculae linguae usus permitti potest pro his omnibus quae sacerdos ad ipsos fideles vertit, scilicet Verbi Dei proclamationem, exhortationes, monitiones; pro his omnibus quae a populo dicuntur, vel a populo una cum sacerdote, vel ab ipsis alternis vicibus recitantur. Hoc autem principium applicandum esset Missae celebrationi, haud quidem Missae catechumenorum tantum, ne haec pars, alterius incommodo, fidelibus sola pervia fieret."

[75]AS I/I, 431: "In celebratione Missae, sicut iam dictum est, servetur usus linguae latinae in parte quae proprie pertinet ad sacrificium. In ceteris, praesertim in partibus didacticis, relinquatur libertas Conferentiis episcoporum …. Usus linguae vulgaris in ipso sacrificio non est necessarius. Sacrificium certe est actus cultus socialis, sed not est actus ab omnibus peragendus, sed tantum

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> [Reetz:] A moderate use of the vernacular may be granted by the Holy See for the rituals, the reading of the Gospel and Epistles, and for various songs and prayers.[76]

The reservation of the vernacular only to the didactic parts of the Mass, if not only to the preached homily, appears to be premised on the assumption that there exists a vital relationship between the Latin language and the character of the Mass as a sacrifice which is centrally expressed, given the Tridentine form of the rite, by the celebrant's inaudible recitation of the Canons of the Mass in Latin, along with his prescribed position of facing the altar and his back toward the people (the didactic part is where the priest turns or faces the people).

Earlier in his discussion on "the anti-liturgical heresy," Guéranger also highlights the importance of the sense of mystery of the Mass, the prime meaning of the Mass as a sacrifice, and the identity of the priest as the main performer of this liturgical act of the sacrifice of Christ:

> 5. Since the reform of the liturgy is being undertaken by the sectarians with the same purpose as the reform of dogma of which it is the consequence, it follows that as Protestants broke away from unity in order to believe less, they found themselves led to cut away from the Liturgy all the ceremonies, all the formulas which express mysteries …. No more altar, but simply a table, no more sacrifice as in every religion, but only a meal.[77]

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a sacerdote pro hominibus delegato …. Unde sufficit si coetus fidelium possit in sacrificio participare per commenta scripta vel viva voce tradita."

[76]AS I/I, 472: "Usus moderatus linguae vulgaris a Sancta Sede conceditur pro Ritualibus, pro lectione Evangelii et Epistolae et pro variis cantibus et orationibus."

[77]Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 1, 418: "5° La réforme de la Liturgie étant entreprise par les sectaires dan le même but que la réforme du dogme dont elle est la conséquence, il s'ensuit que, de même que les Protestans se sont séparés de l'unite afin de croire moins, ils se sont trouvés amenés à *retrancher dans le culte toutes les cérémonies, toutes les formules qui expriment des mystéres* …. Il n'y a plus d'autel, main seulement une *table*; plus de sacrifice, comme dans toute religion, mais seulement une *cène*."

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> 11. In order to establish its reign forever, the anti-liturgical heresy needed the destruction, in fact and in principle, of all priesthood in Christianity. For it felt that where there is a Pontiff, there is an Altar, and where there is an Altar, there is a sacrifice and therefore a mysterious Ceremonial.[78]

In the matter of liturgical language, Guéranger not only opposes the audible recitation of the Canons of the Masses practiced by some French diocesan rites, but also emphasizes the value of the silence experienced by the congregation during this supreme moment of sacrifice. At the same time, Guéranger resists the very translation of the Latin liturgical texts into the vernacular, claiming [that] this is a form of the secularization of the liturgy [*sécularisation de la Liturgie*] and therefore removes the sense of mystery linked to the prime sacrificial meaning of the Mass.[79] Incidentally, the use of the bilingual missal, already an accepted practice in some local churches even before the convocation of the Vatican II Council, indicates a later development of the Church's attitude towards the role and place of the vernacular in the liturgy since the time of Guéranger.

Returning to this theme of "mystery," one can observe some resonances between Guéranger and some fathers of the Vatican II Council (Reetz, Parente, Melo) who stressed the primacy of the "mystery" of the Mass over its linguistic intelligibility. All things considered, the Mass in its Tridentine form is said here to express a particular set of theological doctrines that are closely associated with or defined by the very liturgical form of the rite, namely the sense of "mystery" as essential to the Mass, the Mass as primarily a sacrifice, the

[78]Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 1, 422–423: "11° L'hérésie Antiliturgiste, pour établir à jamais son règne, avait besoin dedétruire en fait et en principe tout sacerdoce dans le christianisme; car elle sentait que là où il y a un Pontife, il ya un Autel, et que là où il y a un Autel, il y a un Sacrifice, et partant un Cérémonial mystérieux."

[79]Guéranger, *Institutions Liturgiques* Vol. 2, 170–255, esp. 179 and 230; Vol. 3, 161–215.

https://publications.lst.edu/

celebrant at the altar as the principal actor of this sacrifice, and Latin as the language of the Mass. In other words, Latin is caught up in this register of interconnected meanings. Hence, the shift in the policy on liturgical language during Vatican II is not simply a shift in language *per se*, but it also has some bearing on the level of sacramentology. Thus, while these conciliar interventions, again coming from the Mission areas, explicitly deal with the issue of the language of the Canons, they in fact refer to a wider shift in the whole register of interconnected liturgical-sacramentological meanings attributed by both Guéranger and some Council fathers to the Mass in its Tridentine form, namely the primacy of the liturgical sense of mystery, the sacrificial character of the Mass, and the identity of the priesthood as the celebrant of this sacrifice. It is therefore not simply a question of the use of language, but inevitably also of a certain theological worldview implicated therein.

> [Morrow:] Not any justifiable reason can be found why one may not be allowed to recite certain formulas of the Roman rite and the Canon itself of the Mass except in Latin. Can it be that they are so sacred that they ought to be said in a "sacred" language? To the non-Catholics, especially the educated, this tastes of esotericism and a magical mentality. It is especially fitting that the faithful understand not only the adjunct components of the rite, but also the Canon itself of the Mass and the sacramental forms, as in baptism and absolution.[80]

> [Yü-Pin:] … it seems to me that the vernacular ought to be used in all parts of the Mass, the Canons of the Mass even included, for a Mass celebrated with a congregation.[81]

[80]AS I/I, 468: "Nec ulla probabilis ratio inveniri potest cur quasdam formulas Ritualis Romani, et ipsum Canonem Missae non liceat recitare nisi latine. An sunt tam sacrae ut debeant dici lingua « sacra »? Non catholicis, praecipue cultis, hoc sapit esoterismum et mentem magicam. Maxime vero convenit ut fideles intelligant non solum ritus accessorios, sed ipsum Canonem Missae et formas sacramentales, ut baptismi et absolutionis."

[81]AS I/II, 128: "… mihi videtur linguam vernaculam in omnibus partibus Missae celebratae cum populo usurpari oportet, incluso etiam canone Missae."

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Conclusion

By presenting some aspects of the Vatican II debate that lies behind *Sacrosanctum Concilium* 36 and 54, and by establishing a few strands of its connection with the liturgical thought of Dom Prosper Guéranger and his context, this author hopes to have argued in this article that the Church's incumbent policy on liturgical language is a serviceable and instructive indicator of the historical context of the Church and the desired shape of its ecclesiology within this context. A shift on the level of liturgical language is therefore not merely about language *per se*, but it implies a broader shifting on two levels—diachronically of the larger formative social context in which the Church is historically embedded, and synchronically of the whole construct of theological meanings associated with liturgical language. The very choice to use one or another language or linguistic expression in the liturgy, to elevate one language over and above another, or to append one language to another as in a bilingual translation is undoubtedly loaded with meaning. Precisely because it is often a neuralgic issue, language can serve as a fertile ground for systematic theological reflection and thematization. Liturgical language, therefore, constantly offers itself as a course for theological thought: a *course*, that is to say, a formal *academic subject*, a *path* of exploration, and *food* for deeper consideration.

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