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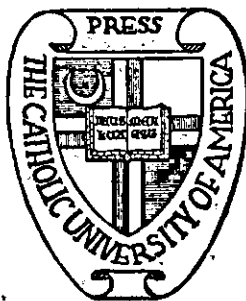
The Church of Rome and the  
Problem of the Vernacular versus  
the Liturgical Language

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE SCHOOL OF SACRED THEOLOGY  
OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL  
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE  
OF DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY

BY THE

REV. ANGELUS A. DE MARCO, O.F.M., Mus.B., M.A., S.T.L.



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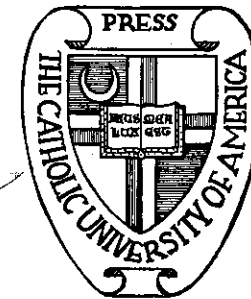
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This dissertation was conducted under the direction of Very Rev. John Quasten, S.T.D., as major professor, and was approved by Rev. Alfred C. Rush, C.S.S.R., M.A., S.T.D. and Rev. Walter J. Schmitz, SS., M.A., S.T.D. as readers.



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THE CHURCH OF ROME AND THE PROBLEM OF THE VERNACULAR  
VERSUS THE LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

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## FOREWORD

During the first sixty years of this century, the Church witnessed developments in the field of Sacred Theology which will leave their impress on many centuries to come.

Chief amongst these developments have been the scholarly and persistent labors of Liturgiologists in reviving the science of Sacred Liturgy. It would not be an exaggeration to say that developments in this field, have far surpassed all previous achievements in the history of Sacred Liturgy.

The fruitful pontificates of St. Pius X, Benedict XV, Pius XI, have left an indelible print of "revitalised" activity in the Church. At no time during their pontificates, were there lacking many and eloquent testimonials of the importance the Church attaches to her Liturgy.

But perhaps, the pontificate of Pius XII witnessed an even greater restoration in the field of Sacred Liturgy. More than ever before, attention has been focused on the doctrine of the "Mystical Body" which laid the ground-work for the "magna charta" of the Liturgical Movement, - Mediator Dei.

The Church, founded by Jesus Christ for the glory of God, and the salvation of the souls of men, is endowed by Him as a perfect society destined to the attainment of this end. It is endowed with spiritual means of obtaining the grace of God necessary to enable human nature to perform the task of living as faithful members of this society. In this Church, there is had the perfect means of offering worship to God, - the Liturgy. In the framework of this dual aspect of the Church's mission, Pius XII therefore declared:

"The Sacred Liturgy is the public worship which our Redeemer as Head of the Church renders to the Father, as well as the worship which the community of the faithful renders to its Founder, and through Him, to the heavenly Father."

While no conditions on earth could prevent the Church from carrying out her mission; or render any instrument of her power inefficacious, - there have been times and cir-

cumstances when the full realization of her ideal has been curtailed.

Since the Liturgy in a wider sense, embraces that collection of prayers and rituals, by which the Church publicly worships God and sanctifies its members, the question of language used in the Liturgy has given rise to the Modern Movement toward the vernacular. As a matter of fact, the vehemence with which it has been rejected or accepted, makes it one of the most vital issues of the Liturgical Movement.

This dissertation is by no means an attempt to side with either the pro or the con of the problem. Rather, we endeavor to present a study of the historical development of the Liturgical language in the Western Church, which should prove in this instance both interesting and enlightening.

The original and complete dissertation available at the Library of the Catholic University of America, examines first the historical use of Greek, and then Latin, in the Liturgy of the Church of Rome, and then treats of the exceptions made by Rome in allowing the use of other languages in the Liturgy. This abstract deals with the Council of Trent and her official declaration regarding the Liturgical language.

The author expresses his deep gratitude to his Superior, the Very Rev. Patrick J. Howard, O.F.M. for his interest and encouragement. The Very Rev. John Quasten, S.T.D. professor of Ancient History and Christian Archeology, deserves a special thanks for the suggestion of this topic, and for his kind and invaluable help in directing this work. Gratitude is also expressed to Rev. Alfred Rush, C.S.S. R., S.J.D., S.T.D., and Rev. Walter Schmitz, S.T.D. not only for reading this manuscript, but also for their suggestions. And finally, thanks to Rev. Victor Mills, O.F.M., M.A., LL.D. Professor of Church History at Holy Name College.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### THE COUNCIL OF TRENT AND THE PROBLEM OF THE VERNACULAR VERSUS THE LITURGICAL LANGUAGE

Since the fourth century, the Latin language has acquired definite dominion in the Roman Liturgy.

From the historical instances already seen, it is, therefore, clear that the use of the vernacular in the Liturgy has been the exception to the general rule. While showing herself condescending in the exceptions, (when a true necessity of great spiritual advantage required it), the Church has at the same time also shown herself unchangeable in a question of principal; whence derives her discipline which has carefully preserved the Latin language as the special Liturgical language in the West. Obviously, she had reasons for adopting this discipline. What motives prompted this course of action? For an answer to this question we must turn to the Council of Trent which pronounced authoritatively on this matter.<sup>1</sup>

As is known, the principal aim of the Council of Trent was to combat the errors of the "Reformers" by re-confirming, or making more precise, the dogmas which they were contesting.<sup>2</sup>

In matters of the Liturgy, through a lack of a strong discipline in the later Middle Ages, abuses were not uncommon. In order to push their reform, the Protestants were able to find in this climate sufficient material - based on theories of a dogmatic nature, - for further complaints against the Church.<sup>3</sup> Having rejected the nature of Sacrifice and the Catholic Priesthood, and having developed a new 'concept' of Divine Worship, they began to wage war on Latin as a cult language. In taking action in this linguistic question, it was not so much the Protestant innovation which now prescribed a vernacular Liturgy, which interested Trent, but rather the MOTIVE which led them to this conclusion. Only in the light of such errors, which were then being suppressed, can the deliberations of the Fathers, as well as the definitive decrees, be interpreted.

Long before the sixteenth-century Reformation, a trend towards the introduction of a vernacular Liturgy had already appeared as a national movement with the Hussites in Bohemia (1415) who at the Council of Basle demanded the use of their own tongue in the Liturgy.<sup>4</sup> Even the Waldensians (1173) had decided to prescribe the vernacular to

the exclusion of any other language for Public Worship, as was noted by Martin Luther.<sup>5</sup> "To protest against the use of languages not understood by the faithful, and to celebrate the Liturgy in the vernacular, so that the Liturgical prayers might be intelligible to the ignorant, this was a favourite idea of all the mediaeval heresies which preceded and prepared for Protestantism."<sup>6</sup> But it was left to Luther and his contemporaries to ignite an issue which had long since been smouldering. "After John Huss," says Bossuet, "a world full of bitterness gave birth to Luther."<sup>7</sup>

Luther's gospel with its fundamental tenet, viz., the absolute certitude of personal justification to be obtained from "sola fides" i.e., confidence engendered by Faith:

Through faith and by God's word, the soul will become holy, righteous, true, peaceful, free, and entirely good, and he will become a true child of God.<sup>8</sup>

Faith alone is the means of man's righteousness.<sup>9</sup>

led both theoretically and practically to a 'purification' of Catholic practice as well:

It is difficult perhaps impossible, to do away with the abuse I shall now discuss....To alter or abolish it....Almost the whole form of the Church life should be changed and done away with. Entirely different rites and ceremonies would have to be introduced; or rather reintroduced.<sup>10</sup>

The principal thing in Public Worship is the Word and the arousing of faith:

Christ should and must be preached in such a way, that in both you and me, faith grows out of, and is received from the preaching....And that faith is received and grows when I am told why Christ came.<sup>11</sup>

Liturgies must always promote faith and nurture love; they must never be a hindrance to faith. If they no longer serve these purposes, they are already dead and done for, and of no further value....No Liturgy has an independent value in itself, though this is how the papist Liturgies have been regarded hitherto.<sup>12</sup>

The doctrine of Transubstantiation must be rejected:

It is not necessary for human nature to be transub-

stantiated before it can be the corporeal habitation of the divine, and before the divine can be contained under the accidents of human nature. Both natures are present in their entirety....In order that the true body and true blood should be in the sacrament, the bread and wine have no need to be transubstantiated, and Christ contained under the accidents: but, while both remain the same, it would be true to say: "this bread is my body, this wine is my blood." <sup>13</sup>

The Mass is no sacrifice. Its whole efficacy consists in the words of Christ in which forgiveness of sins is promised to those who believe. We must fortify our faith in His promise:

You will see therefore, that what we call the Mass is a promise made by God for the remission of our sins.<sup>14</sup>

If it is a promise, we cannot prepare ourselves for it by any works, by the use of force, or by any merits but only by faith.<sup>15</sup>

There is no way by which a man can commune with God or treat with Him except by faith; that is to say, no man by his works, but God by His promises, is the author of our salvation.<sup>16</sup>

The Mass in essence is solely and simply the words of Christ.<sup>17</sup>

Nothing else than faith is needed for a worthy observance of the Mass, and the Mass is truly founded on this promise....Given faith, there immediately follows the most precious effect of the heart, enlarging and deepening the human soul.<sup>18</sup>

The misconception to be done away with....viz., the common belief that the Mass is a sacrifice offered to God. <sup>19</sup>

The Sacraments (Baptism, Penance and Eucharist) are efficacious through faith alone:

But our signs, and those given to the fathers, are accompanied by a word of promise demanding faith, the fulfillment being impossible by any other work....The whole of their effectiveness lies in faith, and not in anything that is done. He who believes in

them, fulfills them, even if nothing is done.<sup>20</sup>

Salvation dispensed in the Sacraments is none other than that obtained through the instrumentality of the word of the sermon:

God presents two things to us, a word and a sign... greater power resides in a word than in a sign.<sup>21</sup>

This pronouncement, though spoken by a priest in a whisper... Let each Christian at Supper keep in the forefront of his mind and pay heed to it alone and above all else. For the words, as we hear them spoken by Christ to all of us who stand around. We must each take them to ourselves and build on them. ... You must nourish your hungry hearts on this word and put your confidence in this divine truth and promise.<sup>22</sup>

The word, therefore, plays the essential role, since the Sacraments are above all else a catechesis. The same was affirmed of the Mass, - its principal role was to instruct:

For at the last supper Christ instituted these words and nothing else. He intended them to have only a spiritual application, entirely devoted to the forgiveness of sin, to the operation of grace, and to the giving of divine help. He gave these words for our use, and in order that human hearts, depending on them by faith, might become strong to do everything good, and to resist sin, death and hell. God intended to operate through his word and work.<sup>23</sup>

Luther, therefore, ridicules the Catholic practice of silent parts of the Mass:

What we deplore, in the servitude of the Church is that the priests take every care nowadays lest any of the laity hear these words of Christ. It is as if they were too sacred to be uttered to the common people. For we priests have no more sense, as to the terms which we call the words of institution, than to arrogate them to ourselves alone. We say them privately, and in such a way, that they do us no good.<sup>24</sup>

He renews this complaint, and advocates the use of the vernacular:

This pronouncement, though spoken by the priest in a whisper, and please God that he would say it quite loud, so that all hear plainly, and in their own language.<sup>25</sup>

But I wish, that at the same time as he 'elevates' the sign or sacrament openly before our eyes, he would pronounce, in an audible and clear voice, the words of the testament; and that he would do it in the vernacular, whatever that may be, in order that faith may be more effectively awakened. For why should it be permissible to celebrate Mass in Greek, Latin and Hebrew but not in German or any other language?<sup>26</sup>

But while showing himself partial to the vernacular, he seems illogical in practice:

I have not the slightest wish to abolish the use of Latin in Public Worship, for I am solely concerned about our young people.<sup>27</sup>

If I could, and if Greek and Hebrew were as common among us as Latin, and if we had as many splendid tunes and hymns as we have in the Latin services, I would make a rota of the Sundays, and use all four languages in turn, German, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, for the celebrating the Lord's Supper, and for the hymns and lessons.<sup>28</sup>

Luther, - the champion of 'liberty' could not force the vernacular as an absolute necessity

It was left to Calvin to formulate the inevitable conclusion of the 'purified' doctrine. In his tract on the Last Supper he tells us:

To end the whole thing we shall understand in an article that which could be otherwise distinguished, that is, that the devil has introduced a way of celebrating the Last Supper without any doctrine. And instead of the doctrine, has introduced ceremonies partly inept and without any use, and partly dangerous. This is the principal that our Lord has recommended to us to celebrate the Mystery with real intelligence. Therefore it follows that the substance is found in the doctrine, and if it be taken away it is only a cold ceremony without efficacy. This not only is shown by Scripture, but also testified to by

the canons of the Pope in a sentence alleged to St. Augustine wherein he asks whether the water of Baptism without the word be a corruptible element, and the word not so much that it be pronounced as understood. This means that the Sacraments take their value from the word when it is understood, without this, they are not worthy of the name of Sacrament. Therefore, it is necessary that there be an intelligible doctrine in the Mass, and that on the contrary, the Mystery is wasted, as if everything was made hidden, and nothing is understood.<sup>29</sup>

In reducing the Mass and Sacraments to nothing more than mere spiritual "pedagogy," it is naturally demanded that the words be intelligible, since the primary function of the word is to communicate thoughts, which in turn "arouse" religious sentiments; otherwise, they have no value. While we do not read these precise words in the passages just quoted, nevertheless, it follows as a logical conclusion. This, therefore, resolved itself ultimately into the Protestant rejection of the Latin Liturgy, and demand for the vernacular. It is in this framework of heresy that Trent took up the problem of the vernacular in the Liturgy.

The Council is first confronted with the problem when dealing with certain abuses of Sacred-Scripture.<sup>30</sup> Although this particular aspect does not directly pertain to our subject at hand, nevertheless, some brief consideration will furnish us a background for the later sessions which followed.

On March 1, 1546, when the Fathers had assembled, there was included on the agenda of the day, the enumeration of the abuses of the Scriptures, and the manner in which they could be remedied:

*Itaque poterunt hodie patres dicere, qui et quales abusus ipsi sint, deinde quomodo purgari et emendari queant.*<sup>31</sup>

In the third point enumerated, there was included the inadvisability of printing the Scriptures in the vernacular because of the danger of misinterpretation by the unlearned:

*Nihilominus tamen et utilius esset, quod non impri-meretur in vulgari, quia non omnibus datum est lectura et interpretatio sacri codicis.....Forte incedebant in errores pessimos.*<sup>32</sup>

Some of the Fathers agreed with this suggestion:

*D.S.Marci detestatus est versionem sacrae scripturae in linguam maternam.....*<sup>33</sup>

*D.Bellicastrensis dixit.....Sacra libri non transferantur in lingua vulgari.....*<sup>34</sup>

Others opposed the idea quoting how the Mass had been translated into Glagolitic by Jerome:

*D.Feltrensis....Nec tamen abusum habendum censeo, quod sacri libri vernacula lingua legantur, cum dives Hieronymus illyrico idiomate missam ediderit.*<sup>35</sup>

Two opposite camps were thus formed in this regard, and it was in the plenary session of March 17, 1546, when a vital discussion took place.

After concluding the business of the session without any indication of the problem, a question was raised by Cardinal Pececco, asking why the matter of vernacular translations of the Bible had not been considered amongst the abuses just treated.<sup>37</sup> Did its omission imply the authorization of such translations?

*Quibus abusibus lectis Illmus.D.Card.Giennensis admonuit advertendum per Dnos deputatos, an translatio bibliorum in linguam maternam sit concedenda.*<sup>37</sup>

Cardinal Madruccio replied by strongly opposing the idea that vernacular translations should be considered an abuse, asserting that our adversaries would be scandalized were it known that the Fathers were desirous of depriving the people of the Scriptures, which the Apostle had counselled should never be removed from their mouths:

*Illud autem est, ne umquam patiamur, versionem bibliorum in maternam linguam numerari inter abusus. Quid enim dicent adversarii nostri iis, quibus vana praedicant, si sciverint velle nos e manibus hominum evellere sacram scripturam, quam saepius Paulus Apostolus numquam ab ore nostro separandum praecepit?*<sup>38</sup>

Cardinal Pececco did not intend offense by claiming this to be an abuse, but he merely inquired, since, de facto, Spain had prohibited such a custom, and Paul II had confirmed this:



Non dixi ego, hunc esse abusum, sed proposui considerandum patribus, an esset, quoniam sciebam in Hispania hac de re aliquando latas et observatas leges, quas Paulus II confirmasset.<sup>39</sup>

In reply, Cardinal Madruccio stated that in matters of expediency, the Pontiffs can err, but the Apostle could not:

Paulus ille Pontifex et alii omnes Pontifices quandoque possunt et poterunt errare, licet non dicam, eos errasse: Pauli autem praeceptum errare non potuit.<sup>40</sup>

While no decision was rendered in this meeting, the future sessions of the Fathers witnessed both numerous and heated discussions. A long list of pros and cons were drawn up and argued. Fr.H.Schmidt treats of these conciliar discussions in detail.<sup>41</sup> Suffice it to say, in a decree of the fourth session held on April 8, 1546,<sup>42</sup> Trent concluded the whole matter of abuses of the Scriptures by proclaiming, that amongst the Latin translations, the Vulgate was declared as the authentic version:

Statuit et declarat, ut haec ipsa vetus et vulgata editio.....Pro authentica habeantur.....<sup>43</sup>

Whereas, nothing was declared which either forbade or prescribed vernacular translations. Her silence in this matter obviously indicated her neutral position. If anything, by prescribing that the Scriptures be subject to the control of ecclesiastical authority, it left to their discretion the responsibility of judging whether or not a translation would be desirable.<sup>43a</sup>

Such, indeed, provides an interesting background as we see the Fathers take up the problem of the vernacular in the Liturgy a few years later.

The Council first dealt with this specific problem in Session XXII, De Sacrificio Missae, chap.8, canon 9. Here the matter is debated in conjunction with the Theology of the Mass, and hence dealt with from the dogmatic standpoint. The decree promulgated on September 17, 1562, takes into consideration two series of deliberations:

- a) the first occurred after Session XIV, from December 3, 1551, until January 24, 1552.<sup>44</sup> However, the Council was interrupted without making any conciliar definition.
- b) the second series took up the issue once again after Session XXI, from July 19 to September 16, 1562.

The heretical points of doctrine of the Reformers concerning the Mass and the Priesthood, were drawn up in ten articles and submitted to the Fathers for their examination:

Examinatur articuli haereticorum de sacrificio missae et sacramento ordinis.....In subsequenti sessione de sacrificio missae et sacramento ordinis agendum est, articuli ex libris haereticorum super ipsis missa et ordine excerpti, de more hactenus observato theologis examinandi et discutiendi propositi sunt, die scilicet jovis 2.mensis decembris 1551.<sup>45</sup>

It is article IX which is concerned with the vernacular language, and which has as its underlying tenet the Protestant doctrine, (expressed in Art.1-3), that the Mass is not a sacrifice of the Cross, but only a memorial. Therefore, in virtue of its essence, it must be intelligible. To this there is added condemnation of the Roman practice of saying the Canon in a low voice. It is in this framework of dogma, that the Fathers of Trent will therefore seek a condemnation of the Article which reads, (as taken from Calvin):

Ecclesiae romanae ritum, quo secreto et submissa voce verba consecrationis proferuntur, dammandum esse; missamque non nisi in lingua vulgari, quam omnes intelligant, celebrari debere; imposturamque esse, certas missas certis sanctis attribuere.<sup>46</sup>

#### PREPARATORY WORK OF THEOLOGIAN

The first Theologian to speak (December 10) in this conjunction was John Arze who raised an objection:

Art.IX haereticus quoque est, et contra traditionem ecclesiae, ut Cassianus scribit de sacrificio missae qui eam consuetudinem esse refert; Graeci tamen alta voce consecrant: est igitur haec secunda pars damnanda tantum quoad ecclesiam latinam de missis lingua vulgari celebrandis.Nam et Graeci in eorum lingua celebrant, idem Aethiopes faciunt et Moschovitae, ut latina ecclesia latina lingua, quam omnes olim intelligebant, celebrat; ideo non usque adeo generaliter haec pars damnanda est; semper enim apud omnes gentes propria earum lingua missae celebratae fuerunt.Nunc autem non expedit, ut vulgari lingua celebretur; id tamen prohibitum non est.<sup>47</sup>

The Oriental rites also celebrate in the vernacular without such a practice having the slightest taint of heresy. While condemning the Protestant thesis as heretical, there is danger of including a condemnation of the Orientals as well. To avoid this, the sentence must not be a universal one - non usque adeo generaliter. Surely, in itself there is no reason why the vernacular cannot be used. Its prohibition is simply a matter of expediency.

On the following day (December 11), Josse Ravesteyn offers his argument:

Iam quantum ad alteram quaestionem attinet, utrum missa debeat celebrari in lingua vulgari et populari, duo argumenta protestantes in confessione suae fidei apud Augustam edita, primum, inquit, Paulus praecipit uti lingua intellecta populo in ecclesia. Sic enim scripsit epist. ad Corin. Cap. XIV. ... Et confirmari possent haec per sententiam b. Ambrosii qui interpretatur illud eiusdem capituli. ... Considerandum igitur duplex esse, quod ad propositum negotium pertinet, genus officiorum quae in ecclesia apud populum celebrantur, unum quod cum populo agitur ad ejus exhortationem, consolationem et aedificationem, atque hoc certo in ea omnino lingua fieri convenit, quam populus intelligit, .... Alterum est genus officiorum et ministeriorum, quae ab ipso sacerdote tanquam populi intercessore et advocato apud Dominum Deum aguntur inter Deum et sacerdotem pro populi salute, quae si hactenus cognita sunt populi, ut intelligat pro se fieri supplicationem. ... Nihil plus refert populum tenere quibus verbis fiat illa supplicatio et oblatio, quam refert et reum scire quibus verbis ejus salutem commendaret judici patronus. ... Et interim retinetur ipsis divinis et sacratissimis mysteriis per sublimioris linguae majestatem sua reverentia, cujus rei rationem semper ab ecclesiae exordio maximam habuisse veteres patres perspicuum est. ...<sup>48</sup>

Here he presents the Protestant thesis which supports itself on the texts of St. Paul and the Ambrosiaster, which seem to favor the vernacular. However, he makes a twofold distinction in the Mass. He speaks of the first part, (Foremass) which is concerned with the edification and consolation of the people. This must be understood; and to be understood, it suffices that explanations be given to the people. The Epistle, Gospel, and Creed belong to this part of the Mass:

Ad hoc genus referenda sunt. ... Epistola, evangelium et symbolum fidei, quae in ecclesiis Latinis bene ordinatis, postquam recitatae sunt lingua latina, populo per tractatus populares et vulgares, saltem dominicis exponi solent.<sup>49</sup>

St Paul does not forbid the speaking in languages, but he does require explanations. After these parts are read in Latin, they must be explained. Obviously, Ravesteyn is here referring to the traditional sermon as prescribed by the Lateran Council.

In the second part of the Mass,<sup>50</sup> which corresponds more or less to the Canon, - neither is the question of the vernacular, nor explanations in the vernacular, considered. It is sufficient here that the people know what the priest is doing in their name, without necessarily understanding the actual words with which he does it. "The intelligence of the Mass is realized in the words which the priest, as minister, pronounces, and which the faithful comprehend in his person."<sup>51</sup> Ravesteyn also adds the idea that reverence for the sacred mysteries demands a sublime language.

On December 12, Martin Olaveus suggests that the Fathers prescribe a law whereby in Solemn Masses, the Gospel and lessons will be explained to the people:

Deinde monuit Patres ut ederent legem, qua in missis solemnibus semper aliqui interpretarentur evangelia et lectiones in lingua vulgari, ut adversariis resistere possimus, qui tantum urgent, ut lingua vulgari missae celebrentur, ut populus intelligat.<sup>52</sup>

In this we see a renewal of Ravesteyn's idea regarding the first part of the Mass which must be understood, and which is fulfilled by the traditional sermon.<sup>53</sup>

Bartholomew Miranda speaks on December 29. He wants to retain Latin, but does not want Art. IX to be condemned "as the others."

Alii quoque articuli haeretici sunt: sed IX non debet ut alii, damnari de celebratione missae in lingua vulgari; licet canon semper debeat latina lingua et secreto dici, ob mysteria magna, ut Basilius docet. Alia etiam debent lingua latina legi, sed in concione declarari: in quo major fructus offertur populo. Quae declaratio necessaria est, et in ecclesia fieri debet.<sup>54</sup>

Obviously, he hopes to avoid the possibility of offending the Orientals which J.Arze had already considered. Therefore he suggests that the vernacular should not be qualified as heretical. Like Ravesteyn, he takes up again the distinction between the Canon of the Mass, which must be read in Latin; and the readings in the first part of the Mass which should be read in Latin first, and then explained to the people in a sermon.

In the General Assembly which convened on January 2, a report of the deliberations of the Theologians was given to the Fathers. Nothing of importance was said, although all unanimously judged that all the proposed articles be condemned as heretical!

Die sabbati 2. eiusdem mensis Januarii, hora 21. celebratur congregatio generalis, in qua legatus retulit patribus ea, quae acta fuerunt post congregationes theologorum....Qui in examinatione articulorum supra-scriptorum nihil notatu dignum animadverterunt: sed omnes unanimiter articulos omnes propositos haereticos iudicarunt.<sup>55</sup>

This meant an absolute rejection of the thesis that the vernacular is necessary, and implication that it would not be used, - hence, Latin would be retained. However, in this general anathemization, certain observations were made which give it a different shading:

Ut tamen quibusdam patribus satisfiet, haec minutula ex sententiis ipsorum theologorum excerpta fuerunt.<sup>56</sup>

The first was concerned with the Oriental Rites. Since the Orientals have a custom of using a language other than Latin, some of the Fathers felt that a general application of this condemnation should be avoided:

In IX art. - Quidam non putat expedire, damnare hunc articulum generaliter; sed tantum quoad ecclesiam romanam et latinam; cum Graeci, Aethiopes, et quaedam aliae nationes contrarium observent.<sup>57</sup>

or else, the Article should not fall under the same title of heresy as the others:

Vel quod non damnetur sub censura aliorum articulorum.<sup>58</sup>

The second observation was concerned with the didactic part of the Mass. It was recommended by some, that the

Council prescribe that the Epistle and Gospel always be explained in the vernacular during public Masses:

Et quidam vellet statui a s. synodo, quod in missis publicis semper aliqui interpretarentur epistolam et evangelium in lingua vulgari.<sup>59</sup>

All the Fathers do not agree to the first point mentioned above. Two want the condemnation of the Article as understood by the Protestants, but in such a way as to exclude the Orientals from the scope of the anathema:

Bishop of Agram:

IX. non videtur generaliter damnandum de lingua vulgari, quia in multis locis, ut est in sua diocese, missae eorum lingua celebrantur, quam dicunt esse b. Hieronymi: et placeret constitui ut celebrans declararet lingua vulgari, quae latina dicit.<sup>60</sup>

Bishop of Placentia:

Art. omnes propositos haereticos conset.... Et in IX advertatur ne ecclesia orientalis damnetur.<sup>61</sup>

Others, ask for a lesser qualification than that of heresy, though they are not all in agreement as to the manner.

The Bishop of Vienne suggests that the note of heresy be replaced by that of "false."

IX. 1. pars haeretica, 2. falsa, 3. idem,....<sup>62</sup>

The Bishop of Granada, while suggesting the article be condemned as "false," implies that the matter is in itself disciplinary, since the Church could decide otherwise:

Art. IX etiam falsus est, licet Ecclesia possit contrarium statuere.<sup>63</sup>

The Bishop of Orense says that the phrase in the Article about the vernacular, does not seem worthy of condemnation since many churches have the opposite practice:

In art. IX tamen non videtur damnandum, quod dicitur de lingua vulgari, cum multae ecclesiae contrarium observent.<sup>64</sup>

The Archbishop of Gaudix said that Art. IX must not be

condemned as the others, because it could be allowed that the vernacular be used at Mass in some places, basing their argument on St. Paul, 1 Cor. XIV.

IX art. non est damnandus, ut alii, quia posset concedi, ut lingua vulgari aliquibus in locis celebraretur, argumento eorum, quae Paulus dicit 1. Cor. XIV. <sup>65</sup>

The Archbishop of Palermo does not want the practice of explaining the Gospel (referring to the sermon) imposed as a decree:

Notatio autem in III. VII. et IX. Art. placet, non tamen quod statuatur interpretandum in missis evangelium lingua vulgari. <sup>66</sup>

The Archbishop of Castellana recommends that there be a better adaptation of what is said in Art. IX., concerning the vernacular. He is obviously referring to a revision of the wording of the Article:

Alii etiam art. omnes haeretici sunt, sed melius appetur quod dicitur in IX de lingua vulgari. <sup>67</sup>

The sum and substance of the above views of the Fathers surely indicate, that while the majority were in favor of a condemnation of Article IX, some objected to the form in which it was expressed, since the privileges of certain churches were not taken into consideration, nor was it made clear enough that the insistence of retaining Latin was merely a contingent prescription.

A committee was appointed to draw up a formula according to the observations made. Article IX becomes Canon 11, which is framed in these words:

XI. Si quis dixerit, ecclesiae romanae ritum, (quo secreto et submissa voce verba consecrationis preferuntur, damnandum esse,) missamque non nisi in lingua vulgari celebrare debere. . . . A. S. <sup>68</sup>

It is here clear that the Protestant error is condemned under anathema, and is therefore a dogmatic matter. <sup>69</sup> However, it cannot be claimed that the Canon speaks dogmatically of Latin as the language of the Liturgy. This is explicitly brought out by the Chapter of Doctrine (Chap. IV) which gives the reasons for the retention of Latin in the Liturgy, and qualifies them as "maxime convenit." This should leave no room to doubt, but that the question

of language is in itself a mere disciplinary matter. The reasons given are: 1) "the sacredness of Latin"

Hac enim secreti ratione et maiestas huius ineffabilis mysterii rectius servatur, et populus excitatur ut de eo reverentius et maiori cum devotione coget. Lingua enim Latina, quae in titulo crucis Domini tamquam quoddam divinum instrumentum est consecrata, mysteriis missae in occidentali ecclesia celebrandis, maxime convenit. . . . <sup>70</sup>

2) "the common language used for the Sacrifice of Unity."

Quae cum tot gentes magna diversitate sermonis distinctas et frequentissime inter se communicantes brevi terrae spatio complectatur uno profecto sermone, qui omnibus communis est, in peragendo hoc communionis sacrificio uti debuit. <sup>71</sup>

3) "the safe and established expression of faith in an era when Protestantism was replacing Latin by the vernacular, because of heretical motives:

Praesertim cum hoc ratione plurimis incommodis obviam eatur, quae in tanta evulgatione et tam varia translationum in mysteriis fidei diversitate nasci possent. <sup>72</sup>

The Doctrina concludes by implicitly adopting the distinction between those parts of the Mass which should be understood, viz., Epistle and Gospel, - and prescribes explanations of these in the sermon:

Quod si quae intersit, omnibus nota (ut veteris et novi testamenti lectiones quae in missa recitantur) et per concionatores debent saltem diebus festis populo declarari, quemadmodum in illis omnibus ecclesiis fit, quarum pastores officiis suis non desunt. <sup>73</sup>

These, then, are the motives which moved the Church to adopt Latin, and to retain it in the West. No one can attempt to claim that these arguments are based on the fact, that its necessity flows from the essence of the Mass; nor that the vernacular was rejected because it was bad in itself. On the contrary, the Church made this decision simply because it was feasible, and because the circumstances of the times warranted it. <sup>74</sup>

However, this Chapter IV, and Canon XI, never received a definitive sanction by the Fathers, because an epidemic interrupted the sessions of the Council.

It was not until ten years later that the Council was able to resume its work. Nevertheless, the first series of these deliberations have great value in helping us to see what the final decision intended.

#### SECOND SERIES OF DELIBERATIONS

The Council renewed its sessions in 1562. Before beginning any deliberations on the Mass, a petition had been addressed by the Emperor Ferdinand to the Legates of the Council, requesting, amongst other concessions, the permission to intersperse vernacular chants with Latin chants during Divine Worship:

13. Fortasse permittendum, ut liceat alicubi Latinis canticis vernaculos fideliter versos intermiscere.<sup>75</sup>

We must not overlook the fact that the Emperor found himself, at this time, in the midst of a religious war. It would seem, therefore, that such a request had the obvious end of softening the tense atmosphere of this 'Reformatory' period. Fully aware of Trent's former attitude in the matter of vernacular, Ferdinand was careful to present his petition in a way as to avoid some of the objections previously made against its use:

14. Utrum in cultus divini et sacramentorum administratione liceret alicubi Latinis cantionibus vernaculis etiam aliquas pure et fideliter versas pro populi devotione intermiscere, suo tamen loco et tempore quae convenient, nec profanant divina illa et arcana bibliorum mysteria.<sup>76</sup>

Here an entirely new problem is posited. For the first time, the vernacular is associated with chant. But, as was to be seen in the response of the Legates, it mattered little whether the vernacular was concerned with chants or other Liturgical formulas. The petition was denied, since it was felt that the sacred character of the texts would thereby be tainted. However, pastors would be allowed to give useful explanations in the vernacular, after the divine functions. On Sundays, they could preach a homily. Though at the same time, the Legates were willing to concede that if the Council so wished, permission for the vernacular could be given:

Non debet immutari mos antiquissimus, quoniam viles-  
cerent ista recitata in lingua populari: sed parochi  
ipsis poterunt explicare populo ea, quae expediuntur

post celebrata divina officia. At fiat homiliarium ali-  
quod vulgare per singulas Dominicas. Si tamen ita syn-  
odo videbitur ut ista, quae pertinent ad res sacras,  
possint lingua vulgari componi.<sup>77</sup>

Accordingly, the matter was remitted to the Council for its final decision.

When the Council met, it began anew its discussions on the Mass.<sup>78</sup> The contents of Art. IX which became Canon XI, and which was examined in the first series of deliberations, is now presented in the form of questions. Art. 9 is concerned with the vernacular, and reads:

9. An missa non nisi in lingua vulgari, quam omnes intelligant, celebrari debeat.<sup>79</sup>

Amongst the Theologians who examined this particular question, we have the following reports: Caesar Ferrantius, while favoring the Latin, makes it clear that translating the Mass in the vernacular is not bad in itself. However, the dangers and inconveniences involved do not warrant the vernacular, and he quotes examples in history to prove his point:

Missam lingua vernacula traduci non est simpliciter malum, sed ob inconvenientia, quae inde evenire possunt, Gregorius VII epist. ad duces Hungariae id vetat, et Origenes hom. 20. in Oseam declarat, verbum Dei etiam non intellectum, dummodo cum fide percipiatur, fructum operari. Justinianus autem in Novella 137 videtur contrarium dicere, cui Paulus favet cum linguam non intellectum nihil operari etc. Respondit, Justinianum loqui de more graeco.<sup>80</sup>

John de Valentia replied that the vernacular must not be used, but the celebrant must explain the Gospel to the people, - obviously referring to the homily:

Ad 9. respondit non esse lingua vulgari missam celebrandum; sed a celebrante parochi debent verba Evangelii populo declarari.<sup>81</sup>

Francis De Sanctio does not favor the vernacular in the Mass because he thinks it is a profanation to the sacred texts. As regards the words of 1. Cor. 14, 16, St. Paul is here referring to the sermon, or in his time, the danger of profanation did not exist. In any case, the Pope could decide otherwise if he considers it expedient:

Ad.9.articulum respondit,missam lingua vulgari non esse celebrandum sed aut latina, aut graeca, aut hebraea....Et ad 1.Cor,14,16, quod opponunt haeretici quod necesse est, ut adstantes in ecclesia audiant, quae dicuntur, etc.,respondit Paulum intelligere de praedicante verbum Dei, vel quia eo tempore is mos erat, cum omnes essent tamquam religiosi et pii,neque erat periculum irreverentiae,ut esset nunc... posset tamen Pontifex Max.statuere contrarium,sicut iudicaverit expedire.<sup>82</sup>

Anthony Grossutus refuses the vernacular, but gives no explanation:

Ad 10.(9) articulum respondit, missam non esse vulgari sermone celebrandum; caeremoniae autem in ecclesia retinendae sunt.<sup>83</sup>

If we compare these observations of the Theologians with those formulated in 1551,1552, we find that they are practically identical. The Protestant motive for demanding the vernacular is still uppermost in their minds. They therefore renew their previous demands that:

- 1)Mass must be celebrated in Latin,and not the vernacular.
- 2)A sermon in the vernacular will suffice for the people.
- 3)This is purely a disciplinary matter,therefore, the Church could decide to use any language.

It is clear after the lapse of these ten years, that nothing new was added to the cause of the vernacular. If anything, the Theologians seem more positive in reiterating their main idea, that in principal, they have nothing against the vernacular; that their choice of the Latin language was due merely to the reasons enumerated, - which took into consideration the circumstances of the times which required a retention of Latin in the West.

Prior to the deliberations of the Fathers, there appeared a commentary on the Articles by one of the members of the Assembly, - Christopher of Padua. In regard to Art. 9, he presents an argument hitherto unmentioned, and which in retrospect, seems to have had some influence on the final deliberations. His ideas are:

Where there was only one language amongst a peoples, it would be normal to celebrate the Liturgy in this language, which was at the same time, the vernacular. But when, through a process of development, there evolves an unknown and literary language, it is the literary language which is more noble and suited to the dignity of the mysteries.

As for St.Pauls injunction that we speak in an intelligible language, his reference here is to the sermon, not to liturgical formulas. Furthermore, this has been a long-time custom in the Western Liturgy. To make a change would iverthrow a tradition. Besides, devotion would be diminished by using the vernacular. The missal used by the people would only serve to distract them from the Liturgical celebration. Lastly, the only essential is that the people should know what is happening, and be able to join themselves to it. God looks at the affections of the heart, rather than to the ideas of the mind, which are sometimes erroneous. In brief, Christopher would retain Latin because of its advantages over the vernacular, principally, that of respect and mystery:

Ad nonum (articulum): missa non nisi lingua vulgari quam omnes intelligant, celebrari debeat, respondeo, quod non est dubium, quod dicta sit aliquando missa materna lingua, ubi non est nisi una lingua....Ex suo igitur genere non est malum. Sed magis congruit literali sermone dici quam vulgato,ubi duae sunt linguae, propter majorem tanti mysterii dignitatem.Sed tu dicis: Quomodo respondebit populus "Amen" ut dicit Apostolus.....si non intelligit, quid dicat.Dicas, quod loquitur de praedicatione, non de divino officio.... non est nunc hic mos immutandus; quod fieri non posset absque antiquae ecclesiae perturbatione, periretque devotio. Nam omnes missale emerent et legernt evangelium et missam totam ante; postea cum legeretur, non attenderent. Satis sit sacerdotem in personae ecclesiae offerre et celebrare, populum autem devotione et pure fide adesse....Deus magis animum spectat quam intelligentiam eorum.<sup>84</sup>

Based upon the observations of the Theologians, a dogmatic exposition drawn up in four chapters,and followed by twelve canons, - was submitted to the Fathers. The second paragraph of Chapter IV (De ritibus et caeremoniis,quae in missae celebratione adhibentur)<sup>85</sup> deals directly with the question of languages, and reads:

Lingua etiam latina, qua missa in occidentali ecclesia celebrantur, maxime congruit, si quidem ea pluribus nationibus communis est,neque videtur esse dubitandum, quin, si,missae vulgari cuiusque gentis idiomate peragerentur, divina mysteria minori reverentia colerentur.Esset etiam magnopere periculosam, ne varii in multis translationibus errores nascerentur,qui facerent, ut fidel nostrae mysteria, quae simplicia

sunt, viderentur esse diversa. Cum autem in missa quaedam sint, quae ab omnibus debeant intelligi, veluti lectiones et evangelia: ea per illos, qui curam animarum exercent, saltem dominicis aliisque festis diebus populo declarentur, ut in illis omnibus ecclesiis fieri consuevit, in quibus earum pastores officio suo non desunt.<sup>86</sup>

The Theologians state here their reasons for prescribing the retention of Latin. The then current circumstances which would bring disrespect to the Sacred Mysteries, and the danger of error, - motivated this decision. They also distinguish between those parts of the Mass which should be intelligible, and which is handled by the traditional sermon.

Article IX now becomes Canon 10, which is a repeat, word for word, of Canon XI of the first series of deliberations in 1552. It reads:

10. Si quis dixerit, missam non nisi in lingua vulgari celebrari debere: anathema sit.<sup>87</sup>

However, the phrasing of the dogmatic expose, and the Canon, met with a storm of opposition.

While all the Fathers agreed to retain Latin, thereby to refute the errors of the Protestants, - as the outcome proved, some felt that the attack against the vernacular was too general and too excessive.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem opposed the Canon and proposes another which would simply prohibit the celebration of Mass in any language without the authorization of the Church.

10. non placet; dicatur: "si quis dixerit absque catholicae ecclesiae auctoritate in uno vel alio idiomate missas celebrari debere: anathema sit."<sup>88</sup>

The Archbishop of Zara objects to the Canon about not saying Mass in the vernacular. Neither could he blame the custom in vogue in Dalmatia, where the Gospel is read in the vernacular after the Latin:

Multa in canones, et praesertim in eo de non dicenda missa in lingua vulgari; se non improbare tamen morem in Dalmatia, ut post latinum evangelium subiiciatur etiam vulgare, ut illae nationes magis instruantur. Quoad doctrinam placeret fieri, ita tamen ut potius

videatur explicare nostra, quam ea confirmare aut aliena refeller.<sup>89</sup>

The Bishop of Velgia criticises the reasons for retaining Latin, and then asks that those who celebrate Mass in the vernacular should not be condemned, since Mass is celebrated in the Holy Land in every tongue:

In 4 cap. ratio quare missa latina lingua celebranda sit, non videtur bona, neque damnandi qui vulgari lingua celebrant. Et in ecclesia Hierosolymitana. sancta sepulchri celebrantur missae qualibet lingua quae est sub coelo.<sup>90</sup>

The Bishop of Calamone does not want those condemned who say Mass in the vernacular:

Neque damnandi sunt, qui in alta voce canonem preferrent, vel missam lingua vulgari celebrarent.<sup>91</sup>

The Bishop of St. Asaph states simply, that the reasons for condemning the vernacular are not good enough:

Neque ratio de lingua vulgari damnanda videtur bona, et tibi non debent omnia intelligi videtur falsum, quia Evangelium et multa alia debent a populo intelligi.... Neque sub anathemate damnari debet, quod canon alta voce dicatur.<sup>92</sup>

In these observations we can see the reaction of those whose views were broad enough to embrace the Universal Church. What about the Orientals in this instance, were they irreverent in celebrating the Mysteries in the vernacular? Should they be suspected of heresy? Was this ancient tradition merely tolerated by the Church? Such a condemnation was entirely too general, (if not ambiguous) and would consequently include the Oriental Rites. Whereas, the Chapter only concerned itself with the West. Here, then, was the discrepancy! Perhaps, this would explain why the Bishop of Niems does not want the Canon to come under anathema, and at the same time, asks that the law for using Latin be specifically restricted to certain countries, thereby making it clearer:

Can. 10. non est anathemate damnandus, et exprimat quod missa sola lingua latina celebranda sit, praesertim in Italia, Gallia, Hispania, et declaretur quod nos non sacrificium anathemate damnandi sunt, cum aliqui sint erronei, aliqui scandalosi....<sup>93</sup>

Speaking on the same day, the Bishop of Nemosia adds the thought, that the above remark was the expression of an expert on the situation, since he had been accustomed to deal with Protestants in his own diocese, and although he had been offered certain favors by them, - with conditions attached - and amongst these, that they be allowed the use of the vernacular in Mass, he refused to grant the slightest concession. Yet, despite all this, he still does not wish to see an anathema pronounced against Canon 10:

Circa canonem de non dicenda missa in lingua vulgari dixit se hoc expertum esse in diocesi sua cum haereticis, qui bona eius ecclesiae occupata restituere offerebant cum quibusdam conditionibus, quarum haec erat praecipua, ut missa diceretur in lingua vulgari, quod tamen ipse noluit.<sup>94</sup>

Did the lack of preciseness in the Chapter of doctrine make the Bishop of Niems foresee a condemnation, - pure and simple, - of the vernacular?

On the other hand, a certain number of Fathers referred to as the "ultra-Latinists" by H.Schmidt,<sup>95</sup> who seemed to canonize Latin, expressed themselves in a way as to reject the vernacular entirely:

Canones placent; sed in 10. nonnisi non placet, ne concedatur lingua vulgari esse celebrandas missas, et in 9. non videntur damnandi qui alta voce canonem proferunt, immo approbandi et laudandi.<sup>96</sup>

And so, too, was an identical observation made by the Archbishop of Reggio. For him, the word nonnisi must be struck out:

Canones placent; 9 et 10. simul ponantur; neque damnandus qui dicat missam nonnisi lingua vulgari celebrandam, et deleatur nonnisi, ne id concedi videatur.<sup>97</sup>

The Bishop of Mylopotamos seeing the Mass as a sacrifice of expiation, felt that its very essence demanded a sacred language:

Missa itaque est sacrificium expiatorium...et latina voce celebranda et canon secreto proferendus.<sup>98</sup>

A certain number of the Fathers request a reshuffling of the Articles. The Bishop of Lavant:

Et de 8.9. et 10. posset fieri unus.<sup>99</sup>

As was also suggested by the Bishop of Reggio.

Others suggest that Canon 10 be better revised to correspond with the Chapter of doctrine.

So the Bishop of Sorrento:

Canones placent, sed correspondeant ordini doctrinae; 9,10, et 11. possent aptari etc.<sup>100</sup>

The Patriarch of Aquila:

Canon....10 melius consideretur, quia non concordat doctrine.<sup>101</sup>

Others recommend that if the Chapter of doctrine is retained, let it be more brief and clearer:

The Bishop of Cava:

Canones placent; in 10. et 11. placent notationes factae. Doctrina omittatur si ponitur, fiat brevior, dilucidior, et placet, quod dixit Jadrensis.<sup>102</sup>

The Bishop of Calahorra suggests that the passage of doctrine on the matter of Latin language be "melius considerentur."

Et in 4. cap. de lingua latina et submissa voce melius considerentur.<sup>103</sup>

This debate finally resulted in a revision of the texts of the Canon and Chapter. Canon 9 is now formulated by uniting it with the last Article, and is censured as heretical in these words:

Canon 9.- Si quis dixerit, ecclesiae Romanae ritum, quo submissa voce verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnandum esse; aut lingua tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere; aut aquam non miscendum esse vino in calice, eo quod sit contra Christi institutionem: anathema sit.<sup>104</sup>

It is quite clear here, that a dogmatic question is involved. But by no means is it concerned with the vernacular itself. In this Canon, three points of Catholic practice are grouped together, which are indifferent in



themselves, and in no way essential to the Mass, but which were denied by the Protestants for dogmatic reasons, viz.,

- a) The vernacular is demanded by the nature of the Mass.
- b) Since the words must be heard, they cannot be said in a low voice.
- c) The mixture of wine and water was not instituted by Christ, but by a 'foreign' element, therefore, it must be suppressed. (This is unquestionably a denial of the authority of the Church in matters Liturgical. Which is likewise discernible in the first two demands.)

Although the commission considered the question of the vernacular from the dogmatic aspect, it never intended to condemn the practice of the vernacular as such, but only the thesis which declared it necessary! There is no theological nexus between the Mass and language! Per se, the Mass is indifferent to any particular language. Hence, the condemnation is hurled only against those who would demand the use of the vernacular through the Protestant conviction!<sup>105</sup> This is also to be seen in the Chapter of doctrine, (Chap. VIII) which precedes the Canons, and which reads:

Caput octavum.--Etsi missa magnam contineat populi fidelis eruditionem, non tamen expedire visum est patribus, ut vulgari passim lingua celebraretur. Quamobrem, retento ubique cuiusque ecclesiae antiquo et a sancta Romana ecclesia probato ritu, ne oves Christi esuriant, ne parvuli panem petant et non sit qui frangat eis: mandat s. synodus pastoribus et singulis curam animarum gerentibus, ut frequenter inter missarum celebrationem vel per se vel per alios, ex his, quae in missa leguntur, aliquid exponant atque inter cetera sanctissimi sacrificii mysterium aliquod declarent, diebus praesertim dominicis et festis.<sup>106</sup>

The Council concedes the point that the Mass has a didactic role, - that it contains a teaching. But NOT in virtue of its essence, as the Protestant thesis declared! The Mass is not a sermon, therefore, the vernacular is NOT demanded by its nature. The Sacrament and Sacrifice will always remain what they are despite the language which is used. The Dogma always remains intact. Yet, at the same time, while this dogmatic point is clarified, it does not follow that the vernacular must be rejected, and Latin must be preferred. Its choice is a matter of discipline. And in this instance, - expedire visum patribus - it was a matter of concrete circumstances, (the contemporary danger of Protestantism), which prompted the Fathers of Trent

to decide that it was not expedient hic et nunc, to celebrate Mass in the vernacular, - passim - as each one wishes, or arbitrarily.<sup>107</sup>

In taking this stand, the Council refrains from mentioning any of the reasons in favor of Latin, or against the vernacular. (Which resembles the decision concerning the translations of the Scriptures.) It simply now presents the conclusion of its first affirmation, this is why - quamobrem - the ancient rite of each Church, approved by the Holy Roman Church, will be retained.

In the revised text submitted to the Fathers on September 5, (which is quoted above), the phrase "omnium ecclesiarum matre et magistra" was not included, but only added in the edition which was read in Solemn Session on September 17.<sup>108</sup> In this is to be seen the affirmation that the Roman Church is the supreme legislator, who alone, and in the last analysis, can approve Liturgical Rites both in the East and West. Thus, the whole question of Rites and languages used in the Church, is settled in this one sentence. Condemnation of the Oriental Churches is thereby avoided, and at the same time, a rebuke is aimed at the Protestant revolt against "Authority."

After upholding this Catholic Tradition, the Fathers took measures so that the Liturgy would exercise its function of teaching in as far as possible:

"Quamobrem" is here extended to include their principal concern, - 'ne oves Christi esuriant, neve parvuli panem petant, et non sit qui frangat eis.' The Council would not see the faithful neglected, and therefore, commands, - mandat - pastors and all those who have the care of souls, to explain to the people not only the sense of the formulas read at Mass - ex his quae in missa leguntur, aliquid exponant; but also the theology of the Mass, taking one or the other mysteries of the Sacrifice - atque inter cetera, sanctissimi huius sacrificii mysterium aliquod declarent. Since it was the essence of the Mass which was attacked by the Protestants, and since this was the subject of many of the discussions during the deliberations, emphasis is logically focused on this Central act. Such explanations is taken to mean the traditional sermon which is prescribed during the Mass on Sundays and Holy Days. So important is this task, that should those responsible be impeded, someone must replace them.<sup>109</sup>

It was on September 17, 1562, that the dogmatic exposition and Canon finally received the definitive approval of the Council in the XXII Session. The texts of both remained the same, with the exception of the additional words added in the exposition and mentioned above: "omnium Ecclesiarum matre et magistra."

With regard to the administration of the Sacraments, here too, Trent revealed a similar attitude.

Fully aware of the riches contained in the Sacraments, and endeavoring to enable the people receive them with greater reverence and devotion, it was prescribed that explanations should be given before their administration, and these may be in the vernacular. There was no question but that Latin would remain in the Rituals.

In Session XXIV (De Reformatione) September 5, 1563, a text was drawn up as Canon 8, wherein the Council embodied these ideas.<sup>110</sup>

While all the Fathers agreed that such explanations would be valuable, yet some could see serious objections to the phrasing of the text.<sup>111</sup> The Protestant attitude towards the Sacraments was still uppermost in their minds. They therefore sought a clarification.

Accordingly, the text was revised and definitively adopted in Solemn Session on November 11, 1563, which reads:

Canon septimus.--Ut fidelis populus ad suscipienda sacramenta maiore cum reverentia atque animi devotione accedat: praecipit sancta synodus episcopis omnibus, ut non solum, cum haec per seipsos erunt populo administranda, prius illorum vim et usum pro suscipientium captu explicant, sed etiam idem a singulis parochis pie prudenterque, etiam lingua vernacula, si opus sit et commode fieri poterit, servari studeant, juxta formam a sancta synodo in catechesi singulis sacramentis praescribendam, quam episcopi in vulgarem linguam fideliter verti atque a parochis omnibus populo exponi curabant.<sup>112</sup>

Thus ends an interesting episode in the annals of the Council of Trent. And thus were established the reasons why the Church has carefully preserved the Latin language as her Liturgical language in the West. No one, therefore, can say that the vernacular is intrinsically evil in it-

self, nor that its use in the Mass and Sacraments is an impossibility! On the contrary, in clarifying the issue, the Council has left to the Church a criterion for future action, should it ever be necessary to change existing Rites and languages!

NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 See H.Schmidt, Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire, (Romae 1950). J.Froger, "Le Concile de Trent a-t-il prescrit de donner des explications en langue vulgaire pendant les ceremonies liturgiques?" Ephemerides Liturgicae, 78, Fasc. 2 & 3 (Roma 1959).
- 2 See H.Jedin, A History of the Council of Trent 1, trans. by E.Graf, (St.Louis,Mo. 1957) passim.
- 3 See J.Jungmann, A Survey of Public Worship, (Collegeville, Minn. 1957) 29.
- 4 See HefeLe-Leclerq, Histoire Des Conciles, 7,2, (Paris 1916) 74.
- 5 See M.Luther, Werke, kritische Gesamtausgabe, 19 (Weimar 1930) 74.
- 6 See L.Godefroy, "Langues Liturgiques" DTC 8 (1925) 2585.
- 7 See Mourret-Thompson, History of the Catholic Church, 5 (St.Louis, Mo. 1930) 149.
- 8 See M.Luther, "Freedom of a Christian" (trans.from Weimar ed.of Luthers works, 7, 12-19, 20-38) by B.L.Woolf, Reformation Writings of Martin Luther 1 (London 1952) 362.
- 9 See Ibid., 364.
- 10 See "Pagan Servitude" (Weimar ed.6, 484-496, 497-573) trans. B.L.Woolf, op. cit., 1, 231.
- 11 See "Freedom of a Christian" op. cit., 1, 368.
- 12 See "The Lords Supper and Order of Divine Service," (Weimar ed. 19, 72-78) trans. B.L.Woolf, op. cit., 2, 325.
- 13 See "Pagan Servitude," op. cit., 1, 230-231.
- 14 See Ibid., 234.

- 15 See Ibid.
- 16 See Ibid., 235.
- 17 See Ibid., 236
- 18 See Ibid.
- 19 See Ibid., 248
- 20 See Ibid., 262-263.
- 21 See Ibid., 240.
- 22 See "Sermon on Receiving properly the true and sacred Body of Christ," (Weimar ed. 7, 792-805; 9, 640 ff) trans. B.L.Woolf, 2, 104-105.
- 23 See Ibid., 106.
- 24 See "Pagan Servitude," op.cit., 1, 237.
- 25 See "Sermon on Receiving properly the true and sacred Body of Christ," op. cit., 2, 104.
- 26 See "Pagan Servitude," op. cit., 250-251.
- 27 See "The Lords Supper and Order of Divine Service," op. cit., 2, 318-319.
- 28 See Ibid., 319.
- 29 See Jean Calvin, "Petit Tracte de la Sainte Cene de Nostre Seigneur," Corpus Reformatorum, 33. (joannis Calvini Opera,5) (Geneva 1591) 57-59.
- 30 See Concilium Tridentinum, Diariorum, Actorum, Epistularum, Tractatum, (ed.Goerresiana, Friburgi Brisgoviae 1901) 5, 21, 28-40.
- 31 See Ibid., 5 22, 5-6.
- 32 See Ibid., 5 22, 31-39.
- 33 See Ibid., 5 25, 31-34.
- 34 See Ibid., 5 25, 41-43.

35

See Ibid., 5 25, 10-15.

36

See Ibid., 2 381, 15-28. Pallavicino, Historia Del Concilio Di Trento, 1, 6, 12, n.5 (Naples 1757) 452-453.

37

See "Conc. Trid." op. cit., 5 30, 28-29.

38

See Ibid., 5 30, 32-36.

39

See Ibid., 5 31, 9-11.

40

See Ibid., 5 31, 12-15.

41

See "Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire," op. cit., 85-95.

42

See "Conc. Trid." op. cit., 5 91, 33-92.

43

See Ibid., 5 91, 36; 92, 1-2.

43a

"Nor is it forbidden by the decree of the Council of Trent to make translations into the vulgar tongue." Pius XII, Divino Afflante Spiritu, A.A.S. 35(1943) 309. N.C.W.C. trans. 14.

44

Since the Gorres-Gesellschaft edition does not contain the deliberations which come after Sess. XIV, we have recourse to A. Theiner, Acta Genuina SS. Oecumenici Concilii Tridentini, 1 (Zagrab, Croatiae 1874) 602-650.

45

See Ibid., 1, 602 A.

46

See Ibid., 1, 603 A. H. Schmidt, op. cit., 99-100, points out that the very choice of the terms in phrasing the Article, viz., .....debere...non nisi...quam omnes intelligant, makes it quite clear that the Protestant theory which demands the vernacular as essential to the nature of the Liturgy, is here being considered by Trent. The Council is not concerned with the attitude of some Catholics who favored the vernacular merely as an accessory advantage.

47

See Theiner, op. cit., 1, 611 A.

48

See J. Le Plat, Monumentorum ad Historiam Concilii Tridentini, 4 (Louvani 1784) 357-359.

49

See Ibid., 358.

50

See H. Schmidt, op. cit., 102-104. He uses the term "subjective" and "objective" in dividing the two aspects of worship. This latter is the opus operatum which is the Eucharist, and which the Protestants tried to destroy.

51

See H. Schmidt, op. cit., 103.

52

See Theiner, op. cit., 1, 617 A.

53

H. Schmidt, op. cit., 104-105, considers the report of John Delphius made on December 17, which Theiner 1, 622, states as follows: "IX et X etiam haeretici sunt; caeremoniae enim in ecclesia retinendae sunt, ut Paulus docet 1 Cor. 11 de velatis mulieribus etc. Item habetur ex 15 Math. et 4 ad Galatas." Art. X states "In celebratione missarum omnes caeremoniae vestes et externa signa irratabula impietatis esse magis quam officia pietatis." It seems as though Schmidt is straining in attempting to interpret here, a relationship between the vernacular and the texts quoted. Delphius seems only concerned with ceremonies. See J. Froger, op. cit., 100.

54

See Theiner, op. cit., 1, 633 B.

55

See Ibid., 1, 635 A.

56

See Ibid., 1, 635 B.

57

See Ibid., 1, 636 A.

58

See Ibid., 1, 636 A.

59

See Ibid.

60

See Ibid., 1, 637 A.

61

See Ibid., 1, 639 A.

62

See Ibid., 1, 637 B.

63

See Ibid., 1, 638 B.

64

See Ibid., 1, 641 A.

65

See Ibid., 1, 643 B.

66

See Ibid., 1, 638 A. H. Schmidt, op. cit., 108, in-

terprets this suggestion to mean that the Archbishop wants the Mass retained in its Latin form, - pure and simple. This seems to be forcing a thought not at all intended.

67

See Theiner, op. cit., 1, 644 B.

68

See Ibid., 1, 646 A.

69

The Protestant doctrine concerning the language used during the Mass is condemned as heretical, expressly and without restriction. We must admit, then, that it is dogmatically inexact to bind the essence of the Mass to the vernacular, in such a way that the Mass does not exist unless it is celebrated in a language all understand. We must see in this Canon XI, besides a disciplinary measure or positive law, a revealed truth. If the Mass were to be linked to a determined language (vernacular or Latin), we would have to learn it from Scripture or Tradition. This is not the case. The Protestant thesis then, must be condemned as going against revealed religion. H.Schmidt, op. cit., 111-112. But, to others, the dogmatic point at issue is simply the divinely given authority of the Church, which has established the practice of not using the vernacular, - has not erred in that matter, and is attacked implicitly by the Protestants in the error that is here condemned. A.Michel, Ami du Clergi (1953) 37.

70

See Le Plat, op. cit., 4, 394.

71

See Ibid.

72

See Ibid.

73

See Ibid.

74

It is unfortunate that what the Fathers had to say about the dogmatic expose, is not available.

75

See Le Plat, op. cit., 5, 265.

76

See Ibid., 267.

77

See Ibid., 387.

78

See Gorres-Gesellschaft, op. cit., 8, 718-750.

79

See Ibid., 719, 15. Art.8 reads "An ecclesiae Ro-

manae ritus, quo secreto et submissa voce verba consecrationis proferuntur, dammandus sit."

80

See Ibid., 741, 5-11.

81

See Ibid., 743, 5-7.

82

See Ibid., 743, 35-36; 744, 1-8.

83

See Ibid., 745, 2-3.

84

See Ibid., 13, 713, 1-41.

85

See Ibid., 8, 753, 24-45.

86

See Ibid., 753, 34-45.

87

See Ibid., 755, 1.

88

See Ibid., 755, 21-22.

89

See Ibid., 3, 385, 14-17.

90

See Ibid., 8, 766, 20-22.

91

See Ibid., 768, 25-26.

92

See Ibid., 771, 37-39.

93

See Ibid., 780, 2-5.

94

See Ibid., 3, 393, 5-9.

95

See "Liturgie et Langue Vulgaire," op.cit., 137-138.

96

See "Gorres-Gesellschaft," op. cit., 8, 756, 26-27.

97

See Ibid., 758, 12-13.

98

See Ibid., 761, 6-8.

99

See Ibid., 773, 20-21.

100

See Ibid., 757, 29.

101

See Ibid., 755, 32.

102

See Ibid., 760, 40.

103

See Ibid., 780, 19-20.

104

See Ibid., 912, 10-13.

105

It is to be noticed that the word nonnisi is sup-  
planted in this revision by the word tantum - which  
clearly indicates the mind of Trent, that "anyone who  
says that the Mass must be celebrated in the vernacular  
ONLY, would be heretical!"

106

See "Gorres-Gesellschaft," op. cit., 8. 911, 17-23.

107

See J. Froger, op. cit., fasc. 3, 181-183, where he  
treats in detail the interpretation of the word, "passim."

108

See "Gorres-Gesellschaft," op. cit., 8. 961. Mansi,

33.

109

J. Froger, op. cit., passim, concludes his thesis  
that Trent refers here to the traditional sermon to be  
preached at the traditional time during Mass. The Coun-  
cil gives no indications in any of its deliberations,  
that it intended that this prescription be interpreted  
to mean, "explanations should take place during the cour-  
se of the Mass."

110

See "Gorres-Gesellschaft," op. cit., 9. 752, 49.

753.

111

See Ibid., 808-949.

112

See Ibid., 981, 40. 982.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE REFERENCES OF  
THIS WORK

- AAS.....Acta Apostolicae Sedis, Rome.  
ACW.....Ancient Christian Writers, edit. J. Quasten  
and J.C. Plumpe. Westminster, Md.  
ANF.....Ante-Nicene Fathers. Buffalo and New York.  
CC.....Corpus Christianorum. Ser. Latin. Turnhout.  
CSEL.....Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latin-  
orum. Vienna.  
DACL.....Dictionnaire d'archeologie chretienne et de  
liturgie. Paris.  
DTC.....Dictionnaire de Theologie Catholique. Paris.  
EC.....Enciclopedia Cattolica. Vatican City.  
EL.....Ephemerides Liturgicae. Rome.  
FP.....Florilegium Patristicum. Bonn.  
GCS.....Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.  
Leipzig.  
MELV.....Monumenta Eucharistica et Liturgica Vetusti-  
ssima. edit. J. Quasten. Bonn.  
PG.....Migne. Patrologia Graeca.  
PL.....Migne. Patrologia Latina.  
PWK.....Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Realcyklopadie der kla-  
ssischen Altertumswissenschaft. Stuttgart.  
TU.....Texte und Untersuchungen. Leipzig.