

**Revising the Rite of Adult Initiation: The Structural Reform of the Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adulorum, Ordo Catechumenatus per Gradus Dispositus, 1964-1972**

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REVISING THE RITE OF ADULT INITIATION: THE STRUCTURAL REFORM  
OF THE *ORDO INITIATIONIS CHRISTIANAE ADULTORUM*,

*ORDO CATECHUMENATUS PER GRADUS DISPOSITUS*, 1964-1972

VOLUME I

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate School  
of the University of Notre Dame  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

by

David Andrew Pitt, B.A., M.A.

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Notre Dame, Indiana

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REVISING THE RITE OF ADULT INITIATION: THE STRUCTURAL REFORM  
OF THE *ORDO INITIATIONIS CHRISTIANAE ADULTORUM*,  
*ORDO CATECHUMENATUS PER GRADUS DISPOSITUS*, 1964-1972

Abstract

by

David Andrew Pitt

The purpose of this dissertation is to chronicle the history of the revision of the *Ordo catechumenatus per gradus dispositus* (OCGD) by *Coetus XXII*, as mandated at the Second Vatican Council. The method of research is largely archival, and treats the various *schemae* prepared for the *Consilium ad exsequendam constitutionem de sacra liturgia* (*Consilium*) as well as documents pertaining to their composition: drafts, minutes of meetings, correspondence, and reports of experimentation. Chapter One establishes the understanding of adult initiation prior to the Second Vatican Council, thus putting the revisions into historical context. Chapter Two examines the process by which a basic ritual structure for the OCGD began to be formed, and Chapter Three describes the clarification of that structure as well as its presentation to the *Consilium*. Chapter Four investigates the process by which the approved structure became a rite through the selection and addition of ritual texts. Chapter Five presents the completion of the *Coetus*'

original work and the emergence of a rite suitable for experimentation. Chapter Six details the investigation of the experimental rite to the *Consilium* and to the Congregation for the Rites, and the emendation of the OCGD prior to its presentation to Paul VI and his approval for experimentation. Chapter Seven surveys the responses from experimentation and the resulting revisions to the OCGD. Chapter Eight chronicles the final corrections and alterations to the rite and its promulgation. Finally, Chapter Nine offers an interpretation of the shape of the *Coetus*' work, relating it to the prevailing understanding of sacramental theology, typified by Edward Schillebeeckx. The history of the revision of the OCGD clarifies that the rite is properly celebrated when it becomes localized, for this was the clear intent of the *Coetus* and of the *Consilium*.

To Maria,  
my friend, my wife, my love

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## ABBREVIATIONS

CNPL = *Centre Nationale de Pastorale Liturgique* Archives

CW = Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship, Its Origin and Evolution: A Study of the Latin Liturgy Up to the Time of Charlemagne* (London: SPCK, 1931)

DOBL = E. C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy*, Revised and Expanded by Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by the Liturgical Press, 2003)

DRi = *De Rituali*

NR = “New Rite,” Draft from Le Saulchoir, June 3-6, 1965

NR-C = “New Rite,” Draft from Clervaux, June 23-26, 1965

NR-G = “New Rite,” Draft from Galloro,

OBA = *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum*

OBA1962 = *Ordo Baptismi Adultorum* 1962

OCGD = *Ordo catechumenatus per gradus dispositus*

OICA = *Ordo initiationis christianae adultorum*

RCIA = *The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults Approved for Use in the Dioceses of the United States of America by the National Conference of Catholic Bishops and Confirmed by the Apostolic See*, Study Edition, Prepared by International Commission on English in the Liturgy and Bishops’ Committee on the Liturgy (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1988)

ROL = Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy, 1948-1975*, Matthew J. O’Connell, tr. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990)

S = *Schemata*

SC = *Sacrosanctum Concilium*

SGR = Draft of Rite from St-Genesius-Rode

## INTRODUCTION

The revision of the *Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adultorum* (OICA), largely accomplished by *Coetus XXII*<sup>1</sup> of the *Consilium ad Exsequendum Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia* (*Consilium*), was begun in September, 1964, and was promulgated on the Solemnity of the Epiphany, 1972. The study group sought to revise the existing order of adult initiation into the Church, making use of the knowledge and experience of both liturgical and patristic scholars, and practitioners and missionaries, in accordance with the appropriate paragraphs in *Sacrosanctum Concilium* (SC):

59. The purpose of the sacraments is to sanctify men, to build up the body of Christ, and, finally, to give worship to God; because they are signs they also instruct. They not only presuppose faith, but by words and objects they also nourish, strengthen, and express it; that is why they are called "sacraments of faith." They do indeed impart grace, but, in addition, the very act of celebrating them most effectively disposes the faithful to receive this grace in a fruitful manner, to worship God duly, and to practice charity.

It is therefore of the highest importance that the faithful should easily understand the sacramental signs, and should frequent with great eagerness those sacraments which were instituted to nourish the Christian life.

64. The catechumenate for adults, comprising several distinct steps, is to be restored and to be taken into use at the discretion of the local ordinary. By this, means the time of the catechumenate, which is intended as a period of suitable

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<sup>1</sup> *Coetus XXII* on the Sacraments was composed of Balthasar Fischer (Relator), Xavier Seumois (Secretary), Jacques Cellier (additional Relator), Louis Ligier (additional Secretary), Emil Lengeling, Frederick McManus, Boniface Luykx, Alois Stenzel, Joseph Lécuyer, and Jean-Baptiste Molin. Bugnini notes that this group, and *Coetus XXIII* on the sacramentals were distinct groups that worked together, "dividing up among them the study of the several sacraments (for each of which others in the group were appointed as Relators and secretaries)" in Annibale Bugnini, *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948-1975*. Matthew J. O'Connell, tr. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1990), 579 (hereafter ROL). This text was originally published as Annibale Bugnini, *La riforma liturgica (1948-1975)* (Rome: Centro Liturgico Vincenziano – Edizioni Liturgische, 1983).

instruction, may be sanctified by sacred rites to be celebrated at successive intervals of time.

65. In mission lands it is found that some of the peoples already make use of initiation rites. Elements from these, when capable of being adapted to Christian ritual, may be admitted along with those already found in Christian tradition, according to the norm laid down in Art. 37-40, of this Constitution.

66. Both the rites for the baptism of adults are to be revised: not only the simpler rite, but also the more solemn one, which must take into account the restored catechumenate. A special Mass “for the conferring of baptism” is to be inserted into the Roman Missal.

71. The rite of confirmation is to be revised and the intimate connection which this sacrament has with the whole of Christian initiation is to be more clearly set forth; for this reason it is fitting for candidates to renew their baptismal promises just before they are confirmed.

109. The season of Lent has a twofold character: primarily by recalling or preparing for baptism and by penance, it disposes the faithful, who more diligently hear the word of God and devote themselves to prayer, to celebrate the paschal mystery. This twofold character is to be brought into greater prominence both in the liturgy and by liturgical catechesis. Hence:

- a) More use is to be made of the baptismal features proper to the Lenten liturgy; some of them, which used to flourish in bygone days, are to be restored as may seem good.

The resulting OICA, perhaps the “most mature fruit of all the liturgical reforms mandated by the Second Vatican Council,”<sup>2</sup> has been subsequently adopted and adapted by the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Canada (1978), the Episcopal Church, USA (1976), and the Church of England (1980).<sup>3</sup> As further evidence of the popularity and depth of acceptance of the OICA, not only have “both Methodists and Presbyterians [in the United States]... produced new liturgical texts

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<sup>2</sup> Aidan Kavanagh, as found in Maxwell E. Johnson. *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 296.

<sup>3</sup> Johnson, *Rites*, 291-3.

containing similar rites of Christian initiation, including resources for the adult catechumenate”<sup>4</sup>, but the World Council of Churches draws attention to the convergence of initiatory patterns set out in the OICA in their 1982 document, *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry*.<sup>5</sup>

Considering, therefore, the quality of the reform itself, and its broad ecumenical impact, it would seem helpful to embark upon an investigation of the manner in which the *Ordo baptismi adultorum* (OBA) and its variant, the *Ordo baptismi adultorum 1962* (OBA1962) were revised, and the first chapter the OICA, the *Ordo catechumenatur per gradus dispositus* (OCGD) was created. The OCGD was the normative version for adult initiation, and all other versions would be derived from it. Such a study will prove useful in at least three ways. First, it will chronicle the history of this reform, which has not yet been undertaken in any substantial way. Second, it will serve to inform pastoral practice for the realization of the rite: it will determine, insofar as possible, why certain elements have been placed where they have been, why other elements have disappeared, why particular texts were chosen, and how they were edited. Third, and perhaps most significantly, it will demonstrate the context in which the rite was developed, thereby shedding light on the intended sacramental theology of Christian initiation. Aidan Kavanagh’s prophetic claim that “one cannot set an adult catechumenate in motion without becoming necessarily involved with *renewal* in the ways a local church lives its

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<sup>4</sup> Johnson, *Rites*, 293.

<sup>5</sup> *Baptism, Eucharist, Ministry* (Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1982).

faith from top to bottom”<sup>6</sup> will be demonstrated as not simply a secondary reflection on the received rite, but as a primary concern shaping the very revision itself.

While many volumes have been written surrounding the theological implications of the *OICA*, to date, there has been no major study of the process by which *Coetus XXII* developed the rite for adult initiation. A few shorter articles written both during the time that *Coetus XXII* was active and by *Coetus* members following the conclusion of their work make passing reference to the work of the *Coetus*.<sup>7</sup> The best existing description of this process is found within Annibale Bugnini’s *The Reform of the Liturgy: 1948-1975*. The thirteen-page chapter entitled “Christian Initiation of Adults” is divided into two sections. First, Bugnini surveys the history of the study group, and outlines the meetings that took place. While providing an insightful commentary on the proceedings, these descriptions are tantalizingly brief:

The first schema came before the *Consilium* on November 19, 1965, accompanied by a masterly presentation from Professor B. Fischer. The Fathers engaged in a lively discussion of the report. The discussion dealt not so much with the structure of the rite as with details and showed a certain lack of experience on the part of Fathers who did not come from mission countries and were not familiar with the catechumenate. Professor Fischer was so successful in clearing up difficulties that the problems he set down as calling for solutions were unanimously approved, apart from some minor dissents on one or some other point<sup>8</sup>.

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<sup>6</sup> Aidan Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation in Post-Conciliar Roman Catholicism” in Maxwell E. Johnson, ed., *Living Water, Sealing Spirit: Readings on Christian Initiation* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by the Liturgical Press, 1995), 8.

<sup>7</sup> Most notable of these is Balthasar Fischer, “De Initiatione christiana adultorum” (*Notitiae* 3, 1967, 55-70). The article limits itself, however, to a description of the *schema* that had been approved by Pope Paul VI for the purposes of experimentation. Discussion of the process itself is, to say the least, difficult to find, and is rather fragmentary. See, for example, Balthasar Fischer, “Baptismal Exorcism in the Catholic baptismal rites after Vatican II,” *Studia Liturgica* 10 (1974), 48-55 and Balthasar Fischer, “The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: Rediscovery and New Beginnings,” *Worship* 64 (1990), 98-106.

<sup>8</sup> ROL, 584-5.

Also within the historical section, Bugnini traces the path of the *Ordo* through the various channels of approval, noting concerns of the various parties, such as the Consilium, Abbot Franzoni of the Secretariat of State, and the Congregation of the Sacraments.

Second, Bugnini describes the contents of the new Rite, focusing on the Introduction, the catechumenate itself, special cases within the Rite<sup>9</sup>, and, finally, the Rite of Reception of Baptized Christians into Full Communion with the Catholic Church. In his description, Bugnini points out some of the highlights of the Rite while also offering a short theology of it. Also, in dealing with the Rite of Reception of Baptized Christians into Full Communion with the Catholic Church, Bugnini presents, with minimal commentary, the dates and purposes of the meetings involved in this process. He concludes this section with a brief explanation of how this Rite is to be celebrated.

Throughout his description of this process and his presentation of the results of that process, Bugnini offers several insights and anecdotes that inform this process. Especially helpful is his recollection of the debate between the *Consilium* fathers, some of whom believed that they were

being confronted with something artificial and with revivals that seemed inspired by a taste for the past...[which] led them to challenge the terms 'initiation' and 'scrutinies', to regard as complicated the rite of entrance into the catechumenate, and to think of the presentations as artificial<sup>10</sup>.

Bugnini provides a concise yet informative description of the way in which the *OICA* was developed by *Coetus XXII*. As a consequence of his precision, however, he

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<sup>9</sup> Here, Bugnini lists and describes four special cases: the Simple Rite, the Short Rite, Guidelines for preparing Uncatechized Adults for Confirmation and Eucharist, and the Rite of Initiation for Children of Catechetical Age.

<sup>10</sup> ROL, 586, note 5.

leaves many questions unanswered. Since this section is only one small portion of the entire work – the chapter comprises a mere 1.5% of the book – Bugnini could not attend to all the details that are of interest. Indeed, this was not even his intent<sup>11</sup>. What were, for example, those “minor dissents on one or other point”<sup>12</sup> that were voiced at the presentation of the first *schema*? How did Fischer respond to the charges of artificiality and historicism? Furthermore, in dealing with the many diverse catechumenal centers that received the experimental Rite in 1966, Bugnini notes that, while “the material, with all its observations, suggestions, and requests, was very extensive[,] in general, all the reports praised the approach taken in the rite [and] the observations had broadly to do with four points”<sup>13</sup>. Bugnini proceeds to summarize this “extensive” material into one page. One is left wondering what those “observations, suggestions, and requests” were, and, to what degree they helped shape the Rite that would eventually emerge.

In 1997, Dale J. Sieverding defended his dissertation from Sant’Anselmo, the Pontifical Liturgical Institute in Rome, entitled “*Ordo admissionis valide iam baptizatorum in plenam communionem ecclesiae catholicae*: An Historical Study of the Ritual Aspects of Reception into Full Communion with Special Attention to the Adaptations of the Rite for Use in the Catholic Church in the United States of

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<sup>11</sup> “In this book I simply describe the picture frame. I do not attempt even to sketch the picture itself, that is, the reform, in its conception, its main lines, its many hues, and its most striking effects, which make it a work that challenges the centuries and, more importantly, will have a profound effect on the interior life of our communities, and thereby on the life of the Church”. ROL, xxv.

<sup>12</sup> ROL, 585.

<sup>13</sup> ROL, 587.



America.”<sup>14</sup> In this text Sieverding presents a historical study on rebaptism and the reception of the validly baptized into communion with the Catholic Church, beginning with the Decian persecution through the adoption of the modern rite and its adaptation for the United States. While Sieverding’s study does not deal explicitly with the revision of the OCGD, he does document the work of *Coetus XXII* on the rite which would become an Appendix to the OICA. The vast majority of the work on this text occurred between July 1967 and April 1968 after the *Coetus* had completed their work on the experimental version of the OCGD, which was, by then, being used in numerous experimental settings. There is, however, some overlap between the subject of Sieverding’s study and this present one: two pages are dedicated to preparation for the first meeting of the *Coetus* in 1964.<sup>15</sup> While quite helpful in general, particularly regarding the working of the *Coetus*, Sieverding’s study sheds minimal light on the development of the OCGD itself.

In 2000, Paul Turner<sup>16</sup> presented a study on the history of the Catechumenate, beginning with Saints Peter and Paul, and proceeding through to Balthasar Fischer and the OICA. Through his concentration is on different historical manifestations of initiation, Turner is able to demonstrate the changing understanding and role of four periods in the catechumenal process: first interest, preparation for baptism, baptism, and

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<sup>14</sup> Dale J. Sieverding, “*Ordo admissionis valide iam baptizatorum in plenam communionem ecclesiae catholicae*: An historical study of the ritual aspects of reception into full communion with special attention to the adaptations of the rite for use in the Catholic Church in the United States of America” (SLD diss., Pontificio Instituto Liturgico, 1997). See especially Chapter V, pages 211-265. See also the revised version of Sieverding’s dissertation, *The Reception of Baptized Christians: A History and Evaluation*, Forum Essays Number 7 (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2001), and specifically, Chapter 5, pages 59-91.

<sup>15</sup> Sieverding, “*Ordo admissionis*,” 217-218.

<sup>16</sup> Paul Turner, *The Hallelujah Highway: A History of the Catechumenate* (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 2000).

life after initiation. What is particularly important in this work is, however, his treatment of the revised OCGD. In this chapter Turner uses Bugnini's structure, examining the history, and then the structure of the Rite. Turner has built upon Bugnini's contribution, focusing more on the Rite's content than on the genesis of the Rite in meetings and discussions. Turner has also paid attention to the new Rite's borrowing of texts and elements from older versions of the Rite and other historical initiation sources. In this way, he is able to present the current OCGD as being in continuity with the forms of initiation that preceded it. Turner's work is an important step in the analysis of the development of the Rite, especially because of his source-analysis of the current Rite. Turner does not, however, deal extensively with the questions of either the process or the method of reform.

Most recently, Turner's 2007 *When Other Christians Become Catholic*,<sup>17</sup> a study of the *Ordo admissionis valide iam baptizatorum in plenam communionem ecclesiae catholicae*, builds upon Sieverding's study of the same rite, relating the process by which this rite was crafted. Furthermore, Turner presents a commentary on ecclesiology through the lens of the Rite of Reception of Baptized Christians into the Full Communion of the Catholic Church in the United States. The same historical issues concerning Sieverding's study relate to Turner's work: this rite was begun and completed during the period in which the OCGD was under experimentation, and are intended for two distinct groups of individuals.

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<sup>17</sup> Paul Turner, *When Other Christians Become Catholic* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by the Liturgical Press, 2007).

Thus, questions concerning the process of revision of the OCGD – the subject of this dissertation – were given brief attention by Bugnini, Sieverding, and Turner. Yet they remain unanswered.

Two different methodological possibilities emerged as possibilities for pursuing this study. The first is chronological, treating the process of reform in terms of periods.<sup>18</sup> The second involves examining each liturgical element individually, tracing each element's history.<sup>19</sup> The strength of one approach is the weakness of the other. Because the OCGD is so ritually dense, treating the entire rite together inevitably means that the reader may overlook many of the smaller details as particular elements evolve; treating individual elements separately will allow the reader to notice those details while the general trends of the process fade from focus. An observation by Kavanagh has helped to clarify the choice of methods here:

Rather than regarding sacraments as separate entities, each containing its own exclusive meaning for theological exploitation, the *Ordo Initiationis Christianae Adultorum* presumes that all the initiatory rites form one closely articulated whole which, in turn, relates intimately with all the other non-initiatory sacraments and rites.<sup>20</sup>

The method chosen, therefore, emerges out of the nature of the OCGD itself. Examining individual elements as they relate to other elements is vital to understanding the rite itself.

As Kavanagh elsewhere argued

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<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Sieverding, “*Ordo admissionis*.” See also, Stanislaus Campbell, *From Breviary to Liturgy of the Hours: The Structural Reform of the Roman Office, 1964-1971* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by The Liturgical Press, 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Anne Christine McGuire, *The Reform of Holy Week, 1951-1969: Process, Problems, and Possibilities* (University of Notre Dame: PhD dissertation, 2001).

<sup>20</sup> Kavanagh, “Christian Initiation in Post-Conciliar Roman Catholicism,” 1-2.

to feed the RCIA piecemeal, so to speak, into the meatgrinder of conventional parochial practice will almost surely result in transmuting the document's challenges into neat little packets of a *status quo* that is becoming more problematic. Put another way, this process is an alchemy that will turn the RCIA's precious metal of renewal into the cold and heavy lead of more mere reforms.<sup>21</sup>

Granted, Kavanagh is describing pastoral practice, but the central issue is one of theological vision. The OICA in general, and OCGD in particular represent expressions of a new sacramental theology, and the process in which the revisions occurred should, ultimately, attempt to communicate that theology as thoroughly as possible. Not only will tracing the process chronologically allow the OCGD to be seen as an interconnected whole, it will also offer an increased ability to comment on the evolution of editorial principles, the overall shape of the reform, and the fundamental impact of experimentation.

Thus, Chapter One provides an examination of the understanding of adult initiation leading up to the Second Vatican Council and the post Conciliar revision of the rite. This aspect of the study will provide some context for the revision in terms of general scholarly attitudes towards the shape of adult initiation, and will articulate, whenever possible, the positions of *Coetus* members on the topic. Chapter Two begins an investigation into the work of the *Coetus* and the establishment of general principles and a basic ritual structure for the OCGD. Chapter Three elaborates on the progress of the *Coetus* in determining the full ritual structure for the rite and the response of the *Consilium* to their proposal. Chapter Four details the shift in the *Coetus*' attention from ritual shape to ritual texts with the editing and composition of prayers and rubrics for the

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<sup>21</sup> Aidan Kavanagh, "Unfinished and Unbegun Revisited: The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults" in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit*, 259-260.

rite. Chapter Five treats the continued process of crafting texts, focusing, however, on the creation of the first draft of the rite submitted to the *Consilium*. Chapter Six details the presentation of the *schema* to the *Consilium* and the necessary revisions made to the rite prior to its presentation to the Pope, so that it might be approved for experimentation. Chapter Seven describes the responses from the experimenters and the initial revisions to the rite based on those responses. Chapter Eight concerns the final work of the *Coetus* in preparing the rite, the response from the *Consilium*, review of the OICA by the Congregations for Divine Worship, the Sacraments, the Doctrine of the Faith, and the Evangelization of Peoples, and finally, approval by the Pope. The final chapter, Chapter Nine, summarizes the work on the OCGD, and highlights the methodological progression within the *Coetus*, which, in turn, affects the way in which the rite should be received and realized by the Church.

In order to facilitate the reading of this study, some of the necessary texts have been appended to this dissertation in a third volume. These include comparative versions of both the *Praenotanda* to the OICA and the OCGD in its various stages of revision.

Finally, it must be noted that this study concerns the rite promulgated for the universal Church, and not the localized versions thereof, such as the Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults in either the United States or Canada. The *Coetus* was clear that the work of the local Conferences of Bishops was necessary, but distinct, from their own project.

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE UNDERSTANDING OF ADULT INITIATION PRIOR TO VATICAN II

In order to understand the method used by *Coetus XXII* in their revision of the rite of adult initiation, it is necessary to appreciate the academic context out of which they were working. This context begins with the French liturgical scholar, Louis Duchesne, to whom Pierre-Marie Gy pointedly ascribed the popularization of the understanding of Christian initiation as a unified rite comprised of three sacramental parts.<sup>1</sup> According to Gy, Duchesne, though not likely the first to come to this conclusion regarding the inherent unity of the sacraments of initiation, is nonetheless to be credited with inspiring its hold on the academic community:

the great liturgists of the seventeenth, eighteenth and early nineteenth century who treated the baptismal liturgy knew the rather uncertain use of the idea of “initiation” by the Fathers and they sometimes used it themselves; they knew also that the liturgical acts of baptism, confirmation and eucharist are closely linked; but they did not give to the whole complex as such the name of “initiation” or “Christian initiation.”<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre-Marie Gy, “The Idea of ‘Christian Initiation’ in *Studia Liturgica* 12 (1977), 172-175.

<sup>2</sup> Gy, “Idea,” 172. Specifically, Gy cites both Nitzsch, *Observationes ad theologiam practicam felicius excolendam* (Bonn: 1831), and Johann Wilhelm Friedrich Höfling, *Das Sakrament der Taufe nebst den anderen damit zusammenhängenden Akten der Initiation* (Erlangen: Palm, 1846-48), but argues that these while two authors represent “the nearest precedent I have found... Duchesne was probably not aware of it” (172).

To be sure, Duchesne's conception of the inherent unity of the pattern of initiation – modified by a different conception of the sacrament of “confirmation” – continues to be the accepted description of Christian initiation.<sup>3</sup> What is perhaps more important is the trajectory of development laid out by Gy. His statement that “between Duchesne and Vatican II the word and idea of ‘Christian initiation’ made progress among the liturgists and theologians... With Vatican II the notion of ‘Christian initiation’ becomes fundamental for the theology of the first three sacraments.”<sup>4</sup> At first glance, Gy might simply be trying to locate two points on a graph; the sacraments that were understood as being distinct in the 1614 *Ordo baptismi adultorum* (hereafter OBA) of Paul V are understood as being connected in the *Ordo catechumenatus per gradus dispositus* (hereafter OCGD) of Paul VI. Gy's claim is, however, of greater significance for two reasons. First, Gy is not merely pointing out two moments in a broader trajectory, but is isolating two moments of pivotal importance. For Gy, Duchesne represents the point at which research on the sacraments of initiation becomes “scientific,”<sup>5</sup> and the declarations of Vatican II that the sacraments of initiation form a unified whole “brings a new precision to theology and catechesis.”<sup>6</sup> It is no surprise, then, that Gy singles out these two points and connects them together. Second, however, and almost as a precursor to

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<sup>3</sup> Maxwell E. Johnson provides a description of the general pattern of Christian initiation which includes specific reference to “the rites of initiation (baptism, ‘confirmation,’ and first communion), rites by which the former catechumens and ‘elect’ are now incorporated fully into the life of the Christian community” *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Their Evolution and Interpretation* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by The Liturgical Press, 1999), xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Gy, “Idea,” 173.

<sup>5</sup> Gy relays that Duchesne rejected the theory of his contemporary, Ernest Renan, that tied the origins of Christian initiatory practice to pagan ritual, declaring Renan “unscientific in his teaching on Christian origins.” Gy, “Idea,” 173.

<sup>6</sup> Gy, “Idea,” 174.

the first point of importance, Gy's statement is important precisely because it is Gy, himself, who made it. In fulfilling the mandates of SC, Gy and Balthasar Fischer would lead the two *Coetus* responsible for the revision of sacramentals and sacraments; Gy was the Relator for *Coetus* XXIII on sacramentals and Fischer was the Relator for *Coetus* XXII on the sacraments. These two individuals and their groups would work in close collaboration, especially in the initial stages of their work, which effectively defined the shape for the future Rite of Christian Initiation for Adults. Therefore, since Gy locates the reform of the rites of Christian initiation as the fitting conclusion to the work begun by Duchesne, and since Gy is one of the two individuals responsible for dictating much of the shape of the future rite, then Duchesne's influence on the rite should be understood as substantial.

It is abundantly clear that Duchesne has had an immense effect on the liturgical scholars who followed him. In 1959, Josef Jungmann, S.J., writing in *The Early Liturgy*, noted that Duchesne's book marked the beginning of a vigorous study of the origins of Christian liturgy.<sup>7</sup> High praise, indeed, to be treated as the *Ur*-pioneer by one whose impact in the field is virtually immeasurable: "it is almost impossible to overestimate the impact that Jungmann and his work have had on the liturgical reforms which flowed from the work of the Second Vatican Council."<sup>8</sup> Further, Herman Wegman wrote that "it was not Dom Guéranger who uncovered the roots of Christian worship, but Duchesne, who in 1889 published his *Origines du culte chrétien*, [and laid] the foundations for a movement

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<sup>7</sup> Josef Jungmann, *The Early Liturgy: To the Time of Gregory the Great* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Joanne M. Pierce and Michael Downey, eds, *Source and Summit: Commemorating Josef A. Jungmann, S.J.* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1999), 1.



that could no longer be stopped.”<sup>9</sup> Paul Bradshaw succinctly validated this claim in stating that Duchesne’s book “became a standard work for the first half of the twentieth century.”<sup>10</sup> Perhaps, however, the best testimony to his importance is the endurance of his initial theory regarding the inherent unity of the sacraments of Christian initiation.

### 1.1: Louis Duchesne

Writing in *Origines du culte chrétien* [*Christian Worship* (hereafter *CW*)], Duchesne argued that “the resemblance [between Christian communities and Jewish communities] is especially apparent in the sphere of worship.”<sup>11</sup> Admittedly, Duchesne relied principally on the eucharistic liturgy in making this claim, though he also referred to Church structure and Christian festivals. Nonetheless, in treating the ceremonies of Christian initiation, Duchesne begins without reference to Jewish precedent, focusing primarily on the Western Christian rites, namely the Roman and Gallican usages.<sup>12</sup> He would also briefly treat the rites of the Eastern Churches, and he concluded his study with a comparison of the liturgy of West and East. Duchesne’s treatment of the Roman usage

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<sup>9</sup> Herman Wegman, *Christian Worship in East and West: A Study Guide to Liturgical History* (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by The Liturgical Press, 1990), 352. Louis Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien: étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (Paris: Thoring, 1889).

<sup>10</sup> Paul F. Bradshaw, *The Search For the Origins of Christian Worship: Sources and Methods for the Study of Early Liturgy*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 118.

<sup>11</sup> Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution – A Study of the Latin Liturgy up to the Time of Charlemagne* (*CW*), Fifth Edition (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1931), 46. French references from both *Origines du culte chrétien: étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* (Paris: Thorin, 1889) and *Origines du culte chrétien: étude sur la liturgie latine avant Charlemagne* Cinquième Édition (Paris: Anciennes Maisons Thorin et Fontemoing, 1925).

<sup>12</sup> The impact of Jewish worship upon Christian liturgy would only gain significant attention in the second quarter of the twentieth century, and, according to Bradshaw, “after the publication in 1945 of Gregory Dix’s magisterial work *The Shape of the Liturgy*, it became axiomatic for those searching for the origins of every aspect of primitive Christian liturgical practice to look primarily for Jewish antecedents” (Bradshaw, *Search*, 23). It is, therefore, not surprising that Duchesne would not pay any significant attention to Jewish worship patterns.

in his 1925 edition relied upon four documents, which, according to the standard dating of that time, encompassed five centuries: the *Apostolic Tradition* written by Hippolytus, *Ordo XI*,<sup>13</sup> the *Hadrian Sacramentary*, and the *Gelasian Sacramentary*. From these sources, Duchesne argued for a single, monolinear, pattern of development, concluding that

the ceremonies of Christian initiation, such as they are described in authorities from the end of the second century onwards, consisted of three essential rites – baptism, confirmation, and First Communion [“le baptême, la confirmation et la première communion”]. These could not be entered upon – at least, ordinarily – without a more or less lengthy preparation. As early as the end of the second century the increasing number of Christian candidates rendered it necessary to systematize this preparation, to lay down definite rules for its performance, and to determine the period of probation. Hence arose the discipline of the catechumenate.<sup>14</sup>

According to Duchesne, catechumens who sought to complete their initiation could become members of the “elect” with the support of the rulers of the Church. “At the beginning of Lent the names of those who were to be baptized on Easter Eve were written down.”<sup>15</sup> While granting a preference for Epiphany baptism in the East, he argued that in Rome, based on Tertullian’s *De baptismo* 19,<sup>16</sup> not all of the elect would be ready for

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<sup>13</sup> Duchesne used the edition of the *Ordines Romani* by J. Mabillon, *Museum Italicum t. II complectens antiquos libros rituales sanctae romanae Ecclesiae cum commentario praevio in Ordinem romanum* (Paris: 1689), in PL 78, 851-1408.

The system used here is that found in Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, *Spicilegium Sacraum Lovaniense*, 23 (Louvain, 1948), where it is labelled *Ordo XI*.

<sup>14</sup> CW 292.

<sup>15</sup> CW 293.

<sup>16</sup> “The Passover provides the day of most solemnity for baptism, for then was accomplished our Lord’s passion, and into it we are baptized... After that Pentecost is a most auspicious period for arranging baptism, for during it our Lord’s resurrection was several times made known among the disciples, and the grace of the Holy Spirit first given... For all that, every day is a Lord’s day: any hour, any season, is suitable for baptism. If there is a difference of solemnity, it makes no difference to the grace.” Quoted in E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy (DOBL)* revised and expanded by Maxwell E. Johnson (Collegeville: A Pueblo Book by the Liturgical Press, 2003), 10.

baptism at Easter. As such, it was deemed acceptable, in certain cases, to postpone baptism “to a later date in Eastertide. The last day for this purpose, that of Pentecost, as much on account of its being the last as for its own special solemnity, came soon to be regarded as a second baptismal festival.”<sup>17</sup>

After carefully admitting that “the rites observed in regard to the catechumenate, baptism, and confirmation, varied, as was the case with the eucharistic liturgy, according to the country,”<sup>18</sup> Duchesne proceeded to his first major description of initiatory practice: “Baptism According to the Roman Usage” (see Table 1.1 below). In the original 1889 text, Duchesne had used only *Ordo XI*, the *Hadrian Sacramentary*, and the *Gelasian Sacramentary*. Despite the addition of “the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus”<sup>19</sup> in the 1925 edition, however, the text of *CW* went largely unchanged. Importantly, Duchesne was quick to recognize that infant baptism was normative in the seventh century. But, he argued, “it is clear... that the formularies were composed for adults, and that the ceremonies themselves have only their full significance where persons of riper years [*sic.*] are concerned.”<sup>20</sup> Methodologically, therefore, he saw that in these later texts, “the details which limit the ceremony to infants, and thus cause a chronological transposition of the whole text, [are] indications of the work of a reviser.”<sup>21</sup> He divided his treatment of the Roman usage into six segments.

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<sup>17</sup> *CW* 293.

<sup>18</sup> *CW* 294.

<sup>19</sup> *CW* 311.

<sup>20</sup> *CW* 294. The English versions mistranslates “*Personnes arrivées à l’age de raison*” as “persons of riper years” rather than “persons having reached the age of reason.”

<sup>21</sup> *CW* 295.

TABLE 1.1  
THE PATTERN OF ROMAN INITIATION  
IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

1.	Rites of the Catechumenate
	Exorcism by exsufflation
	Signation on the forehead with a cross
	Prayer
	Giving of exorcized salt
2.	Preparation for Baptism
	Scrutinies (Seven)
	(Inscription of Names – First Scrutiny only)
	Self-signation
	Exorcism (by three exorcists/acolytes, except Seventh Scrutiny by priest)
	(Ephphatha – Seventh Scrutiny only)
	(Anointing on back and breast – Seventh Scrutiny only)
	(Renunciation of Satan – Seventh Scrutiny only)
	(Profession of Faith – Seventh Scrutiny only)
	Prayer of the elect
	Signation by the priest
	Imposition of hands by priest
	Prayer for illumination
	Silent prayer
	(Traditio of Gospels, Creed, and Lord's Prayer – Third Scrutiny only)
	Dismissal before the Gospel
3.	Blessing of the Holy Oils
4.	Baptism
	Blessing of Water
	Triple Profession of Faith by interrogation
	Declarative formula
	Anointing on head by priest with chrism
	Giving of white vestments
5.	Confirmation
6.	Eucharist

The Rites of the Catechumenate comprised several elements: the exorcism by exsufflation; the signation of the forehead with a cross and accompanying prayer; and the giving of exorcized salt. Upon the completion of this ritual, Duchesne notes that “the

candidate was regarded as a catechumen, and was admitted to religious assemblies, but not to the eucharistic liturgy.”<sup>22</sup>

“Preparation for baptism at Rome” contended Duchesne, “as elsewhere,”<sup>23</sup> consisted of Lenten instructions and exercises – the scrutinies, which were intended “to test the preparation of the candidates, and especially to present them to the faithful.”<sup>24</sup> He admitted that “no Roman collection of catechetical instructions is now in existence which might be compared with those of St. Cyril of Jerusalem,” though St. Augustine’s sermons *ad competentes* might represent the Latin, and even Roman custom.<sup>25</sup> Nevertheless, Cyril’s catecheses were, for Duchesne, “sufficient to give us an idea of the nature and form of the teaching given preparatory to baptism”<sup>26</sup> even when it came to the Roman liturgy. The scrutinies themselves began, at least by the seventh century, on Monday of the Third week of Lent. At this celebration, the elect gave their names, which were then written into a book, and when the collect and the readings for the Mass (excluding the Gospel) had been read, the elect fell prostrate and prayed. According to Duchesne, at a signal from the Deacon, the elect signed themselves, and the exorcisms began, performed by three acolytes, one after the other. Duchesne noted, however, that despite mention in both *Ordo XI* and the *Hadrian Sacramentary* of acolytes, “as long as

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<sup>22</sup> CW 297.

<sup>23</sup> CW 298.

<sup>24</sup> CW 298.

<sup>25</sup> CW 298.

<sup>26</sup> CW 298.

there were exorcists in office, this was not the duty of acolytes.”<sup>27</sup> When the exorcists – or acolytes – had finished, the elect prayed (prostrate) again, and they were approached by the priest, signed them and imposed his hands, as had the exorcists before. Instead of praying that the Devil be exorcized, however, the priest would pray only that the elect might be illumined with divine wisdom and be led in the ways of truth – “it was not his office – at least, at this moment – to conjure the demon.”<sup>28</sup> The elect would then prostrate themselves once more, and then resume their places, being dismissed immediately after the *gradual* (before the Gospel), while the remainder celebrated the eucharist.

Duchesne noted that the pattern of the scrutinies was the same for the other seven days, excepting the third and the seventh. On the third, “the candidate was officially instructed in the Gospel, the Creed, and the Lord’s Prayer.”<sup>29</sup> Duchesne clarified that this was the specifically Roman pattern, while, according to Augustine’s sermon 57 and 58, “in Africa, where the Roman rite was followed, we find also a *traditio* of the *Pater noster*, but not that of the Gospel.”<sup>30</sup> In this third scrutiny, the elect, upon the completion of the *gradual*, watched a procession involving four deacons, each carrying one of the Gospel books, which they placed at the four corners of the altar. The priest then instructed the elect to stand, and the first page of each Gospel (beginning with Matthew) was read aloud, each of which was concluded by a short commentary. Then, the priest

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<sup>27</sup> CW 299.

<sup>28</sup> CW 300.

<sup>29</sup> CW 300.

<sup>30</sup> CW 301.

addressed the elect again, in order to begin the *traditio* of the Apostle's Creed<sup>31</sup> (which could occur in either Greek or Latin, according to the language of the individual elect.)<sup>32</sup> Another address by the priest followed the *traditio* of the Creed. The third scrutiny was completed by the *traditio* of the Lord's Prayer. Beginning with a short address by the priest, this ceremony consisted largely of a phrase by phrase recitation of the prayer coupled with a commentary on each phrase. This was concluded by a short allocution by the priest. Duchesne recognizes that "it is possible that at Rome in early times, each *traditio* was delivered on a separate occasion," as was the case in Africa, where "the *traditio* of the *Pater* took place eight days after that of the Creed."<sup>33</sup>

The seventh scrutiny also varied from the basic pattern. Duchesne noted that in the eighth century, this final scrutiny was celebrated at *terce* on the vigil of Easter, but he surmises that "it is probably that in more ancient times it was held in the afternoon."<sup>34</sup> At this celebration only, the exorcism was not performed by an exorcist/acolyte, but rather, by the priest himself, who made the sign of the cross on each candidate and placed his hands on each of their heads, with a prayer. This was followed by the *Ephphatha*, where the priest "having moistened his finger with saliva, touched the upper part of the lip and

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<sup>31</sup> CW 302: "There is no doubt that the formulary employed originally at Rome was the Apostles' Creed, which is, properly speaking, the Roman symbol. This was the creed dealt with by St. Augustine in his explanation of this ceremony."

<sup>32</sup> CW 301-302: "The population of Rome at that time was bilingual, and the catechumens were grouped according to their language, to hear the recitation of the Creed. Each group in turn was led up to the priest by an acolyte set apart for this purpose... (The acolyte in this case is probably a substitute for the exorcist, or possibly for the reader)."

<sup>33</sup> CW 302.

<sup>34</sup> CW 303.

the ears of each of the candidates.”<sup>35</sup> Duchesne argued, first, that the use of saliva was not primitive, since “by the Epistle of John the Deacon... early in the sixth century it was the custom at Rome to use, not saliva, but consecrated oil,”<sup>36</sup> and second, that “in spite of the words *in odorem suavitatis* of the formulary, there is no doubt that the nostrils were here substituted for the mouth.”<sup>37</sup> The elect were then anointed on the back and on the breast with exorcised oil:

“The whole ceremony had a symbolical meaning. The critical moment of the strife with Satan had arrived. The candidates were now to renounce him solemnly in order to bind themselves to Jesus Christ. Their senses were loosed that they might be able to hear and speak, and they were anointed with oil as athletes about to enter the arena for the strife.”<sup>38</sup>

Following their renunciation of Satan, the elect made their profession of faith<sup>39</sup>. The elect were then dismissed, after having made a final prostration.

After dealing briefly with the blessing of the Holy Oils, Duchesne turned to the celebration of baptism at the Easter Vigil – “the most imposing of all the pontifical ceremonies”<sup>40</sup>. Following upon the readings,<sup>41</sup> prayers and canticles, the Pope, the clergy, the elect, and their sponsors processed to the baptistery, where the Pope blessed

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<sup>35</sup> CW 304.

<sup>36</sup> CW 304.

<sup>37</sup> CW 304.

<sup>38</sup> CW 304.

<sup>39</sup> Duchesne noted that in the eighth century the priest recited the creed on behalf of the infants. Alternatively, “at Rome, in the time of St. Augustine, the neophytes ascended an elevated place to make their profession, *in loco eminentiore, in conspectu populi fidelis* (*Conf.* VIII. 5)”. In CW 304.

<sup>40</sup> CW 311.

<sup>41</sup> Duchesne noted that “at first there were twelve lections, as we see from the Gelasian Sacramentary. Only four are found in the Sacramentary of [H]adrian, but the ancient custom, which had been maintained in France, was restored later on at Rome”. In CW 308.



the water in the font. The elect approached the font, naked,<sup>42</sup> and the archdeacon presented them to the Pope who questioned each individually – “*Credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem? Credis et in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, dominum nostrum, natum et passum? Credis in Spirituum sanctum, sanctam Ecclesiam, remissionem peccatorum, carnis resurrectionem?*”<sup>43</sup> When the each candidate had affirmed belief in each statement, they were baptized by the Pope, “priests, deacons, and even clerics of inferior order”<sup>44</sup> while the Pope proclaimed “*Baptizo te in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti.*”<sup>45</sup>

Duchesne then argued that the Pope withdrew to the *consignatorium* – “from the time of Pope Hilary (461-468), the chapel of the Cross, behind the baptistery”<sup>46</sup> – while the baptisms were still going on, and each of the newly baptized was brought to him. The candidates were first anointed on the head with chrism by a priest, and were given new white garments. Then, according to Duchesne, the Pope administered a second anointing after baptism, the sacrament of “confirmation”, by making the sign of the cross on the forehead of each of the newly baptized with his chrism-covered thumb.

According to Duchesne, when all of the neophytes had been confirmed, all processed back into the basilica, and the Pope sang *Gloria in excelsis*, thus beginning the

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<sup>42</sup> Duchesne clarified that “it is scarcely necessary to remark that, in spite of this direction to remove all clothing, precautions were taken so that decency, as it was then understood, should not be offended. The deaconesses had here an important part to play in connection with the baptism of the women (Apostolic Constitutions III, 15, 16). It must not be thought, however, that propriety in ancient times was as easily offended as it would be now”. In *CW* 312-3.

<sup>43</sup> *CW* 313.

<sup>44</sup> *CW* 313.

<sup>45</sup> *CW* 313.

<sup>46</sup> *CW* 314.

Mass. As well as blessing the eucharistic bread and wine, the Pope also blessed a drink composed of honey, water, and milk, to be given to each of the newly initiated after they had made their “First Communion”.

Duchesne concludes his description of the pattern of Roman initiation noting that the neophytes, dressed in their white baptismal garments, communed at the stationary liturgy on each day of the octave of Easter.<sup>47</sup> While Duchesne does not mention post-baptismal catechesis he is, nonetheless, aware of it occurring. Likely, he did not describe it because he did not consider it to be properly liturgical.<sup>48</sup>

Duchesne then turned to describing the “Gallican Baptismal Rite,” (see Table 1.2, below) which was attested by sources from Gaul (the second letter of St. Germain of Paris, the *Missale Gothicum*, and the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*), Spain (*De Officiis* of St. Isidore, and *De cognitione Baptismi* of St. Hildephonsus), and Northern Italy (*De Mysteriis* of St. Ambrose, the then anonymous *De Sacramentis*, the sermons of St. Maximus of Turin, and the *Bobbio Missal*).<sup>49</sup> His introduction to this section is telling:

It is somewhat difficult to reconstruct the baptismal ritual of the Gallican Church. The documents we possess are all more or less incomplete, and, moreover, if they

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<sup>47</sup> CW 315.

<sup>48</sup> Duchesne earlier described the “Catechism of St. Cyril” as being “an exposition of the ceremonies of the Mass, drawn up for neophytes after their initiation. The preacher leaves out of consideration the Mass of the Catechumens with which his auditors have been for a long time familiar” (56). However, in describing the process of initiation in the East he does not mention this catechesis. It appears, therefore, that Duchesne was aware of mystagogical formation, but did not understand it as being properly liturgical.

<sup>49</sup> Only after Duchesne had written CW was it determined that *De Sacramentis* should be attributed to St. Ambrose also, and that *De Sacramentis* and *De Mysteriis* describe the same rite, albeit in differing degrees of detail. Another development affecting the treatment of the documents in CW is that contemporary scholars tend to treat the *Bobbio Missal* as a Gallican document with Roman additions, rather than one from Northern Italy.

agree on most points, they reveal here and there certain differences peculiar to this or that country.<sup>50</sup>

Duchesne, nonetheless, understood the Gallican sources to reveal a basic ritual structure to which regional variations were added. As a consequence, his description of the rite often seems forced. This is evidenced as early as his description of the first stage, the Rites of the Catechumenate, which, he argued, consisted of exorcism, anointing, and exsufflation. Duchesne's description of this stage is largely based upon the Spanish documents, though he finds support for an exorcism in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, and for the exsufflation in the *Bobbio Missal*. He also notes the addition of the giving of exorcized salt in Isidore, though not Hildephonsus, and he admits that Northern Italy does not seem to know these rites in this position. Rather, he saw the anointing and exsufflation, but not the exorcism, as occurring during the Vigil itself.

Duchesne made the argument that scrutinies and the *traditio* of the Creed took place in the second stage, the Preparation for baptism. The presence of the scrutinies in the Gallican tradition is attested by the presence of two prayers in the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*. The *traditio* of the Creed was to be seen in virtually all of the sources cited by Duchesne.

The final stage in the Gallican rite, according to Duchesne, was the administration of baptism and "confirmation" at the Easter Vigil. After a prayer of blessing over the water, the Bishop would exorcize the water. Duchesne pointed then to the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus*, and indicated that the eucharistic prayer would follow, during which chrism would be poured into the font. After another prayer for blessing of the candidates,

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<sup>50</sup> CW 316.

TABLE 1.2  
THE PATTERN OF GALLICAN INITIATION  
IN CHRISTIAN WORSHIP

Key:  
 BM=*Bobbio Missal*  
 DCB=*De cognitione Baptismi*  
 DM=*De Mysteriis*  
 DO=*De Officiis*  
 DS=*De Sacramentis*  
 GP=St. Germain of Paris  
 MG=*Missale Gothicum*  
 MGV=*Missale Gallicanum Vetus*  
 MT=Maximus of Turin

	<i>Gaul</i>			<i>Spain</i>			<i>Northern Italy</i>		
	GP	MG	MGV	DO	DCB	BM	DM	DS	MT
1. Rites of the Catechumenate									
Exorcism			X	X	X				
Exorcism and Distribution of Salt				X					
Anointing				X	X				
Exsufflation		?	?			X			
2. Preparation for Baptism									
Scrutinies									
<i>Traditio</i> of Creed	X		X	X	X	X	X		
<i>Redditio</i> of Creed		X	X		X				
3. Initiation at Paschal Vigil									
Blessing and Exorcism of water		X	X		X	X	X	X	
Eucharistic Prayer ( <i>Contestatio</i> )		X	X			X			
Pouring of Chrism into water		X	X		X	X			
Blessing of Candidates			X			X			
<i>Ephphatha</i>						X	X	X	
Anointing						X	X	X	
Disrobing by Candidates							X	X	
Renunciation of the Devil		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Triple confession of faith		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Baptism by immersion	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Signation on forehead with Chrism		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Reception of White Garment		X				X		X	
Washing of feet		X	X			X	X	X	X
Imposition of hands and prayer			X	X		X	X	X	
Eucharist	X				X	X	X	X	

the candidates would enter the baptistery, remove their clothing, turn west to renounce the devil, and enter the font to profess belief. A three-fold immersion would follow (except in Spain, where baptism was done via a single immersion), and upon exiting the font, the neophyte would be signed with chrism on the forehead. The neophyte would be given a white garment, and the washing of feet would have occurred (except in Spain). This was followed by a prayer (only specifically pneumatic in Milan and Spain) and the handlaying of “confirmation.” The neophyte completed their initiation with the reception of the eucharist at that same celebration.

Duchesne turned then to initiation in the East. In treating the Eastern tradition, he dealt with the Mystagogical Catecheses of Cyril of Jerusalem, the testimony of Egeria, the Apostolic Constitutions, and the writings of pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Cyril was primary for Duchesne, and he commented that the description of the rite as found in the Mystagogical Catecheses would serve as guide for understanding the shape of the rite as a whole.<sup>51</sup>

Duchesne began by naming the enrolment of candidates, which would have taken place at the beginning of Lent. He then made quick mention that the candidates who had been enrolled faced a general examination by the Bishop and the clergy to determine whether or not they could stand for initiation. Those deemed worthy – the *photozomenoi* – gathered at the Church every morning during Lent for exorcisms (through exsufflation) by the clergy and instruction by the Bishop. At some point during the instruction – Cyril

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<sup>51</sup> Duchesne considered Sarapion to be a witness to the same pattern, noting that the prayers of Sarapion “gives several formularies which correspond to these various ceremonies: namely first a formulary for the consecration of the water, followed by a prayer over the neophytes before baptism; then another prayer after the *Abrenuntio*; a fourth at the approach to the font; and a final one when they have quitted it. It also contains prayers for the blessing of the oil for the first unction, and for that of the chrism used after baptism.” In CW 331.

and Egeria, he noted, provide conflicting evidence – the *traditio* of the Creed would take place. At this point the instruction would focus explicitly on the articles of the Creed. The instruction would continue in this manner until the beginning of Holy Week, when the *redditio* of the Creed would occur before the Bishop. There was no instruction during Holy Week, but the *photozomenoi* would present themselves at the Church for initiation during the Paschal Vigil.<sup>52</sup>

The ceremonies of initiation began with the renunciation of the devil and the profession of faith. After these the candidates would remove their clothing and enter the baptistery to be anointed the whole body over with exorcized oil. Then the candidates entered the font that had already been blessed by the Bishop, made a confession of faith through interrogations, and were baptized by means of a triple immersion. After baptism, the candidates were anointed with chrism on the forehead, ears, nose, and breast. After reciting the Lord's Prayer, the neophytes celebrated the eucharist with the community for the first time.

Duchesne then turned to a comparison of rites, West and East, and noted that

amid this diversity of ritual, we have no difficulty in recognizing the chief ceremonies which were common to all. They may be divided into two series. Before baptism there was a ceremony of admission to the catechumenate followed by a preparation which consisted of several exorcisms, instructions, the delivery and recital of the Creed, an anointing, and the renunciation of the devil. The initiation itself included the profession of faith, immersion, the anointing with perfumed unguents (chrism), the consignation or signing with the cross, and the imposition of hands.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> CW 328-329.

<sup>53</sup> CW 331.

These commonalities, Duchesne argued, “must, therefore, have been introduced before the Church was free from persecution, and even before that of Diocletian.”<sup>54</sup> Tracing the origins of these elements, he found ample third century witness in Tertullian and the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus:

We have here nearly all the rites incidental to baptism and confirmation, at all events those which, in the fourth century, were universally practiced. There is only one rite, apparently, which is not mentioned, and that is the unction previous to baptism, which is clearly indicated in the ‘Apostolic Tradition’ of Hippolytus.<sup>55</sup>

Duchesne accepted Tertullian’s claim that these elements were “universally received and as of long standing.”<sup>56</sup> This is consistent with his claim that in terms of liturgy, “at the beginning the procedure was almost identical everywhere; I say almost, for a complete identity of all the details cannot be assumed, even in the Churches founded by the apostles.”<sup>57</sup> It was into this early relative uniformity of practice that “local diversities had crept into the ritual.”<sup>58</sup> The commonalities in the different liturgical traditions would, therefore, best be understood as original custom, while the differences would be best understood as diversions.

In looking at Duchesne’s treatment of Christian initiation, several points emerge that have defined liturgical scholarship on initiation for the majority of the twentieth century. The first, as noted earlier, is that the pattern of baptism, confirmation, and first communion of adults constituted a single celebration of initiation. Second, this pattern

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<sup>54</sup> CW 333.

<sup>55</sup> CW 335.

<sup>56</sup> CW 336.

<sup>57</sup> CW 54.

<sup>58</sup> CW 54.

was properly prepared for during Lent and was celebrated at the Easter Vigil. Third, this common pattern developed differently in different locations. Fourth, in the West the pattern dissolved in the Middle Ages, with the sacraments being administered separately, to children, with no connection to Easter. These would become common assumptions in the scholarly community, and would influence future liturgical research considerably.

## **1.2: The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus – Gregory Dix and Bernard Botte**

A second text to exert considerable influence over liturgical scholarship in the twentieth century was *The Apostolic Tradition*. Originally published in 1848<sup>59</sup> and later named the “Egyptian Church Order,”<sup>60</sup> in 1906 it was proposed by Eduard von der Goltz that this text might be *The Apostolic Tradition*, a lost work of Hippolytus of Rome. Following from Eduard Schwartz’s 1910 defense of this position,<sup>61</sup> as well as the 1916 treatment by Richard H. Connolly,<sup>62</sup> *The Apostolic Tradition* was treated as the early third century work of Hippolytus of Rome. Despite some limited questioning of the position, this view predominated among liturgical scholars throughout the revision of the rites of adult initiation following the Second Vatican Council.<sup>63</sup> This was, in no small

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<sup>59</sup> Henry Tattam, *The Apostolic Constitutions or the Canons of the Apostles in Coptic with an English Translation*, Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland Publications 63 (London: Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland, 1848), 31-92.

<sup>60</sup> Hans Achelis, *Die ältesten Quellen des orientalischen Kirchenrechtes*, vol. 1: *Die Canones Hippolyti*, Texte und Untersuchungen 6/4 (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1891).

<sup>61</sup> Eduard Schwartz, *Über die pseudoapostolischen Kirchenordnungen* (Strasbourg: Trubner, 1910).

<sup>62</sup> Richard H. Connolly, *The So-Called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents*, Texts and Studies 8/4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1916).

<sup>63</sup> Paul Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips note the disagreement of Rudolf Lorentz in 1929, and Hieronymus Engberding in 1948. See *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary*, Hermeneia Series, edited by Harold W. Attridge (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 2002), 1-2.



part, aided by the presentations of Gregory Dix and Bernard Botte. Dix's 1937 publication of *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr* was easily the most important English reconstruction of the text.<sup>64</sup> Botte's 1946 reconstruction, *Hippolyte de Rome: La Tradition apostolique*,<sup>65</sup> provided the basis for his 1963 critical edition *La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte: Essai de Reconstitution*.<sup>66</sup> This latter text greatly especially impacted the work of the *Coetus*, as it "was not only superior to that of Dix... but it was also easier to use."<sup>67</sup> While, overall, there were some differences in the reconstruction, the two presentations agreed on much that would prove fundamental to the revision of the rites of adult initiation.

In his preface, Dix claimed that

the *Apostolic Tradition* of St. Hippolytus is the most illuminating single source of evidence extant on the inner life and religious polity of the early Christian Church. Its study is likely to bring about considerable changes in many currently accepted conceptions of primitive Church Order, changes which would already be taking place were it not for the difficulty of studying the treatise itself."<sup>68</sup>

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For the purposes of this study, the significant questions surrounding the authorship of the Apostolic Tradition have been set aside. The argument here is not so much whether or not Hippolytus was the author, or whether or not the text represents third century liturgical practice in Rome, but what the members of the *Coetus* thought about the authorship of the document. Nonetheless, for more on the question of authorship see Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips 1-17. See also Alistair Stewart-Sykes, *Hippolytus: On the Apostolic Tradition* (Crestwood, NY: St. Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2001).

<sup>64</sup> Gregory Dix, ed., *The Treatise on the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus of Rome, Bishop and Martyr, Volume I: Historical Introduction, Textual Materials and Translation, with Apparatus Criticus and some Critical Notes* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1937).

Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips note that the earlier English version, by Burton Scott Easton in 1934 "did not contain much of a critical apparatus or indicate all the variant readings" (12).

<sup>65</sup> Bernard Botte, O.S.B., *Hippolyte de Rome: La Tradition apostolique*, Sources chrétiennes 11 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1946).

<sup>66</sup> Bernard Botte, O.S.B., *La Tradition Apostolique de Saint Hippolyte: Essai de Reconstitution*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 39 (Münster Westfalen: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1963).

<sup>67</sup> Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips, 12.

<sup>68</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, ix.

His prediction was, indeed, borne out in liturgical scholarship. The *Apostolic Tradition* would be seen as a witness of unmatched importance for the genesis of Roman liturgical practice, “reflecting what the ‘tradition’ of liturgy in Rome had been up to and including his own time,”<sup>69</sup> which was understood to be around 215-217.<sup>70</sup> Indeed, in Dix’s “General Introduction” he claimed that

the little Greek treatise... is the sort of document of which Martène and the Maurists must sometimes have dreamed. Here from the pen of a disciple of St. Irenaeus is what claims to be an accurate and authoritative account of the rites and organisation of the Church as the men of the later second century had received them from the sub-apostolic age.<sup>71</sup>

Looking both to similarities between the *Apostolic Tradition* and other later writings describing the shape of the Roman liturgy, and to knowledge of Christian initiatory rites that preceded it, Dix argued that the text was a reliable witness to early third century practice. Dix also extended Duchesne’s argument regarding the Jewish roots of Christian liturgy to include initiation, stating clearly that Hippolytus’

baptismal rite is derived directly from the baptismal rite for Jewish proselytes. His confirmation rite, ‘the sealing,’ plays in Christian initiation precisely that part which *Circumcision* ‘the seal of the covenant’ played in the initiation of a Jewish proselyte. Lastly the Jewish proselyte was strictly obliged forthwith to provide his first sacrifice. So Hippolytus requires that every Christian neophyte shall bring with to baptism his own personal προσφορά (oblation of bread and wine) to be offered forthwith at the baptismal Mass.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Maxwell E. Johnson, “The Apostolic Tradition Ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome” in *DOBL*, 4.

<sup>70</sup> Dix, *Treatise*,, xxxvii, Botte, *Hippolyte*, xii.

<sup>71</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, xi.

<sup>72</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XI.

In such a way, the *Apostolic Tradition* represents not just a single point in the monolinear development between the Judeo-Christian tradition as evidenced in scripture<sup>73</sup> and the later forms of the Roman liturgy, but one of the earliest and most fully articulated points in that trajectory.

The shape of the rite of initiation in the *Apostolic Tradition*, as Dix and Botte were able to reconstruct it, was quite fully described (see Table 1.3, below). New converts would be presented first to the teachers to be examined. If the lives and occupations of these hearers were deemed worthy, they were accepted. If not, at least in many cases, they would be given the opportunity to reject their past activities and become acceptable candidates.<sup>74</sup> Once accepted, the catechumens would be instructed for three years (or perhaps less, when individual catechumens conducted themselves suitably).<sup>75</sup> After each instance of instruction the catechumens would pray separately from the faithful, not offering the kiss of peace to each other as the faithful would,<sup>76</sup> but instead, the teacher would “lay hands upon them and pray and dismiss them.”<sup>77</sup> When catechumens were seen to be ready for baptism they were “set apart,”<sup>78</sup> or chosen,<sup>79</sup> and

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<sup>73</sup> Here Dix cites the similarity in structure between the anaphora of the *Apostolic Tradition* and the “old Jewish ‘eucharistic’ prayers of which many examples are to be found in the Old Testament, e.g. those ascribed to Solomon (2 Chron. 6:4), Ezra (Neh 9:5ff), Judas the Maccabee (2 Macc. 4:30), and others.” (50) He also cites the blessing of objects, or, properly, the blessing of God over the object.

<sup>74</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XVI, 1-25; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 15.

<sup>75</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XVII, 1-2; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 17.

<sup>76</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XVIII, 1-5; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 18.

<sup>77</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XIX, 1; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 19.

<sup>78</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XX, 1.

<sup>79</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, 20: “Quand on choisit ceux qui vont recevoir le baptême, on examine leur vie.”

scrutinized. Botte indicated that from this point on, they would be called “*electi*” or “*competentes*.”<sup>80</sup> From that day, they were to have hands “laid on them and... be exorcized daily.”<sup>81</sup> Dix noted that the text indicated that the baptisms should occur during a Vigil on Saturday night, which he interpreted as being the Paschal Vigil.<sup>82</sup> Botte, however, did not explicitly mention the Paschal Vigil. Those to be baptized would bathe on Thursday, and fast on the Friday and Saturday.<sup>83</sup> On the Saturday evening, before the vigil proper, the bishop would lay his hands on those to be baptized, exorcize them, and, as Dix noted, “breathe on their faces and seal their foreheads and ears and noses.”<sup>84</sup> Botte preferred the verb “sign” instead of “seal.”<sup>85</sup> Coming then to the Vigil, the font would first be blessed, and those to be baptized would disrobe and state their answers, so that they might be baptized. The bishop would then bless the Oil of Thanksgiving and the Oil of Exorcism.<sup>86</sup> Each individual to be baptized would then

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<sup>80</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, p. 42: “Les candidats immédiats au baptême s’appelaient à Rome *electi*, ailleurs *competentes*.”

<sup>81</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XX, 3; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 20.

<sup>82</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XX, 9. It is unclear, however, whether or not the Saturday vigil referred to in *Apostolic Tradition* is, in fact, the Paschal Vigil. Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips reference Edward Yarnold, and note that “evidence for vigils other than at Easter may be sparse for the first three centuries of the Christian era, but it is not completely absent (see e.g., Tertullian *Ad uxorem* 2.4; Pontius *De vita et passione Cypriani* 15; and canon 35 of the Council of Elvira). Later evidence indicates that vigils on other feasts (e.g., Pentecost and Epiphany), Sundays, at the tombs of martyrs, and on other occasions were common and widespread.” P. 111.

<sup>83</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XX 5-7; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 20.

<sup>84</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XX, 8.

<sup>85</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, 20: “Quand il aura cessé d’exorciser, il soufflera sur leur visage, et après leur avoir signé le front, les oreilles et les narines, il les fera se relever.”

<sup>86</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXI, 6-8; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

renounce Satan, and be anointed with the Oil of Exorcism.<sup>87</sup> Dix then inserts a statement of adherence to Christ, made while the candidate faced the East, though he recognizes that this is an interpolation into the text.<sup>88</sup> At this point, the individual to be baptized would stand naked in the water and be baptized using a triple interrogatory formula.<sup>89</sup> Then a second anointing, though with the Oil of Thanksgiving, would take place, and the newly baptized would put on their clothes and join the assembly.<sup>90</sup> According to Dix's reconstruction, the Bishop would then "confirm" the newly baptized, give them the kiss of peace,<sup>91</sup> and proceed to the Paschal Mass, where the newly baptized would participate in the eucharist for the first time, receiving, also, milk and honey.<sup>92</sup>

It is the description of confirmation in the *Apostolic Tradition* by both Dix and Botte that is particularly important. Generally, Dix and Botte preferred the Latin version of the text: Dix argued that "its readings supply a standard by which we may judge those of other versions;"<sup>93</sup> Botte noted that it reflected usage from the second half of the fourth century.<sup>94</sup> Both Dix and Botte, however, judged the Latin text of the prayer for

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<sup>87</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXI, 9-10; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

<sup>88</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXI, 9-10a. Dix does note that this only occurs in the *Testamentum Domini*. Nonetheless, Dix has placed it within the text

<sup>89</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXI, 12-18; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

<sup>90</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXI, 19-20; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

<sup>91</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXII, 1-6; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

<sup>92</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXIII, 1-14; Botte, *Hippolyte*, 21.

<sup>93</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, lvii.

<sup>94</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, xx: "Il n'est pas téméraire, je crois, de placer l'original de la version un siècle au moins avant la date du manuscrit, dans le dernier quart du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle."

TABLE 1.3  
THE PATTERN INITIATION  
IN THE APOSTOLIC TRADITION

1. Examination of Hearers
2. Catechumenate
3 year period of instruction
Catechumens dismissed with laying on of hands and prayer
3. "Election"
Examination of catechumen
Daily laying on of hands and exorcism
4. "Rites of Immediate Preparation"
Washing on Thursday
Fasting on Friday and Saturday
5. Initiation (Dix: Easter Vigil)
Blessing of the Font
Removal of Clothing
Blessing of Oil of Thanksgiving by Bishop
Blessing of Oil of Exorcism by Bishop
Renunciation of Satan
Anointing with Oil of Exorcism by Presbyter
Adhesion to Christ
Interrogatory Profession of Faith and Baptism
Clothing
Anointing with Oil of Thanksgiving by Presbyter
Imposition of Hands by Bishop
Confirmation
Kiss of Peace
Celebration of the Eucharist

"confirmation" to be wanting compared with the other versions. While the Latin prayer, which was contained in Easton's text, reads

O Lord God, who hast made them worthy to obtain the remission of sins through the laver of regeneration of [the] Holy Spirit, send into them thy grace, that they may serve thee according to thy will,<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> Burton Scott Easton, *The Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus Translated Into English With Introduction and Notes* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1934), 47.

Dix and Botte deemed the Latin text to be corrupt at this point. Botte suggested that the Latin translator had simply omitted an entire line of the text in his translation.<sup>96</sup> Instead,

Dix and Botte preferred this prayer:

O Lord God, who didst count these [thy servants] worthy of deserving the forgiveness of sins by the laver of regeneration, make them worthy to be filled with the Holy Spirit and send upon them Thy grace, that they may serve Thee according to Thy will.<sup>97</sup>

By doing so, Dix and Botte promoted the understanding that the anointing and handlaying that followed this prayer was, indeed, the conferral of “confirmation” upon the newly baptized. Consequently, they could maintain that the *Apostolic Tradition* upheld Duchesne’s original theory regarding the inherent unity of baptism, confirmation and eucharist. Botte underlined this connection combining these chapters into one, whereas Dix had used three. Dix, however, explicitly claimed that this occurred during the Paschal Vigil.

The significance of the *Apostolic Tradition* in the revising of the rite of adult initiation can not be overly emphasized. As Fischer, himself, noted,

it was progress in patristic studies which enabled the Second Vatican Council to take such a radical approach to the catechumenate, namely, the restoration of the ancient pattern as it was first set out in the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus in the first decades of the third century.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, 53: “La différence entre L [Latin version] et BAET [Bohairic, Arabic, Ethiopic, and *Testamentum Domini*] vient de ce que le traducteur latin a sauté une ligne ou a eu sous les yeux un texte grec dans lequel une ligne avait été omise.”

<sup>97</sup> Dix, *Treatise*, XXII, 1.

Botte 1963, 21: “Seigneur Dieu, qui les as rendus dignes d’obtenir la rémission des péchés par le bain de la régénération, rend-les dignes d’être remplis de l’Esprit-Saint et envoie sur eux ta grâce, afin qu’ils te servent suivant ta volonté.”

<sup>98</sup> Balthasar Fischer, “The Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults: Rediscovery and New Beginnings,” *Worship* 64 (1990), 102.

### 1.3: Other Significant Studies

Taken together, the work of Duchesne, Dix, and Botte help to establish an overall framework for the historical study and understanding of Christian initiation. In a recent essay, Maxwell Johnson has clarified the state of liturgical research on initiation through this period, extending into the mid-1970s. He has articulated the common assumptions that held sway over the academic community at this time, putting them into three categories:

1. that there was a single, monolinear, and original unitive pattern of baptism, “confirmation,” and first communion, celebrated from antiquity at the Easter Vigil (interpreted by a Romans 6 death and burial imagery) and prepared for by at least a nascent Lent, which, in the course of the Middle Ages, was disrupted and separated into distinct sacraments and ultimately divorced from their “original” connection to Easter
2. that an important document, like the *Apostolic Tradition*, ascribed to Hippolytus of Rome (ca. 215)... was actually composed by the early-third century anti-pope Hippolytus himself and thus reflected our earliest and authoritative piece of evidence for reconstructing early initiation practice at Rome; and
3. that any variations to this supposed normative pattern (e.g., that of early Syria) were to be viewed precisely as accidental and unimportant “variations” or idiosyncratic departures from this norm.<sup>99</sup>

These three points can be readily identified in the work of the three scholars noted above, and can easily be recognized in the work other liturgical scholars, including Josef Jungmann,<sup>100</sup> Michel Dujarier,<sup>101</sup> Aidan Kavanagh,<sup>102</sup> and Edward Yarnold,<sup>103</sup> to name

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<sup>99</sup> Maxwell E. Johnson, “Introductory Essay: The Study of the Rites of Christian Initiation Today” in *DOBL*, xiii.

<sup>100</sup> Josef Jungmann, S.J., *The Early Liturgy To the Time of Gregory the Great*, Liturgical Studies VI, tr. Francis A. Brunner, C.S.S.R. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959).

<sup>101</sup> Michel Dujarier, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Historical and Pastoral Reflections*, tr. and ed. by Kevin Hart (New York: Sadlier, 1979).



but a few. Each of these testifies to the acceptance of the theories of Duchesne, Dix, and Botte leading up to the revision of the rites of adult initiation.

It will be helpful to look briefly at some of the writings of members of *Coetus* XXII leading up to the revision of the rites for the Christian initiation of adults. Not only will this confirm the influence of Duchesne, Dix, and Botte, but it will help to articulate the thinking of the *Coetus* members themselves as they undertook the reform of Christian initiation.

### 1.3.1: Alois Stenzel

One of the more important texts revealing the mind of the members of *Coetus* XXII entering into the revision process was the study by *Coetus* member, Alois Stenzel, S.J. His 1957 text, *Die Taufe*,<sup>104</sup> was glowingly praised in Georg Kretschmar's 1977 presentation to *Societas Liturgica* as a "splendid and almost classical study."<sup>105</sup> Indeed, so classical was it that there is very little material that now seems surprising; it upholds the three assumptions explicated by Johnson remarkably well. In *Die Taufe*, Stenzel traced the development of the rites of Christian initiation beginning with references in the New Testament and the Christian writers of the first two centuries. This evidence, he argued, demonstrates that the two poles of Christian initiation were not, as the fourth

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<sup>102</sup> Aidan Kavanagh, *The Shape of Baptism: The Rite of Christian Initiation*, Studies in the Reformed Rites of the Catholic Church, Volume I (New York: Pueblo Publishing Company, 1978).

<sup>103</sup> Edward Yarnold, S.J., *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation: The Origins of the RCIA*, Second edition (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1994).

<sup>104</sup> Alois Stenzel, S.J., *Die Taufe: Eine genetische Erklärung der Tauf liturgie* (Innsbruck: Verlag Felizian Rauch, 1957).

<sup>105</sup> Georg Kretschmar, "Recent Research on Christian Initiation" in Maxwell E. Johnson, ed., *Living Water, Sealing Spirit*, 14-15.

century mystagogues argued, in the renunciation of Satan (and statement of allegiance to Christ) and the act of baptism. Instead, the two poles were belief and the initiation ritual (i.e. the gift of the Holy Spirit).<sup>106</sup> Here Stenzel has clearly embraced the unitive pattern of initiation.<sup>107</sup> Stenzel then proceeded to a treatment of Tertullian and Hippolytus. Tertullian offered the first concrete evidence for initiation at Easter, and Stenzel was certain that *The Apostolic Tradition* represented the earliest authoritative evidence for the Roman Rite, offering “firm ground”<sup>108</sup> upon which to anchor an understanding of further development. Stenzel devoted the third section of his text to an element characteristic of the Roman Rite – the Scrutinies. The final portion of Stenzel’s work concerned the fragmentation of the rites of initiation in the Middle Ages. Here, he argued that as the rites of initiation focused increasingly on infants, there was a corresponding decline in the level of involvement by those being initiated, which was demonstrated in ritual activity.<sup>109</sup> The title of this section is clear: *Die Entwicklung vom Taufritus zum Taufordo*. Stenzel articulated that *Ordo Romanus XI* and the *Gelasian Sacramentary*

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<sup>106</sup> Stenzel argued that the original act of acceptance of Christ allowed the growth of an act of renunciation beside it. The renunciation, growing little by little, eventually needed a ritual complement, for the sake of balance. See Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 104-108.

<sup>107</sup> Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 126: “Andere Aussagen der Schrift (etwa Apg 8:14 ff) sind bestätigend: es gibt eine geistvermittelnde Handauflegung, die nicht Komplement innerhalb des einen Sakraments Taufe ist.”

<sup>108</sup> Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 55: “So ist denn Hippolyts Apostolische Überlieferung die Quelle, in der uns ein ausgebildetes Taufritual erstmalig mit Sicherheit fassbar wird.”

J.H. Crehan, “Die Taufe” in *Journal of Theological Studies* 10 (1959), 241: “Fr. Stenzel seems to think him [Hippolytus] a very tame dragon, for he begins a chapter on the ‘classical catechumenate’ with the remark that when we reach Hippolytus we are on firm ground.”

<sup>109</sup> Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 102: “Gestik, die die aktive Rolle des Täuflings in der Absage unterstreicht... Direkt und ‘praktisch’ aber weisen Lösen des Haars, Ausziehen usw. Auf die Zeremonie hin, die mit der Absage in engstem Zusammenhang steht: auf die Salbung (und das nachfolgende Taufbad).”

point to the dissolution of a rite of initiation into an *ordo* to simply be realized, and that this situation continued into the creation of the *Rituale Romanum*.<sup>110</sup> To the same degree that the catechumens were unable to participate actively in the rites, the rites became perfunctory actions.

Stenzel's text clearly argues for all three of the points articulated above by Johnson. More importantly, however, it helped to formalize one other fundamental assumption about the rites of Christian initiation. Stenzel named the period beginning with Tertullian and Hippolytus, and ending in the Middle Ages as the "Classical Catechumenate."<sup>111</sup> This single section, including descriptions of East and West, comprised nearly half of the entire work, taking up 144 of 319 pages. The catechumenate's significance lay in Stenzel's re-conception of the two poles of initiation – belief and the initiation ritual. The catechumenate was the process by which one came to faith, and was, therefore, an absolutely vital component of any process of initiation. His description of this period as the "Classical Catechumenate," was based, to some degree, in the publication of Johannes Quasten's *Patrology* in 1950 and its use of the phrase, the "Golden Age." Stenzel's use of the term, "Classical Catechumenate," appears to be among the first of its kind, foreshadowing the importance this period would play in the revision of the rites.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See, also, Jean Michel Hanssens, S.J., "Scrutins et sacramentaires: Commentaire à un ouvrage récent" in *Gregorianum* XLI/4 (1960), 693: "Déjà nettement affirmée aux VIII<sup>e</sup> et IX<sup>e</sup> siècles dans les royaumes Francs, la réduction des rites baptismaux et une cérémonie unique s'accroît encore avec leur transfert des pontificaux dans les rituels; elle trouvera enfin sa consécration dans la rédaction du Rituel romain."

<sup>111</sup> Stenzel's second section is entitled "Die Zeit des klassischen Katechumenat."

<sup>112</sup> Both Hanssens and Crehan, in their reviews, make particular mention of this title, and treat it as something new and noteworthy. Hanssens, 693: "La deuxième section... concerne le cérémonial du

### 1.3.2: Xavier Seumois

In 1957, Xavier Seumois, P.B., another *Coetus* member, wrote *L'Adaptation dans le Culte*.<sup>113</sup> It was published in three smaller volumes, and the third volume deals explicitly with Christian initiation.<sup>114</sup> This work was greatly influenced by his work in Africa as a missionary, and his practical experience with the catechumenal methods employed by the Belgian White Fathers.<sup>115</sup> It also reflected a stage in the development of the catechumenate immediately prior to the 1962 revision of the rite for adult initiation. The 1962 revision was a direct consequence of the work of Bishop Joseph Blomjous, himself a member of the Belgian White Fathers,<sup>116</sup> and Seumois' text should be seen as representative of the catechumenal work supported by Blomjous.

Seumois directed this writing towards those involved in missionary work, and sought to provide a practical manual for the ritualization of the catechumenal process. The text is divided into four sections: The Necessity of Initiatory Rites During the Catechumenate; Practical Suggestions for Catechumenal Paraliturgies; The Vital Element

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baptême au temps de ce que l'auteur appelle le catéchuménat classique" (693). See also above, footnote 103.

<sup>113</sup> Xavier Seumois, P.B., *L'Adaptation dans le Culte*, C.I.P.A. 1957, nn. 2-4 (Rome: Tipografia Operaia Romana, 1957).

<sup>114</sup> The condensed version of this text was the foundation for a shorter article that same year, Xavier Seumois, P.B., "La structure de la liturgie baptismale romaine et les problèmes du catéchuménat missionnaire" in *La Maison-Dieu* 58 (1959), 83-110.

<sup>115</sup> For a brief summary of the catechumenal work of the White Fathers, see Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 144-155.

<sup>116</sup> Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 151.

in Catechumenal Paraliturgies; and The Use of African Initiation Rituals into Catechumenal Paraliturgies.<sup>117</sup>

The first section of the work helped to lay the groundwork for the subsequent chapters, by laying out cultural arguments for initiatory rites based on African culture in general, and the shared values of African culture and catechumenal formation. Seumois understood the role of the catechumenate as being all-important for the success of the life of a convert to Christianity. A fervent catechumenal process was vital for fervent Christianity. Clearly echoing the importance of involvement articulated by Stenzel, Seumois' first principle was that ritual activity, in the form of "paraliturgies," was fundamental to the success of the Christian mission.<sup>118</sup> It was only through *ritual* progress, he argued, that the African catechumen could understand *spiritual* progress.

The second section of *L'Adaptation dans le Culte* set out an order for the catechumenate, marked by unofficial ritual action. Of particular importance was his four-fold emphasis on priestly allocutions, an active role for sponsors, an active role for catechists, and the presence and participation of the Christian community. He then provided an order and prayer texts for four stages of the catechumenate. The first stage, admission into the catechumenate, was contained within one distinct paraliturgy. The second stage was more an extended period of time, and contained the *traditiones* of the Creed and Lord's Prayer, as well as a renunciation of Satan and a statement of allegiance

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<sup>117</sup> I. *Nécessité de rites initiatiques durant le catéchuménat* II. *Suggestions pratiques pour des paraliturgies catéchuménales* III. *L'élément vital dans les paraliturgies catéchuménales* IV. *Assomption dans les paraliturgies catéchuménales d'éléments propres aux rites initiatiques africains.*

<sup>118</sup> Seumois, *Adaptation*, 282: un principe est donc, acquis: l'adaptation demande que l'on emploie des rites sacrés durant le catéchuménat, afin de donner à la formation chrétienne l'aspect vital et expérimental exigé tant par les lois de la psychologie africaine que par les nécessités de l'initiation chrétienne. Mais comment réaliser ce principe en pratique?"

to Christ. The third stage was a sort of conclusion to the extended period of formation, with an exorcism, the *redditio symboli*, and the presentation of salt. The fourth stage comprised the rites of immediate preparation, including an exorcism, the *ephphatha*, and an anointing. The text did not deal with any of the specific rites of initiation contained in the *Rituale*, but, instead, was intended to be supplement the official rite.

The third section of the text, entitled “The Vital Element in Catechumenal Paraliturgies” was the longest portion of Seumois’ work. In seven sections Seumois treated the culture and genius of Africans. To understand the fundamental importance of culture in mission work was the single-most important task before the missionary.<sup>119</sup> Consequently, Seumois argued, the success of the catechuminate rested on an understanding of the culture into which it was being inserted. In this section Seumois treated a wide variety of theological issues in conjunction with African culture: faith; sin; conflict with the devil; communion; solidarity with Christ; the Paschal Mystery; and Christian morality. In all of these areas there was a specific function of catechesis and for ritual enactment.

From there Seumois could move to the fourth and final section, dealing with ritual adaptation. Not only did he address the issue of using “technical terminology,” but he also treated the use of African rituals in the Christian catechumenal paraliturgical structure. The overarching problem, he argued, was the danger of conflating paganism with Christianity through words and symbols. In spite of the danger, however, he recommended that there were several ritual elements that could be adopted fruitfully:

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<sup>119</sup> Seumois, *Adaptation*, 322: “On a suffisamment fait ressortir, ces dernières années, l’importance primordiale de l’élément vital dans les conceptions, la culture et le génie des Africains.”

communion meals, blood pacts, lustrations, the color white, and the giving of a new name. All of these, Seumois clarified, should be embraced by Christian missionaries, and through careful catechesis, could be transmitted in a thoroughly Christian fashion. This, he argued, would be made stronger by the familiar connections in African culture.

Seumois' work demonstrates elements of the scholarly trends described by Johnson. This is particularly clear in his description of paraliturgical elements, in which Seumois drew upon the sources of Stenzel's "classical catechumenate" as well as the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and *Ordo XI*. In a fashion presented more recently in Edward Yarnold's *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation*, Seumois embraced and employed the understanding of a monolinear development of Christian initiation from the earliest sources. Regarding the place of *The Apostolic Tradition*, however, Seumois was silent.

Seumois' text is particularly valuable to the development of the Christian initiation of adults on two fronts. First, it demonstrates his missionary experience. The modern understanding of the catechumenate had its roots in the African experience, precisely because of the presence of missionaries such as Seumois in the *Coetus*. His experience, clearly evidenced in *L'Adaptation dans la culte*, would be a guiding force in the revision of the rites. Stemming from this is the second point of particular importance, his treatment of additional ritual elements. His description and rationale for the inclusion of different African ritual actions demonstrates the rationale for their eventual inclusion in the revised rites of adult initiation. In this way, Seumois' text provides a most valuable witness to the mind of the *Coetus*.

### 1.3.3: Joseph Lécuyer

Joseph Lécuyer had two significant publications in 1958 that illustrate his understanding of Christian initiation in antiquity. The first of these dealt with the theology of Christian initiation according to the Church Fathers.<sup>120</sup> The second specifically treated the sacrament of confirmation in the rite known to John Chrysostom.<sup>121</sup>

In the first article, Lécuyer touched only briefly on the actual rites of initiation in the early sources of the liturgy. What is particularly important, however, is that he sought to demonstrate a unified theology of initiation across these documents, ranging from the end of the first century CE to the fifth, and texts reflecting Syrian, North African, early Roman, and Northern Italian usages.<sup>122</sup> In order to make his case, he pointed to a single liturgical tradition, in which localized differences were negligible. Especially important for Lécuyer was the principle of being initiated into Salvation history, which was dramatized by the catechumen choosing between God and Satan. This pattern was established in the biblical accounts surrounding the Exodus, as well as by Peter and Paul, and remained intact into the contemporary Roman Rite.<sup>123</sup> Hence, the *redditio symboli* was vital, as it represented a progression of life culminating in a profession of faith. This

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<sup>120</sup> Joseph Lécuyer, C.S.Sp., “Théologie de l’initiation chrétienne chez les Pères” in *Le Maison-Dieu* 58 (1959), 5-26.

<sup>121</sup> Joseph Lécuyer, C.S.Sp., “San Juan Crisóstomo y la Confirmación” in *Orbis Catholicus* 1958 (365-387).

<sup>122</sup> Lécuyer drew from the *Didache*, *Shepherd of Hermas*, Tertullian, Irenaeus, *The Apostolic Tradition*, *Didascalia Apostolorum*, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ambrose of Milan, and Augustine, along with others.

<sup>123</sup> Lécuyer, “Théologie,” 9-10.



element effectively illustrated the totality of the catechumenate.<sup>124</sup> The *redditio* of the Lord's Prayer was, likewise, fundamental to initiation, as its implied presence in the initiatory structure of the *Didache* suggested.<sup>125</sup> Based on the testimony of Chrysostom and Ambrose, he suggested that the *redditio* of the Lord's Prayer allowed those being initiated to vocalize their status as adopted children of God by calling Him "Father." The corollary to this, Lécuyer argued, was that all of the sources demonstrated a clear choice against the power of evil, and thus, the victory of the newly baptized over death through Christ.<sup>126</sup> Lécuyer then treated exorcisms as the symbols, *par excellence*, of this conflict.

The second portion of the article dealt with initiation into the community of salvation – the earthly Body of Christ. This was made manifest in the prayers of the faithful and the celebration of the eucharist, after the neophyte had been baptized and confirmed. Participation in these two elements demonstrated, above all else, the

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<sup>124</sup> Lécuyer, "Théologie," 9. "Il faut croire en un Dieu qui est Père, en son Fils qui s'est immolé pour restaurer le plan d'amour, en l'Esprit qui anime l'Église dans laquelle se concrétise ce plan. Cette profession de foi, qui demeure dans la liturgie romaine était alors précédée par la longue préparation des catéchèses antérieures au baptême: ce n'est, en effet que peu à peu qu'on s'habitue à penser chrétien, à conformer sa vie au plan de Dieu. Examens successifs, attestations des parrains, tout est mis en oeuvre pour que l'initiation puisse être achevée dans un sujet convenablement préparé à vivre dans le foi."

<sup>125</sup> Lécuyer proposed that the placement of the text of the Lord's Prayer immediately after the description of baptism should be understood as a continuation of the baptismal act. Thus, according to Lécuyer, the one initiated would immediately recite the Lord's Prayer in some ritual manner. See Lécuyer, "Théologie," 11.

<sup>126</sup> Lécuyer, "Théologie," 11-12: Il est un autre point sur lequel tous les auteurs sont d'accord: il s'agit de l'importance du rôle du démon dans la théologie patristique de l'initiation. Les rites eux-mêmes comportent une lutte, un conflit victorieux contre le mal... Mais Jésus, par sa Croix, a vaincu le démon, l'a dépouillé de son pouvoir sur le monde d'ici-bas, qu'il détenait depuis le péché de l'homme; la lutte contre ce pouvoir satanique, menée tout au long de la vie du Sauveur, parvient à son sommet dans la Passion et la Résurrection... Toutefois, cette lutte se continue dans l'Église expliqueront donc abondamment les rites d'initiation que se rapportent à cette lutte contre Satan; ces rites sont nombreux: exorcismes, renonciation à Satan, onction des catéchumènes..."

sacerdotal identity of the newly initiated, and by extension, the sacerdotal identity of all the initiated.<sup>127</sup>

The third portion of the article was a summary of his earlier article on the sacrament of confirmation in John Chrysostom. In this section, and the earlier article, Lécuyer argued that Chrysostom witnesses to the sacraments of baptism and confirmation being administered at the same time, despite the absence of a post-baptismal anointing. This would allow for consistency within the universal tradition, which, he argued, distinguishes between baptism and confirmation.<sup>128</sup> His argument is based on an interpretation of paragraph 10 of the second homily in the Stavronikita Series:

Why have I said that one must not attend to the visible but develop spiritual eyes? I will tell you. I said it so that when you see the font with its water and the hand of the priest touching your head, you will not think that this is mere water nor that it is simply the hand of the bishop that is laid upon your head. It is not a man who performs the rites but the gracious presence of the Spirit who sanctifies the natural properties of the water and who touches your head along with the hand of the priest.<sup>129</sup>

From this passage, Lécuyer could claim that the handlaying, which Chrysostom interpreted pneumatically, was, in actuality, “confirmation.” As a consequence, the three-fold pattern of initiation was thoroughly represented among all of the patristic sources. The separation of the sacraments in the West was an unfortunate misunderstanding of the tradition. The situation present in the *Rituale* was one that should be remedied, in order that the eucharist could be readily seen in wholeness that is

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<sup>127</sup> Lécuyer, “Théologie,” 17-21.

<sup>128</sup> Lécuyer referenced *The Apostolic Tradition*, Tertullian, Cyprian, Hillary, Jerome, Pacian, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Cyril to support his claim for the universality of confirmation in the earliest sources.

<sup>129</sup> In *DOBL*, 44.

possessed: a sacrament of the new Covenant, participation in the victory over sin and death, participation in the priesthood of Christ, and the culmination of Christian initiation.<sup>130</sup>

#### 1.4: Conclusions

What has been evidenced in this brief treatment of some of the principal scholarly sources leading up to the work of *Coetus XXII* is, on the whole, a verification of the summary view proposed by Johnson. Beginning with Duchesne is the emergence of the idea of a unitive pattern of Christian initiation consisting of baptism, confirmation and eucharist. The manner of development was seen to be, largely, one of addition, in which the earliest sources were built upon and expanded by the later ones. The result, then, was understood to be one of monolinear development, in which different locales might interpret and even perform the ceremonies differently, but where those locales were each interpreting and enacting some version of an apostolic *ordo*. The witness of *The Apostolic Tradition*, presumed to be a Roman document, authored by Hippolytus himself, and reflecting early third century liturgical practice was, thus, of considerable value in reconstructing the earliest rites of initiation. The influence of Dix and Botte in this regard can not be understated. In such a milieu, it was abundantly clear that initiation consisted of the celebration of all three sacraments, and was to be celebrated at the Paschal Vigil. The celebration followed a lengthy catechumenate, which, itself, rose to a fever pitch

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<sup>130</sup> Lécuyer, “Théologie,” 26: “Beaucoup serait à ajouter, et, en particulier, il faudrait dire tout ce qui concerne l’eucharistie, qui termine l’initiation et sans laquelle celle-ci n’est pas achevée. Il est impossible de le faire ici; on se rappellera seulement, après ce qui a été dit plus haut de l’entrée dans la *communauté* de la nouvelle Alliance, combien la participation au sacrifice qui scelle cette Alliance est significative; c’est l’eucharistie qui donne son vrai sens à toute l’initiation chrétienne; c’est à la lumière du sacrifice du Christ qu’il faut tout considérer, car c’est là que se résume le plan éternel de l’amour de Dieu.”

during the season of Lent. This structure demanded adult catechumens, rather than infants or children. With the decline in the Middle Ages of adult initiation, and the subsequent rise in infant initiation, the original pattern suffered decline: the unitive pattern was dismembered in the West; the catechumenate was truncated and evacuated of all catechetical content; and the celebration of initiation was severed from its Paschal context.

When *Coetus XXII* met, these were the principal issues that they faced. The success of a restored catechumenate in Africa, as well as a European version in Lyons, France, proved that the Golden Age of the Church Fathers – that period in which, freed from the constraints of illegality, the Church was allowed to blossom – offered a most helpful model to those who would seek return to the liturgical sources. Not only was the stage set for reform, but the script was readily available in the “Classical Catechumenate.”

## CHAPTER TWO

### TOWARDS A RITUAL STRUCTURE

On March 16, 1964, Balthasar Fischer, Xavier Seumoïs, P.B., Emil Lengeling, Alois Stenzel, S.J., Louis Ligier, S.J.<sup>1</sup> Jean-Baptiste Molin, F.M.C., Joseph Lécuyer, C.S.Sp., and Boniface Luykx, O. Praem., were named as Consultors to the *Consilium*, joining Frederick McManus and Ignatio Oñatibia, who had been appointed on February 22 of that same year. Together, they would form *Coetus XXII* on the Sacraments, with Fischer serving as the Relator for the group. Jacques Cellier, although not officially named as a Consultor until March 16, 1966, also played a significant role in their deliberations from the very beginning of their work.<sup>2</sup> Each of the *Coetus* members had their own particular areas of specialty, and so, some played more sustained roles in the revision of the OICA: Fischer, Seumoïs, Lengeling, Stenzel, Ligier, Molin, and Cellier.

#### 2.1: Principles for Revision, September 10, 1964

Dated September 10, 1964, the first document pertaining to the revision of the OICA, was entitled “*Schemata* (S) 30, *De Rituali* (DRi) 1, *Relatio de Recognitione*

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<sup>1</sup> Bugnini indicates that Ligier was named to *Coetus XXII* in 1967. Ligier clearly took part in the deliberations before that point however, as he was part of the sub-committee that met in June, 1965.

<sup>2</sup> Cellier composed the introductory questionnaire sent to each member of the *Coetus* in advance of their first meeting, and appears in the minutes of the discussions by November 1964. Furthermore, minutes of the first *Coetus* meeting appear to be in Cellier’s own hand, thus indicating his presence from the beginning of their work.

*Ritualis Romani*.”<sup>3</sup> This document provided guidelines for the work of the two study groups assigned to the revision of the *Rituale Romanum* – *Coetus XXII* on the Sacraments, chaired by Balthasar Fischer, and *XXIII* on Sacramentals, chaired by Pierre-Marie Gy.<sup>4</sup> The document had its foundation in article 21 of *SC*:

In order that the Christian people may more surely derive an abundance of graces from the liturgy, the Church desires to undertake with great care a general reform of the liturgy itself. For the liturgy is made up of immutable elements, divinely instituted, and of elements subject to change. These not only may but ought to be changed with the passage of time if they have suffered from the intrusion of anything out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy or have become pointless.

In this reform both texts and rites should be so drawn up that they express more clearly the holy things they signify and that the Christian people, as far as possible, are able to understand them with ease and to take part in the rites fully, actively, and as befits a community.<sup>5</sup>

It described the proper character of the new *Rituale*, clarified general norms that would apply to the renewal of the rites, and made specific remarks about each different rite that would be reformed by the two study groups.

### **2.1.1: The Character of the Rituale**

The first section of the document, relating to the proper character of the reformed *Rituale*, was comprised of three subsections. The first dealt with the relationship between

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<sup>3</sup> Schemata (S)-30, De Rituali (DRi) -1, “Relatio de recognitione Ritualis romani”, 10 septembris, 1964. Notre Dame Archive Code (ND) DRi-1 (30).

<sup>4</sup> According to Bugnini, the third group within the *Rituale* subgroup, *Coetus XXIII bis* (dealing with Penance) would not be added until October 14, 1966. See ROL, 64.

<sup>5</sup> The translation of this text is taken from International Commission on English in the Liturgy, *Documents on the Liturgy, 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal and Curial Texts* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1982).

the whole of the future *Rituale* and the particular rites. The document cited SC, clarifying that local adaptations of the universal *Rituale* were intended from the beginning:

Particular rituals in harmony with the new edition of the Roman Ritual shall be prepared without delay by the competent, territorial ecclesiastical authority mentioned in art. 22 §2 of this Constitution. These rituals are to be adapted, even in regard to the language employed, to the needs of the different regions. Once they have been reviewed by the Apostolic See, they are to be used in the regions for which they have been prepared.<sup>6</sup>

Having been given, therefore, the task of preparing an underlying structure for future variation and adaptation, the reforms were to respect the substantial unity of the Roman Rite.<sup>7</sup> In particular, the document noted the continued existence of other collections of *Rituales* within the Roman Church alongside the 1614 *Rituale* of Paul V,<sup>8</sup> and the authors argued that this new vision was both a continuation and an embellishment of the received tradition of the Church.<sup>9</sup> The second subsection addressed specific areas for adaptation within the varied rites. The document named baptism (intending Christian Initiation as a whole) along with marriage and sacramentals<sup>10</sup> as being in particular need of adaptation

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<sup>6</sup> SC, 63b.

<sup>7</sup> S-30, 4: “Ergo, servata substantiali unitate ritus romani (art. 38) etiam quoad Rituale, hic specialiter locum relinquere oportet legitimis varietatibus et aptationibus.”

<sup>8</sup> Cyrille Vogel clarifies, noting that the *Rituale* of 1614 “was recommended but not imposed on other churches... Introduced by the Bull *Apostolicae Sedi* of June 17, 1614, the Roman Ritual did not eliminate the diocesan Rituals all at once. In Italy, its adoption was more rapid, but in France it was not accepted unanimously until 1853; in Spain, it came into general use only at the beginning of the XIX century; in Germany, it established itself through the intermediary of the *Ritual of Constance* (XVII century) which was, for all practical purposes, the *Rituale Romanum*. In *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, revised and translated by William G. Storey and Niels Krogh Rasmussen, OP, with the assistance of John K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1986), 265.

<sup>9</sup> S-30, 5: “... De facto multa Ritualia particularia in usu remanserunt usque nunc et specialiter ultimis temporibus nova Ritualia praeprata sunt et ab Apostolica Sede approbata. Secundum novam disciplinam conciliarem et aptationes locum habebunt et debita coordinatio ac substantialis unitas efficacius obtinebitur.”

<sup>10</sup> S-30, 6.

in order to speak to Catholics in various cultures in the modern age.<sup>11</sup> A shining example of this sort of adaptation had occurred in connection with the OBA, most recently evidenced by the 1962 *Ordo baptismi adultorum per gradus catechumenatus dispositus*, (hereafter OBA1962)<sup>12</sup> and published by the Sacred Congregation of Rites. Citing a lack of clarification on the degree to which adaptations could take place,<sup>13</sup> the document concluded this subsection with an example of the possibilities of adaptation, relating to the funeral liturgy. The third subsection of the first part of this document dealt with the importance of instruction on the individual rites.<sup>14</sup> So important were these *Praenotandae* that they could not be omitted from the revised rites.<sup>15</sup>

### **2.1.2: The Method of Revision**

The second section of the document was quite brief, comprising only two articles. The general method that the ritual revision was to observe was rooted in *SC*:

That sound tradition may be retained and yet the way remain open to legitimate progress, a careful investigation is always to be made into each part of the liturgy to be revised. This investigation should be theological, historical, and pastoral. Also the general laws governing the structure and meaning of the liturgy must be

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<sup>11</sup> S-30, 7: “Ergo, praehabita quadam inquisitione de necessitatibus pastoralibus hodiernis in mundo catholico, novum Rituale ambitum aptationum clare circumscribere debebit, ita ut inter limites statutos auctoritates territoriales aptationes definire possint ad normam art. 39”

<sup>12</sup> See *Acta Apostolica Sedis*, 54 (1962), 310-388. The rite was also published in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 76 (1962), 424-444. For a brief discussion of the Rite, with a comparison to the earlier version, see Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 153-154.

<sup>13</sup> S-30, 9: “Quinam esse debent limites aptationis de qua agitur in art. 63 et 69? De hac re nihil dictum est in relationibus conciliaribus. Tota res relicta est Consilio postconciliari. Non videtur a priori solvenda, sed post maturum studium in diversis casibus diversimode determinanda.”

<sup>14</sup> S-30, 12: “Instructiones pastorales, quae sunt quasi gloria reformationis liturgicae post tridentinae, recognosci debebunt, non tam quoad spiritum, qui est vere pastoralis, quam quoad circumstantias nunc valde mutatas.”

<sup>15</sup> S-30, 14.



studied in conjunction with the experience derived from recent liturgical reforms and from the indults conceded to various places. Finally, there must be no innovations unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them; care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing.<sup>16</sup>

Furthermore, the method would observe other requirements outlined in the Constitution: a “preference for communal celebrations;”<sup>17</sup> “active participation of the people;”<sup>18</sup> the equality of all the people of God;<sup>19</sup> a simplification of the rites;<sup>20</sup> the importance of Sacred Scripture;<sup>21</sup> and the role of the homily.<sup>22</sup>

### **2.1.3: The Character of Baptism**

The third, and by far the most detailed, section of the document made specific examination of each of the particular rites. Comprised, in total, of nine subsections, only portions of the first one – “*De baptismo*” – pertain to the study of the structural reform of the rites of adult initiation.<sup>23</sup> Based on the instructions of *SC*, the document indicated that the intention of the revision of the rites of adult initiation would involve the restoration of the catechumenate composed of several distinct steps with related rituals, particular

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<sup>16</sup> *SC*, 23.

<sup>17</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Celebratio communis praeferenda*”, cf. *SC* 27.

<sup>18</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Actuosa participatio populi omnimodo favenda et etiam in rubricis praevidenda*”, cf. *SC* 30, 31.

<sup>19</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Nulla privatarum personarum aut conditionum acceptio habenda*”, cf. *SC* 32.

<sup>20</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Ritus simplices nec multis indigentes explanationibus*”, cf. *SC* 34.

<sup>21</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Lectio S. Scripturae abundatior instauranda*”, cf. *SC* 35 §1.

<sup>22</sup> *S-30*, 16: “*Praevidendae monitiones vel etiam locus sermonis*”, cf. *SC* 35, §2-3.

<sup>23</sup> *S-30*, 18-36. The rest of the subsection treated the baptism of children. The other eight subsections were *De Confirmatione*, *De communione infirmorum et viatico*, *De Poenitentia*, *De Uncione infirmorum*, *De exequiis*, *De Matrimonio*, *De Sacramentalibus et specialiter de benedictionibus*, and *De ritu Professionis Religiosae*.

adaptations to the rite in missionary territory, both a solemn rite and a simple rite (without the catechumenate), and a proper Mass “On the Occasion of a Baptism.”<sup>24</sup> The solemn rite was envisioned as containing a “ritual of a single stage within the liturgy of the word,”<sup>25</sup> the “inclusion of appropriate readings from scripture,”<sup>26</sup> and a regular series of prayers and exorcisms corresponding to the catechumen’s journey towards baptism.<sup>27</sup> The celebration of baptism was to take place during the Easter vigil,<sup>28</sup> and as an indication of the totality of Christian initiation, “presbyters having an episcopal mandate could both baptize and confirm the neophytes within the same celebration.”<sup>29</sup> Further, allowance was made for localized omission of particular ceremonies, according to the judgment of the conferences of bishops.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the simple rite was to retain the traditional form – introduction to the catechumenate, *traditio* and *redditio* of Creed and Lord’s Prayer, and the baptism, with its corresponding ceremonies. Within the

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<sup>24</sup> S-30, 19. Cf. SC 64, 65, and 66.

<sup>25</sup> S-30, 23a: “ritus singulorum gradum fieri possint inter liturgiam verbi.”

<sup>26</sup> S-30, 23b: “aptae lectiones a sacra Scriptura inserantur.”

<sup>27</sup> S-30, 23c: “series orationum et exorcismorum eo modo sint ordinatae, ut progressus catechumeni ad baptismum excitetur et clarius in dies appareat.”

<sup>28</sup> S-30, 23e: “collatio baptismi, in quantum fieri potest, fiat in vigilia paschali coram omnibus aliis fidelibus.”

<sup>29</sup> S-30, 23f: “sacerdos qui adultum baptizat possit etiam de mandato episcopi neophyto Confirmationem conferre ut completa initiatio christiana adulti statim habeatur.”

<sup>30</sup> S-30, 23d: “pauciores fiant vel omnino omittantur iuxta prudens iudicium conferentiae episcopalis illae caeremoniae, quae iuxta locorum usus vel personarum indolem sensum minus rectur habere possint.”

simple rite, the presbyter with episcopal mandate could, likewise, complete the initiation process by confirming the neophyte.<sup>31</sup>

This subsection was concluded with mention of five topics related to the celebration of baptism requiring special attention. The first two were based upon the prescriptions of *SC* 68:

The baptismal rite should contain alternatives, to be used at the discretion of the local Ordinary, for occasions when a very large number are to be baptized together. Moreover, a shorter rite is to be drawn up, especially in mission lands, for use by catechists, but also by the faithful in general, when there is danger of death and neither a priest nor a deacon is available.

The first related to the possibility of having a great number of individuals baptized at a single celebration. Following the advice of Bishop Otto Spülbeck, of Meissen, Germany, this decision was deemed best “left to the authority of territorial conferences of bishops,”<sup>32</sup> rather than individual bishops. The second issue concerned a rite of baptism for those in danger of death, which would not, necessarily, require a priest or deacon. All that should be required, in this case, was the sacramental form and matter of baptism.<sup>33</sup>

The third point dealt with the creation of a new ritual for admitting those infants baptized

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<sup>31</sup> S-30, 24: “Quoad ritum simpliciore: retineat Schemata traditionale, nempe tria momenta antiquae praeparationis ad baptismum, introductionem ad catechumenatum, traditionem et redditionem symboli et orationis dominicalis, ablutionem sacramentalem cum caeremoniis immediate praecedentibus et subsequentibus, omissis, ut supra dictum est, omittendis. Optatur etiam, ut sacerdos possit de mandato episcopi sacramentum confirmationis neophyto conferre.”

<sup>32</sup> S-30, 32: “Accommodationes pro magno baptizandorum concursu censet Commissio conciliaris inter ordinarias computandas esse, uti expresse dixit Exc. Spuelbeck: Accommodationes conficiuntur a competenti auctoritate territoriali actis ab Apostolica Sede recognitis.”

<sup>33</sup> S-30, 33: “Circa ordinem novum Baptismi in periculo mortis in mentem revocanda sunt verba Exc. Hallinan nomine Commissionis Conciliaris loquentis: In textu non agitur de casu, in quo aliquis invenitur in articulo mortis, quando unusquisque potest illum baptizare adhibita sola forma sacramenti et applicata materia, sed agitur solum de periculo mortis absente sacerdote et diacono.”

using the emergency rite.<sup>34</sup> The fourth was rooted in the second half of paragraph 69 of *SC*: "...A new rite is to be drawn up for converts who have already been validly baptized; it should express that they are being received into the communion of the Church." This new rite was to be composed "in consultation with the Secretariat for Christian Unity."<sup>35</sup> The fifth matter concerned the pre-Conciliar Commission's declaration regarding the blessing of the baptismal water.<sup>36</sup>

## **2.2: The Meeting at Galloro, Italy, September 15-17, 1964.**

S-30 served as a sort of companion document to *SC* in guiding the work of *Coetus* XXII and *Coetus* XXIII. The direction provided by the document would be immediately visible in the first session of the two groups, which took place at the Jesuit retreat house in Galloro, Italy, between Tuesday, September 15 and Thursday, September 17, 1964. This document served as the discussion material for the first day of the session. As an illustration of S-30's claim that baptism was, among all the sacraments excluding the

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<sup>34</sup> S-30, 34: "... a) receptio infantis a sacerdote ad ianuam ecclesiae; b) redditio symboli et orationis dominicae a parentibus seu patris facta; c) sponsiones ab ipsis datae de christiana pueri educatione; d) lectio evangelica (e.g. Mt. 5, 1-12); e) unctio chrismatis nisi iam facta fuerit; f) traditio vestis albae et candelae accensae; g) benedictio sacerdotis."

<sup>35</sup> S-30, 35: "Ordo neoconversos recipiendi in sacra catholica [*sic*] parandus videtur collatis consiliis cum secretariatu pro unione christianorum." For the full treatment of this subject, see Sieverding, "*Ordo admissionis*".

<sup>36</sup> S-30, 36: "Circa benedictionem brevior aquae baptismalis recolenda est declaratio Commissionis praeconciliaris: 'Omnibus profecto nota est conditio miserrima, immo indecens aquae baptismalis, saepissime in vasculis baptisterii putrescentis, praecipue in regionibus calidioribus. Ut hoc incommodum vitetur, proponitur ut aqua baptismalis non reservetur per integrum annum, sed, tempore paschali secluso, benedicatur cum baptismus administratur. Insuper per hanc benedictionem aquae in actu baptismi instauratur integritas catecheseos et ritus. Ritus enim baptismi obscurus aliquomodo evadit, cum numquam, praeterquam in Vigilia paschali, compleatur per splendidam expositionem mysterii aquae quae legitur in praefatione ad benedicendum fontem. Sic optatur ut pluries in anno, benedici possit aqua, e. gr. pro baptismis collectivis.

Ceterum, mos benedicendi aquam baptismalem una tantum vice quolibet anno non invaluit nisi in fine medii aevi'."

eucharist, the most important, the work relating specifically to revising the rites of initiation began immediately on Wednesday, September 16.<sup>37</sup>

### **2.2.1: The Preparatory Questionnaire**

During this day's morning session, the *Coetus*' discussion focused on the various points outlined in the preparatory questions composed by Jacques Cellier.<sup>38</sup> Each member had received these questions, arranged in three categories, beforehand. The first category, "General Principles" was comprised of six questions.

1. Can we speak of a Ritual of Adult Baptism separate from the other sacraments of initiation?
2. How can we maintain the bond between Baptism, Confirmation and Eucharist – how can the catechumen be prepared for a sense of the sacrament of Penance?
3. How should the rite support characteristics of the catechumen's faith and what characteristics should be supported by the rites themselves?
4. What should be the role of the community in the preparation for, and celebration of the rites?
5. How should the rite connect each stage of Baptism to the celebration of the Eucharist? (Liturgy of the Word – Baptism within Mass?).
6. What relationship should be established between the stages of Baptism and the liturgical year?

The second category, "General Sense of the Rites", contained only two questions:

7. In what ways can the rite be a sign for both the catechumen and the community that surrounds them?
8. What are the fundamental rites used during the adult Baptism ritual?

Finally, the third category addressed "The Stages of Baptism" in five questions:

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<sup>37</sup> "*Coetus* XXII et XXIII: Rapport I", in C.N.P.L. 1.B.i: "Autour de la session de Galloro (Italie) 15-17 septembre, 1964."

<sup>38</sup> Sieverding has suggested that the questionnaire was composed by Fischer and Gy. The documents of the C.N.P.L. archive clarify that this was likely the work of Cellier instead. Sieverding's claim appears to be based on the inclusion of the questionnaire in the introductory letter signed by Fischer and Gy. See Sieverding, "*Ordo admissionis*," 217-218.

9. What principles should be observed in distinguishing between the stages of Baptism? How many stages should there be, and which ones should these be?
10. How must each stage be structured, in order that each possesses its own integrity as well as fitting within the unified whole of the rite?
11. Must a first inscription of the name of the postulant be observed before the first rites?
12. At what moment of the liturgical year must each stage be situated (see no. 6)?
13. Can one imagine mass texts (*Messe lisé*) for each rite, (Cf. Masses of the Scrutinies) that might be celebrated *extra-tempora* (Cf. no. 5)?<sup>39</sup>

The discussion emerging from these questions was grouped according to eleven different categories by the first report. All of the participants agreed that the initiation of adults – baptism, confirmation, and eucharist – rather than the initiation of children should be understood as being “the prototype of baptism.”<sup>40</sup> While this would have been clear from the most cursory comparison between the rites of initiation of adults and children, the theoretical underpinnings of the understanding that the baptism of infants was a later development can be traced back, certainly, to the influential study of Louis Duchesne.<sup>41</sup> As a consequence, the *Coetus* were also in agreement that the integral connection between the sacraments should be evidenced by the celebration of one continuous rite, rather than three separate ones.<sup>42</sup> This integral connection between the three sacraments

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<sup>39</sup> “Questionnaire de Père Cellier”, in I.B.i.

<sup>40</sup> “Rapport I”, 7: “Le nouveau RR prend son point de départ, non dans le Baptême des enfants, mais dans le Baptême des adultes qui est le prototype du Baptême.”

<sup>41</sup> CW 295: “*Ordo* [XI] and the rubrics of the [Gelasian] Sacramentary speak of infants in arms, who are accompanied by godfathers and godmothers to answer in their names. It is clear, however, that the formularies were composed for adults, and that the ceremonies themselves have only their full significance where persons of riper years are concerned. It is necessary, therefore, in order to place the whole in its true light, to regard the details which limit the ceremony to infants, and thus cause a chronological transposition of the whole text, as indications of the work of a reviser.”

<sup>42</sup> “Rapport I”, 7: “...en tête du livre soit mis en pleine lumière la pleine initiation Chrétienne comme un rite continu.”

can also be traced back to the work of Duchesne: “the ceremonies of Christian initiation, such as they are described in authorities from the end of the second century onwards, consisted of three essential rites – baptism, confirmation, and First communion.”<sup>43</sup> Rather than the seven stages contained within OBA1962, the *Coetus* envisioned four stages: the rite of admission; period of instruction, containing the various *traditiones*; the time of immediate preparation, containing the subsequent *redditiones*; and the celebration of baptism itself at the Paschal Vigil. This last point clearly reflected the liturgical scholarship of the day.<sup>44</sup> If, however, this was not possible, baptism should be celebrated early on Easter Sunday.<sup>45</sup> While baptizing adults during the Paschal Triduum was by far the preferable option, the group further indicated that baptism on other Sundays of Easter would be an option of last resort, because Sundays were likened to “a weekly Easter.”<sup>46</sup> Furthermore, the members of *Coetus* XXII and XXIII were adamant that the sacraments of initiation were to be followed by “mystagogical catechesis,” as witnessed in numerous historical sources not limited to but including Ambrose, Egeria, and Chrysostom.<sup>47</sup> The

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<sup>43</sup> CW 292.

<sup>44</sup> CW 293: “It was at Easter, in fact, that baptism was ordinarily administered, and that, too, from the earliest times. The vigil of Easter Sunday was devoted to this ceremony.”

Indicating the prevalence of that position, Paul Bradshaw noted, in 1993, that “liturgical scholars have been unanimous in affirming that a preference for baptizing at Easter rather than at other times of the year was widespread – some would say universal – in the third-century Church.” (“‘Diem baptismo sollemniorum’: Initiation and Easter in Christian Antiquity”, in *Living Water, Sealing Spirit*, 137.)

<sup>45</sup> “Rapport I”, 10: “... s’il est impossible de le célébrer dans la nuit, qu’il le soit au petit matin du dimanche de Pâques.”

<sup>46</sup> “Rapport I”, 10: “... il semble qu’il faille préférer le dimanche, comme Pâque hebdomadaire.”

<sup>47</sup> “Rapport I”, 9: “... les Instructions à faire au nouvel rituel n’omettent pas de mentionner les catéchèses – dans les temps antiques, appelées mystagogiques – qui doivent avoir lieu les jours ou les dimanches qui suivent le Baptême.”

On the historical sources, see Ambrose of Milan, *Des Sacraments, Des Mystères: Nouvelle Édition revue et augmentée de L’Explication du Symbole*, Sources Chrétiennes 25bis, Bernard Botte, O.S.B., ed (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1961), *De Sacramentis*, I.1 (see also, *DOBL* 177); Egeria, *Egeria’s Travels*,

group envisioned this post-baptismal instruction taking place during the octave of Easter, or, better still, on the Sundays of Easter, so as to promote a greater participation on the part of the faithful.<sup>48</sup> This catechesis was considered so fundamental that the group insisted that even those baptized because of the danger of death should receive instruction.<sup>49</sup> The group also proposed the composition of new mass texts for a mass of the neophytes (*pour les enfants*), following the model of the Ambrosian Rite.<sup>50</sup> Just as with the ritual mass for the scrutinies – intended for celebration on the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent<sup>51</sup> – the readings, chosen from the Epistles of Paul and the Gospel of John, would, themselves, instruct the neophyte regarding baptismal theology.<sup>52</sup> In instances of the baptisms taking place outside of the Easter season, these masses of the

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Second Edition, John Wilkinson, ed. (London: SPCK, 1971), Chapter 47, cited in *DOBL* 33; John Chrysostom, *Huit Catéchèses inédites*, Sources Chrétiennes 50, Antoine Wenger tr. (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957) (see also, *DOBL* 41-47).

<sup>48</sup> “Rapport I”, 10.

<sup>49</sup> “Rapport I”, 17: “Que les Instructions qui doivent précéder le nouveau rituel n’omettent pas d’insister que personne, ayant reçu le Baptême en danger de mort, ne peut accéder aux sacrement avant d’avoir reçu une instruction catéchuménale.”

<sup>50</sup> “Rapport I”, 11.

Cesare Alzati, in his small book *Ambrosianum Mysterium: The Church of Milan and its liturgical tradition, volume II*, translated by George Guiver C.R. (Cambridge: Grove Books, 1999), indicates that during the Carolingian age, “a *Missa pro baptizatis* is celebrated... for the whole Easter octave. On the Saturday *in albis* after vespers, at the moment of the station at the baptistery, the two junior decuman priests, taking their place at the doors of the baptistery of St. John, proceed to uncover the heads of the neophytes saying: *Benedicat vos Dominus de Sion, et videatis quae bona sunt Jerusalem omnibus diebus vitae vestrae*. In this way the initiation rites are concluded” (p. 13). The Ambrosian Rite contains alternate ritual texts for each of the days of the Octave of Easter, excepting the Second Sunday of Easter. The propers for each of these celebrations *Pro Baptizatis* are made up of the *Ingressa*, *Super populum*, *Post Evangelium*, *Ad complendam Liturgiam Verbi*, *Super oblata*, *Praefatio*, *Confractorium*, *Transitorium*, and *Post Communionem*.

<sup>51</sup> “Rapport I”, 10.

<sup>52</sup> “Rapport I”, 11: “Pour ses nouvelles messes... il faut choisir des péripécies plus instructives qui expriment mieux la théologie du Baptême. Elles seront prises surtout dans l’Évangile de St. Jean et dans les Epîtres de Paul, comme ça se fait depuis toujours chez les Byzantins.”



neophyte could also be celebrated as votive masses. It was noted that the decisions made regarding these texts would have to be relayed to *Coetus* XI on the Lectionary and *Coetus* XIII on Votive Masses.<sup>53</sup>

One of the principles outlined in *SC* corresponded to a simplification of the Roman Rite:

The liturgy is made up of immutable elements, divinely instituted, and of elements subject to change. These not only may but ought to be changed with the passage of time if they have suffered from the intrusion of anything out of harmony with the inner nature of the liturgy or have become pointless.

In this reform both texts and rites should be so drawn up that the express more clearly the holy things they signify and that the Christian people, as far as possible, are able to understand them with ease and to take part in the rites fully, actively, and as befits a community.<sup>54</sup>

Acting upon this principle, *Coetus* XXII and XXIII determined that “biblical symbols and those that were immediately intelligible, like flowing water..., the lighted candle, [and] the white vestment”<sup>55</sup> would be retained. Others would be suppressed. Alternatively, there were other elements that could be imported from other traditions, provided that they did not detract from the substantial unity of the Roman Rite.<sup>56</sup> Primary among these were the Inscription and the taking (*traditio*) of a new Christian name.<sup>57</sup> The group determined

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<sup>53</sup> “Rapport I”, 12.

<sup>54</sup> *SC* 21.

<sup>55</sup> “Rapport I”, 13: “Il faudra certainement retenir les signes qui ont le mérite d’être biblique et immédiatement intelligibles, comme l’eau courante (au sens d’une immersion mitigée), le cierge allumé, le vêtement blanc.”

<sup>56</sup> “Rapport I”, 14: “Avec une grande prudence, (afin que soit sauvegardée l’unité substantielle du rite romain) on pourra introduire ice et là, dans le rite romain, des éléments particulièrement indiqués, pris dans les autres rites baptismaux.”

<sup>57</sup> “Rapport I”, 15: “Bien que l’Inscription propre du nom soit mieux située au début de la préparation imédiate, que la Tradition du nom, partout en Afrique surtout à le Mahom. est répandu, ait lieu dès la première présentation du postulant, puisque les candidats Islam. aux aussi reçoivent aussitôt un

that separate texts should not be retained for men and for women, despite their presence even in OBA1962, as “they lacked an authentic and solid foundation within the tradition.”<sup>58</sup>

### 2.2.2: Discussion on the Jungmann Proposal

The discussion on Wednesday afternoon was far narrower than the one that had taken place in the morning. The group was reviewing an article by Jungmann which offered a proposal for the revision of the Order of Adult Baptism.<sup>59</sup> Guiding this discussion, the group sought to determine how this proposal had anticipated the concerns set forth in OBA1962, in SC, and in S-30.<sup>60</sup> Further, they sought to ascertain whether Jungmann’s proposal “sufficiently maintained the structural and elemental tradition,”<sup>61</sup> whether it “exhibited continuity as an evolution of the rite,”<sup>62</sup> and, whether new elements might be added to it.<sup>63</sup> This proposal was divided into four stages: *Ad Catechumenum*

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nouveau nom.” See also, Xavier Seumois, P.B.. *L’Islam: Sa doctrine: Sa physionomie en Afrique Noire* (C.I.P.A. 1956 – No. 6), 187-188, and Seumois, *Adaptation*, 271-3, 433-7.

The inscription of names was attested in Egeria, Chapter 45. See *DOBL*, 33.

<sup>58</sup> “Rapport I”, 16: “Cette diversité ne sera pas retenue; elle manque de fondement authentique et solide dans la tradition.”

<sup>59</sup> Josef Jungmann, S.J., “Entwurf zu einem aufgegliederten Ordo Baptismi Adultorum”, *Liturgisches Jahrbuch* 11 (1961), 25-33.

<sup>60</sup> “Allegatum I”, I, in C.N.P.L. I.B.i.: “quod attinet desiderata Commissionis praeconciliaris? (cf. “Schemata relationis” pag. 10).”

<sup>61</sup> “Allegatum I”, I: “quod attinet traditionem pie sufficienter servatam (et quoad data materialia et quoad structuram)?”

<sup>62</sup> “Allegatum I”, I: “Quod attinet continuitatem in evolutione rituum (in specie suppressionem, modificationem, de novo introductionem)?”

<sup>63</sup> “Allegatum I”, I: “Quid de insertionem actionum praeparatarum: tantum ad instar missae catechumenorum stilizandae? an forte in condicionibus favorabilibus (cogita de quibusdam missis quadragesimalibus) re vera missae catechumenorum inserendae?”

*Faciendum, In Documentorum Traditione, Ad Exorcizandum Electum, and In Baptismi Collatione.*

### **2.2.2.1: The Rite for Making Catechumens**

Jungmann's proposal (see Table 2.1 below) followed, generally, the same pattern as the *Rituale Romanum*, though in an abbreviated form. He eliminated many elements that appeared to be a doubling, or tripling, of the core elements. Entitling the first stage with the same name that it had in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, Jungmann began the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum* with a verse and response (OBA 1), an entrance antiphon (*Effundam super vos aquam mundam...*) and one Psalm instead of the three found in OBA 2.<sup>64</sup> Following these would be the *Kyrie* and Lord's Prayer (OBA 3). Then, with the elimination of one prayer (*Omnipotens, sempiterne Deus...*, OBA 3), would follow a collect (*Da, quaesumus, Domine...*, OBA 4).<sup>65</sup> Jungmann continued with a slightly modified introductory dialogue (OBA 5).<sup>66</sup> Eliminating the renunciation (OBA 6), the profession of faith (OBA 7), the exsufflation (OBA 8), and the insufflation (OBA 9), Jungmann substituted for the priest's instruction at OBA 5 (*Si vis habere vitam aeternam...*) the instruction from the children's order (*Si igitur vis ad vitam ingredi...*).<sup>67</sup> This choice corresponded with the suppression of the three previously mentioned

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<sup>64</sup> Jungmann chose the third Psalm occurring in OBA, Psalm 41(42), and excluded the first two: Psalms 8 and 28(29).

<sup>65</sup> The only change was the substitution of "Catechumen" for "Elect": "Da, quaesumus, Domine, Catechumeno (-ae) nostro (-ae), ut sanctis edoctus (-a) mysteriis, et renovetur fonte Baptismatis, et inter Ecclesiae tuae membra numeretur." Jungmann, 26.

<sup>66</sup> "Quo nomine vocaris?" became "Quo nomine vocaris usque adhuc?"

<sup>67</sup> *Ordo Baptismi Unius Parvuli* (Rit. Rom. Tit. II. Cap. II), 2.

elements. Jungmann's proposal followed the pattern of the children's rite here, and proceeded to the signation of the catechumens' forehead, though not the catechumen's breast, utilizing an appropriately altered text from OBA 10 and Augustine's Sermon 215, 5.<sup>68</sup> Jungmann did not reinstate the renunciation of heresy (Judaism, Islam, and Protestantism), which had been suppressed in 1959,<sup>69</sup> and instead, proceeded to the instruction "*Cole Deum...*" (OBA 10). Jungmann omitted, then, the prayer for guidance ("*Te deprecor, Domine sancte Pater*", OBA 10) and skipped the anointing of the senses (OBA 11), while maintaining the first of the two collects that concluded the anointing, "*Preces nostras, quaesumus, Domine*" (OBA 11). The proposal then proceeded to the laying on of hands by the priest with prayer (OBA 12) and the blessing, rather than exorcism, of salt. Jungmann replaced this exorcism with a text from the *Gregorian Sacramentary*,<sup>70</sup> but retained the formula and prayer for the distribution of the salt (OBA 15) albeit without placing the salt in the catechumen's mouth. Instead, Jungmann introduced an innovation, suggesting that the salt be given to the catechumen along with a piece of bread. The priest would then offer the catechumen a greeting of peace. The first stage concluded with a blessing of the catechumens, using a variant of the formula for the signing of the senses and the breast in OBA 11. Rather than signing with the

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<sup>68</sup> "Accipe signum Crucis in fronte et esto discipulus Christi. Noli erubescere Crucem eius qui non dubitavit pro nobis omnibus eam excipere." Jungmann, 26.

<sup>69</sup> Prot.H.10/959. The suppression of this element stems from the excision of the word "perfidious" in the prayer for the Jews on Good Friday, and the recrafting of the text. The suppression indicates a different approach by the Roman Catholic Church towards ecumenical issues. See *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 1960, p. 133. See also Anne Christine McGuire, "The Reform of Holy Week, 1951-1969: Process, Problems, and Possibilities," Volume I (Ph.D. diss., University of Notre Dame, 2001), 291-292.

<sup>70</sup> H. Lietzmann, *Das Sacramentarium Gregorianum nach dem Aachener Ur exemplar. Mit Registern von H. Bornkamm*, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen, 3 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1921) 80: *Benedic, omnipotens Deus, hanc creaturam salis tua benedictione caelesti...*

cross, the priest simply blesses the sense organs and the breast, omitting the shoulders. The priest finishes this section by blessing the whole person, then dismissing the catechumens to their instruction.

TABLE 2.1  
THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS  
IN THE JUNGSMANN PROPOSAL

OBA	Jungsmann
Entrance dialogue	Entrance dialogue
Antiphon with Psalm	Antiphon with Psalm
Kyrie	Kyrie
Lord's Prayer	Lord's Prayer
Prayer	
Collect	Collect
Interrogation of candidate	Interrogation of candidate*
Instruction	Instruction*
Renunciation	
Profession of Faith	
Exsufflation	
Insufflation	
Signation on forehead	Signation on forehead
Signation on breast	
Prayer	Prayer*
Instruction	Instruction
Prayer	
Anointing of senses	
Prayer	Prayer
Prayer	
Laying on of hands and prayer	Laying on of hands and prayer
Exorcism of salt	Blessing of salt*
Prayer	
Distribution of salt	Distribution of salt with bread*
Greeting of peace	Greeting of peace
Prayer	Prayer
	Blessing of senses*
	Dismissal of catechumens

\*=a modification to the element as contained in OBA.

Jungmann's first stage offered much material for the group to consider, and, in this first step, they found much to be lacking. The group regretted that Jungmann had not provided a substantial role for the sponsors. More significant, however, was that with the elimination of the statements of renunciation and profession of faith, the candidate also had little active role in the ceremony. Furthermore, they found that the blessing and imposition of salt was, overall, "difficult to understand in contemporary society,"<sup>71</sup> and suggested that it be considered an optional rite, together with more regionally influenced additions: an extra, preliminary, exorcism in Africa; and the imposition of a new Christian name in Islamic regions.<sup>72</sup> They also suggested that the signation of the nostrils should be considered optional, and that the giving of a piece of bread should be unwise, as it lacked a solid foundation in the Tradition.<sup>73</sup> Upon further discussion, the *Coetus* also thought that some sort of Introduction into the Church, as at OBA 29, would be a beneficial addition to this first stage. It was suggested that they look to the Catechumenate of the Diocese of Lyons, Cellier's home diocese, for a helpful example of this element's inclusion at this particular point in the rite.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> "Rapport I", 19: "En effet, ce signe est difficilement compréhensible pour l'homme d'aujourd'hui."

<sup>72</sup> "Rapport I", 18.

<sup>73</sup> "Rapport I", 19. One might also wonder whether or not the use of bread at such an early stage of initiation might not be mistaken with eucharist. No such question is noted, however, in the discussions of the *Coetus*. Perhaps they simply did not consider the possibility that one might mistake "secular" bread for "sacred" bread.

<sup>74</sup> "Rapport I", 21: "... on s'est demandé, si cette première étape devait déjà contenir une Introduction dans l'Eglise, - à l'exemple du rite Lyonnais du Baptême des adultes (dont le texte a été distribué par les soins du Rev. Cellier). Tous ont estimé qu'il suffisait l'action d'entrer dans l'Eglise pour écouter le Parole de Dieu."

### 2.2.2.2: The Presentation of Documents

The second stage of Jungmann's proposal, *In documentorum traditione* involved the *traditio* of the Gospels, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer (see table 2.2 below). This stage was absent from OBA – although the *redditiones* were present at OBA 32 – but Jungmann inserted them because of their presence within early initiation rites, notably the *Gelasian Sacramentary* and *Ordo XI*.<sup>75</sup> This stage began with an introit and verse,<sup>76</sup> but included the option of substituting a vernacular song. Following the *Kyrie* was the collect, which had originally been the first prayer concluding the anointing in OBA 11 (*Deus, qui humani generis...*). This text had been omitted from Jungmann's first stage. As in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, ministers carrying candles and incense would precede four ministers carrying the books of the Gospels.<sup>77</sup> The priest, already at the altar, would then exhort the catechumens to pay attention to the readings from each of the Gospels that they were about to hear: Matt 11:25-30<sup>78</sup>; Mark 1:1-8<sup>79</sup>; Luke 3:15-18<sup>80</sup>; and John

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<sup>75</sup> Mention of these *traditiones* in Augustine was contained neither in Jungmann's article, nor in the discussions of the *Coetus*. See *CW* 301 and *DOBL* 146-147.

<sup>76</sup> "Sitientes, venite ad aquas, dicit Dominus: et qui non habetis pretium, venite et bibite cum laetitia (Is 55: 1). Attendite, popule meus, legem meam: inclinate aurem vestram in verba oris mei (Ps 77 [78]: 1)." Jungmann, 28. Jungmann lists this antiphon and Psalm as belonging to *Missale Romanum*, Saturday of the Week of Lent. It is presently used as the entrance antiphon on Tuesday of the Fourth Week of Lent.

<sup>77</sup> *Gelasian Sacramentary* Vat. Reg. Lat. 316, *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae Ordinis Anni Circuli (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, ed. Leo Cunibert Mohlberg O.S.B. et. al. (Rome: Casa Editrice Herder, 1960), Liber I, XXXIV. See *DOBL*, 218-219.

<sup>78</sup> Michel Andrieu, *Les Ordines Romani du Haut Moyen-Age*, Vol 2 (Louvain, 1948), *Ordo Romanus* XI, 31. This reading is not the one assigned in the *Ordo XI* for the *traditio* of the Gospels, but rather, for the celebration when the names of the elect are enrolled and salt is given. Jungmann cites Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 258.

<sup>79</sup> *Gelasian Sacramentary*, XXXIV, 305 (see *DOBL* 218-221); *Ordo Romanus* XI 53 (see *DOBL* 247-248).

9:1-9, 16, 35-38.<sup>81</sup> It is noteworthy that the only text of these four Gospel readings associated with the *traditio* of the Gospels in the Gelasian Sacramentary and *Ordo Romanus XI* is that from the Gospel of Mark. Instead, both of these early texts prescribe that the beginning of each Gospel be read: Matthew 1:1-21, Mark 1:1-8, Luke 1:1-14, and John 1:1-14.<sup>82</sup> Rather than focusing on the beginning of the Gospel, Jungmann, instead, adopted a thematic approach. After each reading Jungmann proposed singing a song in the vernacular. Having completed the *traditio* of the Gospels, the *traditio* of the Creed took place. The priest would briefly instruct the catechumens, after which the sponsors, with their hands placed on the catechumens' heads, would recite the Creed. When this had finished, the *traditio* of the Lord's Prayer would take place in similar fashion. Upon completion of the third *traditio*, the priest would instruct the catechumens to accept that which had been handed over to them.<sup>83</sup> After preaching a sermon, the priest would invite the faithful to pray for the catechumens,<sup>84</sup> who would first kneel, and then, after the silent prayer of the community, would arise. This section of the proposal concluded with a final prayer for the catechumens,<sup>85</sup> and their dismissal from the assembly.

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<sup>80</sup> Jungmann cites no source here, but writes that this text would serve to reinforce the need for believers to continually proclaim the coming of Christ: "Mit dieser Perikope wird zugleich das Them der vorausgehenden fortgesetzt: Johannes der Täufer." Jungmann, 29.

<sup>81</sup> This text is the Gospel reading for Wednesday of the Fourth Week of Lent.

<sup>82</sup> See *Ordo Romanus XI* 48, 53, 56, and 59, and Gelasian Sacramentary, XXXIII, 302, 305, 307, and 309.

<sup>83</sup> Gelasian Sacramentary: "Accepistis, dilectissimi, documenta sanctissima: verba nempe fidei et precationis. Tenete ea in cordibus vestris semper. Potens est enim Dei misericordia quae et vos ad baptismi fidem currentes perducit, et nos qui vobis mysteria tradimus, una vobiscum ad regna caelestia faciat pervenire." Jungmann, 29-30.

<sup>84</sup> *Missale Romanum*, Good Friday, General Intercessions, IV: *Pro Catechumenis*.

<sup>85</sup> *Missale Romanum*, Good Friday, General Intercessions, IV: *Pro Catechumenis*.



TABLE 2.2

THE PRESENTATION OF DOCUMENTS

IN THE JUNGSMANN PROPOSAL

Introit
Kyrie
Prayer
<i>Traditio</i> of the Gospels: Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John
Optional Song: after each Gospel reading
<i>Traditio</i> of the Creed
<i>Traditio</i> of the Lord's Prayer
Homily
Prayer
Blessing of senses
Dismissal of catechumens

The only difficulty that the *Coetus* expressed regarding Jungsmann's second stage revolved around the *traditio* of the Gospels. The *Coetus* thought, in the first place, that the entire Bible, rather than only the Gospels, should be given to the catechumens. No rationale is cited for their preference, although it may have been rooted in the *Apostolic Tradition*: "*Catechumeni per tres annos audiant verbum.*"<sup>86</sup> Presumably, to hear the "word" for three years would imply more than just the New Testament, especially when taken in conjunction with Ambrose's description of Lenten formation:

We have given a daily sermon on morals, when the deeds of the Patriarchs or the precepts of the Proverbs were read, in order that, being informed and instructed by them, you might become accustomed to enter upon the ways of our forefathers and to pursue their road, and to obey the divine commands, whereby renewed by baptism you might hold to the manner of life which befits those who are washed.<sup>87</sup>

This particular understanding was, elsewhere, explained by Jungsmann:

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<sup>86</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, 17.

<sup>87</sup> *De mysteriis*, 1.1 (SC 25bis.156)

The catechumen enjoyed the right to take part in the readings and sermons of the community services; in the homilies of Origen, the catechumens are often addressed as part of the audience. But they received also special instructions, which consisted mainly in hearing a teacher read selected passages from Sacred Scripture. Those books were selected which contained suitable moral instructions; Origen mentions the books of Esther, Judith, Tobias, the books of Wisdom. Almost the same books are mentioned later on by Athanasius, who adds also non-biblical works, namely the *Didache* and *The Shepherd of Hermas*.<sup>88</sup>

They also debated the placement of the element. Some preferred making it the very first element in the entire rite, in order to indicate that Scripture itself was to be the source of catechesis. Alternatively, some preferred placing the *traditio* at the beginning of the third stage, the Rites of Immediate Preparation, to highlight that the elect had been judged sufficiently formed in faith to receive the Word of God.<sup>89</sup>

### 2.2.2.3: Exorcizing the Elect

The third stage of Jungmann's proposal, *Ad exorcizandum electum* (Exorcizing of the elect) was that of the exorcism of the elect (see Table 2.3 below). Here Jungmann collapsed the three exorcisms of OBA into one. The introit was taken from the proper for Wednesday of the fourth week of Lent,<sup>90</sup> but, as in the second stage, a song in the vernacular would have made an appropriate substitute. Following the *Kyrie*, the priest prayed the collect, "*Domine, sancte Pater, omnipotens...*" (OBA 14). Ezekiel 36:23-28 would be read, and would be followed by the Gradual, "*Venite, filii, audite me: timorem*

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<sup>88</sup> Jungmann, *Early Liturgy*, 76.

<sup>89</sup> "Rapport I", 23: "La question reste ouverte de savoir si la Tradition de la Bible est mieux située au tout début du Catéchuménat, signifiant la source de la cathèse; ou bien, au début de la préparation immédiate, afin qu'apparaisse que l'Eglise estime les élus assez formés pour qu'ils se referrent eux-mêmes à cette source."

<sup>90</sup> "Cum sanctificatus fuero in vobis, congregabo vos de universis terris: et effundam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris: et dabo vobis spiritum novum (Ez 36:23-26). Benedicam Dominum in omni tempore: semper laus eius in ore meo (Ps. 33[34]:2)."

*Domini docebo vos.*”<sup>91</sup> After the Gospel (Luke 11:14-28), the exorcisms would begin. The priest would instruct the elect to kneel. While in OBA the elect would then have to recite the Lord’s Prayer, Jungmann’s proposal moved on to the next item in the sequence. The priest would have the sponsors sign the elect with the cross on their forehead, and he would then sign the elect in the same way. Following this double signation, Jungmann preferred that the priest would extend his arms over the still-kneeling elect and pray “*Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac...*” (OBA 17), which would lead into the prayer of exorcism, “*Ergo, maledicte diabole...*” (OBA 17). Jungmann omitted the next two exorcisms for men, and, eliminating the ritual (and textual) differentiation between men and women, omitted all three exorcisms for women (OBA 18-27). At the conclusion of the exorcism the elect would rise, and the priest would preach a brief homily. Following this brief instruction, the elect would make their renunciation of Satan (OBA 35), and, as an innovation, the priest would anoint their right arms with the oil of catechumens.<sup>92</sup> The priest would then invite the faithful to pray for the elect. The elect would kneel during this silent prayer, and upon arising, the priest would pray the collect, newly written, and inspired by imagery from John the Baptist.<sup>93</sup> At the end of this ritual, the priest would dismiss the elect.

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<sup>91</sup> Both texts originate in the Third Sunday of Lent.

<sup>92</sup> Jungmann cited the Coronation Ordo of the Roman Pontifical of the 12<sup>th</sup> Century as precedent. In Michel Andrieu, *Le Pontifical Romain au moyen-âge I* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1938), 251.

<sup>93</sup> Jungmann, “Entwurf,” 32: Omnipotens sempiternus Deus, qui Ecclesiam tuam nova semper prole fecundas: auge fidem et intellectum Electis nostris; ut, renati fonte baptismatis, adoptionis tuae filiis aggregentur. Per Dominum nostrum.”

TABLE 2.3  
EXORCIZING THE ELECT  
IN THE JUNGMANN PROPOSAL

OBA	Jungmann
	Introit Kyrie Prayer Reading Gradual Gospel Catechumens kneel*
Catechumens kneel (Males only until ✧, then repeat for females)	
Catechumens pray Lord's Prayer	
Catechumens stand	
Signation on forehead by sponsors	Signation on forehead by sponsors
Signation on forehead by priest	Signation on forehead by priest
Prayer	Prayer
Exorcism	Exorcism
Catechumens kneel	
Catechumens pray Lord's Prayer	
Catechumens stand	
Signation on forehead by sponsors	
Signation on forehead by priest	
Prayer	
Exorcism	
Catechumens kneel	
Catechumens pray Lord's Prayer	
Catechumens stand	
Signation on forehead by sponsors	
Signation on forehead by priest	
Prayer	
Exorcism	
✧	
Prayer	Prayer Catechumens stand Homily Renunciation of Satan by catechumens Anointing of catechumens with oil of Catechumens Prayer by faithful Blessing of senses Dismissal of catechumens

\*=a modification to the element as contained in OBA.

The study group believed that the celebration of exorcisms was far too important – especially within an African context – to be contained only within one stage, and only celebrated once, at that.<sup>94</sup> Almost unquestionably, the work of Heinrich Schlier, “Principalities and Powers in the New Testament,” factored into the discussion.<sup>95</sup> Schlier argued that since belief in “principalities was firmly established in the apostolic faith of the primitive Church[,] it is, therefore, a matter of importance... to determine what exactly these powers are.”<sup>96</sup> According to Schlier, these powers “had been seen and experienced outside Christendom, or, to be more precise, outside the revelation of the Old and New Testaments.”<sup>97</sup> “According to the New Testament teaching,” argued Schlier,

Satan and his hordes, those manifold developments and effusions of the spirit of wickedness with their combination of intelligence and lust for power, exist by influencing the world and mankind in every sector and at all levels... making them instruments and bearers of their power. There is nothing on earth which is absolutely immune from their power. They can occupy the human body, the human spirit, what we call ‘nature,’ and even the forms, bearers, and situations of history. Even religions, including the Christian teaching, can become tools of their activity. Their spirit penetrates and overwhelms everything... When the principalities penetrate the world and the circumstances of human life in order to exercise their power through them, they thereby conceal themselves in the world

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<sup>94</sup> “Rapport I”, 24. See also Lécuyer, “Initiation Chrétienne,” 11-12, and Stenzel, *Die Taufe*, 199-240.

<sup>95</sup> Heinrich Schlier, *Mächte und Gewalten im Neuen Testamen, Quaestiones Disputatae*, 3, (Frieburg: Herder, 1958). See Heinrich Schlier, *Principalities and Powers in the New Testament* (New York: Herder and Herder, 1961).

In an article from 1974, Balthasar Fischer himself wrote that “the theological approach behind the revised baptismal exorcisms of the postconciliar Catholic Church... corresponds... rather with the views expressed (as long ago as 1958) on the question of powers and principalities in the New Testament, from the angle of modern exegesis, by Henrich Schlier.” See “Baptismal exorcism in the Catholic baptismal rites after Vatican II” in *Studia Liturgica* 10/1 (1974), 48-55.

It must also be noted that Jungmann would not have had access to Schlier’s research at the time he was writing his initial proposal.

<sup>96</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 8.

<sup>97</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 13.

and in the everyday life of mankind. They withdraw from sight into the men, elements, and institutions through which they make their power felt.<sup>98</sup>

Schlier's description of principalities and powers clearly rendered them something not simply antiquated notions of the past, but entities still present and active in the world, even though the contemporary world might name and understand them differently. Consequently, Schlier's third chapter, "The Christian and the Principalities" did not limit his treatment of demonic powers to first century Palestine, or even to fourth century North Africa, Jerusalem, or Constantinople. It began with the recognition that Christ, in his death and resurrection, had broken the power of these spirits, and that "Christians have already been accepted into Jesus Christ, his death and resurrection, and into his victory over the principalities, when they became Christians through baptism."<sup>99</sup> This was not to say that the conflict with the spirits was over at the moment of baptism; Christians were to continue to grapple with the demons, having put on the armor of Christ, first and foremost by surrendering themselves to truth, and proclaiming the Gospel of peace. In the latter instance, the Christian was to choose peace "in the midst of a world full of strife, in which the powers have established discord as their very principle."<sup>100</sup> Schlier forcefully continued, noting that the struggle to which Christians were called "is not waged only, nor even mainly, with weapons which we draw from our vital or moral resources... The opponent is not only, nor primarily, an outsider; it is not even an enemy separate from ourselves."<sup>101</sup> Based on Schlier's approach to the role of

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<sup>98</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 28-29.

<sup>99</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 53.

<sup>100</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 59.

<sup>101</sup> Schlier, *Principalities and Powers*, 60.

evil spirits in the world, the group's insistence on the necessity of the scrutinies for all of Christianity, and not merely in "less sophisticated" mission countries is understandable. Since the Reign of God had yet to be established once and for all on the earth, the struggle with the principalities and powers continues. Baptized Christians engage in the conflict with God's protection; surely God's protection was also warranted for those who sought to become God's children through initiation.

There was considerable debate, which would continue through the study group's existence, regarding the prayer form of the exorcisms. Some preferred the imperative style of prayer<sup>102</sup> used by Jungmann, where the minister expelled the demon, while others – notably Louis Ligier – preferred the deprecatory form, where the minister invoked God to act.<sup>103</sup> The Roman Rite typically used imperative prayers for exorcisms, while deprecatory forms were more readily seen in Eastern exorcisms.<sup>104</sup> While the notes from this meeting do not indicate the content of the discussion, it seems to be, at the very least, a possibility that Schlier's work had an impact on determining the prayer type of the exorcisms. If, as Schlier suggested, the powers that were recognized as evil spirits in the New Testament were still active in the world, despite not being named as "evil spirits," then directly addressing evil spirits, as in an imperative exorcism, could have the appearance of being merely archaeological. If, instead, a deprecatory exorcism was used,

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<sup>102</sup> "In the name of the Almighty God, the powerful name of Him who said: *I am who I am*, I exorcise and order all you evil spirits to depart from this creature..." Text from the Syriac-Marionite Rite, in *DOBL* 103.

<sup>103</sup> "O Lord of Sabaoth, the God of Israel, who heals *all manner of sickness and all manner of disease* [Matt 4.22], look upon your servants: seek, search out and drive away from them all the operations of the devil..." Text from the Barberini Euchologion fol. 170ff., in *DOBL*, 114-115.

<sup>104</sup> See Michel Dujarier, *The Rites of Christian Initiation: Historical and Pastoral Reflections*, tr. and ed. Kevin Hart (New York: William H. Sadlier, 1979), 124.

it would be easier to adapt the content of the exorcism to better reflect the new cultural situation.<sup>105</sup> On a final note regarding this stage of Jungmann's proposal, the group thought that the renunciation that took place here should be, instead, joined to the profession of faith, and that the text should be altered structurally to correspond to the profession text. Despite not being a Roman element, the group cited the "universal, non-Roman" tradition as a sufficient precedent.<sup>106</sup>

#### **2.2.2.4: Bringing Together in Baptism**

Jungmann's fourth stage, *In baptismi collatione* was the celebration of baptism itself, which would occur during the Paschal Vigil (see Table 2.4 below). Beginning in the sacristy or another suitable location, the official introduction into the Church, "*Ingrederere in ecclesiam sanctam Dei...*" (OBA 29) was excised, and replaced with a simple "*Dominus vobiscum.*" Jungmann then inserted the *Ephphatha* (OBA 34), and, instead of touching the ears and nostrils of the candidate, Jungmann proposed touching the ears and mouth. Consequently, the formula "*In odorem suavitatis...*" was omitted. Jungmann then proceeded to the *redditiones* of the Creed and Lord's Prayer (OBA 31-

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<sup>105</sup> The principalities and powers of the contemporary world include, for example, violence and racism. The imperative "exit, violence and racism..." or even "exit, spirit of violence and racism..." seems, at best, awkward, at worst, silly. However, in deprecatory form, the same sense could be proclaimed: "God, purify these catechumens of all violence and racism..."

Fischer, looking back, argued that the fruit of such a move was to find "a middle way between a traditionalistic taking over of archaic and no longer practicable formulae, on one side, and on the other a modernistic reduction to meaninglessness of religious convictions which, in the judgement of the revisors, are basic to the New Testament understanding of the Cross and of baptism." See "Baptismal Exorcism in the Catholic Baptismal Rites after Vatican II," 55.

Schlier's argument, which was, by Fischer's own admission, foundational for the work of the *Coetus*, recognizes that the world is, indeed, fallen. However it also recognizes that the way in which evil is viewed within cultures is subject to change. The shift from imperative to deprecatory appears to have been necessitated by such a concern.

<sup>106</sup> "Rapport I", 26: "La renonciation sera jointe à la profession de foi, afin de concorder avec la structures des formulaires et avec la tradition universelle non-romaine."



32). The exorcism separating the *redditiones* and the *Ephphatha* in OBA (*Nec te latet, satana...*, OBA 33) would be omitted. Jungmann proposed that these elements take place during the singing of the Litany by the faithful. The elect would then move to the Baptistry or into the Church, where the font would be blessed, according to the *Ordo Sabbati Sancti*. Then the elect would affirm their belief through an interrogatory sequence (OBA 38), and the priest, omitting the question “*Quid petis?*,” would ask them if they wished to be baptized (OBA 41). The baptism would follow (OBA 39), with Jungmann excising the formula for conditional baptism from his proposal (OBA 40). Each neophyte would then be anointed with chrism (OBA 41) and was given a white garment (*vestem candidam*) (OBA 42). Jungmann’s proposal omitted OBA’s description of the white garment as a white cloth that was placed on the neophyte’s head. It is unclear whether or not Jungmann intended the cloth to be retained, or whether he envisioned the use of an actual garment, to which the prayer text of OBA 42 alluded. Here Jungmann added the giving of a Christian name to the rite. This was based on the *Praenotanda* for the rite for the baptism of an infant, which indicated that that it was the priest’s responsibility to ensure that the newly baptized had a Christian name. If not, the priest was to supply one.<sup>107</sup> The neophyte would then be given a lighted candle (OBA 43).<sup>108</sup> While in OBA the neophytes were ordinarily dismissed, Jungmann’s proposal concluded with the celebration of the eucharist for the Paschal Vigil.

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<sup>107</sup> *De Sacramento Baptismi Rite Administrando* (Rit. Rom. Tit. II. Cap. II), 30: “Curent Parochi ut ei qui baptizatur, christianum imponatur nomen; quod si id consequi non poterunt, nomini a parentibus *impositio* addant nomen alicujus Sancti et in libro baptizatorum utrumque nomen prescribant.”

<sup>108</sup> “Ecce induisti novum hominem, qui secundum Deum creatus est in iustitia et sanctitate veritatis. Nomen quoque novum de caelo accepisti: N. abhinc vocaberis, et sanctus N. protegat te semper et ad vitam perducatur aeternam.” The prayer is located in L. Eisenhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik II* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1933), 240-243.

TABLE 2.4  
BRINGING TOGETHER IN BAPTISM  
IN THE JUNGSMANN PROPOSAL

OBA	Jungmann
Introduction into the Church	Litany Introductory Dialogue* Ephphatha (ears and mouth)* <i>Redditio</i> of the Creed <i>Redditio</i> of the Lord's Prayer
<i>Redditio</i> of the Creed	
<i>Redditio</i> of the Lord's Prayer	
Exorcism	
<i>Ephphatha</i> (ears and nostrils)	
Renunciation of Satan	
Anointing with Oil of Catechumens	
Procession to Baptistry	Procession to Baptistry
Change of vestments (purple to white)	
Blessing of the Font (if necessary)	Blessing of the Font*
Interrogation of Elect	Interrogation of Elect*
Baptism	Baptism
Conditional baptism (if necessary)	
Anointing with Chrism	Anointing with Chrism
Clothing of neophytes	Clothing of neophytes
	Giving of a new name
Giving of baptismal candle	Giving of baptismal candle
Dismissal of Neophytes	
Celebration of Mass (optional, but requires presence of Bishop to confirm neophytes)	Continuation of Mass* – Participation in Eucharist

\*=a modification to the element as contained in OBA.

The group was divided on the first point of this stage of Jungmann's proposal, the *Ephphatha*. "Some argued that the rite was a repetition of the exorcisms, and, thus, could be omitted. Others believed that the rite should be retained, substituting a touch on the

lips for the nostrils,”<sup>109</sup> as Jungmann had proposed. Otherwise, they presumably interpreted Jungmann’s treatment of the white baptismal garment to mean an actual white robe, since no mention was made of this, and OBA1962 described the use of a garment rather than a cloth. Finally, the only other stated concern with Jungmann’s fourth stage was the desire for an alteration to the official text contained within the *Rituale*: an explicit mention of the resurrection in the Profession of Faith.

The minutes of the meeting indicate that towards the end of the discussion, one member of the *Coetus* asked whether the baptismal formula should be revised from the active form (*Ego te baptizo*) to the passive form preferred in the East. Echoing John Chrysostom’s argument that it is Christ who accomplishes the sacrament, not the minister, this member suggested that revising the formula would be more appropriate.<sup>110</sup> Rather than highlighting the minister’s role in baptism, a revised formula might “correspond to the action of God, more clearly illustrating that baptism is a sacrament of faith signifying the regeneration by God, and... a response to the candidate’s profession of faith.”<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> “Rapport I”, 27: “Certains pensent qu’il [le rite de l’Ephpheta] peut disparaître, étant une répétition de l’exorcisme; d’autres estiment qu’il faut le garder, à condition (c’est aussi l’opinion du P. Jungmann) qu’on ne touche pas les narines, mais les lèvres.”

<sup>110</sup> Stavronikita Series No. 2, 26: “The priest is not the only one who touches your head; Christ also touches it with his right hand. This is shown by the actual words of the one who baptizes you. He does not say, ‘I baptize N.’; but rather, ‘N. is baptized’. This shows that he only the minister of the grace and merely lends his hand since he has been ordained for this by the Spirit.” See *DOBL* 46.

<sup>111</sup> “Rapport I”, 29: “Le sens de cette intervention est très net: ne pourrait-on revenir à l’usage antique, lorsque à la profession du foi de Catéchumène dans le vrai Dieu et dans le Christ, correspondait l’action de Dieu.

Dans cette forme antique apparaissait plus clairement que la Baptême est le sacrement de la foi et qu’il signifie la régénération par Dieu comme une réponse à la Profession de foi du candidat au Baptême.”

### 2.2.3: The First Relatio: S-32, September 17, 1964

On the next day, September 17, *Coetus* XXII and XXIII devoted their time to producing their first *Schemata*, S-32, DRi-2, a report on the reform of the *Rituale*.<sup>112</sup> The document was, essentially, the same as S-30. The main body of the document exhibited virtually no change from the previous one, with the most significant alteration being the elimination of a single sentence.<sup>113</sup> There were, however, significant additions in the form of questions directed towards the *Consilium*. Each response, either an approving “*placet*” or a rejecting “*non placet*,” would guide the future direction of the particular reforms. Pertaining to the first section, which dealt with the characteristics of the new *Rituale*, the two *Coetus* asked whether the *Consilium* wished the *Praenotanda* contained within the *Rituale* to include both general themes for catechesis on the sacraments<sup>114</sup> as well as canonical rules concerning the celebration of the sacraments.<sup>115</sup> Also, relating specifically to baptism (including adult initiation), the two *Coetus* sought approval for the method of reform that they had articulated within the document,<sup>116</sup> and whether the rite for the admission to full communion baptized Christians should be prepared in

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<sup>112</sup> S-32, DRi-2, “Relatio de Recognitione Ritualis Romani”, 17 septembris, 1964. ND Dri-2 (32).

<sup>113</sup> S-30, 3 begins: “Situatio aliter se habet ac pro ceteris libris liturgicis, v.g. Missali vel Breviario, quae probabiliter ubique in usu erunt, sine multis aptationibus.” This sentence was excised from S-32.

<sup>114</sup> S-32, Q I 1: “Placetne Patribus Consilii ut Instructiones pastorales futuri Ritualis Romani praebeant themata generalia catecheseos pro diversis Sacramentis celebrandis?”

<sup>115</sup> S-32, Q I 2: “Placetne Patribus ut retineantur in Instructionibus futuri Ritualis Romani praeicipuae regulae canonicae de celebratione Sacramentorum?”

<sup>116</sup> S-32, Q II 1: “An vobis placeat hic modus procedendi pro instauratione rituum Baptismi?”

collaboration with the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians. The *Consilium* gave their approval to these four questions, along with the entire document, on October 9, 1964.<sup>117</sup>

Thus, at their first session the group was able to set out on a path of reform, and had created a broad methodology for proceeding with their work on the *Rituale*. Their next meeting was scheduled for Trier on November 3-5.

### **2.3: Cellier's Preparation for Trier**

In preparation for the Trier meeting, Cellier organized the material from Galloro into an initial, five-part plan for discussion in order to establish the shape of the rite. The first concern, therefore, involved the proper time of baptism. As the group had expressed during the Galloro session, the Paschal Vigil was seen as being the most preferable time for celebrating adult initiation. Other alternatives, however, had to be addressed. The outline indicates that celebrating initiation also at Pentecost and Epiphany would be considered when required by serious pastoral concern.<sup>118</sup>

Cellier then turned to developing the general stages of initiation, opting for a four-fold division (see Table 2.5 below). Underscoring the “essential link between the liturgical rite of Christian initiation, the development of catechesis, and the spiritual progression of the catechumen,”<sup>119</sup> the *Coetus* had indicated that the very steps of the

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<sup>117</sup> S-77, DRi-2bis, “Relatio qua describitur futuris ritus baptismi adultorum”, April 26, 1965, ND 2bis (77) 1: “Postquam Concilium, in sessione die 9 octobris 1964 habita, generales lineas de reformando ritu baptismi iam approbavit...”

<sup>118</sup> “Lyons – 1 Nov. 64” (Outline) in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.: “Autour de la session de Trèves, 3-5 novembre 1964,” p.2: “... convient-il de rétablir l’usage antique selon lesquels les temps du Pentecôte et d’Epiphanie étaient du temps appropriés à la célébration des baptêmes d’adultes, pour des raisons pastorales sérieuses?” See also CW 293.

<sup>119</sup> Outline, p. 2: “Il y a un lien essentiel entre les rites liturgiques de l’initiation chrétienne, le développement de la catéchèse, et le changement spirituel du catéchumène avec ses différentes étapes.”

catechumenate should reflect the development of the individual catechumen. In order to allow this connection to be more readily illustrated within the rite, as articulated during the Galloro session, they held that the rite must return to using signs that are biblical and immediately intelligible by both the church as a whole and by the catechumen. Several signs were particularly appropriate, including the sign of the cross, the imposition of hands, a physical entry into the Church, fresh, running water, and a lighted candle. The *Coetus* had also argued that particular elements reflecting other rites and other cultures might be successfully integrated into the rite, although no specific possibilities were mentioned.<sup>120</sup>

The first of the stages of initiation would be the rite of admission. Cellier noted that two interrogations could be considered here: the first directed towards the sponsors;<sup>121</sup> and the second to the candidate, who would thus make a statement of intent

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<sup>120</sup> Outline, p. 5.

<sup>121</sup> Outline, p. 6: The text at this point in the notes reads “Part tactive des parrains et conjoint.” There are, it seems, two errors here; the notes should probably read “Part active des parrains et marraines.” The first error – “part active” rather than “tactive” is the easiest to clarify. Seumois had written about the “Part active des Parrains” and about the “Part active des Catéchistes” in Seumois, *Adaptation*. It seems possible that when Cellier wrote “Part tactive,” he may have simply made an error in transcription. It is the second possible error that is far more confusing. The mention of the spouse – “conjoint” – makes little sense in this context. It seems possible that the writing of “conjoint” here was actually an attempt to render the synonym “marié” (spouse), which Cellier might have heard instead of the similar sounding “marraines.” There are five factors that make this possibility seem plausible. First, mention of the spouse does not occur in later texts of the *Coetus*, meaning it was either rejected quickly and without debate (a hypothesis not borne out in the minutes of the meeting in question), it was rejected with debate which was not noted or for which all notations in future *Coetus* meetings were lost, or it was simply a minor error not requiring any discussion. Second, the questioning of the spouse would be a clear innovation, not witnessed elsewhere in the history of Roman initiation. Third, Seumois treated the “Part tactive” of “parrains et marraines” (godfathers and godmothers) and “catéchistes,” but not the spouse in his book. Fourth, Cellier, a Frenchman, may have been unfamiliar with the Belgian Seumois’ accent – especially considering that this was the first meeting of the *Coetus* – and may have simply misunderstood Seumois’ use of “marraines.” Finally, related to the previous point, Cellier’s handwriting at this point in the minutes appears especially hasty, thereby increasing the likelihood that an error was made. This last point is evidenced by the almost certain error in noting “Part tactive” rather than “Part active.” In any case, the interrogation of the sponsors exists in the rite, but the interrogation of spouses does not.

TABLE 2.5  
PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE OICA  
BY CELLIER

First Stage: Rite of Making Catechumens	
	Interrogation of Sponsor
	Interrogation of Candidate
	(Giving of Salt)
Second Stage: Period of Instruction	
	Minor Exorcisms
	Blessings
	(Giving of Salt)
Third Stage: Period of Immediate Preparation	
A.	Rite of Election
B.	Scrutinies
	Invitation to Faith
	Exorcism
	(Renunciation)
	<i>Traditiones</i> : Bible, Creed, and Lord's Prayer
C.	<i>Redditio</i> of the Creed (and renunciation)
Fourth Stage: Period of Initiation	
	Sacraments of Initiation
	Profession of Faith
	Mystagogical Catechesis

to turn towards Christ and, consequently, live that conversion of lifestyle.<sup>122</sup> These two interrogations would highlight the active role of those directly involved in the formation

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<sup>122</sup> Outline, p. 6: "Part tactive [*sic.*] du candidat lui-même, qui expliquerait qu'il se tourne vers le Christ et qu'il est disposer prêt à changer de vie."

of the catechumen.<sup>123</sup> Further, in consideration of the group's discussion at the previous session, the giving of salt – ordinarily a part of this rite – became optional.<sup>124</sup>

The second stage covered the time of instruction. Cellier provided little description of this stage in the introductory notes, except that it might include rites of exorcism, and various blessings. Also, the administration of salt was listed as a possibility.<sup>125</sup> The recurrence of this element in two different stages seems somewhat strange, given that it had been previously declared difficult to understand by the *Coetus*. Perhaps the inability to determine a “natural” location for the element demonstrated its extrinsic relationship to the overall shape of the rite, and so the second mention of it illustrates their belief that it had no necessary placement within the rite.

The time of immediate preparation was considered the third stage. Cellier noted that immediate preparation could be envisioned as being divided into three subsections. The first subsection would have possibly been a rite of election with the inscription of names.<sup>126</sup> The second was envisioned as containing three scrutinies, being an invitation to faith, an exorcism, the optional addition of a renunciation,<sup>127</sup> and, perhaps the three

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<sup>123</sup> Seumois, *Adaptation*, 289: “De plus il est souhaitable d’associer intimement les parrain et marraines à ces cérémonies et de leur réserver une part active. Il en allait ainsi dans les cérémonies du catéchuménat antique. Des raisons de pastorale et d’adaptation militent en faveur de cette pratique en Afrique: on sait le rôle important du parrainage dans les cultes à mystère, et là où l’institution du parrainage chrétien est vivante, on constate son heureuse influence, tant sur la formation des catéchumènes et des néophytes que sur l’esprit de prosélytisme des fidèles.”

<sup>124</sup> Outline, p. 6: “... si elle est maintenu, reprise, ou transforme; elle se situe dans le rite d’admission.” See above, pp 13-14.

<sup>125</sup> Outline, p. 4.

<sup>126</sup> Outline, p. 4: “L’inscription du nom a début de la préparation immédiate... dans le rite d’élection.” See also p. 6: “Faut-il prévoir un rite d’élection comprenant l’inscription du nom?”

<sup>127</sup> Outline, p. 7.



*traditiones*: Bible, Creed, and Lord's Prayer.<sup>128</sup> Finally, the third subsection of the immediate preparation would have been the *redditio* of the Creed,<sup>129</sup> with the possible addition of a renunciation, if it had not been allied to the scrutiny.<sup>130</sup>

The final stage was the celebration of the sacraments themselves along with a profession of faith. Appended to this was the period of mystagogical catechesis with the possible addition and adaptation of other ritual actions.<sup>131</sup>

## **2.4: The Meeting at Trier, November 3-5, 1964.**

When Fischer, Stenzel, Seumois, and Cellier – the subcommittee on baptism – had assembled at Trier on November 3, they quickly organized a plan for their work. They would first read and discuss the *Relatio* arising from the Galloro meeting. Second, they would develop Cellier's plan regarding the stages of baptism, including both directives regarding choices made within the rites and general instructions.<sup>132</sup> This text would serve as the foundation for the *Praenotanda* of the rite. Third, they would attempt to articulate the shape of Christian initiation as a whole within the *Rituale*.

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<sup>128</sup> Outline, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>129</sup> Outline, pp. 4, 6.

<sup>130</sup> Outline, p. 7.

<sup>131</sup> Outline, p. 3.

<sup>132</sup> Unfortunately, the first available version of the *Instructiones* in the C.N.P.L. archive is the third Schemata, dated February 18, 1965. This text does note when paragraphs have been edited, and where they may be cross-referenced in the previous two Schemata, but it does not indicate the nature of the revisions, or the materials that were omitted. As a consequence, in the forty-six paragraph third Schemata there are only eleven references to the first Schemata, which would have contained, at least, thirty-seven paragraphs. The paragraphs that are mentioned from the first Schemata are 16-19, 21, 23, 26, 29, 30, 32, and 37. Reconstruction of the first Schemata is not necessary, however, given the other texts available from the Trier meeting, and concerns directed towards this text at the Cologne meeting. It would seem clear that all of the major ideas contained in the first Schemata were articulated at other points during the discussion immediately surrounding the Trier meeting.

### 2.4.1: Issues for Consideration

After reviewing the text of the *Relatio* on November 3, the sub-committee presented many items for consideration, and focused on three particular issues. First, foreshadowing a concern that would arise frequently in their deliberations, they asked whether the proposed number of exorcisms in the rite would prove excessive. There were five exorcisms in OBA and the OBA1962, and while the fixed number of exorcisms dropped to three in the proposed reform (occurring during the three Scrutinies), the entire second stage, the Period of Instruction, was to be marked with multiple exorcisms and blessings. Through the celebration of the minor exorcisms, the exorcisms of the scrutinies could appear as natural outgrowths. No change to the number of exorcisms was ultimately suggested. Second, they reflected further on the prospect of adding the option for the giving of a Christian name. Having agreed at the previous meeting that this addition would be a positive one, it was debated whether this element should occur in the first stage, or during the third stage at the inscription of names. They eventually agreed that this should take place in the first stage, during the rite for making catechumens, since entry into the catechumenate marked the beginning of a Christian life. They cautioned that the catechumen's proper name should not be suppressed, but instead, the name of a saint should be added to it to indicate the catechumen's new life in Christ. Third, they discussed the various *traditiones*. Stenzel proposed that the order of the *traditiones* should be the Creed, the Bible, and then the Lord's Prayer. He argued that the Creed would symbolize the catechumen's conversion of heart and represent their reliance on the faith of the Church, which would in turn allow for an encounter with the Word of God in general, and then, the prayer of Christ specifically. Fischer responded instead that

the threefold *traditiones* were not symbolically symmetrical – the *traditio* of the Bible would require giving the catechumen the book itself, while the *traditiones* of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer were done orally – might not the giving of the book in the midst of the giving of the oral texts indicate a difference in symbolic value? Fischer clarified that drawing attention to the Bible by actually giving it to the catechumens might support an understanding of the Bible, in some cultures, as a sort of talisman. Seumoïs concurred with Fischer on this point, and stressed the danger of a magical interpretation of the Bible. Fischer then suggested, against Stenzel’s opposition that the Creed should be presented first, that, instead, the Bible should be the first element in the *traditiones* cycle.<sup>133</sup> While Stenzel’s proposed order of Creed, Bible, Lord’s Prayer would be retained in the next day’s proceedings, it would quickly be modified.<sup>134</sup>

#### **2.4.2: The Shape of the Rite**

On November 4, the subcommittee composed a document entitled “Directives for Choice of Rite.” This set of instructions was intended to provide a shape for the rite, comment on the purpose of elements within it, and explicitly address the optional elements. In essence, this document would provide a framework for assessing the relationship of “pastoral necessity” to the structure of the rite as a whole, and would thus serve as a roadmap to the Rite itself. More importantly, however, this could be seen as a precursor to the *Praenotanda*, which had been deemed especially important elements of the revised *Rituale* in *SC*:

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<sup>133</sup> “Session at Trèves – Nov. 3-5, 1964” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.

<sup>134</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite – Trier, Nov. 4, 1964” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.

Those who draw up these rituals or particular collections of rites must not leave out the prefatory instructions for the individual rites in the Roman Ritual, whether the instructions are pastoral and rubrical or have some special social bearing.<sup>135</sup>

#### **2.4.2.1: The Sense of the Rite**

Beginning with the sense of the overall rite, the document instructed that the rite of adult initiation was fundamentally oriented towards the community. The re-establishment of the catechumenate was not primarily for the catechumen, but, rather, for the entire community of faith that surrounded it – “the catechumenal community.” As it was ideally communal, the catechumenate would be composed of liturgical rites. Consequently, the document warned that the rite must not be “destroyed by cases that are exceptions to the general rule... It is possible to follow a simplified rite, but this is for truly extraordinary cases, so as not to destroy the catechumenal community.”<sup>136</sup>

Within the solemn rite the sub-committee envisioned many options. This would allow, if necessary, for the possibility of using the solemn rite within “a short period of time,”<sup>137</sup> provided that the required stages were observed. Of the elements treated in the document, the first was an optional one – the *giving (impositio)* of a new Christian name. The sub-committee argued that a new name, in no way mandatory, had the ability to

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<sup>135</sup> SC, 63b.

<sup>136</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite.”

Nevertheless, the sub-committee envisioned a development of the mandate given by SC 66, which had directed that a “simpler rite, [and] the more solemn one, with proper attention to the restored catechumenate” be prepared. Recognizing the need for a simple rite to be administered “upon one who must leave quickly for war, or one who is to undergo a grave operation before the completion of initiation,” they proposed an option not articulated in the SC – the brief rite. This alternative “must not be administered except in cases of death,” and would be supplemented upon the neophyte’s return to health.

<sup>137</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

“symbolize a new character, when added to the birth name.”<sup>138</sup> Furthermore, a new name could signify “interior change through conversion, divine affiliation, the personal response to the divine, and membership in the family of God. This sense of solidarity is very important in certain civilizations.”<sup>139</sup> This option was proposed especially for those in countries where Christianity was not the dominant religion. In typically Western lands, children – even those who were not Christian – would often receive a Christian name at birth. Consequently, when those raised in a Christian environment were baptized as adults, they might keep their given name, “out of respect for their personality and their history, which was clothed in Christianity.”<sup>140</sup> In non-Christian countries, however, echoing the directives from the Rite of Baptism for children, “impious names should be excluded” from consideration.<sup>141</sup> The sub-committee re-affirmed that this option was best located in the first stage, the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*, thereby marking the beginning of the catechumen’s Christian life.

#### **2.4.2.2: Minor exorcisms**

The second element considered in the document was the optional minor exorcisms. The *Coetus* had previously discussed the possibility of celebrating the *traditiones* of the Creed, the Bible, and the Lord’s Prayer within the scrutinies. This document noted, however, the potential difficulty with such a decision, in that with such rich surroundings, neither the scrutiny nor the *traditio* would not “have the time to ripen

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<sup>138</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>139</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>140</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>141</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

and to obtain its spiritual effect, thereby risking an appearance of formalism.”<sup>142</sup> Stating that, to a large extent, the catechumen’s spiritual development was in the hands of the catechist, the document further warned that the catechist’s lack of ability to engage the catechumen might result in the catechumen’s lack of the requisite spiritual maturity for receiving each *traditio*. Nonetheless, even in such cases, the sub-committee recommended that the *traditiones* should be celebrated alongside the minor exorcisms: by means of their “battle with Satan, the exorcisms would give the catechumen the opportunity to engage in that battle and practice penitence,”<sup>143</sup> thereby better disposing the catechumen to receive the *traditiones*. Such a joining of exorcism to *traditio* – especially of the Creed – would lead to the formation of a relationship between spiritual conflict, grace, and salvation. Such a “habitual” experience was seen as desirable to the members of the sub-committee. Towards this end, they argued that the form of the minor exorcisms themselves, drawing from the traditions of East and West and accompanied by signation and the imposition of hands, must “engender both latitude and routine.”<sup>144</sup>

### 2.4.2.3: Traditiones

The *traditiones*, the third consideration in the document, would mark the individual’s progress in the process of Christian initiation, and were intended, typically, to occur shortly after the individual had been accepted into the order of catechumens.<sup>145</sup>

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<sup>142</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>143</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>144</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>145</sup> Allowance was made for the Bishop, who, for pastoral reasons, might choose to have the *traditiones* allied to the scrutinies during Lent, the first *traditio* with the first Scrutiny, the second with the second, and the third with the third.

Stenzel's proposal of Creed, Bible, Lord's Prayer would be changed substantially during the course of the sub-committee's discussion, due largely to concerns regarding the ritual shape of the *traditio* of the Bible.

The argument was likely raised by Seumois, based on his experience in Africa, that the Bible, as a book, "would not make sense in most regions where catechumens are being recruited" because of illiteracy. "In these regions," the document would argue, "one should not make ritual discrimination between those who are literate and those who are not. It will invite a magical conception of the Bible."<sup>146</sup> The sub-committee also agreed that catechumens living in literate civilizations<sup>147</sup> would likely already be in possession of a Bible. Because of these complementary factors, the sub-committee determined that there should be no physical *traditio* – rather, the *traditio* should be done orally, in the same fashion as the *traditiones* of the Creed and Lord's Prayer.

To give the Bible, which is considered essential [to the faith], is to convey more than in the other *traditiones*. One does not intend to sacralize the *traditio* of the Bible, unless a presentation of the Bible has already been integrated into the *ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*. But a 'presentation' is not a *traditio*.<sup>148</sup>

Eventually they determined that because this *traditio* would occur "late within the baptismal rite, and is principally ceremonial, without much pastoral importance,"<sup>149</sup> it would be better to give the Gospels than the Bible for the sake of ritual balance. This decision cemented the conclusion that the Gospels should be "presented" rather than

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<sup>146</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite".

<sup>147</sup> "Literate civilizations" appears to refer to Western societies.

<sup>148</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite".

<sup>149</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite".

“handed over” since the *traditio* of the book of the Gospels was an element particular to the Rite of Ordination to the Diaconate dating back, at least, to the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>150</sup>

The changed nature of this element would lead to a reconfiguration of the order of the *traditiones* themselves. The Creed would still be presented first, in order that “the teaching could be given a first, complete, description according to salvation history”.<sup>151</sup> Now, however, the Lord’s Prayer would be presented in second position, “so that the teaching can be founded in the story and the teaching of Christ”.<sup>152</sup> Finally would come the presentation of the new law of the New Testament – the Gospels – in order that “the teaching might develop within the unique perspective of the law of Christ.”<sup>153</sup>

The celebration of the *traditiones* (including the Gospels) was required to take place within a celebration of the Word. The suggestion of specific readings was made for each *traditio*. Each *traditio* would take place after the homily, in order to demonstrate that the authority to teach came from the ordained minister of the community, rather than the community itself.<sup>154</sup> The sub-committee then suggested particular readings for each *traditio*. For the Creed, they suggested extracts of Joshua 24 and Deuteronomy (relating

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<sup>150</sup> The *traditio instrumentorum* of the Book of the Gospels is attested in the pattern of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical. Paul Bradshaw notes, in his brief essay “Medieval Ordinations”, that this text reveals “a number of additions to the earlier pattern. Chief among these is the *traditio instrumentorum* – the ceremonial handing over to the newly ordained of objects that symbolized his new office... In addition to the robes of his office, the deacon receives the book of the Gospels...” (in Cheslyn Jones *et. al.*, eds. *The Study of Liturgy*, revised edition. London: SPCK, 1992, 377).

<sup>151</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>152</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>153</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>154</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.



to the covenant relationship between God and the people)<sup>155</sup>, the discourse between Paul and Barnabas and the Greeks at Lystra in Acts 14, and Matthew 16:13-19 or John 6:65-69, which were both described as Peter's Profession of Faith. For the *traditio* of the Lord's Prayer, they suggested a text from Hosea expressing the paternal love of the Father, an Epistle with the words "Abba, Father"<sup>156</sup>, and a Gospel text that would illustrate the paternal relationship of God with humanity. This *traditio* would occur in the course of the homily, with the priest making reference to Luke 11:1-4. Finally, for the *presentation* of the Gospels, the suggested texts were from Exodus 20 (the 10 commandments), 1 Corinthians 13, and the Gospel outlining the Beatitudes.<sup>157</sup> Furthermore, they recommended the texts for Wednesday of the Third Week of Lent.<sup>158</sup> During the presentation, the priest would refer to Matt. 22:37, Deut. 6:5, and John 13:34-35. After each *traditio* (or presentation), the priest would bless the catechumens, and lay hands on them during the prayer "*Aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem...*" (OBA 28). The communal prayer for the intention of the catechumens would conclude these celebrations.

#### **2.4.2.4: The Writing of Names**

The fourth element considered in the document was the rite by which the catechumens would become elect. Envisioned as mirroring, to some degree, the rite of entry into the order of penitents, those seeking admission to the order of catechumens

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<sup>155</sup> The textual reference given suggests Deut. 29:13, but it is inexact, suggesting, rather, the theme of "I shall be your God, and you shall be my people".

<sup>156</sup> This could either refer to Romans 8:15 or Galatians 4:6.

<sup>157</sup> It is not clear whether the Lucan or Matthean Beatitudes were intended here.

<sup>158</sup> Exodus 20:12-24, Matthew 15:1-20.

would sign their name.<sup>159</sup> Occurring at the beginning of Lent, this rite was to be accompanied by an investigation into the manner in which the one seeking admission made their inquiry. The document concluded this section by setting out a proposed order for the particular rite. It was to begin with an instruction by the priest, describing the nature of election. Then, the candidates would be presented to the presider by their sponsors, and the presider would question them on the important points of initiation: catechesis, participation in the life of the church, and morality (which “might make allusion to the dignity with which the Christian must live”<sup>160</sup>). After this interrogation, the elect would inscribe their names, and the priest would instruct them regarding their election.<sup>161</sup> The document suggested that the priest should emphasize the election of the candidate by both God and by Church in his instruction, so that “the Church is presented to them as the fruit of the action of the victories of Christ.”<sup>162</sup> A prayer for the elect would conclude the rite.

#### **2.4.2.5: Scrutiny Masses**

The fifth element described in the document was the Scrutiny masses. The preference was expressed for having these masses on the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent – in which case, the proper prayers for the Scrutiny masses would replace the ones appointed for the respective Sundays of Lent. The one exception to this outline

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<sup>159</sup> If the catechumen had chosen a new Christian name, this is the name, of course, that would be inscribed.

<sup>160</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>161</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”: The document suggests that the priest should avoid referring to the “Book of Life”, as this image was too rich for the catechumens before their baptism.

<sup>162</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

involved the third scrutiny, celebrated on the Sunday of the Passion. For this celebration the appropriate scrutiny readings would be read, but the proper of the liturgy would be taken from the Sunday of the Passion, since the sub-committee recognized them as being baptismal themselves, highlighting the victory of Christ over death. They agreed, however, that it might be advisable to celebrate the scrutinies on other Sundays of Lent instead, as “it is quite onerous to the catechumens to celebrate them on three Sundays in a row.”<sup>163</sup> Further, if baptisms were being celebrated outside of the Easter season, it would be possible to celebrate the scrutiny masses during the week as votive masses.

Within the scrutiny masses, the sub-committee opted to suggest a change in the place of the exorcisms from the liturgy of the Middle Ages. Though the exorcisms had taken place after the collect, the document suggested that they take place after the homily, as would have occurred at the *traditiones*, since the lectionary texts would have been adapted to the celebration. Consequently, the document described that after the homily, the elect would come forward, and kneel in silent prayer. Afterwards, the community would pray over the elect in a litanic form. The exorcism would come next,<sup>164</sup> with signation by the sponsors. The scrutiny would conclude in the same way as the *traditiones*, using the prayer “*Aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem...*” (OBA 28) with a laying on of hands by the presider.

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<sup>163</sup> “Directives for Choice of Rite”.

<sup>164</sup> According to the decision from Galloro, there was to be no distinction in prayer text between men and women, as had occurred in the previous *Rituale*.

#### 2.4.2.6: Masses for the Neophytes

The sixth element discussed in the document, which was another optional element was the creation of Masses for the neophytes (*Missae pro Infantibus*). The sub-committee found inspiration for this new element both in the mystagogical catecheses and historical sources<sup>165</sup> as well as in the Ambrosian liturgy.<sup>166</sup> On Sundays in the Easter Season, a second mass could be employed for mystagogical catechesis. These masses would have specifically appointed readings,<sup>167</sup> a proper,<sup>168</sup> and might possibly include a rite of vesture. They understood the latter element to be, potentially, difficult if confirmation had already occurred. Consequently, they recommended leaving the decision regarding its inclusion up to the regional Episcopal Conferences. The purpose of these masses was, ultimately, mystagogy, and specifically, the new dimension that the Lord's Prayer would have for those fully initiated into the Church.<sup>169</sup> The document concluded by discussing different scenarios regarding the rite of entry into full communion.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> See, for example, Egeria, 47, 1-2: "Then Easter comes, and during the eight days from Easter Day to the eighth day, after the dismissal has taken place in the church and they have come with singing into the Anastasis... The bishop relates what has been done, and interprets it, and, as he does so, the applause is so loud that it can be heard outside the church." In *DOBL*, 35.

<sup>166</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite".

<sup>167</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite": The text is vague, referring only to 1 Peter, baptismal passages from St. Paul, and baptismal texts from St. John. Whether it is the Gospel of John, or the letters of John, or the book of Revelation, or any combination thereof is unclear from the text.

<sup>168</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite": The group recommended taking the introit for masses during the Easter week, or the octave of Pentecost and graduals from the baptismal Psalms: 22(23), 41(42), 33(34):11.

<sup>169</sup> "Directives for Choice of Rite".

<sup>170</sup> For a full discussion of this topic, Sieverding, "*Ordo admissionis*". See also, Sieverding, *The Reception of Baptized Christians*.

### 2.4.3: The Solemn Rite of Christian Initiation of Adults

The final assignment at the Trier meeting was the creation of an official draft – a *protocollum*. Stenzel was unable to be present for the entire meeting, and so, Fischer, Seumois, and Cellier developed the linear plan for the rite of baptism without his direct assistance. The document, logically an outgrowth of the sub-committee’s work up to this point, was developed in two stages. A draft was written<sup>171</sup> and discussed, from which the final version emerged.<sup>172</sup>

Only the chapter treating the “*Ordo solemnus initiationis christianae adultorum*” was developed to any degree in the text. The four stages (plus the appended mystagogy) of the outline from Lyons were maintained. Mystagogy, however, was upgraded to a stage unto itself by the first draft. At the same time, more detailed titles were also given to these stages.

The first stage, “*Conversio globalis ad Christum*,” corresponded roughly to the existing stage of the “*Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*.” The dialogue envisioned with the sponsor was eliminated, and only the dialogue with the candidate remained.<sup>173</sup> The priest would then lay his hands upon the candidate, signifying that the candidate belonged

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<sup>171</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.

<sup>172</sup> “Trier Protocollum” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.

The central issue for the rite of adult initiation is its location within the section of the *Rituale* concerning Christian initiation. From the first discussions about the order in which initiation should be treated to the last, the solemn rite of adult initiation, eventually known as the *Ordo catechumenatus per gradus dispositus* (OCGD) would be primary, and thus, paradigmatic for initiation as a whole. This chapter was designated as the second chapter, following upon the general *Praenotanda* for Christian initiation.

<sup>173</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 5a, “Trier Protocollum”, 5a: “*Dialogus introductoris in quo loco ‘fidei,’ ‘salus’ petende esse videtur in quo adhesio, quaedam initialis ad Christum exprimi deberet, et in quo momentum essentiale in vita Christiana extollitur.*”

to God, and was thus under God's protection.<sup>174</sup> An optional exorcism, by exsufflation, would then follow, after which the optional renunciation of false cults and profession of faith would take place. In making the renunciation an optional element, while maintaining the necessity of the profession, the sub-committee argued that a renunciation of false cults would not, typically, be necessary, except in cases where the catechumen had previously been a member of an institutionalized cult.<sup>175</sup> Proposing an insertion of the imposition of a new Christian name as an optional rite, the *protocollum* moved on to the obligatory signing of the candidate's forehead by the priest, and an optional signing of the senses by the sponsor, with an accompanying prayer by the priest.<sup>176</sup> This rite would conclude with the introduction into the Church, celebrated in the midst of the liturgy of the Word,<sup>177</sup> which was completed by the dismissal of the catechumens. Should the eucharistic liturgy follow this rite, the community's prayers of intercession for the catechumens would begin upon the exit of the candidates.<sup>178</sup>

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<sup>174</sup> "Trier Protocollum" 5b: "Impositio manus qua significatur catechumenorum deinceps fieri mancipium Dei et proinde diabolus, omnem potentatem in eo perdere."

<sup>175</sup> "Cologne Protocollum", January 8, 1965, 9, in C.N.P.L. 1.B.1., 21: "Ratio cur tantum renuntiatio et non adhaesio ad libitum relicta sit (uti dictum est in T [Trier Protocollum]) est haec. Renuntiatio initialis non videtur necessario nisi in casu cultus institutionalis, dum semper hic (loco textus 'Cole Deum') adhaesio ad Christum prima vice ab ipso candidato formulanda esse videatur."

<sup>176</sup> "Trier Protocollum", 5f: "Signatio (obligatoria quoad signationem frontis a celebratione faciendam; facultativa quoad signationem sensuum quae etiam fieri potest a patrinis, celebrante formulas pronuntiante)".

The signing of the senses was considered to be a Gallican addition, based on a misinterpretation of the formula, "Accipe signum crucis tam in fronte quam in corde" which resulted, first, in a double signation, and eventually the multitude of signations. See Thierry Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale du Rituel du Catéchuménat et du Baptême*, Paroisse et Liturgie Collection de Pastorale Liturgique, 56 (Brussels : Biblica, 1962), 198-199. See also Dujarier, *Rites*, 36.

<sup>177</sup> "Trier Protocollum", 5g: "Introductio in Ecclesiam ad celebrationem Verbi qua Sacra Scriptura catechumenis prima vice presentatur".

<sup>178</sup> "Trier Protocollum", 5h: "Dimissio catechumenorum quae fit per orationem 'aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem...', manibus super catechumenus extensis pronuntiandam postquam, si fieri potest,

The second stage articulated in the Trier *protocollum* was entitled “*Sapientia vitae populi Dei*,” and corresponded to the third, fourth, and fifth stages of the 1962 rite.<sup>179</sup> It included minor exorcisms, which were described as being quite flexible in content – either a signation or an imposition of hands, and formulae in either the imperative or deprecatory style<sup>180</sup> – optionally occurring within celebrations of the Word with instruction, which were to be concluded with a blessing by the priest. These celebrations of the Word were not intended to occur without minor exorcisms. A second element of the second stage was the *traditiones* of the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the presentation of the Gospels. These rites were envisioned as taking place within a Liturgy of the Word setting, following the proclamation of scripture from the Old Testament, the Epistles, and the Gospel and the homily.<sup>181</sup>

The third stage of the Trier *Protocollum* was titled “*Gressus finale versus baptismum*.” This last stage of preparation for initiation would be marked first by election. The initial structure of this rite began with an introduction by the priest. The candidates would be presented and would be questioned by the priest. The candidates would then inscribe their names, after which the priest would give them instruction. The rite would conclude with a solemn prayer,<sup>182</sup> indicated in the *protocollum* as being

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singuli ‘accedant ad manum’ et exeunt. Interim fideles, si liturgia sequitur cantant orationem communem pro catechumenis.”

<sup>179</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 6. This notation was removed from the revised Protocollum.

<sup>180</sup> “Trier Protocollum”, 6: “Exorcismi minores, cum signatione vel impositione manus, variis formulis instruantur, vel deprecativis, uti in Oriente adhibentur, vel imprecativis. See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 6.

<sup>181</sup> “Trier Protocollum”, 6. See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 6.

<sup>182</sup> “Trier Protocollum”, 7. See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 7.

“*Deus, qui humani generis...*” (OBA 11). This prayer followed the signing of the senses in the 1614 *Rituale* and preceded the signing of the senses in the OBA1962.<sup>183</sup> The second principal rite within the third stage was the celebration of the scrutinies. These were envisioned as taking place within the eucharistic liturgy – *Missae scrutiniorum* – and were noted as being particularly appropriate for the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays of Lent, in accordance with the ancient usage.<sup>184</sup> The scrutinies themselves would occur following the homily. The structure of this rite in the *Protocollum* was both specific and yet a mere sketch:

When the homily concludes, the elect come forward and kneel, which they will do throughout the scrutiny. Then, after having prayed briefly in silence, the faithful pray the litany. They are then scrutinized by the praying of the major [*sic.*] scrutiny and the *traditio*, and the scrutiny concludes with the prayer “*Aeterne ac iustissimam pietatem...*”<sup>185</sup>

The final element of this stage, an optional one, was the rites of immediate preparation on Holy Saturday. The rites that would occur on this day could have been the *Ephphatha* (though without saliva),<sup>186</sup> the *Redditio symboli*, and, possibly, the giving of a new name.

The fourth stage of the initiation process laid out in the Trier *Protocollum* was the celebration of the sacraments of initiation themselves at the Paschal Vigil. After the blessing of the water, the elect were anointed and they would renounce the devil.

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<sup>183</sup> OBA1962 10.

<sup>184</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 7: “Restituantur cum antiquis formulari [*sic.*] (Epistola adjecta), Dominicas infra Quadragesimam, si fieri potest, secundam antiquum usum Dominicae III, IV, et V.” See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 7b.

<sup>185</sup> “Trier Protocollum”, 7: “Homilia peracta, electi accedant et genuflexi permaneant. Post brevem orationem in silentio factam, fideles super electos genuflexos pronuntient orationem litanicam. Tunc demum scrutantur id [exorcismi] maiore pronunciantur [*sic.*] et Traditio et scrutinium concluditur oratione “Aeterne ac iustissimam pietatem...”. See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 7b.

<sup>186</sup> Duchesne had indicated that the use of saliva in the *Ephphatha* was an accretion. See CW 303-304.



Professing their faith, the elect would then be baptized. Immediately after the baptism, the entire community of the faithful would renounce the devil and profess their faith. The initiation would then continue with the anointing with chrism, the giving of a new white garment, the giving of a lit candle, and an explanation illustrating the new Christian name of the neophytes as a sign of their new life in Christ. After being confirmed, the neophytes would complete their initiation by sharing in the eucharist under both species. Following upon the communion of the faithful, the priest would explain the importance of the eucharist as the culmination of initiation, the sacrament of recreation in the Spirit.<sup>187</sup>

The fifth stage, previously designated an appendix, the period “*In Itinere Intellectu*,” corresponded with mystagogical catechesis. In the first draft of the *protocollum* this was to take place either during the Masses for the neophytes (“*missis pro infantibus*”) or on the Sunday celebrations during the Easter season. The revised *protocollum* noted, however, that the Masses for the neophytes were to be celebrated during the Easter season – and mention of mystagogy during the Sunday celebrations was omitted.<sup>188</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 8: “Post consecrationem aquae, unctione electorum, peracta scilicet, baptizandi renuntiat diabolo, profitantur fidem, adhesionem ad Christum exprimant et statim baptizantur; immediate postea fideles praesentes diabolo abrenuntiant et fidem profitentur. Deinde sequitur unctio chrismalis, *impositio* vestis albi, traditio cerei incensi, et formula qua nomen Christianum tamquam signum novae vitae explicatur.

Neobaptizati statim confirmantur via breviori et accedant ad celebrationem eucharistiam. Immediate, antequam SS Eucharistiam sub utraque specie accipiant, celebrans eos alloquitur in memoria revocando quod participantes mensam eucharisticam culmens initiationis Christianae iam adepti sint. Postea fideles alloquens memorat hoc Mysterium Eucharisticum hac nocte celebratum considerari deberre tanquam ‘Pasche annotinum’ quo in spiritu sui baptismi plene renovantur.”

<sup>188</sup> “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 9: “Quinto stadio in itinere Intellectu Mysterium correspondet Catechesis Mystagogae sive fit durantibus missis pro infantibus, infratempus missis dominicis temporis Paschala.”

A chart composed on November 11 laid out the intent of the five stages in the Trier *protocollum* (See Table 2.6 below). Progressing through the five stages of initiation, as outlined in the *protocollum*, the chart helped explain the intent of these stages according to their ecclesiastical function, the role of those involved, and the different rites that would be celebrated within them.<sup>189</sup>

By the end of the Trier meeting, the subcommittee had accomplished a great deal, having composed an outline for the shape of the rite, thus giving the full group a model

TABLE 2.6  
THE CONTENT OF THE RITE OF ADULT INITIATION  
AFTER THE TRIER MEETING

	I	II	III	IV	V
ITER FIDEI	Conversio globalis ad Christum	Experientia vitae Populi Dei	Gressus finales versus baptismum	Sacramenta fidei	Intellectus profundiorum
FUNCTIO ECCLESIAE	Acceptatio	Initiatio	Illuminatio	Celebratio sacramentorum	Mystagogia
PARTES					
Hierarchiae	Admissio		Electio et Scrutatio	Collatio sacramentorum	
	Catechizatio praeparatoria	Catechizatio praeparatoria	Catechizatio praeparatoria		Catechesis mystagogica
Catechumenorum	Dedicatio globalis	Obedientia fidei operosa	Obedientia fidei operosa	Professio fidei	Gustus mysterium
Communitatis	Praesentatio Adstandtibus familiaribus	Assistentia ecclesiolae	Assistentia ecclesiolae	Participatio ecclesiolae	Assistentia ecclesiolae
Ritus	Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum	Exorcismi minores et traditiones (ad libitum)	Inscriptio nominis Missae scrutiniorum Traditiones (ad libitum)	Baptismus Confirmatio Eucharistia	Missae pro infantibus

See also “Trier Protocollum Draft”, 9: “Quinto stadio (Intellectus Mysterium) correspondet catechesis Mystagogae quae fit durantibus Missis pro infantibus, restaurandis infra tempus paschale.”

<sup>189</sup> “Gressus Baptismi – November 11” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.ii.

from which to work. The creation of both a working version of the new rite (see Table 2.7 below), and the composition of the *Protocollum* would be especially important for the work of the upcoming sessions and meetings.

TABLE 2.7  
THE SHAPE OF THE RITE OF ADULT INITIATION  
AFTER THE TRIER MEETING

First Stage: <i>Conversio globalis ad Christum</i>
Instruction
Imposition of Hands
Exorcism by exsufflation
Renunciation of false cults
Adhesion to Christ
Giving of a Christian name
Signation
Introduction into the Church
Celebration of the Word
Dismissal
Petitions for Candidates
Liturgy of the eucharist
Second Stage: <i>Experientia vitae populi Dei</i>
Minor exorcisms in context of the Word, Instruction, and Blessings
<i>Traditiones</i> : Creed, Lord's Prayer, Gospels
Third Stage: <i>Gressus finale versus baptismum</i>
Election
Instruction
Presentation of Candidates
Interrogation
Inscription of Names
Homily
Prayer
Scrutinies
Ritual Mass
Homily
Silent Prayer
Petitions for Catechumens
Scrutiny
Optional <i>Traditio</i>

TABLE 2.7

*continued*

	Rites of Immediate Preparation
	Ephphatha
	<i>Redditio</i> of the Creed
	Optional Giving of a Christian name
Fourth Stage:	<i>Sacramenta fidei</i>
	Blessing of the Water
	Anointing of the Elect
	Renunciation of Devil
	Profession of Faith/Adhesion to Christ
	Baptism
	Anointing with Chrism
	Giving of a white vestment
	Giving of a lit Candle
	Explanation of Christian Name
	Confirmation
	Eucharist
Fifth Stage:	<i>Intellectus Profundiorum</i>
	Masses for Neophytes
	Mystagogy

## 2.5: Cellier's Preparation for Cologne

In preparation for the Cologne meeting, Cellier made notations about several key points found in the Trier *protocollum* that would need to be addressed by those who gathered. He sought to ask several particularly apt questions. First he counted two separate handlaying gestures in the first stage: the *impositio manus*, and the *signatio*. He wondered whether the first was, in effect, merely a doubling of the second. Further, he wondered, would they be perceived as doing the same thing?<sup>190</sup> In the second stage of the *protocollum* Cellier noted the concern regarding the *traditio* of the Bible writing in “*ad libitum*” beside it. Regarding the naming of the element, it should be presumed that

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<sup>190</sup> “Preliminary work for Cologne, December 23, 1964” in 1.B.iii.: “Autour de la Session de Cologne, 27-31 decembre, 1964.”

Cellier intended “Gospels” when he wrote “Bible.” His concern about the element itself reflects the debate that had occurred during the Trier meeting. Perhaps, based upon his own work with the catechumenate in the Diocese of Lyons – a literate, Christianized, western culture, steeped in the culture of the Bible – he preferred allowing for the omission of the element in similar cultures. Making the element optional would protect against the rite appearing culturally superfluous in areas that were considerably Christianized. He did, however, recognize that “the Bible could serve as link between the Church and Christ”, and in some cultures, the relationship of the Bible to the culture could serve as a link worth being developed.<sup>191</sup> Also within the second section, Cellier appeared to question whether the minor exorcisms might not also be considered optional elements. To this, he added the suggestion that exorcisms might be included in the second stage, presumably to lessen the burden of celebrating three scrutinies during Lent.<sup>192</sup> Cellier’s notes end with short reference to an element of the third stage, the rites of immediate preparation occurring on Holy Saturday. In this section he makes mention of only two items: the giving of a new name; and the importance of the presentation.<sup>193</sup> It is difficult to discern what he might have had in mind regarding these two references.

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<sup>191</sup> “Preliminary work for Cologne”.

<sup>192</sup> “Preliminary Work for Cologne”.

<sup>193</sup> “Preliminary Work for Cologne”.

## 2.6: The Meeting at Cologne, December 28-31, 1964.<sup>194</sup>

The session at Cologne was to be a joint session between a few members from *Coetus* XXII and XXIII. Fischer, Lengeling, Stenzel, and Cellier represented *Coetus* XXII, while Gy, Mazzarello, and Rabau represented *Coetus* XXIII. They were joined, for a day and a half, by Bugnini. While some of their work dealt with the concerns of the group on Sacramentals, and some discussion concerned the shape of the *Rituale* on Christian initiation, they dealt considerably with the solemn rite of adult initiation.

Among the points of discussion on the rite, Rabau pointed out that no mention was made of the role of the sponsors in the immediate preparation of the catechumens for initiation, which would have taken place during the day before the Vigil.<sup>195</sup> He was thus given the responsibility for editing this paragraph in the *Instructiones*, along with the paragraph dealing with the rights of a catechumen.<sup>196</sup> Furthermore, Cellier argued that the *Instructiones* did not express baptism as a sacrament of the ecclesial community especially well, and suggested that as the text was to be rewritten by Stenzel, they could better connect the three sacraments of initiation.<sup>197</sup> Further, Cellier, along with a

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<sup>194</sup> The chronology of the C.N.P.L. Archives lists the dates of the Cologne session as beginning on December 27, rather than December 28. Cellier, however, in a letter to Molin, notes that the work took place over three days. Elsewhere, Cellier also notes that the dates are December 28 to December 31.

<sup>195</sup> “Résumé de l’Échange des *Coetus* 22 et 23 à Cologne le 29 Decembre 1964 sur les Projets des Praenotanda du Rituel du Baptême, par le Pere Molin”, in 1.B.iii.: “Le Chanoine Rabau a signalé que le N. 43 ne parlait pas du rôle des parrains”. While the first and second drafts of the *Praenotanda* referred to in the “Résumé” are unavailable, the third Schemata of the *Praenotanda* is available. This recension helps reconstruct, at least somewhat, the first two drafts – and, in particular, the second draft, which was the text under discussion – by indicating the source paragraphs for the new texts. Consequently, paragraph 43 of Schemata 2 (Sch.2, n. 43) corresponds to Sch. 3, n. 31.

<sup>196</sup> “Résumé de l’Échange,” “En ce qui concerne les droit du catéchumène (n. 17), le Chanoine Rabau doit les rédiger également.”

<sup>197</sup> “Résumé de l’Échange,” “L’Abbé Cellier a fait remarquer que les No. 1 et 2 des praenotanda présentaient trop le Baptême comme moyen de salut individuel, sans exprimer que le Baptême est le signe

catechist of his choice,<sup>198</sup> was given the responsibility of drafting catechetical texts to be included in the *Instructiones*,<sup>199</sup> according to the response of the Council Fathers to question I.1 of S-32.<sup>200</sup>

Another aspect of their deliberations surrounded the nature of participation of the catechumens in the prayers of the faithful. The group determined that the catechumens would not, normally, participate in these prayers, as they belonged to the baptized, but that they would be present, nonetheless, during the community's prayers for them. Further, they could, potentially, be present during the Prayers of the Faithful as they would normally occur in the course of the liturgy, provided that, as in the case of the community's intercessions on their behalf, they not participate vocally in the prayers. The group allowed that the presence of the catechumens during the petitions could have a pedagogical effect on them, and that they would thus be better prepared for their initiation into the assembly of the faithful.<sup>201</sup>

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de l'appartenance à la communauté ecclésiale. L'Abbé Cellier rappelle que le Baptême est le signe de la Foi, et demande à ce que le lien organique entre les trois sacrements d'initiation soit mieux exprimé dans son dynamisme profond."

<sup>198</sup> According to "Cellier to Molin, January 4, 1965", in C.N.P.L. 1.B.iii, Cellier chose Abbé Orchamp, of the Institut Catéchétique de Paris for this work.

<sup>199</sup> "Résumé de l'Échange," "Les membres du *Coetus* est demandé à l'Abbé Cellier de rédiger, avec la collaboration d'un catéchète de son choix, ces éléments de catéchèse pour les proposer aux membres du *Coetus* à la prochaine rencontre."

<sup>200</sup> S.32. DRi 2, QI.1: "Placetne Patribus Consilii ut Instructiones pastorales futuri Ritualis Romani praebeant themata generalia catecheseos pro diversis Sacramentis celebrandis?"

<sup>201</sup> A summary of this question by Molin is contained in a miscellaneous file in the C.N.P.L. archives, 1.C.viii: "Notes du travail (datées ou non)." Citing the work of Adrien Nocent, Molin articulates that participation in the prayers of the faithful is one of the two "summits" of the mass, namely, the high-point of participation in the liturgy of the word, just as communion is the summit of participation in the liturgy of the eucharist. Participation in both of these elements was to be limited to the fully initiated. The prayers of the faithful were to be understood as an expression of the priesthood of the community, a priesthood in which the catechumens did not yet share.

Finally, several decisions were made regarding the shape of the rite. It was decided that the exorcism in the first stage of the catechumenate must precede the laying on of hands, thus reversing the order the two elements as described in the Trier *Protocollum*. This was done to “maintain the traditional order, and to illustrate that the exorcism flowed organically from the catechesis.”<sup>202</sup> Consequently, the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum* would consist of an introductory dialogue, exorcism by exsufflation, laying on of hands, renunciation of false cults and allegiance to Christ, giving of a Christian name, signation, introduction into the Church, and dismissal of catechumens. Some of these elements were also altered. It was decided that the Conferences of Bishops should have the responsibility for determining the text of the renunciation, thereby providing for cultural awareness and sensitivity. The signation was amended to allow a priest other than the celebrant to sign the catechumens, rather than requiring it of the sponsor.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, the titles of two stages would be renamed. The second stage, *Experientia vitae populi Dei* would be renamed *Prima participatio vitae communitalis christianae*, in order to more appropriately express the content of the stage.<sup>204</sup> The fifth stage, *Intellectus Mysteriorum* would be renamed *Intellectus profundior mysteriorum* “in order to better distinguish the period of

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<sup>202</sup> “Cologne Protocollum”, 18: “Ratio cur hic Exorcismus, qui in T [Trier Protocollum] tertium locum post impositionem manus tenet, denuo secundum obtinuerit locum: Est locus traditionalis et catechesis facile ita instrui potest, ut exorcismus organice ex ea fluere videatur.”

<sup>203</sup> “Cologne Protocollum”, 24: “Ratio additum est ‘vel ab aliis sacerdotibus’ ne excludatur usus, qui e.g. Lugduni ex annis et cum fructu spirituali invaluit.”

<sup>204</sup> “Cologne Protocollum”, 31: “Rationes ubi dixerat ‘experientia vitae populi Dei’ clarius dicitur ‘prima participatio vitae communitalis christianae’.”



mystagogy from the time of catechesis.”<sup>205</sup> The *Missae pro Infantibus* contained within this stage would be renamed *Missae pro Neophytis* because of the potential difficulties of translating *infantibus*.<sup>206</sup>

At the conclusion of the Cologne session it was decided that the original Trier sub-commission – Fischer, Stenzel, Seumois, and Cellier – would meet again between Tuesday, February 15 and Thursday, February 18, 1965 in Trier. Together they would edit Stenzel’s new draft of the *Instructiones*. This text was destined to become part of the *Praenotanda*.<sup>207</sup>

## 2.7: Conclusions

From the first meeting at Galloro in September to the final meeting of 1964 at Cologne, the shape of the normative rite of adult initiation, the *Ordo solemnus initiationis christianae adultorum*, was developed more thoroughly. Beginning with an articulation of principles for reform and an analysis of a proposed revision based on those principles, a rite divided first into four stages and then into five stages was sketched out. Gradually each stage was given more shape, with the majority of the particular decisions being reached by the sub-committee on baptism at their November meeting in Trier. The Trier *Protocollum* would guide the *Coetus* and the sub-committee in their future work both in

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<sup>205</sup> “Cologne Protocollum”, 13: “Ratio cur sub 5<sup>o</sup> addita sit vox ‘profundior’: ut melius distinguatur tempus mystagogiae a tempore catecheseos.”

<sup>206</sup> “Cologne Protocollum”, 70: “Trier adhuc loquitur de ‘Missis pro infantibus’ sed proponente R.P. Molin iste terminus, quamvis omni reverentia dignus propter vetustatem delendus esse videatur, praesertim propter difficultates in versionibus.”

<sup>207</sup> “Instructiones Schemata 3: Tertius redactus a Submissione de Baptismo in sua sessione trevierensi die 18-2-1965”, in 1.B.iii.

revising the shape of the rite and in describing the theological progression of the rite itself as they prepared to submit an outline of the rite to the *Consilium*.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **FORMALIZING THE RITUAL STRUCTURE**

Beginning on February 15, 1965 the sub-committee on baptism worked to establish a clear structure for the solemn rite of Christian initiation of adults. The Coetus would present this plan to the Consilium at the end of April for their approval. Once this had been received and the necessary amendments had been made, the Coetus could begin developing the structure through a more thorough development of the euchology for the rite.

#### **3.1: The Meeting at Trier, February 15-18, 1965**

The goal of the Trier meeting on February 15-18, 1965 was to prepare a detailed plan of the *Ordo solemnis initiationis christianae adultorum* in order to submit it to the *Consilium* at the end of April. The group that was to assemble for this task was the sub-committee of baptism, made up of Fischer, Stenzel, Seumois, Cellier, and, for the first time, Molin. Molin's inclusion was largely in response to his important work in recasting the outline of the rite for baptism. Stenzel, however, was unable, to attend this meeting.

##### **3.1.1: The Title of the Rite**

A significant change was made to the title of the paradigmatic rite of Christian initiation, which would better explain its relationship to the variant versions contained within the *Rituale*. Previously entitled the "*Ordo solemnis initiationis christianae*

*adulorum*,” alongside the two other adult versions of the rite, the subcommittee felt that the word “solemn” might, at best, indicate an official preference for the lengthier version, or, more likely, simply be understood to describe the content of the rite as being more solemn: Chapters Three and Four of the *Rituale* were, at this point, to be named “*Ordo simplicior initiationis christianae adulorum*” and “*Ordo brevior initiationis christianae adulorum*.” Thus, two alternate methods of describing the rite were considered. The first, using the word *gressus*, pointed towards the process of journeying towards baptism and highlighted the catechumen’s spiritual progression. Ultimately, however, the subcommittee opted to demonstrate continuity with OBA1962, using the same title, “*Ordo per gradus catechumenatus dispositus*” (hereafter, OGCD). While “*gradus*” was not as rich as “*gressus*,” the subtle deficiency was more than made up for by the reference to the previous version of the rite.<sup>1</sup>

### 3.1.2: The Shape of the Rite

The sub-committee then turned to the creation of a document, based upon the revisions from Cologne, which could be submitted to the *Consilium*. The document that emerged from this meeting was the third *Schemata* of the *Instructiones*.<sup>2</sup> This text included pastoral directives, theological argumentation, and outlines of the stages. Given

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<sup>1</sup> “Trier Record, February 16-18, 1965”, in C.N.P.L. I.C.iii: “Autour de la session du Saulchoir (Coetus 3-6 6 65), 3: “Vocabulum ‘solemnis’ suppressum est, ut hic ordo omnibus vere normalis et ordinarius videatur.” The document has been filed out of sequence in the C.N.P.L. Archives.

<sup>2</sup> “Instructiones, Schemata 3: textus redactus a Submissione de Baptismo in sua sessione trevirensi die 18-2-1965”, in C.N.P.L. I.B.iii. The text is particularly helpful, in that marginal notes indicate the location of each paragraph in the two previous drafts. Consequently, references made to the document made here will, when applicable, refer also to the appropriate paragraph numbers in the first draft (1) and the second draft (2).

This document has been filed out of order, appearing in the Cologne, 1964 file. Instead, it should appear in the Trier, 1965 file.

the stage of their work, this text would only provide a general sense of the OCGD rather than articulating proposals for ritual texts. The complete document, arranged according to the five stages of the rite, comprised forty-seven paragraphs, of which most were descriptive.<sup>3</sup>

### **3.1.2.1: The Rite for Making Catechumens**

The first stage, “*Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*”, had previously been named “*Conversio globalis ad Christum*.” The new title better reflected the content of the stage: it was not simply the celebration of the rite for making catechumens, but it included the pre-catechumenal formation. The section began by describing the conversion of heart that those wishing to become catechumens must have displayed, and instructed that the members of the community of the faithful bore the responsibility for assessing that conversion as well as approving the election of those would become catechumens.<sup>4</sup> The education of the candidates was to be undertaken not only by catechists, but also by the sponsors and the priest, who, as the leader of the community, had a particular

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<sup>3</sup> The section that appears fourth in the text appears to have been inserted there in error, and instead, should have been an Appendix. This section deals with elements detailed in other sections of the *Instructiones*, and appears to function as further commentary on these elements. Because of the broad nature of this section, rather than treating the paragraphs of this section as a whole, the paragraphs will be cited in connection with the elements that they describe, in the order that the elements were intended to occur.

<sup>4</sup> *Instructiones* 3:1 (1:1, 2:1): “... illa membra Ecclesiae quibus desiderium suum aperit, adeuvent vel provideant ut adiuvetur ad acquirendam cognitionem elementarem Dei viventis et eius quem misit ad omnium salutem, Jesu Christi.”

3:2, 1:2, 2:2: “Sic cum multa patientia et caritate, praeveniente et cooperante gratia Dei, purificentur intentiones candidati, et adducatur ad conversionem initialem ex corde, qua profiteatur Christum magistrum esse veritatis ac vitae suae Dominum, et Ecclesiam per quam Christus Salvator salutem semper operatur. Nuntium salutis auditum concomitatur studium orationis personalis, aliqualis [*sic.*] morum reformatio, et inclinatio quaedam ad commercium cum christi fidelibus [*sic.*].”

3:5 (1:23, 2:14): “Introitus ad catechumenatum de more non fiat adstante tota communitate christiana, sed tantum coram his fidelibus qui aliquomodo iam familiares sunt candidati.”

responsibility in this regard.<sup>5</sup> When the candidates were deemed ready, they could progress to the rite for making catechumens.

The *Instructiones* provided expansion for a few of the elements in the first stage. The introductory dialogue was to begin just outside of the threshold of the Church, or in the entryway to the Church, with the faithful standing around the candidates.<sup>6</sup> The priest or deacon, wearing surplice and stole or a cope in festive colors, would approach the candidates and question them individually.<sup>7</sup> All of this was significantly different from OBA1962. First, the revised text expanded the participants in the rite beyond the priest and the catechumens. The rubric explicitly noted that a deacon could preside at the rite, consistent with the teachings of *Lumen gentium*.<sup>8</sup> And expressing the sentiment from their first session when dealing with Jungmann's suggested revisions, the rubric indicated that the candidates were to be accompanied not only by their sponsors, but also by the community of the faithful. The sponsors had been presumed present both in OBA (from the first exorcism, OBA 16) and in OBA1962 (later in the First Stage), so that the lack of

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<sup>5</sup> *Instructiones* 3:3 (1:3, 2:3): "Sacerdos cui cura commissa est neoconversos in catechumenatum recipiendi exquirat per se vel per alios de sinceritate et veracitate conversionis candidati et de eius voluntate accipiendi requisita catechumenatis instituti."

3:4 (1:16, 2:24): "His exploratis, admittatur candidatus ad ritum quo fit catechumenus; in quo primam suam conversionem exprimit coram Ecclesia, quae autem hanc professionem recipit et consecrat, introducens tandem cum in coetum christianorum ut Verbo Dei pascatur et aliis Ecclesiae subsidiis foveatur in suscepto itinere quod ducit ad plenam fidem et ad sacramenta."

<sup>6</sup> "Study of the Schemata by Jacques Cellier", in 1.B.1.: "Candidati [*sic.*], cum sponsoribus suis, stante [*sic.*] contra limen vel in atrio ecclesiae, circumstantibus fidelibus."

<sup>7</sup> Study of the Schemata": "Sacerdos vel diaconus, indutus superpelliceo et stola, vel etiam pluviali festivi coloris, accedit ad candidatos. Professione brevia allocutio, et singulos singulariter interrogat."

It is interesting to note that the color deemed "festive" is not specified. Hence, the color of the vestments was recognized as being culturally determined.

<sup>8</sup> *Lumen Gentium* 29: "... It pertains to the office of a deacon, in so far as it may be assigned to him by the competent authority, to administer baptism solemnly... to read the sacred scripture to the faithful, to instruct and exhort the people, to preside over the worship and the prayer of the faithful..." Cited in Flannery, *Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*.

mention of sponsors could be seen as an oversight in the prior rubrics. The presence of the faithful, however, was an addition to the rite which clearly addressed the desire of *SC* regarding the active participation of the community; in order to attain the active participation of the faithful, the faithful must, necessarily, be present.<sup>9</sup> Second, the new rubric reintroduced the movement of the celebrant to the entrance of the church to meet the candidates from OBA;<sup>10</sup> OBA1962 presumed the candidates and sponsors to be inside the church already, and no movement of the clergy was suggested at all.<sup>11</sup> The visible sign of the candidates entering into the Church was an immediately intelligible statement of the reality transpiring within the Rite, and was one of the specific elements noted by Cellier for possible inclusion into the rites. Third, the use of “festive” colors for the vestments was a change from the use of purple. The move from the predetermined color for Lent to an undetermined color signifying celebration not only indicated a shift in the mood of the celebration but also demonstrated a degree of cultural sensitivity, in that colors can carry different cultural meanings. As determined at Cologne, the next element, the interrogation of the candidates, was followed by an optional exorcism by exsufflation, the laying on of hands, the optional renunciation of false cults, the allegiance to Christ, and the optional giving of a Christian name. The next indication

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<sup>9</sup> See, for example, *SC* 26-28, and 30.

<sup>10</sup> OBA1962 1: “Sacerdos, indutus superpelliceo et stola, vel etiam pluviali, violacei coloris, cum suis clericis accedit ad gradus altaris.” Alternatively, in the older *Rituale*, this rubric would pertain only to the priest’s initial dialogue, the antiphon with Psalms, and prayers. After these texts, the priest would move to the threshold of the Church, while the candidates would stand outside: “Deinde sacerdos procedit ad fores ecclesiae et stat in limine: catechizandi vero extra limen.” (5). The interrogation of the candidates would then take place. The rubric preceding the interrogation in OBA1962 did not indicate any movement of the presider at all: “Tum sacerdos catechumenos vocat nominatim, per nomen et cognomen familiae, prius masculos, deinde feminas, et ille qui est appellatus respondet: Adsum. Postea sacerdos interrogat.” (4)

<sup>11</sup> OBA 5: “Deinde Sacerdos procedit ad fores ecclesiae, et stat in limine: catechizandus vero extra limen.” This instruction was omitted from OBA1962.

given in Cellier's commentary involved the priest's formula for the signation: "I mark your forehead for Christ, so that He will take possession of you."<sup>12</sup> This formula was similar to the one contained in OBA and OBA1962, though there was a significant change. The original indicated that the candidate was strengthened to accept of the cross of Christ.<sup>13</sup> The proposed text highlighted the action of Christ rather than the catechumen. The end, Christ's leadership of the catechumen, was the same, but the means were different.

No mention was made regarding the anointing of the senses at this point in the OCGD, though in the Trier Record, the signing of the senses had been maintained as an optional rite.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of the catechumens into the Church was also expanded at the session. While this occurred in Cellier's home diocese of Lyons, this element was, ecclesiologically, new to the shape of the rite as a whole. A similar element was described in the older *Rituale* and in OBA1962 immediately before the catechumen's *redditio* of the Creed.<sup>15</sup> In both versions of the rite the introduction into the Church

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<sup>12</sup> "Study of the Schemata": "Je te marque le front pour que le Christ..." Later documents provide the full formula, which concludes "pour que le Christ prenne possession de toi."

<sup>13</sup> OBA 11; OBA1962 10: "Signo tibi frontem ut suscipias Crucem Domini."

<sup>14</sup> Furthermore, the group had not objected to Jungmann's proposal of only signing the forehead, except to add that a signation of the nostrils might be considered an optional addition.

<sup>15</sup> OBA 29: "... sacerdos sinistra manu apprehendens dexteram primi electi prope brachium, vel ei porrigens extremam partem stolae, ex humero sinistro pendentem, introducit eum in ecclesiam, primus sinistra manu trahit secundum, et secundus tertium, etc.

Dum autem sacerdos illos introducit, dicit:

N. et N. Ingremini in sanctam ecclesiam Dei, ut accipiatis benedictionem caelestem a Domino Jesu Christo, et habeatis partem cum illo et Sanctis ejus.

Omnes: Amen."

OBA 30: "Et ingressi electi simul procumbunt seu prosternunt se in pavimento, et adorant."

The text of OBA 29 is found at the beginning of the sixth stage in OBA1962, paragraph 42, while the text of OBA 30, paragraph 43 is altered somewhat: "Ingressi electi procumbunt seu prosternunt se in pavimento, et adorant, omnes simul."



occurred well into the celebration of the rite. In the older *Rituale*, it occurred at paragraph 29 of 50, with the baptism, itself, taking place at 39. In OBA1962 the introduction occurred at the sixth of seven stages. The late placement of this introduction into the Church, in both versions of the rite, indicates the nature of the relationship of the catechumen to the Church. In OBA1962, the previous five stages occurred within the Church building, and only the sixth stage began at doors of the Church.<sup>16</sup> The rite seems to indicate, therefore, that the catechumen, despite having physically “entered” the Church building, is only entering into an official relationship with the Church immediately before their profession of the Creed. Conversely, the decision to place the introduction at the beginning of the process, a decision made by the group at their initial meeting in Galloro, placed the catechumen in a much different relationship with the Church throughout the entire catechumenal process. This new relationship, described in the *Schemata*, allowed the catechumens

the right to participate in the Liturgy of the Word (excepting the Prayers of the Faithful), to marry within the Church (having obtained proper dispensations), to receive other blessings and sacramentals, and to receive a Christian funeral and burial.<sup>17</sup>

Granting these rights to catechumens mirrored, to some degree, the changed status reflected in the *Apostolic Tradition*, for example. Here, if a catechumen was martyred,

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<sup>16</sup> OBA1962 41: “... catechumeni coadunantur ante portam ecclesiae, vel loco convenienti, extra ecclesiam, ex quo sollemni pompa accedunt ad ecclesiam.”

<sup>17</sup> Instructiones 3:9, 1:17, 2:31: “A suo liturgico introitu ad catechumenatum, catechumenus omnibus iuribus fruitur quae si agnoscit Ecclesia, scilicet: a) participandi liturgiam verbi, oratione communi excpta; b) si dispensatione obtenta, matrimonium cum fidei contrahit, consensum emittendi et benedictionem accipiendi in ecclesia; c) alias benedictiones et sacramentalia recipiendi; d) si moritur, christiana funeralis obtinendi et sepulturam ecclesiasticam.”

they were buried alongside the martyrs as they had been “baptized in [their] own blood.”<sup>18</sup>

No text for the introduction was mentioned at Trier, although the element was described as consisting of the procession of the catechumens into the Church, accompanied by the singing of a Psalm,<sup>19</sup> which would be concluded with the priest briefly instructing them as to the dignity of hearing the Word of God within the context of the Church. The celebration of the Word would follow.<sup>20</sup> According to the “Study of the Schemata” by Cellier, the celebration of the Word would be concluded by the intercessions for the catechumens, a prayer, and the dismissal. No mention was made of the proposal in the Trier Record that, if desired, the celebration could conclude with the liturgy of the eucharist.<sup>21</sup>

### **3.1.2.2: Celebrations during the Station of the Catechumenate**

The second stage, “*De statione secunda, seu de celebrationibus per spatium catechumenatos simplicis*”, had previously been called “*Experientia vitae Populi Dei*.”

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<sup>18</sup> *ApTrad* 19, in Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips, 102-103.

<sup>19</sup> “Study of the Schemata”: “Tunc introducitur catechumenos, cum sponsoribus suis in ecclesiam, eos procedens, sequentibus fidelibus. Iterum cantant [*sic.*] psalmus conveniens, v.g. 33[34].”

Psalm 33(34) is suggested as a possibility, especially verse 11: “Come, children, listen to me, I will teach you the way of the Lord.” This text, “Venite filii, audite me: timorem Domini docebo vos” occurred musically as the Gradual for the Seventh Sunday after Pentecost.

<sup>20</sup> “Study of the Schemata”: “Postea sacerdos stans ad ambonem catechumenos breviter alloquitur, exponens dignitatem Verbi Dei in ecclesiae annuntiati et audiendi, et sequitur sacra Celebratio Verbi.”

<sup>21</sup> No mention of the liturgy of the eucharist was made in documents relating to the Cologne session either. It should not be assumed that this allowance had been rejected, since a subsequent eucharistic celebration occurs within the first Schemata of the rite, S-112 DRi-5, “Rituale Romanum Titulus I: De initiatione christiana; Sectio I: De initiatione christiana adultorum,” ND DRi-5(112) – the group may have simply presumed the subsequent celebration of the eucharist to be an option not requiring explicit mention.

This section of the document consisted solely of paragraphs describing the stage, rather than offering any ideas for specific texts. The purpose of this stage was “to not only catechize the catechumens, but to introduce them, progressively, into the life of the people of God.”<sup>22</sup> This would be done through experiencing

the life of the community, especially via celebrations of the Word, communal prayer, the liturgy, and how God works through the actions of the community – especially the liturgical actions. They will also discover the essence of Christian charity and the apostolate. Thus, the catechesis will find support in the life of the people of God, and in the experience of the catechumens.<sup>23</sup>

The sub-committee was clear in its intent. This period of the catechumenate was intended as a time for conversion of life and spiritual growth, in a similar manner to the moral formation displayed in the Milanese catechumenate at the time of Ambrose.<sup>24</sup> The teaching of rules and regulations was not appropriate instructional material.<sup>25</sup> Instead, the catechumens would learn through participation and observation. They would be introduced to hearing the Word of God and to the community’s method of prayer, though

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<sup>22</sup> Instructiones 3:10, 1:18, 2:32: “Per primum spatium temporis catechumenatus, non tantum fit catechisatio catechumenorum, sed et eorum progressive introductio in vitam populi Dei, et quasi experientia gradualis huius vitae per obedientiae fidei operosam.”

<sup>23</sup> Instructiones 3:11, 2:33: “Ils puiseront dans diverses formes de la vie de la communauté, dont certaines leur seront peut-être plus particulièrement adaptées, l’expérience de ce que sont l’assemblée chrétienne, la célébration de la parole, la prière commune, le signe liturgique, et comment Dieu agit dans les actions de la communauté, spécialement dans les actions liturgiques. Ils découvriront aussi ce qu’est la charité chrétienne, et ce qu’est l’apostolat. Ainsi la catéchèse s’appuiera sur la vie du peuple de Dieu, et sur l’expérience que le catécumène en prend.”

<sup>24</sup> Ambrose of Milan: *De Mysteriorum* 1.1: “We have given a daily sermon on morals, when the deeds of the Patriarchs or the precepts of the Proverbs were read, in order that, being informed and instructed by them, you might become accustomed to enter upon the ways of our forefathers and to pursue their road, and to obey the divine commands, whereby renewed by baptism you might hold to the manner of life which befits those who are washed.” Cited in Roy J. Deferrari, *Saint Ambrose: Theological and Dogmatic Works*, The Fathers of the Church, Vol. 44 (Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1963). See also Ambrose of Milan, *De mysteriis*, 1.1.

<sup>25</sup> Instructiones 3:13, 2:34: “Quod attinet ad tempus huius primi gressus in via initiationis christianae, nulla generalis norma statui potest... Sed opportunum videtur saepius ab Episcopo Ordinario aliquod spatium temporis tanquam minimum definiendum esse.”

they, themselves, would not be able to “add their own vocal expressions to the community’s prayer, but would instead, pray within their hearts.”<sup>26</sup>

Participation of the catechumens in some elements of the community’s prayer was not, of itself, sufficient for this introduction to the Christian community. Two further elements were added to the second stage of catechumenal formation. Any number of exorcisms could be performed either “during the liturgy of the Word after the homily, during catechetical sessions, or even privately.” These would help break the power of Satan over the catechumens and strengthen them with the power of Christ, thereby assisting in their conversion.<sup>27</sup> Also, three *traditiones* would normally occur during the second period, although these could be moved depending on the spiritual readiness of individual catechumens. Undertaken in response to the degree of the catechumen’s spiritual maturity,<sup>28</sup> “these *traditiones* must always be seen as elements in the progression of faith, and never as constituting a catechetical program.”<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> Instructiones 3:16: “His celebrationibus, introducitur candidatus ad capiendum momentum auditi Verbi Dei, et ad liturgicam orationem. Sed in his celebrationibus oratio communis fit a solis fidelibus pro catechumenis, qui non participant vocaliter, sed solum in corde se consociant orationi plebis sanctae Dei, cuius tantum in voto sunt membra, etsi mater Ecclesia iam eos diligit ut suos.”

<sup>27</sup> Instructiones 3:17, 2:36: “Per exorcismos, dirumpuntur laquei satanae quibus colligabatur candidatus, firmatur dominum Christi in eius vitam, et fortiter in eius pectus demittitur conversionis labor, cui humani generis adversarius summopere reluctatur.

Ergo iterandi sunt quoties catechumenus peculiari eget subsidio gratiae divinae ad hunc laborem prosequendum. Et fieri possunt sive intra celebrationem Verbi post homiliam, sive occasione catecheseos, sive etiam privatim.”

<sup>28</sup> “Study of the Schemata”: “Traditiones fiant tempore opportuno ratione habita progresse et maturitatis spiritalis...”

<sup>29</sup> Instructiones 3:18, 2:37: “... si l’on juge que l’espace de temps de la dernière période est trop court pour que la réception des documents apporte un fruit spirituel véritable au catéchumène. Cependant ces traditions doivent toujours être regardées comme aliment du progrès de la foi, et jamais comme constituant un programme catéchétique.”

### 3.1.2.3: Election, Scrutinies, and the Rites of Immediate Preparation

The third stage of the OCGD, “*De statione tertia, nempe de electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis*” indicated that the proper time for initiation was to be consistent with the practice of the early Church, thus taking place at Easter.<sup>30</sup> Consequently, intensive catechumenal formation would occur during Lent through conversion and instruction.<sup>31</sup> Lent was a time where all of the faithful, through acts of penitence and prayer, might be purified from sin, and become, themselves, as future neophytes in the heavenly liturgy, more perfect worshippers.<sup>32</sup> In a very real sense, therefore, the community became united to those seeking admission as both groups, seeking conversion, moved “closer to the sense of their baptism, and prepared themselves to renew their baptismal promises during the course of the Paschal Vigil.”<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, the Lenten season was envisioned as a time for instruction. Echoing the instruction found in *SC* that the two Lenten themes are baptism and penance,<sup>34</sup> the *Instructiones* argued that education on the virtue of penance would help catechumens “to

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<sup>30</sup> *Instructiones* 3:20, 1:29, 2:40.

<sup>31</sup> *Instructiones* 3:21, 2:41, 2:42: “... totum quadragesimale tempus sit eis pro altero et ultimo spatio catechumenatus.”

<sup>32</sup> *Instructiones* 3:29, 2:41: “Per tempus quadragesimale, omnes fideles per poenitentiam ‘instantius verbum Dei audientes et orationi vacantes, laborant ut purificentur a peccatis’ et tota communitas fiat perfecta tutela et cultrix neophytorum futurorum.”

<sup>33</sup> *Instructiones* 3:30: “Quapropter per totum hoc spatium temporis, aliquomodo communitas christiana et ipsa debet tota constitui quasi catechumenalis, retrouver le sens de son baptême, et se préparer à en renouveler les promesses au cours de la Vigile paschale [*sic.*].”

<sup>34</sup> *SC* 109: “Lent is marked by two themes, the baptismal and the penitential. By recalling or preparing for baptism and by repentance, this season disposes the faithful, as they more diligently listen to the word of God and devote themselves to prayer, to celebrate the paschal mystery. The baptismal and penitential aspects of Lent are to be given greater prominence in both the liturgy and liturgical catechesis.”

clearly see that which in their own life is sin or attached to sin, and to conceive of true contrition.”<sup>35</sup>

The first of the rites within this period was to be the rite of election. Here the Church, having been given the testimony of the sponsors, would judge whether the catechumen could become one of the *competentes* who would be initiated at the Easter Vigil.<sup>36</sup> In order to progress to this stage, however, the catechumen had to be judged worthy of standing before the community by the Bishop, or his delegate.<sup>37</sup> While the *Instructiones* do not provide the outline for the rite itself, it does indicate that a text needed to be added, presumably indicating how the ritual is to be constructed.<sup>38</sup> No reference to the ritual shape is made in Cellier’s “Study of the *Schemata*.” The most recent version of the rite was contained in the Trier Record, which consisted of a presentation of the candidates, the interrogation of the candidates by the priest, the inscription of the candidates’ names, an instruction by the priest, and a solemn prayer (“*Deus, qui humani generis...*” OBA 11).<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> *Instructiones* 3:31: “C’est un temps privilégié pour l’éducation de la vertu de pénitence, car le catéchumène doit être amené à voir clairement ce qui dans sa vie est péché ou attache au péché et à en concevoir véritable contrition.”

<sup>36</sup> *Instructiones* 3:26: “Per ritum liturgicum electionis, Ecclesia, iudicando e testimonio patrinorum, significat catechumenos receptos esse et consecratos ut ingrediantur in secundum et ultimum spatium sui catechumenatus, competentes facti sacramentorum paschaliū.”

Duchesne preferred the term “competentes” or “competents” to “φωτιζόμενος,” even in describing the Eastern sources. See, for example, CW 59. See also, Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale*, 117-118.

<sup>37</sup> *Instructiones* 3:25: “Admissio ad ritum liturgicum electionis fit ergo ab Ordinario vel eius delegato, post requisitum et sedulo perpenditum testimonium patrini, et etiam catechistae, cui catechumeni cura remisa est.”

<sup>38</sup> “*Instructiones*” 3:23 reads, in total, “Ut admittatur candidatus ad electionem, oportet...”.

<sup>39</sup> “Trier Record”, 7.

Neither the scrutinies nor the rites of immediate preparation were mentioned in this section of the *Instructiones*, though they are discussed in the Appendix. The scrutinies were to be celebrated on the assigned Sundays of Lent.<sup>40</sup> Cellier’s “Study of the Schemata” does, however, provide notes for the order of the scrutinies. They were to begin with silent prayer over the kneeling elect, who would remain kneeling while the faithful prayed over them. The elect would then stand and be signed by their sponsors. The exorcism and the laying on of hands followed, and the scrutiny was concluded with a prayer.<sup>41</sup> This structure accords, generally, with the one laid out in the Trier Record. The prayer of the community over the elect is, presumably, in litanic form, and the concluding prayer listed in the Trier document is “*Aeterne ac iustissimam pietatem...*” (OBA 28).<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Cellier’s notes exclude the *traditio* that necessarily followed the exorcism in the Trier Record, and instead, the possibility is offered that the *traditiones* might also occur independently of the scrutinies.<sup>43</sup> The *Instructiones* articulate that it might be preferable to omit one or two of the scrutinies, but that only in the most grave of circumstances could the ritual shape of the scrutinies be shortened.<sup>44</sup> The final element of this section, the rites of immediate preparation, was mentioned briefly in the

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<sup>40</sup> *Instructiones* 3:32, 1:21, 2:44: “Scrutinia dicuntur, quia actiones sunt liturgicae, quibus vis divina ad intima cordis purificanda, illuminanda et immutanda efficaciter penetrat. Quae scrutinia, in quantum possibile, celebrentur tribus diebus dominicis ad hoc assignatis in Missali romano, coram coetu fidelium.”

<sup>41</sup> “Study of the Schemata.”

<sup>42</sup> “Trier Record”, 7.

<sup>43</sup> “Study of the Schemata”: “Traditiones fiant tempore opportuno ratione habita progressus et maturitatis spiritualis. Vel fiant post rerum quod sui scrutinium vel in hac statione secunda.”

<sup>44</sup> *Instructiones* 3:35: “Committitur prudenti iudicio Ordinarii loci, utrum, perpensis necessitatibus vel opportunitatibus catechumenorum, tria scrutinia debent fieri, an tantum duo vel etiam unum; quae brevis non permittatur, nisi gravi de causa.”

*Instructiones* and in Cellier's "Study of the *Schemata*." The Trier Record indicated that these rites were, as a whole, optional. However, the same document appears to indicate that if they were to be performed, the *Redditio symboli* was a required element. Before the *Redditio* there was the option of celebrating the *Ephphatha*, and after the *Redditio* the possibility for giving of a new name was offered. The *Instructiones* indicate that all three of the elements be considered optional.<sup>45</sup> In the "Study of the *Schemata*" he only suggests that the *Ephphatha* and the *Redditio symboli* both might be considered optional elements, and the giving of a new name was not mentioned at all. If the rites of immediate preparation were not to be celebrated, the *Instructiones* suggested that some type of spiritual exercise might occur, in order to prepare the catechumens to receive the sacraments.<sup>46</sup>

#### 3.1.2.4: Baptism, Confirmation, and Eucharist at the Paschal Vigil

The fourth stage of the OCGD, "*De statione Quarta initiationis Christianae, nempe de ritibus baptismi, confirmationis et eucharitae in Vigilia Paschali*," involved the celebration of the sacraments at the Easter Vigil.<sup>47</sup> The candidate was baptized in water

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<sup>45</sup> *Instructiones* 3:36, 1:21, 2:46: "In Feria VIa hebdomadae sanctae vel Sabbato sancto, seu extra tempus in die immediate praecedenti ipsam initiationem sacramentalem, locum habent, ad libitum Coetus episcoporum, ritus immediate praeparatorii, hoc est ritus apertionis aurium per Ephphatha cum redditione symboli, et si casus fert, etiam impositio novi nominis.

Ad libitum relinquitur ritus perantiquus Ephphatha cum sine saliva minus verax appareat et saepe difficile evadat integraliter fieri.

Quoad redditionem symboli, cum sit reduplicatio confessionis fidei quae fit statim ante baptismum, de more non videtur nisi ad libitum fieri. De nomine christiano, vide supra, cap. I. n. et cap. 2. n."

<sup>46</sup> *Instructiones* 3:37: "Etsi non celebretur haec peculiaris actio liturgica, oportet catechumeni per ultimum diem versantur in spirituali exercitatione immediate praeparatoria ad sacramenta suscipienda."

<sup>47</sup> The next section of the document is inaccurately ordered. The typewritten title of the section, "*De statione Quarta initiationis Christianae, nempe de ritibus baptismi, confirmationis et eucharitae in Vigilia Paschali*", is scratched out in the text, and the alternative, "Appendix" has been written in instead.



blessed during that same ceremony, in order that “all might clearly see the inherent dignity of the sacrament.”<sup>48</sup> Cellier’s “Study of the Schemata” indicates the order of the rite. After an introductory song, “*Sicut Cervus*” (“As the deer longs for running streams”)<sup>49</sup> is the optional pre-baptismal anointing with oil.<sup>50</sup> The renunciation would take place next, using texts appointed by the various Conferences of Bishops. The candidates would make a profession of faith and their baptism would follow. Here Cellier revisited the question of baptismal formula, which had been raised as early as the first meeting of the Coetus at Galloro. Cellier indicates three alternative possibilities for a formula: “*Baptizo in Patrem... ,*” “*Baptizo in nomen... ,*” and “*Immergo in naturam... ,*” and another notation suggests the possibility of omitting the formula entirely, as found in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*.<sup>51</sup> The candidates would then be anointed with chrism, and given a white vestment and a lit candle. Cellier did not mention the communal renunciation of Satan that the Trier Record included after the baptism of the candidates,

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The previously mentioned title of the fourth section appears again in the document, describing the next section of text, which is clearly intended to be the fourth section. It seems apparent that a mistake was made in preparing the “Instructiones,” and that the section of text that appears following the third section (3:29-37) was wrongly inserted. The section that follows this misplaced section (3:38-41) is properly the fourth section and, thus, uses the proper title for the section, referred to above.

<sup>48</sup> Instructiones 3:39, 1:30: “Aquae consecratio semper fiat in ipsa celebratione baptismali, quo omnibus clarius appareat indoles et dignitas sacramenti.”

<sup>49</sup> The piece “*Sicut cervus*” was found in the pre-Conciliar liturgy for Holy Saturday, following the twelfth reading and prayer. The song, the introductory verse of Psalm 42(43) would be sung as the priest went to bless the font. The text of the antiphon, “*Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum: ita desiderat anima mea ad te Deus*”, was accompanied by verses of Psalm 42(43).

<sup>50</sup> Instructiones 3:40: “Unctio cum oleo exorcismi ad libitum coetum episcoporum deferatur, quia in multis regionibus, hodiernis temporibus, fidelium captui minu accomodata videtur, et feminis non sine miratione impertienda.”

<sup>51</sup> “Study of the Schemata”: “The [baptismal] formula does not exist, in the Romano-Germanic sacramentary.” In this text, there is a triple interrogatory statement of belief, which is followed by a triple dipping of the candidate into the water without formula. See *Gelasian Sacramentary*, XLIII. See also *DOBL*, 235.

nor does he include the instruction that neophytes would explain their new name – if they had taken one – as an indication of their new life in Christ. After their baptism and confirmation, the celebration of the eucharist would continue. The neophytes would participate fully for the first time in the full life of the Church, not just in the reception of communion under both eucharistic species as indicated in *SC*,<sup>52</sup> but in the exercise of their priesthood, praying for the world in the General Intercessions.

### **3.1.2.5: Mystagogical Catechesis**

The fifth and final stage, “*De statione quinta seu de catechesibus mystagogicis*,” provided a brief description of the method of formation of the neophytes after their initiation into the Church. This was done so that they would, “as members of the Body of Christ, live no longer for themselves, but for God in Christ, and thus, persevere in the Christian life... and walk in the dignity of their vocation, which is for God.”<sup>53</sup> The mystagogical life was intended to maintain in the neophytes “a love and desire for the eucharist... and to furnish them with doctrine, contained within the catechism and the sacraments, especially the eucharist.”<sup>54</sup> This formation would be organized around their participation in the Mass, including the Masses for the neophytes, as well as through the presence of the neophyte’s sponsor, together with the community. The section then

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<sup>52</sup> *SC* 55. Instructiones 3:38, 1:21, 2:47: “... Postea neophyti intersint missae, in qua sacram communionem percipiant, et quidam de regula sub utraque specie, nisi auctoritas territorialis sive Ordinarius loci aliter statuerit.”

<sup>53</sup> Instructiones 3:42, 2:53: “Post sacramenta recepta, neophytus adhuc eget peculiari auxilio Ecclesiae ut, membrum de corpore, non iam sibi vivat, sed Deo in Christo, ut perseveret in vita christiana non obstantibus variis maligni sollicitationibus, et ut digne ambulet vocatione qua vocatus est a Deo.”

<sup>54</sup> Instructiones 3:43: “In primis foveatur eius amor et desiderium panis eucharistici, quo alitur vita christiana et aedificatur Ecclesia; compleatur eius doctrinalis eruditio, praecipue per catechesim de hoc sacrosanctae Eucharistiae mysterio et generaliter de sacramentis quibus uti debet ut nutriatur, reparetur et confortetur eius vita christiana et zelus apostolicus.”

clarified that if the neophyte was legitimately married to a baptized person, that their marriage was thus accorded “the dignity of the sacramental new law [as it] is a symbol of the holy union that joins Christ and the Church.”<sup>55</sup> The fifth section concluded with an indication of further content, by noting that the baptismal garments should be worn throughout the period of mystagogical catechesis.<sup>56</sup>

### **3.2: The Meetings at Rome, April 26-30, 1965**

#### **3.2.1: Presentation to the Consilium**

Based on the discussions that took place at Trier, the subcommittee was able to submit a document, dated April 26, 1965, describing the OCGD to the *Consilium*: “*Relatio qua describitur futuris ritus baptismi adultorum, Schemata 77*” (S-77).<sup>57</sup> The *Consilium* read and voted on this document at their fifth General Meeting. Bugnini notes that the text came before the *Consilium* on April 30.<sup>58</sup> As was the case in the previous submissions to the *Consilium*, the questions were phrased so that they could be answered with either a “*placet*” or a “*non placet*.” The entire document contained thirty-six

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<sup>55</sup> Instructiones 3:45: “Monantur neophyti, si iam antea matrimonio legitimo copulabantur, hoc eorum matrimonium, baptismo recepto, acquisivisse dignitatem sacramenti novae legis, et symboli sanctissimae unionis qua iunguntur Christus et Ecclesia, pro qua seipsum tradidit, ut sit sancta et immaculata.”

<sup>56</sup> Instructiones 3:46, 2:57: “Absoluto spatio huius catechesis mystagogicae, fiat depositio vestium baptismalium...”

<sup>57</sup> S-77, DRi-2bis, “*Relatio qua describitur futuris ritus baptismi adultorum*”, April 26, 1965. ND DRi-2bis (77).

<sup>58</sup> Two reports of this meeting are contained in the notes concerning the meeting at Le Saulchoir, in C.N.P.L. 1.C.iii: “Autour de la session du Saulchoir (Coetus 3-6 6 65).” First, there is “Le Saulchoir – 3 Juin 1965”, which contains an undetailed sketch of the shape of the proceedings and debate. Second is the “*Protocollum de iis que diebus 3-6 junii 1965 in sessione communi cum coetu 23 apud Salices (Le Saulchoir) in Gallia a submissione Coetus 22 “De Baptismo” tractata sunt,*” which contains a summarized overview of the proceedings and debate. See also ROL 148-150.

paragraphs and twenty-one questions. The first two paragraphs served as a prologue to the *Schemata*, the first section, “*Praemittenda*”, comprised six paragraphs and three questions, and the second section, “*De singulis stationibus speciatim*,” was composed of twenty-eight paragraphs and eighteen questions.

### **3.2.1.1: Prologue**

The prologue to S-77 was a brief description of the work of the group thus far, including mention of the joint sessions between *Coetus* XXII and XXIII. Before beginning a description of the rite itself, the group reminded the *Consilium* of two things. First, they noted that the members of the group had vast experience with the catechumenal process in Africa, Asia, and France, as well as a solid grounding in liturgical principles.<sup>59</sup> Second, they expressed that the description of the rite contained in the *Schemata* had been agreed upon unanimously by the *Coetus* members.<sup>60</sup> Having made these two points, the *Schemata* presented the issues at hand.

### **3.2.1.2: Issues in the Revision of the Rite**

The first section, *Praemittenda*, addressed general issues in the revision of the rite. The first issue involved the relationship of adult initiation to the initiation of children. In the *Schemata*, the group outlined three reasons why the shape of adult initiation should be approached before children’s initiation. First, the *Consilium*, as well

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<sup>59</sup> S-77 2: “Semper prae oculis habuimus experientias praesertim missionarias, quas praetermittere hac in re omnino non licet; in subcommissione praelaudata praeter scientiam liturgicam et praecipua territoria Missionum (Africa et Asia) et experientiae in Gallia factae quoad catechumenatum reintroductum in viris vere expertis repraesentata erant.”

<sup>60</sup> S-77 2: “Cum inter membra subcommissionis tum inter sodales in sessione plenaria e duobus coetibus praesentes de omnibus et singulis, quae hic proponuntur, regnavit unanimitas.”

as *SC* had already argued for the privileged place of the shape of adult initiation.<sup>61</sup> The argument based on *SC* rested on the fact that adult initiation was treated before infant initiation, thereby implicitly indicating an order of importance. Second, in the shape of adult initiation, the character of baptism was better demonstrated, the unity of the sacraments of initiation was better maintained, and initiation was better linked to the Paschal celebration than in the rite for infant initiation.<sup>62</sup> Third, the group argued that the historical shape of the rite for the initiation of children was derived from the shape of the rite of adult initiation. As such, adult initiation was necessarily accorded pride of place.<sup>63</sup> Thus, the first question could be asked of the *Consilium*: “Do the Fathers agree that the reform of the Roman *Rituale* should begin with the rite of adult baptism?”<sup>64</sup> The results of the vote indicate that this question was agreed upon unanimously, excepting the vote of a single member of the *Consilium*, Archbishop Pericle Felici.<sup>65</sup> Notes from the later meeting at Le Saulchoir (June 3-6, 1965) suggest that the reason for Felici’s hesitation

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<sup>61</sup> S-77 3, 1: “Ipsam Conclium (et cum eo Relatio nostra praecedens) prius loquitur de baptismo adultorum et tunc tantum de baptismo parvulorum; cf. Const. De S. Liturgia, artt. 66 et 67.

<sup>62</sup> S-77 3, 2: “In adultis clarius elucet: a) character baptismi, in quantum est sacramentum fidei secundum theologiam sacramentorum in Const. De S. Liturgia receptam (cf. art. 59); b) unitas initiationis christianae, de qua in art. 71 Const.; c) coordinatio baptismi et celebrationis paschalis, de qua in art. 109 Const. Et in Relatione nostra praecedenti sub. N. 18e.”

<sup>63</sup> S-77 3,3: “Omnis ritus infantium, quantumvis reformatus, radices habebit in ritu adultorum et ex eo quasi derivabitur, et non viceversa.”

<sup>64</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 1: “Placetne Patribus haec praecedentia ritus baptismi adultorum in RR reformatio?”

<sup>65</sup> Marginal notes made in the University of Notre Dame Archive copy of S-77, DRi-2bis record the voting. The notation alongside this question reads “Placet excepto Felici.”

See also “Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril” which is inaccurately filed in C.N.P.L. 1.C.vii: “Autour de la Plenaria du 4 Oct 65,” Q.1: “Placet omnibus, salvo archiep. Felici.

was that he worried that giving the adult rite pride of place might eventually lead to the disappearance of infant initiation in some regions.<sup>66</sup>

The second issue considered in the *Praemittenda* involved the context for the revision of adult baptism. Two complementary contexts were considered. First the group argued that adult baptism should occur within a revised Paschal Vigil, and that this placement should be considered normative.<sup>67</sup> Here the group cited SC 109,<sup>68</sup> as well as referring to the will of both the Preparatory Commission and the *Consilium* as expressed in the first *Relatio*.<sup>69</sup> The second of the contexts that was presented to the *Consilium* was that of Christian initiation, which is to say, maintaining the unity of the sacraments of

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<sup>66</sup> “Le Saulchoir – 3 Juin 1965”, 1.

<sup>67</sup> S-77 4: “Inde Vigilia Paschalis feliciter restaurata (et forsán adhuc perficienda) consideratur tamquam momentum normale baptismi aduitorum, quin huic momento monopolium tribui possit; ipse ritus curare debet de baptismis aduitorum, qui extra Vigiliam Paschatis [*sic.*] celebrari debent.”

<sup>68</sup> “Lent is marked by two themes, the baptismal and the penitential. By recalling or preparing for baptism and by repentance, this season disposes the faithful, as they more diligently listen to the word of God and devote themselves to prayer, to celebrate the paschal mystery...”

<sup>69</sup> S-77 4: “Inseretur in contextum paschalem iuxta mentem art. 109 Const. Et desideria a Commissione praeparatoria expressa et coram Consilio lecta in prima Relatione.”

initiation. Here the group cited *SC*,<sup>70</sup> and the declarations of the Preparatory Commission.<sup>71</sup> Both contexts were approved unanimously.

The third issue that was considered in the document involved the general rationale behind the revision of the rites.<sup>72</sup> This reasoning was put forward briefly in *SC*<sup>73</sup> as well as in the preceding *Relatio*.<sup>74</sup> The description of the issue was broken down along three lines – the general thinking on the subject (*mens generalis*), the manner in which the reform should take place, and how each stage of the reform should correspond to the spiritual development of the candidate. The first of these elements was further subdivided into smaller divisions.

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<sup>70</sup> *SC* 6: “As Christ was sent by the Father, he himself also sent the apostles, filled with the Holy Spirit. Their mission was, first, by preaching the Gospel to every creature, to proclaim that by his death and resurrection Christ has freed us from Satan’s grip and brought us into the Father’s Kingdom. But the work they preached they were also to bring into effect through the sacrifice and the sacraments, the center of the whole liturgical life. Thus by baptism all are plunged into the paschal mystery of Christ: they die with him, are buried with him, and rise with him; they receive the spirit of adoption as children... In like manner as often as they eat the supper of the Lord they proclaim the death of the Lord until he comes. For that reason, on the very day of Pentecost when the Church appeared before the world, ‘those who received the word’ of Peter ‘were baptized.’ And ‘they continued steadfastly in the teaching of the apostles and in the communion of the breaking of bread and in prayers... praising God and being in favor with all the people’ (Acts 2:41-47).”

*SC* 71: “The rite of confirmation is also to be revised in order that the intimate connection of this sacrament with the whole of Christian initiation may stand out more clearly; for this reason it is fitting for candidates to renew their baptismal promises just before they are confirmed.”

<sup>71</sup> *S-77* 5: “Inseretur in contextum initiationis christianae. Concilium denuo in lucem posuit intimam connexionem inter tria sacramenta initiationis, nempe baptismum, confirmationem et eucharistiam; cf. artt. 6 et 71 *Con.* et declarationes Commissionis praeparatoriae. Saltem ritus continuus initiationis adutorum complectur baptismum, confirmationem et eucharistiam; ita vota Commissionis praeparatoriae et Concilii admiplebuntur.”

<sup>72</sup> *S-77* III: “De rationibus generalibus instaurationis ritus per gradus dispositi iuxta mentem art. 64 *Const.*”

<sup>73</sup> *SC* 64: “The catechumenate for adults, divided into several stages, is to be restored and put into use at the discretion of the local Ordinary. By this means the time of the catechumenate, which is intended as a period of well-suited instruction, may be sanctified by sacred rites to be celebrated at successive intervals of time.”

<sup>74</sup> *S-32*, 17, 1.

The first element, the general thinking on the subject,<sup>75</sup> was organized along five considerations. First, citing *SC* 21, the group recalled that the “rites should clearly express what they signify, in order that ‘the Christian people, as far as possible, are able to understand them with ease and to take part in the rites fully, actively, and as befits a community.’”<sup>76</sup> Further, the group cited *SC* 62 in noting that, over time, elements had crept into the rites that had obscured the previously stated purpose. Finally, referring back to the previous *Relatione*, the group noted that some of these accretions might be eliminated in order to better restore the desired clarity of the rites.<sup>77</sup> Second, the group reminded that reforms must “grow organically from forms already existing.”<sup>78</sup> Third, the group referred to the previous *Relatione* noting that among the elements which had great significance in the tradition were the *traditiones documentorum*.<sup>79</sup> Fourth, referring to a point made previously in the present document, the group noted the connection between initiation and the Paschal vigil.<sup>80</sup> Fifth, the group referred to the Preparatory Commission, who had been cited in the previous *Relatione*. The Preparatory Commission had highlighted the importance of the progression of prayers and exorcisms

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<sup>75</sup> S-77 6: “Quae sit mens generalis – Haec mens generalis, secundum quam nunc post Concilium ritus a SRC [Sacra Rituum Congregatio] exaratus adhuc perfici debet, in sequentibus consistit.”

<sup>76</sup> S-77 6, 1a: “Ritus clarius expriment quod significant, ita ut ‘populus christianus facile percipere atque plena, actiosa et communitatis propria celebratione (mysterium) participare possit’ (art. 21).”

<sup>77</sup> S-32 18d: “iuxta prudens iudicium conferentiae episcopalis illae caeremoniae, quae iuxta locorum usus vel personarum indolem sensum minus rectum habere possent.”

<sup>78</sup> *SC* 23, in S-77 6, 1b: “Tota instauratio fiat ‘adhibita cautela ut novae formae ex formis iam exstantibus organice quodammodo crescant.’”

<sup>79</sup> S-77 6, 1c: “Inter elementa traditionalia magni fecit Commissio praeparatoria traditiones documentorum; cf. in *Relatione* praecedenti n. 20, 3.”

<sup>80</sup> S-77 6, 1d: “Nexus inter initiationem et celebrationem paschalem, de quo supra sub II/1.”



in demonstrating the spiritual progression of the catechumens, which would, in turn, help to educate them regarding the nature of their approaching baptism.<sup>81</sup>

The second element of the general rationale was the method in which the rite would be reformed.<sup>82</sup> Referring back to OBA1962, the group pointed out that the rite had been divided into steps previously, and so, was this itself was not an innovation. Here, however, a new term was introduced into the discussion: “*stationum*.” By drawing on the imagery of both the stational liturgy and, more popularly, the Stations of the Cross, this term, replacing “*gradus*,” would highlight the movement of the catechumen during the process.<sup>83</sup> The journey of the new convert’s faith would be mirrored in their journey through the five stations of the catechumenate: *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*; *De exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus (Celebrationes verbi Dei cum exorcismis minoribus et benedictionibus)*; *De electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis ante ipsum baptismum (Electio seu inscriptio nominis et scrutinia)*; *Sacramenta initiationis (Ritus immediate praeparatorii, tria sacramenta initiationis et ritus immediate consecutorii)*; and *Catecheses mystagogicae*. There is, however, an inconsistency within S-77. Not only are the stations often titled differently in both

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<sup>81</sup> S-32 18c, in S-77 6, 1e: “Series orationum et exorcismorum eo modo sint ordinatae, ut progressus catechumeni ad baptismum excitetur et clarius in dies appareat” (Commissio praeparatoria, citata in Relatione praecedenti sub n. 18c).” See also Table 2.7. above.

<sup>82</sup> S-77 7: “Quomodo ritus restauratus generaliter ordinetur.”

<sup>83</sup> S-77 8: “Praefertur vocabulum ‘statio’ loco vocabuli ‘gradus’, praecise quia magis conforme esse videtur imagini ‘itineris’. For more on stational liturgy, see, for example, Josef A. Jungmann, S.J., *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, replica edition, tr. Francis A. Brunner, C.S.S.R., (Allen, TX: Christian Classics, 1986), 67-74.

sections of the document, but they occasionally contain different ritual elements (see Table 3.1 below).<sup>84</sup>

The first station, the first stage in OBA1962, was the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*. This station corresponded to the catechumen's conversion to Christ, and their subsequent request that the Church admit them to the catechumenate, in order that their faith might develop.<sup>85</sup> This would lead to the second station, alternately named *De exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus* and *Celebrationes verbi Dei cum exorcismis minoribus et benedictionibus*. Within both renderings of this station the catechumen

TABLE 3.1  
THE DIVISION OF STATIONS  
IN S-77

First Section	Second Section
1. Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum	1. Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum
2. Celebrationes verbi Dei cum exorcismis minoribus et benedictionibus	2. De exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus
3. Electio seu inscriptio nominis et scrutinia	3. De electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis ante ipsum baptismum
4. Ritus immediate praeparatorii, tria sacramenta initiationis et ritus immediate consecutorii	4. Sacramenta initiationis
5. Catecheses mystagogicae	5. Catecheses mystagogicae ( <i>This station is neither named nor discussed in the second section of S-77</i> )

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<sup>84</sup> The terms listed first are the ones used in the more detailed section of the document, the second section. The discrepancies will be treated below.

<sup>85</sup> S-77 8: "Candidatus, qui ad Christum Dominum per evangelizationem conversus est, ab Ecclesia petit, ut recipiatur in catechumenatum profitendo suam fidem initialem."

would be led into an understanding of the mysteries of God through the experience of the Church and the way in which members lived their lives.<sup>86</sup> The liturgical elements of this station would consist of Celebrations of the Word, minor exorcisms, and, if deemed appropriate, the *traditiones*.<sup>87</sup> Only when the faith of the catechumen had been sufficiently developed, and the catechumen desired baptism, could the catechumen enter into the third station.<sup>88</sup> The two titles of this station, *De electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis ante ipsum baptismum*, and *Electio seu inscriptio nominis et scrutinia*, illustrate a clear change in content. The more detailed description of this station does not include the rites of immediate preparation, which had been included in the description within the first section of S-77. This station should take place during Lent, and the scrutinies, reconfigured from the third, fourth and fifth stages of OBA1962, were to occur within Scrutiny masses in accordance with the recommendation of SC 109a.<sup>89</sup> At the recommendation of the *Consilium*, it was proposed that the *traditiones* might also occur during this third station.<sup>90</sup> The rites of immediate preparation, the sixth

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<sup>86</sup> S-77 8: “Catechumenus deinceps sub ductu Ecclesiae gradatim introducitur in cognitionem mysteriorum Dei, in sensum evangelicum, quo mores suos reformat, et in vitam propriam communitatis christianae.”

<sup>87</sup> S-77 7: “Sed inter hos duos gradus intermedius inseretur, qui consistit ex ritibus qui catechesim concomitantur (ne nimis ‘cerebralis’ evadat), nempe traditiones documentorum, exorcismi minores et benedictiones.”

<sup>88</sup> S-77 8: “Quando fides satis evoluta est, catechumenus sciens et volens baptismum petit et tunc habentur ritus tertiae stationis.”

<sup>89</sup> S-77 7: “Exorcismi maiores tertii, quarti et quinti gradus quoque servandi sunt quoad substantiam, sed denuo inserendi esse videntur in sic dictas ‘missas scrutiniorum’ quae iuxta mentem art. 109a Const. Restaurandae esse censentur.” SC 109a: “More use is to be made of the baptismal features proper to the Lenten liturgy; some of those from an earlier era are to be restored as may seem advisable.

<sup>90</sup> “Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril,” Q.3: “Placet, inclusa facultate inserendi traditiones iam in 2am stationem. Sed quoad hanc ‘anticipationem’ traditionem quidam Patres ([X1] et [X2]) et consultores (Martimort) desiderant, quod in textu RR reformati clare appareat tamquam exceptio a venerabili et

stage in OBA1962, were also intended for Lenten celebration, though the possibility was made for their celebration on Holy Saturday. Perhaps it was the possibility of not celebrating the entire station within the season of Lent that occasioned the change in content between the two sections of S-77. The group acknowledged that if the *traditiones* had not been done earlier, they should occur during this station.<sup>91</sup> This station led directly to the next, *Sacramenta initiationis*, or *Ritus immediate praeparatorii, tria sacramenta initiationis et ritus immediate consecutorii*. As in the prior station, the content clearly differs from the first section to the second section, depending on the presence of the rites of immediate preparation. The “rites immediately following” appears to refer to the post-baptismal anointing with Chrism, the clothing in a white garment, and the presentation of a lighted candle. These were intended to take place within both versions of station. The seventh stage of OBA1962, which included confirmation and the neophyte’s reception of communion only as a possibility, was to be definitively expanded through the celebration of the other two sacraments of initiation.<sup>92</sup> Previously, the three sacraments would be celebrated together only when a Bishop was the presiding minister, or if a priest had been given the requisite faculty to do so. This decision was in accord with the approval given in the first *Schemata*.<sup>93</sup> The group noted

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pervetusta more has traditiones in illam Quadragesimam inserendi, quae immediate antecedit baptismum, i.e. in 3am stationem.”

<sup>91</sup> S-77 8: “Si opportunius videtur, nonnisi tunc traditiones fient.”

<sup>92</sup> S-77 7: “Sextus gradus cum ritibus immediate praeparatoriis et septimus cum ipso actu baptismi et ritibus consecutoriiis quoad substantiam retinetur, additis in septimo gradu confirmatione et eucharistia tamquam complementis initiationis christianae.”

<sup>93</sup> S-30, 23f: “sacerdos qui adultum baptizat possit etiam de mandato episcopi neophyto Confirmationem conferre ut completa initiatio christiana adulti statim habeatur.”

that the ordinary time for the celebration of the sacraments of initiation was during the Paschal Vigil, though it was possible for these to occur elsewhere.<sup>94</sup> The fifth and final station, *Catecheses mystagogicae*, was intended to provide insight for the neophyte into the sacramental life and experience of the Christian community. The *Consilium* agreed, unanimously, to the proposed outline with the few modifications that had been added.<sup>95</sup>

### **3.2.1.3: The Stations of the Rite**

The second section of S-77, *De singulis stationibus speciatim*, was the most detailed of the two sections and dealt specifically with particular elements of the first four stations of the OCGD. The fifth station, *Catecheses mystagogicae* was not treated, despite previous mention of the creation of mass texts for the neophytes at both Galloro and Trier in 1964.

#### **3.2.1.3.1: The Rite of Making Catechumens**

In the first subsection, the *Coetus* addressed eight individual elements of the first station: the introductory dialogue of faith and conversion with summary of catechesis; the optional exorcism by blowing; the imposition of hands; the optional renunciation of false cults; the optional giving of a new name; the signing of the forehead with optional signing of other senses; the introduction into the Church through celebrations of the Liturgy of the Word; and the dismissal of the catechumens. The *Coetus* also clarified

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<sup>94</sup> S-77 8: “Quarta statio complectitur tria sacramenta initiationis in ipsa Vigilia Paschali (ubi fieri potest) collata cum ritibus immediate praecedentibus et consequentibus.”

<sup>95</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 3: “Placetne Patribus haec dispositio generalis initiationis adutorum?”

which elements should be omitted from OBA and OBA1962 and why.<sup>96</sup> As mandated in SC 23, the *Coetus* clarified that their own work would demonstrate organic growth from the tradition.<sup>97</sup> Since S-77 treated only the shape of the rite, no specific texts were given (see Table 3.2, below).

The first proposed revision to the rite was the suppression of the lengthy introductory rites found in both OBA and OBA1962: the opening versicle,<sup>98</sup> the antiphon<sup>99</sup> and accompanying Psalms,<sup>100</sup> *Kyrie, Pater*, and three opening prayers.<sup>101</sup> The *Coetus* argued that these elements, intended to take place at the altar steps, were far too long. A brief word of greeting to the candidates, their parents, and their friends during the opening moments of the Rite, would better accomplish the intent of the introductory rites

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<sup>96</sup> While this material originally comprised a separate subsection within the document, these omissions will be integrated into the following discussion of the proposed shape of the Rite. Five units were to be omitted: introductory Psalms and their accompanying prayer; the renunciation of Satan and profession of faith; a separate statement of allegiance to Christ; the blowing upon/insufflation of the catechumen; and the blessing of salt.

<sup>97</sup> SC, 23: "... Finally, there must be no innovations unless the good of the Church genuinely and certainly requires them; care must be taken that any new forms adopted should in some way grow organically from forms already existing."

S-77 10: "Optandum est, ut elementum tanti ponderis ita redigi possit, ut iisdem verbis in Ritualibus particularibus reddi possit, ut patefiat non esse nisi unam conversionem ad Christum, 'unum mediatorem Dei et hominum' (1 Tim. 2:5)."

<sup>98</sup> OBA 1; OBA1962 1: "V. Deus in adiutorium meum intende. R. Domine, ad adjuvandum me festina. V. Gloria Patri. R. Sicut erat."

<sup>99</sup> OBA 2; OBA1962 2: "Effundam super vos aquam mundam, et mundabimini ab omnibus inquinamentis vestris, dicit Dominus."

<sup>100</sup> Psalms 8, 28(29), and 41(42).

<sup>101</sup> OBA 3: "Omnipotens sempiterne Deus..." and "Adesto supplicationibus nostris..."; and OBA 4: "Da, quaesumus, Domine..." In OBA1962 these texts were contained solely within paragraph 3. OBA1962 clarified its predecessor here, by eliminating the rubrical divisions between the prayers, thus linking them, and by combining them within one paragraph.

TABLE 3.2  
THE SHAPE OF THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS  
IN SCHEMATA 77

<p>OBA Introductory Rites: versicle, antiphon with Psalms, <i>Kyrie</i>, <i>Pater</i>, and opening prayer</p> <p>Dialogue of Faith and Catechesis at the entrance to the Church Renunciation of Satan Profession of Faith Exorcism by <i>exsufflatione</i></p> <p>Gift of Spirit by <i>insufflatione</i> Anointing of forehead and heart</p> <p>Rejection of False Cults</p> <p>Adhesion to Christ</p> <p>Anointing of senses</p> <p>Imposition of hands</p> <p>Blessing and Distribution of Salt</p> <p>... Introduction into Church</p>	<p>OBA1962 <b>First Stage:</b> Introductory Rites: versicle, antiphon with Psalms, <i>Kyrie</i>, <i>Pater</i>, and opening prayer Dialogue of Faith and Catechesis at the foot of the altar Renunciation of Satan Profession of Faith Exorcism by <i>exsufflatione</i></p> <p>Gift of Spirit by <i>insufflatione</i> Anointing of forehead and heart</p> <p>Adhesion to Christ</p> <p>Anointing of senses – option for sponsors to anoint, while priest recited texts Imposition of hands – variable gesture Dismissal of Catechumens <b>Second Stage:</b> versicle, Blessing and Distribution of Salt <b>... Sixth Stage:</b> Introduction into Church</p>	<p>S-77 Word of greeting</p> <p>Dialogue of Faith and Catechesis: revised text to include Adhesion to Christ</p> <p>Optional Exorcism by <i>exsufflatione</i></p> <p>Imposition of hands, with revised text Optional Rejection of False Cults, with revised text Optional Giving of a new name</p> <p>Anointing of forehead Optional Anointing of senses</p> <p>Introduction into Church</p> <p>Liturgy of the Word Dismissal of Catechumens with Litany of Intercession Optional General Intercessions of the Faithful Optional Celebration of the Eucharist</p>
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contained in OBA1962.<sup>102</sup> The omission of mention of the sponsors at this early point in the rite would generate conversation within the *Consilium* later in the meeting, but for the moment, it would not be noted. The *Consilium* agreed to this proposal.<sup>103</sup>

Thus the first element to occur in the new rite would be the introductory dialogue of faith and conversion with summary of catechesis, which would be based on the dialogue found in OBA and OBA1962.<sup>104</sup> In OBA this element was to take place in the entrance to the church (*ad limen ecclesiae*) with the priest standing inside the threshold, and the catechumens standing outside,<sup>105</sup> while in OBA1962, the rite took place at the steps to the altar.<sup>106</sup> OBA1962 had replaced the priest's question to the catechumens, "What is your name", with the catechumens responding "present" (*adsum*) to their name.<sup>107</sup> Otherwise all of the texts in OBA1962 were also in OBA. The *Coetus* defended retaining the interrogatory portion of the element because of its antiquity, which

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<sup>102</sup> S-77 18: "Nimis longam reddunt caeremoniam haec elementa introductoria; melius eorum loco brevis allocutio candidatos eorumque parentes et amicos introducet in sensum ordinis."

This itself was a short-lived change from prior thinking, which noted that the candidates should be surrounded by the community. Paul Turner notes that the mention of friends and not the community recognizes "that this step does not carry the importance of baptism at Easter" (*Hallelujah Highway*, 160). Work on the OCGD in the next phase would resume reference to the community without explanatory comment.

<sup>103</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 12: "Placetne Patribus omissio psalmorum introductionum?"

<sup>104</sup> OBA 5; OBA1962 4. Turner highlights that this formula was itself drawn from the *Pontifical of the Roman Curia* (*Hallelujah Highway*, 160).

<sup>105</sup> OBA 5.

<sup>106</sup> OBA1962 1: "Sacerdos... cum suis clericis accedit ad gradus altaris..." No instruction is given regarding the threshold of the Church. Turner notes that "the study group preserved this although it was a late addition to the rite. It appeared about this point in the 1614 ritual... It recalls the importance of the threshold in Peter's conversations with Cornelius. The study group augmented what could have been a sterile entrance by suggesting the use of an appropriate song" (*Hallelujah Highway*, 162).

<sup>107</sup> OBA1962 4: "Tum sacerdos catechumenos vocat nominatim, per nomen et cognomen familiae... et ille qui est appellatus respondet: *Adsum*."



they saw evidenced by the *Apostolic Tradition*,<sup>108</sup> but would try to articulate the same material contained within the formal act of allegiance to Christ from OBA and OBA1962.<sup>109</sup> Further, they defended the summary of catechesis as being an important moment of evangelization in the rite, providing “the first official contact between the Church and the newly converted,” which articulated the Church’s official teaching.<sup>110</sup> The *Consilium* approved this plan of revision.<sup>111</sup>

Based on the principle contained in *SC*, that “elements that, with the passage of time, came to be duplicated or were added with but little advantage are now to be discarded,”<sup>112</sup> the *Coetus* recommended eliminating the baptismal renunciation of Satan

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<sup>108</sup> S-77 10: “Dialogus... quoad substantiam retinendus esse videtur, quia correspondet inquisitioni de motivis et de sinceritate conversionis, quae iam apud S. Hippolytum invenitur.”

Presumably, this reference is to Chapter 15 of the *Apostolic Tradition*: “Ceux qui se présentent pour le première fois afin d’entendre la parole seront amenés tout d’abord devant les docteurs avant que tout le peuple n’arrive, et on leur demandera la raison pour laquelle ils viennent à la foi” [Botte, *Hippolyte*, 69]. Bradshaw, Johnson, and Phillips have indicated that “all the versions [of the document] and the derivative documents refer both to an examination of the newcomer’s motives...” [*The Apostolic Tradition*, 84].

<sup>109</sup> S-77 20: “Adheasio ad Christum (RR, n. 10: Cole Deum... et Jesum Christum; ritus a. 1962 n. 9): Integrabitur in dialogum initialem.”

<sup>110</sup> S-77 10: “Catechesis summaria, quae dialogum concludit, occasionem praebet Ecclesiae in primo officiali contactu cum neoconverso praesentandi substantiam nuntii salutis, nempe Christum Salvatorem et praeceptum caritatis. Summi momenti est hic dialogus etiam pro ritu reformato, quia resumit substantiam evangelizationis, quam candidati audierunt durante periodo praecedenti... et quae ad conversionem authenticam eos iam duxit.”

Turner locates the summary in OBA as emerging from the *Pontifical of the Roman Curia (Hallelujah Highway, 160)*.

<sup>111</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 4: “Placetne Patribus, dialogum et catechesim, quae aperiunt ritus baptismi adulatorum, hoc sensu recognosci?”

S-77 Quaesitum 14: “Placetne Patribus insertio motivi adhaesionis ad Christum in dialogum initialem?”

<sup>112</sup> *SC*, 50.

and profession of Faith here.<sup>113</sup> Not only were these elements doubled within the Rite, but they would be better located in closer proximity to the celebration of baptism itself, thereby illustrating the catechumen's progression of faith.<sup>114</sup> The *Consilium* agreed with the removal of these elements from the shape of the revised Rite.<sup>115</sup> The *Coetus* did, however, recommend allowing for the renunciation of false cults to be maintained as an option where necessitated by the catechumen having been a member of an institutionalized cult. The formula should vary, however, according to local conditions.<sup>116</sup> The *Consilium* approved this proposition.

The *Coetus* then treated the exorcism by blowing (*exorcismus per exsufflationem*). The exorcism was recommended as an optional element, according to the local Conferences of Bishops, in order to allow for local custom and sensibilities, which might render the element in an unintended manner.<sup>117</sup> In OBA the priest simply

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<sup>113</sup> OBA 6, 7; and OBA1962 5, 6.

<sup>114</sup> S-77 19: "Tardius i.e. post s. 6. renuntiatio et professio hoc loco introductae sunt non obstante facto quod praecise hoc modo renuntiatio et professio fient in ipso contextu baptismi. Hoc loco nullatenus correspondent itineri spirituali candidati et inde omittenda esse videntur iuxta principium ab ipso Concilio pro Missa enuntiatum (cf. Art. 50 Const.), nempe de duplicatis omittendis."

<sup>115</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 13: "Placetne Patribus omissio renuntiationis et professionis in hac prima statione?"

<sup>116</sup> S-77,CRi-2bis, 13: Ritus a. 1962 renuntiationem, quae in RR sub. N. 10 habebatur, suppressit et quidem recte, propter characterem offensivum formularum; tamen aliqua saltem renuntiatio expressa necessaria esse videtur in casu cultus institutionalis; tunc enim candidati eligere debent inter Christum et fictos mediatores inter Deum et hominem, cum qua electione stat et cadit authentica conversio. Formulae secundum diversa adiuncta diversarum regionum a Conferentiis episcopalibus exarandae erunt; Rubrica in RR reformato inserenda eas monebit, ne formulas adhibeant, quae cultibus non-christianis iniuriam afferunt."

<sup>117</sup> S-77 11: "Exorcismus per exsufflationem, qui invenitur in RR 1.c. sub n.8, in ritu a. 1962 sub nn. 7 et 7a... ad libitum conferentiarum episcopalium retinendus esse videtur. Ratio est, quia neoconversi ex Agnosticismo fidem habent nondum satis evolutam, ut possint percipere influxus potestatum spiritualium et acceptare signum exsufflationis, dum alii v.g. ex animismo conversi, tali exorcismo vere indigent eiusque formam intelligunt. Ritus a. 1962 sub n. 7a pro priori casu proposuerat conversionem exsufflationis in erectionem manus dexteræ versus catechumenos, sed nec hunc gestum (pariter

blew three times “into the face,”<sup>118</sup> while in OBA1962 the type of breath was clarified as being “gentle.”<sup>119</sup> In both recensions of the rite a prayer accompanied the breathing.<sup>120</sup> OBA1962 contained another addition, however, allowing, when convenient, for a general exorcism over the catechumens rather than individual exorcisms. Allowing the omission of the breaths, this option simply had the priest recite the same prayer with his right hand held up towards the catechumens.<sup>121</sup> The *Coetus*’ proposed revision contained only a single breath rather than three, and maintained the recently approved general exorcism with its optional breath, here also limited to one. Furthermore, the revised shape would omit the post-exorcism gift of the Spirit, through the breath (*insufflatione*) of the priest that was found in both previous versions of the Rite.<sup>122</sup> They argued that the conferral of the Spirit in baptism rendered this bestowal of the Spirit premature, and would diminish the ritual importance of the Blessing of the Water.<sup>123</sup> The *Consilium* accepted both the

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apotropaicum) intelligent neoconvesi ex Agnosticismo. Tamen etiam iis post aliquot tempus (in 2a, 3a, et 4a statione) Ecclesia sat clare loquetur de diabolo et angelis eius.

<sup>118</sup> OBA 8: “Tunc sacerdos exsufflat ter in faciem ejus...”

<sup>119</sup> OBA1962 7: “Tunc sacerdos ter exsufflat leniter versus faciem eorum...”

<sup>120</sup> OBA 8, and OBA1962 7: “Exi ab eis, spiritus immunde, et da locum Spiritui Sancto Paraclito.”

<sup>121</sup> OBA1962 7a: “Sicubi vero vel etiam lenis exsufflatio ex longinquo minus conveniens esse videtur, sacerdos supradictam formulam dicit, manu dextera versus catechumenos erecta.”

<sup>122</sup> OBA 9; and OBA1962 8: “Accipite Spiritum bonum per istam insufflationem, et Dei benedictionem. Pax vobis. R. Et cum spiritu tuo.” Turner notes that the insufflation was only added to the rite in the 1614 *Rituale* (*Hallelujah Highway*, 161).

<sup>123</sup> S-77 21: “Tardius adiecta hoc loco praematura esse videtur cum quoad rem (in ipso baptismo Spiritus S. accipitur) tum quoad dispositionem candidatorum. Ritus potius aptus est ad consecrandam aquam baptismalem quam ad faciendum catechumenum. Insuper immediate sequens ritum exsufflationis eius vim exorcisticam quodammodo minuit.”

optional and the general status of this element, as well as the proposed content of the element, eliminating the giving of the Spirit.<sup>124</sup>

The next element treated by the *Coetus* was the rite for the imposition of hands. The *Coetus* cited Eusebius' *The Life of Constantine* as a rationale for this move:

Having perceived [that his life was ending], [Constantine] knelt on the floor and made himself a suppliant to God, making confession in the *martyrion* itself, where also he was first accorded the prayers that go with laying on of hands.<sup>125</sup>

The mention of a handlaying in *The Life of Constantine* appeared to mark Constantine's entry into the catechumenate. In order to better signify the initial activity of the Church, the *Coetus* argued that it should be moved from its location in the previous versions of the Rite (after the anointing of the forehead and heart) to the beginning of the rite. The handlaying would thus occur no more than third in the rite, as opposed to twelfth in OBA, a position corresponding to last in the first stage of OBA1962. As in the conversion of Constantine, the handlaying would clearly mark the movement of the newly converted into the catechumenate.<sup>126</sup> The *Coetus* proposed that the prayer used in the previous versions of the Rite would be retained, though in an altered form.<sup>127</sup> OBA1962 had

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<sup>124</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 5: "Placetne Patribus 1° acceptationem ritus exsufflationis relinqu Conferentiis episcopalibus? 2° formulam sensu supra descripto/reconosci?"

S-77 Quaesitum 15: "Placetne Patribus suppressio insufflationis?"

<sup>125</sup> *The Life of Constantine* IV, 61 (3), in Eusebius, *The Life of Constantine*: Introduction, translation, and commentary by Averil Cameron and Stuart G. Hall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). See also PG 2, 1213.

<sup>126</sup> S-77 12: "Ritus impositionis manus, qui in RR tantum post signationes sequebatur... tanti ponderis est, ut melius in initio actionis ipsius Ecclesiae ponatur et quidem obligatorie; hoc ritu enim secundum conceptionem antiquam neoconversus fit catechumenus.

<sup>127</sup> S-77 12: "Quae significatio clarius in oratione concomitante exprimi deberet. Inde oratio 'Omnipotens sempiterne Deus' (RR, n. 12; ritus a. 1962, n. 11), retenta substantia, hoc sensu recognoscenda esse videtur."

omitted the priest's laying on of hands, maintaining only the priest's extension of his hand.<sup>128</sup> The *Consilium* approved the proposed new location for the element, the retrieval of the actual laying on of hands, as well as the emendation of the accompanying prayer.<sup>129</sup>

The *Coetus* turned to another optional element – the renunciation of false cults, which included paganism, Judaism, Islam, and, potentially, Protestant “sects” (“*Haereticis*”) if the validity of that baptism was in question. This element had been removed from OBA1962 because of its “offensive character.”<sup>130</sup> While acknowledging that there was no need to subject every catechumen to this element, the *Coetus* recognized that, at least in some certain cases, there might be a need for this type of renunciation. Consequently, the suggestion was made that the local Conferences of

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OBA1962 11: “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, respicere dignare super hos famulos tuos, quos (has famulas tuas, quas) ad rudimenta fidei vocare dignatus es: omnem caecitatem cordis ab eis expelle: disrumpe omnes laqueos signo sapientiae tuae imbuti (-ae), omnium cupiditatum foetoribus careant, et ad suavem odorem praeceptorum tuorum laeti (-ae) efficiantur accedere ad gratiam Baptismi tui, percepta medicina. Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.”

<sup>128</sup> OBA 12: Tunc imponit manum super caput singulorum electorum et postea, manum extensam tenens, dicit...”. OBA1962 11: “Tunc extendit manum super electos et dicit...”

<sup>129</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 6: “Placetne Patribus a) transpositio impositionis manus in hunc locum? b) recognitio proposita orationis concomitantis?”

<sup>130</sup> S-77 13: “Ritus a 1962 renuntiationem, que in RR sub n. 10 habebatur (‘Horresce idola...’), suppressit et quidem recte, propter characterem offensivum formularum.”

OBA 10: “*Et si Catechumenus venerit de gentilitatis errore, seu de ethnicis et idololatriis, Sacerdos dicat: Horresce idola, respue simulacra. Si ex Hebraeis, dicat: Horresce Judaicam perfidiam, respue Hebraeicam superstitionem. Si ex Mahumentanis, dicat: Horresce Mahumeticam perfidiam, respue pravam sectam infidelitatis. Si ex Haereticis, et in ejus Baptismo debita forma servata non sit, dicat: Horresce haereticam pravitatem, respue nefarias sectas impiorum N. (exprimens proprio nomine sectam de qua venit).*”

These texts were suppressed by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on November 27, 1959 \*Prot.H.10/959). See above, 53.

Bishops could write particular formulas, which would reflect the concerns of the particular communities and circumstances.<sup>131</sup> The *Consilium* accepted this proposal.<sup>132</sup>

The *Coetus* then proposed another optional element, dependant upon the local Conferences of Bishops. It was an innovation, not previously seen in the *Rituale*. The giving of a new name was seen as a beneficial adaptation, especially in regions populated by Muslims, since the practice was well attested in Islam. The *Coetus* argued that in allowing for this practice those converting would not see Christianity as inferior to Islam.<sup>133</sup> The *Consilium* approved the proposal.<sup>134</sup>

Since the formal act of Adhesion to Christ<sup>135</sup> was to be incorporated into the introductory dialogue, the *Coetus* advocated its removal from Rite at this point. The *Consilium* accepted the suggestion.

The next element included in the *Coetus*' proposal was that of the signing of the forehead and the signing of the senses. The "ancient tradition" of signing the forehead had been amplified by the Gallican accretions of signations, which were continued in

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<sup>131</sup> S-77 13: "Formulae secundum diversa adiuncta diversarum regionum a Conferentiis episcopalibus exarandae erunt; Rubrica in RR reformato inserenda eas monebit, ne formulas adhibeant, quae cultibus non-christianis iniuriam afferunt."

<sup>132</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 7: "Placetne Patribus talis insertio renuntiationis quoad falsos cultus ad libitum Conferentiarum episcopalium?"

<sup>133</sup> S-77 14: "Impositio nominis hoc iam loco inserenda est innovatio, sed iam a pluribus annis petita a missionariis, qui laborant in regionibus, ubi influxus Mahometanismi in dies augetur. Adepti enim Mahometanismi subito nomen novum accipiunt; ne catechumeni iis inferiores censeantur, liceat iis – si casus fert – iam hic nomen novum imponere."

<sup>134</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 8: "Placetne Patribus talis insertio impositionis nominis ad libitum Conferentiarum episcopalium?"

<sup>135</sup> OBA 10, and OBA1962 9: "Colite Deum Patrem omnipotentem, et Jesum Christum, Filium eius unicum, Dominum nostrum, qui venturus est iudicare vivos et mortuos, et saeculum per ignem."

OBA and OBA1962.<sup>136</sup> These – on the chest (the heart),<sup>137</sup> the senses (the ears, the eyes, and the mouth), the breast and the shoulders – were to be declared optional elements according to the discretion of the local Conferences of Bishops. The anointing of the nostrils, which followed the anointing of the eyes in OBA and OBA1962, was recommended removed altogether, as it was “difficult to understand in contemporary society.”<sup>138</sup> The anointing of the forehead would be retained. Here Bishop L. Satoshi Nagae of Japan expressed concern about the prospect of the priest actually touching the catechumen. This would be, he argued, a clear offence against Japanese cultural sensibilities.<sup>139</sup> OBA1962 had allowed the possibility that the priest not touch the catechumens in regions where this would cause scandal, but that the sponsors trace the sign of the cross with the accompanying formula by the priest.<sup>140</sup> Furthermore, OBA1962 had allowed for the possibility that the signing of the other senses be done by

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<sup>136</sup> Turner indicates that the signing of the senses did not find their way into the Roman practice until the 1614 *Rituale* (*Hallelujah Highway*, 161).

<sup>137</sup> OBA 10, and OBA1962 9.

<sup>138</sup> S-77 15: “Signatio frontis, quae habetur in RR sub n. 10 (ritus a. 1962, n. 9) antiquissimae est traditionis, cum altera signatio nempe cordis tardius (et minus feliciter) adiecta sit. Signationes quoque sensuum (RR n. 10; ritus a. 1962, n. 9) tardius – et quidem ex traditione Gallicana – adiectae sunt; tamen non spernendae esse videntur, quia valde expressivae sunt (salva signatione frontis, quae inepte duplicat signationem modo factam et signatione narium, quae difficulter hodie intelligitur).”

The signing of the senses is incorrectly referenced in S-77 15, as taking place at OBA 10 and OBA1962 9. These locations describe the signation of the forehead. OBA 11 and OBA1962 10 are what was actually intended.

<sup>139</sup> See ROL 589: “Bishop Nagae, who gave expression to Japanese sensibilities, insisted, as he had already done at the first presentation of the Schemata, that the anointings and, more generally, everything requiring a direct contact of the celebrant and the catechumen or baptizand be made optional.”

<sup>140</sup> OBA1962 9a: “Ubi vero, contra ritum signandi catechumenos signo Crucis ab ipso sacerdote, graviores surgunt difficultates, Conferentiae episcopales, iuxta normas pro usu huius Ordinis, n. 3a, determinare debent, utrum catechumeni a patrinis Cruce signandi sint, an se ipsos cruce signent, dum sacerdos idem signum Crucis super omnes simul producit et formulam pronuntiat.”

the candidate themselves, with the priest simply making the sign of the cross.<sup>141</sup> While these signations were deemed optional in S-77, thereby eliminating a source of cultural insensitivity in Japan, OBA1962 contained the clear precedent for no external contact at all. The *Consilium* authorized the *Coetus*' proposal, according significant place to Bishop Nagae's cautions.<sup>142</sup>

In the prior versions of the rite, the Laying on of Hands would have occurred next, which, as mentioned above, was to be moved earlier in the station. This was followed, in these versions, by the blessing and distribution of salt.<sup>143</sup> Citing four different reasons, the *Coetus* argued for the suppression of this element. First and foremost, the rite lacked ritual clarity in contemporary society.<sup>144</sup> Second, this confusion outweighed the history of the element, witnessed in the West since St. Augustine, though thoroughly unknown in Eastern Christianity.<sup>145</sup> Third, the *Coetus* argued, in warmer regions, it would be difficult to preserve salt.<sup>146</sup> Finally, in certain African cultures, the act of giving salt was so closely aligned with the act of baptism itself that one who had

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<sup>141</sup> OBA1962 10a: "Ubi vero, iuxta ea quae superius, ad n. 9a dicta sunt, signum Crucis ab ipso sacerdote super catechumenos effici non possit, ipsi catechumeni, proprio loco manentes, pollice se signant in respectivo corporis loco, dum sacerdos manu signa Crucis versus eos producit, dicens: ..."

<sup>142</sup> S-77 Quaestium 9: "Placetne Patribus solutio proposita de signationibus?"  
"Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril," Q.9: "Placet. Relator observat quod difficultas ab ep. [X] privatim mota de evitando quovis tactu corporali apud Asiatas facile solvi potest admittendo morem hic vel illic etiam in Europa usitatum (e.g. quando in familiis Tyrolensibus paterfamilias filios benedicit antequam cubitum eant), nempe delineandi signum crucis non in fronte sed ante frontem, quasi in aere."

<sup>143</sup> OBA.13-15, and OBA1962 13-15.

<sup>144</sup> S-77 22: "Symbolismus porrectionis salis nullibi adhuc clare apparet; nemo iam intelligit, quomodo antiquitus sal catechumenorum considerari potuerit tamquam pignus eucharistiae."

<sup>145</sup> S-77 22: "Negari nequit ritum iam a S. Augustino memoratum pro sua antiquitate esse venerabilem; tamen traditio porrigendi sal catechumenis est traditio exclusive occidentalis i.e. romano-africana, plene ignota Orienti christiano."

<sup>146</sup> S-77 22: "In regionibus calidioribus sal difficulter conservatur."



“accepted salt” was one who was “baptized”.<sup>147</sup> Nonetheless, the *Coetus* assured the *Consilium* that there was no reason that regional Conferences of Bishops could not maintain this element as an optional element, especially in regions where salt was understood as a symbol of hospitality, during the next element discussed by the *Coetus*.<sup>148</sup> The *Consilium* approved this proposal.

The next element treated by the *Coetus* was the Introduction into the Church and the Liturgy of the Word. In both OBA and OBA1962 the Introduction into the Church took place as one of the last steps before baptism itself.<sup>149</sup> The *Coetus* instead proposed that the Introduction into the Church be moved towards the beginning of the entire Rite, as it would be a fitting end to the Rite for making catechumens. Further, according to SC 35,<sup>150</sup> they recommended that it be celebrated in the context of the Liturgy of the Word, since this was a liturgical event in which the catechumens could participate.<sup>151</sup> The *Coetus* also advocated modifying the way in which the catechumens were introduced. In

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<sup>147</sup> S-77 22: “Factum inusitatum, quod sacerdos homini adulto sal in os ponit, nimis attrahit attentionem, praesertim in ambitu culturae primitivae. In quibusdam regionibus Africae synonyme pro ‘baptizari’ dicitur ‘sal accipere’.”

<sup>148</sup> S-77 22: “Nil impedit quominus Conferentia quaedam episcopalis in regione, ubi adhuc sal in signum hospitalitatis porrigitur, porrectionem eiusmodi iuxta ea, quae supra sub. 1° ad g (see below) dicta sunt, introducat eo momento Ordinis ad catechumenum faciendum, quando incipit introductio neocatechumenorum in ecclesiam.”

<sup>149</sup> In OBA1962 the Introduction into the Church was the sixth of seven stages – the seventh stage was that of baptism. In the earlier version of the Rite, the Introduction into the Church was separated from baptism only by the *traditio* of the Creed and the Lord’s Prayer, an Exorcism, the *Ephphatha*, and the anointing with the Oil of Catechumens.

<sup>150</sup> SC, 35: “That the intimate connection between words and rites may stand out clearly in the liturgy... Bible services should be encouraged...”

<sup>151</sup> S-77 16: “Ii qui catechumeni facti sunt, deinceps ad ecclesiam saltem pro liturgia verbi admittuntur; ergo ritus introductionis melius locum habet in fine Ordinis ad catechumenum faciendum.”

OBA and OBA1962, after greeting the catechumens at the doors to the Church,<sup>152</sup> the priest would, with his left hand, take the first catechumen's arm, who would take the next catechumen's hand, who would take the next catechumen's hand, until the last catechumen.<sup>153</sup> Alternatively, the priest could give the first catechumen the left end of his stole instead of his hand. As they processed into the Church the priest would give a formal speech of introduction into the Church. The *Coetus* argued, however, that the joining of hands should be removed, as it seemed "artificial." During the procession a Psalm would be sung.<sup>154</sup> Further, the *Coetus* proposed that additional gestures of welcome, according to local custom, might be added at the discretion of the local Conferences of Bishops, especially in mission territories.<sup>155</sup> This admission might include the blessing and distribution of salt. The *Consilium* agreed to this proposal.<sup>156</sup>

The final element in the first stage of the Rite proposed by the *Coetus* was the dismissal of the catechumens. The *Coetus* presumed the presence of the faithful in the

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<sup>152</sup> OBA 41: "V: Deus in adiutorium meum intende. R: Domine, ad adiuvandam me festina. V: Gloria Patri. R: Sicut erat."

<sup>153</sup> OBA 29: "His peractis, Sacerdos sinistra manu apprehendens dexteram Electi prope brachium, vel ei porrigens extremam partem stolae, ex humero sinistro pendentem, introducit eum in ecclesiam; et si Electi sint plures, primus sinistra manu trahit secundum, et secundus tertium, etc."

OBA1962 42: "Deinde sacerdos, sinistra manu apprehendens dexteram primi electi prope brachium, vel ei porrigens extremam partem stolae, ex humero sinistro pendentem, introducit eum in ecclesiam; primus sinistra manu trahit secundum, et secundus tertium, etc. Dum autem sacerdos illos introducit, dicit (in singulari pro singulo): Ingedimini in sanctam ecclesiam Dei, ut accipiatis benedictionem caelestem a Domino Jesu Christo, et habeatis partem cum illo et Sanctis eius."

<sup>154</sup> S-77 16: "Modus quo olim introducebantur... non retinendus esse videtur, quia artificialitatem sapit; dum intrant, cantabitur psalmus processionalis."

<sup>155</sup> S-77 16: "In initio rubricae, quae hunc ritum introductionis aperiet [*sic.*], RR reformatum portam aperiet [*sic.*] aptationibus quoad ritus hospitalitatis cuique populo propriis [*sic.*] et quoad consuetudines in terris Missionum legitime vigentes, e. gr. *impositio* numismatis sacri."

<sup>156</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 10: "Placetne Patribus solutio proposita de introductione neo-catechumenorum in ecclesiam?"

reformed Rites, and thus, allowed for the celebration of the eucharist. As a consequence, their proposal envisioned a liturgical dismissal, where the catechumens, according to “ancient custom,” would receive a blessing at the hand of the presider.<sup>157</sup> Prayers would accompany this dismissal for the catechumens, in the form of a litany of intercessions, which would be followed by the General Intercessions themselves, thus leading to the celebration of the eucharist.<sup>158</sup>

When S-77 was presented to the *Consilium*, an important oversight was noted in the shape of the rite – the lack of explicit reference to the sponsors. While they had been mentioned in OBA1962 as possibly performing the anointing of the senses if the number of catechumens was especially large, they were accorded no role whatsoever in the first stage of the proposed rite. One possible explanation for their omission would have been an understanding of development of the role of sponsors that relied on the initiation of infants – sponsors could provide a profession of faith on behalf of those who could not speak for themselves.<sup>159</sup> This theory found acceptance in Duchesne’s *Christian Worship*:

At this period the baptism of adults had become exceptional, and the rites of initiation were ordinarily confined to infants. Thus... *Ordo [XI]* and the rubrics of the Sacramentary speak of infants in arms, who are accompanied by godfathers and godmothers to answer in their names.<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> S-77 17: “Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum concludi non potest sine dimissione liturgica, pro qua proponitur antiquissima consuetudo, secundum quam post orationem sacerdotalem completam quivis catechumenus ‘ad manus episcopi vel sacerdotis’ accedit, qui ei manum imponit.”

<sup>158</sup> S-77 17: “Dum dimittuntur catechumeni, fideles praesentes in forma litanica pro iis orant, quam litaniam post discessum catechumenorum sequetur Oratio fidelium, quandocumque post Ordinem ad catechumenum faciendum Eucharistia celebratur.”

<sup>159</sup> See, for example, *ApTrad* 21: “Tous ceus qui ne le peuvent pas, leurs parents parleront pour eux, ou quelqu’un de leur famille” (Botte, 81).

<sup>160</sup> *CW* 295.

Following this theory, sponsors would not be required in the rite of adult initiation, since adults could speak for themselves. In clear contrast to this theory, however, was that of Michel Dujarier, who posited that from the beginning of any formal catechumenate, even an adult catechumenate,

sponsors played a role before the entry of their godchildren into the catechumenate. They followed their work during the three years of instruction, so that they could serve as guarantors in the examination of candidates before baptism.<sup>161</sup>

Dujarier proposed that sponsors were vital to the process of adult conversion and initiation, and demonstrated that “sponsors are at the center of the catechumenate, and explain its genesis, rather than the other way around.”<sup>162</sup> More than simply voices for those with no voice of their own, sponsors were role models and directors of conversion, finding their primary role in the formation of their godchildren, rather than in the ritual.<sup>163</sup> It appears that the *Coetus* did, actually, concur with Dujarier’s theory, especially since sponsors had been mentioned within the rite of making catechumens in an earlier document, “Directives for Choice of Rite – Trier, Nov. 4, 1964.” They agreed with the *Consilium* that specific mention of the sponsors should be added to clarify their presence

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<sup>161</sup> Michel Dujarier, *Le Parrainage des adultes aux trois premiers siècles de l’Église: Recherche historique sur l’évolution des garanties et des étapes catéchuménales avant 313*, Paris, Les Éditions du Cerf, 1962), 89: “Les parrains ont donc joué un rôle avant même l’entrée de leurs filleuls dans le catéchuménat. Ils vont poursuivre leur tâche pendant les trois années d’instruction, puisqu’on leur demandera encore des garanties lors de l’examen d’admission au baptême.”

<sup>162</sup> Dujarier, *Parrainage*, 9: “C’est le parrainage qui est au centre de l’institution du catéchuménat et, en un sens, en explique la genèse, et non l’inverse.”

<sup>163</sup> Dujarier, *Parrainage*, 73: “Le parrain chrétien joue son rôle principal à l’admission au catéchuménat et non pas au cours de la cérémonie baptismale.”

during the ritual activity.<sup>164</sup> With this addition, the *Consilium* agreed to the proposed revisions to the first station of the rite.<sup>165</sup>

### 3.2.1.3.2: Minor Exorcisms and Traditiones

The second subsection of the second section dealt with the Second Station, *De exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus*. Apart from the components of minor exorcisms and the *traditiones* envisioned within this stage, the catechumens would receive instruction, both individual and liturgical. The *Coetus* proposed five different locations for liturgical instruction of the catechumens. The first possibility for instruction was during specific catechetical celebrations of the Liturgy of the Word. Second, instruction could take place during the dismissal of the catechumens within the normal celebration of the eucharist. The *Coetus* here indicated that these dismissals would be follow the same structure described in the first stage, at the end of the first station. Third, liturgical instruction could occur when the catechumens were being blessed or exorcized, whether these events were during celebrations of the Word, catechetical occasions, or even in private. Fourth, instruction could take place during the funeral liturgy for a catechumen. Fifth, instruction was permitted during the marriage of a catechumen.<sup>166</sup> These latter

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<sup>164</sup> “Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril,” Q.11: “Placet. Quidam – ex membris ep. [X], ex consultoribus Martimort desiderant explicitiorem partem patrinorum iam in hac 1a statione. Relator promisit hoc desiderium legitimum – uti potest – denuo examinatum iri.”

<sup>165</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 11: “Placetne Patribus talis conclusio Ordinis ad catechumenum faciendum?”

<sup>166</sup> S-77 23: “Instructiones huic parti Praemittendae loquantur: de celebrationibus verbi catechesi aptatis; de dimissione catechumenorum post singulas celebrationes verbi (forsan ad modum dimissionis in fine Ordinis ad catechumenum faciendum ordinanda); de momento, quo benedictiones et exorcismi locum habent sive intra celebrationem verbi, sive occasione catecheseos, sive, si casus fert, privatim; de exsequiis catechumenorum, referendo ad ritum specialem providendum in titulo De exsequiis; de matrimonio catechumenorum: cum iam ad Ecclesiam quodammodo pertineant, ius habent ad illius preces, ut vita sua conjugalit sanctificetur.”

opportunities were based on an understanding of the ecclesial rights of catechumens, a status that was ritually clarified by moving the Introduction into the Church to the beginning of the catechumenal process.<sup>167</sup>

The *Coetus*' commentary on the exorcisms and blessing was exceptionally brief. They noted only that diverse texts would eventually be offered, and their preference for pastorally based choice, rather than strict textual uniformity.<sup>168</sup> On the other hand, the *Coetus* dealt more thoroughly with the *traditiones* in this section of the *Schemata*. They noted that these elements could occur either in the second or the third stage, according to the decisions of the Conferences of Bishops and the spiritual maturity of the individual catechumens. Here again, they demonstrated a preference for pastoral choice.<sup>169</sup> The *Coetus* envisioned a reintegration of the *traditiones* into the Rite, in a manner more closely related to their usage in the early Church.<sup>170</sup> What had been present in OBA and OBA1962 was a joint recitation of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer on the part of the

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<sup>167</sup> Instructiones 3:9, 1:17, 2:31: "A suo liturgico introitu ad catechumenatum, catechumenus omnibus iuribus fruitur quae si agnoscit Ecclesia, scilicet: a) participandi liturgiam verbi, oratione communi excepta; b) si dispensatione obtenta, matrimonium cum fidei contrahit, consensum emittendi et benedictionem accipiendi in ecclesia; c) alias benedictiones et sacramentalia recipiendi; d) si moritur, christiana funeralia obtinendi et sepulturas ecclesiastica."

<sup>168</sup> S-77 24: "De exorcismis et benedictionibus: Textus diversi offerentur ad seligendum."

<sup>169</sup> S-77 25: "Rubrica indicabit traditiones documentorum secundum decisiones conferentiarum episcopali fieri aut in tertia statione post unumquodque scrutinium aut iam in hac statione secunda, ratione habita progressus et maturitatis spiritualis candidatorum."

<sup>170</sup> S-77 25: "Quae traditiones hucusque nec in RR nec in ritu a. 1962 inveniuntur; correspondent tamen antiquissimo et venerabili usui Ecclesiae quem reintegrandum esse iam Commissio praeparatoria censuit."

See, for example, Ambrose, *Explanatio Symboli*; Egeria, *The Pilgrimage of Egeria*, 46 (in *DOBL* 34-35); Gelasian Sacramentary XXXV-XXXVI (in *DOBL* 221-225); and *Ordo Romanus XI*, 61-71 (in *DOBL* 248-249).

priest and all of the elect.<sup>171</sup> The proposed reintegration of the *traditiones* would take place within the context of the Liturgy of the Word, after the homily.

The *Coetus* argued that the universal preference ought to be for only the two most traditional *traditiones*: the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>172</sup> The *Coetus* proposed, however, that the addition of other *traditiones* might be considered at the local levels, based on particular circumstances. These two *traditiones* would both be innovations within the OBA and OBA1962. They suggested that these might include the *traditio* of the Bible, or of the New Testament alone. They argued that the Bible should not be a universal *traditio* for four principle reasons. First, they noted that in regions where illiteracy was relatively widespread, the giving of a book might result in a stratification of the catechumens into those able to read and those unable to read.<sup>173</sup> Second, they perceived the danger that the *traditio* of the Bible might lead to it being perceived as a magic book.<sup>174</sup> Third, the *Coetus* suggested that the *traditione* of the Bible could be seen in miniature in the *traditiones* of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.<sup>175</sup> Finally, they noted that the catechumens were, in fact, first presented with Scripture at the end of the first

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<sup>171</sup> OBA1962 44: "Deinde, signo dato, surgunt omnes simul et sacerdos extendit manum super capita eorum, et electi cum eo recitant symbolum Apostolorum et orationem dominicam."

The same instructions are contained in OBA 31, although the rubric referring to the given "sign" to come forward is an innovation.

<sup>172</sup> S-77 25: "RR reformatum sese ad duas traditiones limitabit, quae omnes alias et antiquitate et frequentia antecellunt, nempe ad traditionem Symboli et orationis Dominicae."

<sup>173</sup> S-77 25: "Ubi analphabetismus regnat, discriminatio oriretur eorum, qui adhuc legere nesciunt."

<sup>174</sup> S-77 25: "Periculum, quod e traditione sollemni oriatur vel foveatur conceptio magica libri sancti, non iam ubique terrarum exstinctum est."

<sup>175</sup> S-77 25: "In Symbolo et Oratione dominica iam traditur quasi 'breviarium' S. Scripturae."

stage, in the form of a liturgical celebration of the Word.<sup>176</sup> The *Consilium* approved the *Coetus*' proposal regarding the shape of the second station.<sup>177</sup>

### 3.2.1.3.3: Election, Scrutinies, and the Rites of Immediate Preparation

The third subsection of the second section of the *Schemata*, *De electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis ante ipsum baptismum*, dealt with the third station: election, the scrutinies, and the rites of immediate preparation before baptism. Each of these three elements was treated separately by the *Coetus*.

The *Coetus* began by noting that the Conferences of Bishops would not have the authority to dispense with the first element of this stage, which had been absent from the two previous recensions of the Rite, the Rite of Election. This *Coetus* considered this element a necessary addition to the Rites because the inscription of names of the elect, the *competentes*, and the *illuminandi* was such an ancient and widely attested tradition.<sup>178</sup> The *Coetus* accepted Dujarier's argument that while the actual inscription itself became a ritual element only in the fourth century, its roots could be attested as early as the second and third centuries in the act of choosing candidates for baptism. The very act of setting individuals apart for initiation was an act against the power of Satan – "entry into the

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<sup>176</sup> S-77 25: "In fine Ordinis ad catechumenum faciendum sollemniter praesentatur candidatis S. Scriptura et abhinc eorum iter spirituale concomitatur, praesertim in liturgiis verbi, quibus catechumeni assistant."

<sup>177</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 17: "Placetne Patribus haec ordinatio stationis secundae?"

<sup>178</sup> S-77 26: "Instructiones quae huic ritui praemittentur, Conferentiis episcopilibus relinquent libertatem hanc stationem aliter nuncupandi, ratione tamen habita nominum traditionalium e.g. 'inscriptio nominis' Catechumeni ipsi deinceps – secundum diversas traditiones – nuncupabuntur electi vel competentes vel illuminandi."



catechumenate corresponded to conscription (“*l’inscription*”) in the face of battle.”<sup>179</sup> Dujarier cited Origen’s homily, “On Jeremiah” as proof of his claim: “Whoever has entered the Church – listen well, catechumens, whoever has come to the word of God, has been conscripted (‘*inscrit*’) into combat for piety.”<sup>180</sup> Dujarier’s use of *inscrit* instead of *conscrit* in his translation is crucial; it highlights that the eventual writing of names into a book was a ritualized statement of a procedure attested as long as individuals had been presented for baptism.<sup>181</sup>

In describing the shape of the rite of election, which was to occur at the parish level, the *Coetus* indicated that the proper minister would be the parish priest, or, in his absence, a deacon.<sup>182</sup> This element would occur after the homily.<sup>183</sup> The first spoken text of this element would be the presentation of the candidates to the priest by whoever had prepared the candidates.<sup>184</sup> A dialogue, in question and answer format, between the priest and the all of the sponsors together would follow the presentation of the candidates.<sup>185</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Dujarier, *Le parrainage*, 281: “L’entrée en catéchuménat correspond à l’inscription en vue d’un combat; elle est déjà un premier pas qui engage.”

<sup>180</sup> Origen, On Jeremiah III, 3: “Celui qui est entré dans l’Église – écoutez bien ceci, catéchumènes – qui a accédé à la parole de Dieu, est inscrit [*conscriptus*; nous pensons au terme militaire ‘conscrit’] pour le combat de la piété.” Cited in Dujarier, *Le parrainage*, 281.

<sup>181</sup> Dujarier, *Rites*, 93-98. See also Dujarier, *Parrainage*, 49-50, 281.

<sup>182</sup> S-77 26: “... qui praesideat, sacerdos vel diaconus communitatem regens in locis sacerdote carentibus, vestes liturgicae praesidentis...”

<sup>183</sup> S-77 26: “Inseretur ritus inscriptionis Missae votivae speciali post homiliam...”

<sup>184</sup> S-77 26: “... verba, quibus candidati a sacerdote, qui eos praeparavit, vel a catechista praesentantur...”

<sup>185</sup> S-77 26: “dialogus de probatione feliciter peracta inter praesidentem et paternos, qui simul cum catechumenis accesserunt, qui dialogus collective fieri potest et in RR tantum quoad substantiam reddendus erit.” Turner notes that “Godparents thus fulfill their responsibility of vouching for the formation of the catechumens, so evident in sources such as Egeria, John Chrysostom and Caesarius of Arles” (*Hallelujah Highway*, 163).

Upon receiving testimony of the suitability of the candidates for election, the inscription of the names would occur, during which the *Coetus* recommended that the Psalm “As the deer longs for running streams” should be sung.<sup>186</sup> The priest would then give them an instruction (*allocutio*), and afterwards the elect would have prayers prayed over them in the form of a litany, and would be dismissed. The celebration of the eucharist was to resume with the Prayers of the Faithful.<sup>187</sup>

Significant discussion took place at this point, surrounding the cultural contexts that would render dismissing the elect from the liturgical assembly unwise. In particular, one member of the *Consilium* was quite concerned about the realities of the missionary situations. There, large numbers of non-Christians were regularly invited to and were present at liturgical celebrations; dismissing all of them would be impossible. A far more practical solution would be to allow the elect to remain within the assembly, but taking a place at the back.<sup>188</sup> One member of the *Consilium*, supported by Martimort and Cellier, recognized that requiring the dismissal of the elect from the assembly might communicate an unintended message in Western cultures also; the intended message about the place of the elect in the Church might well be lost amidst a feeling of

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<sup>186</sup> A handwritten note, “vel alius,” occurs in the copy of S-77, DRi-2bis held at the Notre Dame University archives, that indicates that another Psalm would also be appropriate during the inscription of names.

<sup>187</sup> S-77 26: “Post orationem, quae concludit inscriptionem electi, dimittatur more solito, sed loco orationis consuetae ponetur oratio specialis ‘super electos’. Post dimissionem electorum liturgia eucharistica incipiet cum oratione fidelium.”

<sup>188</sup> “Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril,” Q.26f: “Dimissio catechumenorum: ex interrogatione ep. [X] longa oritur disceptatio de opportunitate huius ritus, de cuius venerabilitate nemo dubitat. In [Y], ubi infideles ad assistendas celebrationes liturgicae invitari solent, talem dimissionem omnino impossibiliem esse, forsan remitti posse catechumenos in postenores sedes.”

resentment and exclusion.<sup>189</sup> The *Consilium* approved the restoration of the Rite of Election according to this plan, acknowledging the dismissal of the elect might be left to the discretion of the local Conferences of Bishops.<sup>190</sup> This decision would be applied to each liturgical dismissal in the OCGD.

The second element of the third station was the celebration of the Scrutinies. These exorcisms, which indicated the “intensified action of the Church,”<sup>191</sup> had existed in the previous recensions of the Rite: in OBA they were celebrated one after the other, while OBA1962 separated them into different stages (the third, fourth, and fifth).<sup>192</sup> While accepting the division of the exorcisms from OBA1962, the *Coetus* envisioned treating them in a different fashion. They proposed re-inserting the scrutinies into the masses for the sixth day after the third Sunday of Lent (the Samaritan woman), the fourth day after the fourth Sunday of Lent (the Man Blind from Birth), and the sixth day after

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<sup>189</sup> “Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril,” Q.26f: “Ep. [X] et consultores Martimort et Cellier observant talem dimissionem vim suam psychologicam non tantum exseruisse antiquis temporibus, sed experientias in hodierno catechumenatu sub ductu episcoporum factas optimas esse (ni fallor hoc sensu, quod dimissio absolute imponi nequit).”

<sup>190</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 18: “Placetne Patribus haec restauratio inscriptionis?”

A handwritten notation occurs in the Notre Dame University Archive copy of S-77 at this point: “Omittatur: Dimissio catechumenorum reliquit Ep. Conf.” Clearly relating to the concerns voiced within the Consilium, this notation indicates the Consilium’s decision that the Dismissal might be an optional element, left to the authority of the Conferences of Bishops. Indeed, in the subsequent draft of the Rite, the possibility is allowed that it might not be possible or appropriate to dismiss the catechumens, and so, allowance is made for their remaining amongst the assembly. The optional possibility in the later draft is not, however, delegated to the Conferences of Bishops, but rather, in case by case settings.

<sup>191</sup> S-77 27: “Postquam inscripti sunt electi intensior fit actio Ecclesiae: celebrantur exorcismi maiores, qui vocantur scrutinia, quod venerabile vocabulum secundum genium diversarum linguarum reintroducetur.” It is interesting to note the improper use of the term “major exorcism” here, since “minor exorcisms” were clearly intended. The *Coetus* was drawing a different distinction, between the major exorcism of the scrutiny, and the minor exorcisms during the catechumenate.

In the Notre Dame University Archive copy of S-77, the prefix “re” is scratched out in a later notation, leaving “introducetur.” It should be noted however, that the very next word, beginning a new paragraph is “reintroducenda,” and has no notations made to it.

<sup>192</sup> OBA 16-28; OBA1962 17-40.

the fourth Sunday of Lent (the Resurrection of Lazarus) following the homily.<sup>193</sup> In consultation with the other proper *Coetus*, these masses would be transferred, respectively, to the third and fourth Sundays of Lent, as well to the first Sunday of the Passion, and would supplant the proper formulas for those days whenever the Scrutinies were to be celebrated.<sup>194</sup> This, the *Coetus* argued, was in accordance with the principle espoused in *SC*: “More use is to be made of the baptismal features proper to the Lenten liturgy; some of those from an earlier era are to be restored as may seem advisable.”<sup>195</sup> Historically, this decision was rooted in the clear indications of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*, where the mass sets for the third, fourth, and fifth Sundays in Lent were designated “For the Scrutinies.”<sup>196</sup> Another significant change proposed by the *Coetus* was the suppression of separate Scrutiny texts for men and women, because, they reasoned, the existence of these different texts presumed a mindset that seemed outdated.<sup>197</sup> Despite the presence of these separate texts in both OBA and OBA1962, the

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<sup>193</sup> S-77 27: “Reintroducenda pariter videtur consuetudo antiqua inserendi haec scrutinia in sic dictas missas scrutiniorumquae adhuc exstant in Missali Romano... et quidem post homiliam.”

See Thomas M. Finn, *From Death to Rebirth: Ritual and Conversion in Antiquity* (New York: Paulist Press, 1997), 223-235. See also Dominic E. Serra, “New Observations About the Scrutinies of the Elect in Early Roman Practice,” *Worship* 80 (2006), 511-527.

<sup>194</sup> S-77 27: “Inde detur his formulariis, si coetibus competentibus *placet*, ut semper praesto sint, character Missae votivae primae classis, et quidem ita, ut etiam et praecipue in loco suo originali, nempe in Dominicis IIIa et IVa Quadragesimae et in Dominica prima Passionis celebrari possint supplantando formularia secundaria harum Dominicarum, saltem ubicumque hoc tempore scrutinia habentur.”

<sup>195</sup> *SC* 109a.

<sup>196</sup> Gelasian Sacramentary XXVI (Tertia Dominica Quae Pro Scrutiniis Electorum Celebratur), XXVII (Quarta Dominica Pro Scrutinio II), and XXVIII (Quinta Dominica Quae Pro Scrutinio Celebratur). See also *DOBL* 213-214.

<sup>197</sup> S-77 27: “Supprimenda esse videtur in scrutiniiis distincto vicens inter textus viris et feminis destinatos; quia talis distincto nullam pro se habet rationem legitimam; insuper non iam correspondet mentalitati nostri temporis.”

*Coetus* had been in agreement on this principle from the beginning of their work.<sup>198</sup> Joseph Pascher, a consultant,<sup>199</sup> questioned whether or not these texts might, indeed, be valuable to retain: “would it not be easy to revive the revered ancient formulas adapted for men and for women?”<sup>200</sup> This suggestion was rejected forcefully, not only for the reasons previously cited, but also because the history of women in the church had been one of being treated unequally, to say the least. There was no need, argued the *Coetus*, to perpetuate this imbalance in ritual language.<sup>201</sup>

The *Coetus* had further proposed that the Scrutinies would be composed of many of the elements from the exorcisms of both OBA and OBA1962: prayer over the kneeling elect, the exorcisms, the signation by the sponsor, and the prayer of the priest, with his hands extended over the elect.<sup>202</sup> The *Consilium* accepted both the proposal to insert the Scrutiny masses into the third stage, and the general order of the third stage.<sup>203</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> See above, p. 51

<sup>199</sup> Pascher had been one of the twenty-six members of the Preparatory Conciliar Commission, appointed in 1960 as the Relator for the subcommission on the Divine Office, he was one of the eleven individuals responsible for crafting the first chapter of *Sacrosanctum Concilium* in 1961, and in 1972 he was one of six speakers at the opening of the office of the Congregation for Divine Worship. See Bugnini, 16, 19, and 83.

<sup>200</sup> “Protocollum de iis quae diebus 3-6 junii 1965,” 5: Romae quidam ex consultoribus (Pascher) privatim hanc movit obiectionem: Nonne facile revivificari possent formulae antiquae revera vel viris vel feminis adaptatae: Salva eum uti salvasti Danielelem – Salva eam uti salvasti Susannam?”

<sup>201</sup> “Protocollum de iis quae diebus 3-6 junii 1965,” 5: Feminae semper suspicarentur huic separationi subesse ideam olim sat generalem intra et extra Ecclesiam feminam esse viro inferiorem, etiamsi textus aequalitatem coram Deo exprimerent.” See also “Le Saulchoir”, 2b.

<sup>202</sup> S-77 27: “Singula elementa scrutinii retinenda esse videntur: oratio electorum genibus flexis prolata, exorcismus (recognitis diversis textibus), signatio a patrinis facienda, oratio sacerdotalis, manu extensa super electos dicta.”

<sup>203</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 19: “Placetne Patribus: insertio proposita sic dictarum Missarum de scrutinio in hanc tertiam stationem? ordinatio huius stationis in genere?”

The third element of the third station comprised the Rites of Immediate Preparation. There were three preparatory rites, which were to be performed on the Sixth Sunday of Lent, or on Holy Saturday, according to the discretion of the local Conferences of Bishops: the *Ephphatha*, the *redditio* of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and the giving of a new name. Excepting the giving of a new name, which was an innovation, the other rites were well attested in the early sources. One of the rites that would also have taken place in this group, according to OBA and OBA1962, was the renunciation of Satan with anointing. The *Coetus* proposed that this element should be moved to the fourth stage – the rite of baptism itself.<sup>204</sup> For this element the *Coetus* could rely on the virtually unanimous testimony of the early sources. In the fifth century sources the renunciation occurs within the Baptistry, and could, therefore, be considered a pre-baptismal rite, rather than one of immediate preparation.<sup>205</sup>

The *Ephphatha* was not to be maintained in the form in which it had previously existed, both in OBA and OBA1962. The single change that had already been made in OBA1962 was the allowance for eliminating the use of spittle for the rite, in instances where there might be a fear of transmitting disease.<sup>206</sup> The allowance for omitting spittle

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<sup>204</sup> S-77 28: "In Feria VI in Passione et Morte Domini vel Sabbato Sancto mane ad libitum Conferentiarum episcopalium tres actus praeparatorii locum habere possunt: ritus Ephpheta, reddito symboli et Orationis dominicae, et *impositio* novi nominis. (Abrenuntiatio cum unctione secundum antiquiorem usum non annumeratur ritibus praeparatoriis tertiae, sed ritibus baptismalibus quartae stationis)."

<sup>205</sup> See Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis I*, 2-3 (in *DOBL*, 30); John Chrysostom, *Stavronikita Series No. 2*, 18-20, (in *DOBL*, 45); Theodore of Mopsuestia, *Baptismal Homily II*, 5, 17 (in *DOBL*, 48); and Ambrose, *De Sacramentis I*, 4-5 (in *DOBL*, 178).

<sup>206</sup> OBA1962 n. 46: "Postea sacerdos pollice accipit de saliva oris sui (**quod omittitur quotiescumque rationabilis adest causa munditiei tuendae aut periculum morbi contrahendi vel propagandi**); et tangit aures et nares electi (singulorum electorum); tangendo vero autem dexteram et sinistram, dicit: 'Ephpheta, quod est, Adaptere.' Deinde, tangendo nares, dicit: 'In odorem suavitatis. Tu

translated into an abandonment of that particularity; the use of saliva virtually disappeared following the revision of the rite. As a consequence, the *Coetus* now proposed suppressing the use of saliva completely. A second alteration proposed by the *Coetus* was an anointing of the lips instead of the nostrils, while the anointing of the ears was to be maintained. And finally, unlike the previous versions, where the anointing of the ears had a separate prayer from the anointing of the nostrils, a single prayer would unify the three anointings (one for each ear, and one for the lips). The new prayer would take an amended form from the original.<sup>207</sup>

An alternate location for the giving of a new name was proposed during these rites of Immediate Preparation. This possibility tied in with the structure of the Renunciation existing in OBA. In this version the presider asked each candidate for his or her name. With OBA1962, the priest called each of the candidates by their name, to which they would indicate that they were present. With the placement of the giving of a new name at this point in the Rites of Immediate Preparation, some sense of the older OBA could be maintained, while at the same time, allowance could be made for the proposed innovation. Furthermore, whether the giving of a new name was performed in the first stage, or here, in the third stage, all of the rites taking place during the Vigil – the

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autem effugare, diabole; appropinquabit enim iudicium Dei.” The 1962 addition to the previous rite is shown in bold typeface.

<sup>207</sup> S-77 28: “Dempta saliva (cuius usus ubique terrarum insupportabilis nunc esse videtur) nil iam aliud est quam unus ex multis ritibus exorcisticis. Ubi retinetur, loco narium secundum antiquiorem usum signetur – mutata formula – os clausis labiis.”

renunciation, the profession, and the baptism itself – would be administered with the candidate using the same name.<sup>208</sup>

The third of the Rites of Immediate Preparation, the *redditiones* of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, were considered, by the *Coetus*, to be thoroughly optional. They argued that the *redditio* of each of these elements would be accomplished within the Paschal Vigil itself: the Creed would be professed immediately before the baptism of the candidates, and the Lord's Prayer with the rest of the faithful. These recitations were considered, by the *Coetus*, to be equivalent to specific *redditiones*.<sup>209</sup>

#### **3.2.1.3.4: The Sacraments of Initiation**

The final subsection of the *Schemata* dealt with the fourth station of the Rite, the celebration of the Sacraments of Initiation. Citing SC, the *Coetus* proposed beginning this station with the blessing of the water: "Except during the Easter season, baptismal water may be blessed within the rite of baptism itself by use of an approved, shorter formulary."<sup>210</sup> In the Vigil celebrated before the 1951 reforms, the priest would change vestments after the blessing of the font and before the litany of the saints. This symbolized the movement from the Lenten season into the Easter season. Similarly, in the 1951 and 1953 reforms, the priest would be wearing a purple cope for the blessing of the water, and would change vestments only after the neophytes had been given a lighted

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<sup>208</sup> S-77 28: "Ritus impositionis novi nominis – si alicubi iuxta exemplum Orientis desideratur – melius locum habet inter ritus praeparatorios, quia ritus ipsius Vigiliae Paschalis nomine novo (si imponitur) iam utuntur alloquendo electum in renuntiatione, professione et in ipso actu baptismi."

<sup>209</sup> S-77 28: "Redditio Symboli et Orationis dominicae non absolute necessaria esse videtur, quia professio fidei immediate ante baptismum et Pater Noster prima vice cum fidelibus in Vigilia Paschali cantatum aequivalere possunt redditioni."

<sup>210</sup> SC 70.



candle, and before the faithful renewed their own baptismal promises.<sup>211</sup> Since this part of the Vigil was not, therefore, the Easter season, the font could be blessed using a “shorter” formula, rather than the lengthy one prescribed in the *Missale Romanum* for the Vigil.<sup>212</sup> More significantly than this technicality, however, it is possible that some of the *Coetus* members had taken Thierry Maertens’ 1962 suggestions seriously – the text used during the Vigil was, simply, far too long, since it was, in actuality, the conflation of three separate prayers, of which only the first was truly Roman.<sup>213</sup> The shorter formula was to be developed in conjunction with *Coetus* 17, the study group working on the Rites of Holy Week.<sup>214</sup>

Following the blessing of the baptismal water, the *Coetus* proposed retaining the anointing of the chest/breast (*in pectore*) and between the shoulders with the oil of catechumens from OBA and OBA1962 as an optional element, according to the discretion of the Conferences of Bishops.<sup>215</sup> While the *Coetus* acknowledged that the

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<sup>211</sup> See McGuire, Volume II, 374-384.

<sup>212</sup> S-77 29: “De ‘formula brevior’ redigenda consilia conferenda erunt cum coetu 17.”

<sup>213</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et pastorale*, 166: “Il faut ensuite constater qu’il est particulièrement pénible de faire passer aujourd’hui un texte aussi long. Cette peine est d’autant plus ressentie qu’on prend maintenant conscience que ce texte n’est pas d’une seule venue, mais bloque au moins trois textes différents en une seule prière, sans compter les ajoutes gallicanes ultérieures, surtout sur le plan des gestes. On en vient à se demander si une réduction substantielle ne serait pas la meilleure des réformes à faire puisqu’on rejoindrait ainsi la sobriété des textes primitifs.”

<sup>214</sup> In particular, this group was assigned the role of revising the special Rites contained in the Missal: “the blessing and procession of candles on February 2 (feast of the Presentation of the Lord in the Temple); the blessing and giving of ashes on Ash Wednesday; the venerable rites of Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday, Good Friday, and the Easter Vigil during Holy Week.” See Bugnini, 402.

<sup>215</sup> In S-77, this element is incorrectly labelled as occurring at n. 34 of OBA instead of n. 36. It is, however, correctly marked as n. 48 (48a) of OBA1962.

element had a lengthy history in the Rite,<sup>216</sup> and thus should not be discarded entirely, they argued that it should be considered optional for two reasons. First, they suggested that the anointing itself would not be clearly understandable, and thus, conflicted with the principle outlined in SC 34: “The rites... should be within the people’s powers of comprehension and as a rule not require much explanation.” Second, they argued that the anointing of a woman’s chest/breast would be considered improper by a great many, and so, could legitimately be omitted.<sup>217</sup> Here they cited the precedent found in Ambrose’s description of the *Ephphatha* in *De Sacramentis*, in which the nose, rather than the mouth (as described in Mark 7:34) was touched: “it was not considered seemly for the bishop to touch the mouths of women.”<sup>218</sup> Concern for the “danger of shame” surrounding this particular element was expressed to the *Coetus* through Bugnini, who had himself been informed of the possibility by a priest from Saigon.<sup>219</sup> Similarly, by virtue of this

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<sup>216</sup> In general, the pre-baptismal anointing in *Apostolic Tradition*, 21 was understood to be the precursor to this element. The specific anointing of the breast can be seen in the Gelasian Sacramentary, XLII (in *DOBL*, 229-230). Here, however, the anointing occurs within the rites of immediate preparation, and not during the sacramental rites themselves, where, technically, it is a pre-baptismal anointing despite the presence of a dismissal between the anointing and the sacraments of initiation. It would seem, therefore, that with the development of the celebration of the entire catechumenal rites on one day in the case of infants, this anointing could be understood as the corresponding to the pre-baptismal anointing of *Apostolic Tradition* 21.

<sup>217</sup> S-77 30: “Ratio cur unctio praebaptismalis non iam generaliter et pro ubique praevideatur est, quia non iam generaliter dici potest ‘fidelium captui accomodata’ (Const., art. 34) et ‘quia etiam feminae baptizantur’ (S. Ambrosius de signatione linguae in ritus Ephpheta).”

<sup>218</sup> Craig Alan Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan’s Method of Mystagogical Preaching* (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 2001), 157.

*De Sacramentis* I, 3: “But why, you may ask, the nostrils? In the gospel, our Lord touched the man’s mouth because he was dumb. He was unable to speak of the heavenly mysteries: so he received from Christ the power of speech. Again, in the gospel, the subject was a man; here, women are baptized. Nor is there the same purity in the servant as there is in the Lord, since the latter forgives sins, whereas the former has his sins forgiven, so that there is no comparison between them. The bishop touches the nostrils and not the mouth out of respect for what is done and what is given...” (in *DOBL*, 178).

<sup>219</sup> S-77 30: “Recentissime adhuc sacerdos indigena ex Saigon apud Secretariatum Consilii conquestus est de hoc periculo pudoris.”

reasoning the provision of OBA1962 had been developed, in which a signation of the cross over the candidate could substitute for the anointings.<sup>220</sup> In OBA, these anointings occurred after the candidate's renunciation of Satan,<sup>221</sup> but before the candidate's profession of faith.<sup>222</sup> In OBA1962, the sixth stage ended with the anointing of the chest and between the shoulders, so that the renunciation and profession would likely occur on different days. In this matter the *Coetus* argued, however, that the older (and wiser) tradition saw the renunciation and profession as being parallel elements that should not be separated from each other.<sup>223</sup>

The classification of this anointing as optional occasioned significant debate within the *Consilium* proceedings. To maintain the element for the sole reason, as suggested in S-77, that the anointing was well attested in the history of the liturgy seemed, apparently, to some of the members of the *Consilium* to be insufficient grounds for its retention. Instead, the proposition was put forward to streamline the number of anointings in total, and, furthering the decision of OBA1962, to eliminate the pre-baptismal anointing altogether. Given, then, the presence of a post-baptismal anointing,

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<sup>220</sup> OBA1962 n. 48a: "Ubi vero unctio cum oleo catechumenorum graviores creat difficultates, quae insuperabiles sunt et, ad tempus, amoveri nequeunt, tunc, pro illo loco, vel pro illo populo, Conventus episcopalis ab huiusmodi unctione dispensare potest, iuxta normas pro usu huius Ordinis datas, n. 3c, monitis tamen sacerdotibus, quibus instructio catechumenorum et fidelium commissa est, ut omnibus viribus adnitantur difficultates illas dimovere, quatenus, progrediente omnium institutione christiana, unctio oleo catechumenorum rite adhiberi possit.

Interim loco unctionis adhiberi debet hic ritus subsidiarius: Deinde singuli praetereunt ante sacerdotem, qui super unumquemque catechumenum crucis signum in forma benedictionis facit..."

<sup>221</sup> OBA n. 35; OBA1962 n. 47.

<sup>222</sup> OBA n. 38; OBA1962 n. 52.

<sup>223</sup> S-77 30: "Ratio cur unctio (si habetur) praecedat et non, uti hucusque mos erat, sequatur renuntiationem est antiquior et sanior traditio, secundum quam renuntiatio et professio propter parallelismum ab invicem non separabantur."

as well as the anointing of confirmation, the suppression of this element must have been understood by some members to be consistent with the instruction found in *SC* to rid the liturgy of “useless repetitions.”<sup>224</sup> Ligier argued that the pre-baptismal anointing should be maintained, since, being present in the traditions of both East and West, it addressed concerns of ecumenism. Gy concurred, and further argued that it would be rash to suppress an element present in the Roman tradition since Hippolytus.<sup>225</sup> Furthermore, Gy noted, the “strengthening” character of the pre-baptismal anointing was distinct from the sacerdotal character of the post-baptismal anointing. These should not be, as a matter of course, merged into one anointing. As a compromise solution, Lengeling proposed that the pre-baptismal anointing might be moved to the celebration of the scrutinies. Gy argued against this proposal, stating that the anointing needed to be connected to the renunciation of Satan as well as to the formal allegiance to Christ, manifested in the act of baptism. To some degree, however, countering the advice of Ligier and Gy was OBA1962 itself, which had rendered the pre-baptismal anointing optional. After further debate, which centered on the post-baptismal anointing with Chrism,<sup>226</sup> a decision was made to leave the pre-baptismal anointing as an optional element. At Fischer’s recommendation, the anointing, having already been declared optional in OBA1962,

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<sup>224</sup> *SC*, 34: “The rites should be marked by a noble simplicity; they should be short, clear, and unencumbered by useless repetitions; they should be within the people’s powers of comprehension and as a rule not require much explanation.”

<sup>225</sup> “Le Saulchoir”, 1b.

<sup>226</sup> The debate on the anointings has been divided here, to correspond with the structure of the rite. In the meeting at Rome the discussion surrounding the pre-baptismal anointing was coupled to discussion surrounding the post-baptismal anointing. While the arguments on both of these elements are linked by the desire to simplify the rite and purge unnecessary elements, they do not rely on one another. The debate surrounding the post-baptismal anointing will be treated below.

would best be left as such, particularly given the absence of information regarding the rationale for making the anointing optional in the existing version of the Rite. Nothing, he argued, should be done to undermine the authority of those revisions. Furthermore, he agreed that the presence of this anointing would be a helpful ecumenical gesture to the Orthodox Churches.

The next element in the ritual sequence was to be the profession of faith and the sacramental acts. In OBA1962, these elements comprised the first half of the Seventh stage: the movement of the candidates towards the font; an interrogatory profession of faith by the individual candidates; an interrogatory statement of intent towards baptism; the act of baptism itself, through the pouring of water over the candidates head; and the allowance for conditional baptism.<sup>227</sup> OBA followed the same order, with a significant difference. Regarding the profession of faith, OBA appears to indicate that each of the elect was asked to profess their belief in the Father before the priest would move on to the Son. When each of the elect professed their belief in the Son, the priest would proceed to the Holy Spirit. In OBA1962, however, it appears that the priest was to ask the elect as a group to profess their belief in all three persons of the Trinity.<sup>228</sup> The *Coetus* indicated that the rubrics in OBA1962 had omitted the possibility of baptism by

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<sup>227</sup> OBA1962 nn. 51-54.

<sup>228</sup> OBA 38: "Interrogat (singulos, si plures): 'N., credis in Deum Patrem omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae?' 'Credo.' Interrogat (singulos, si plures): 'Credis in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, natum et passum?' 'Credo.' Interrogat (singulos, si plures): 'Credis et in Spiritum Sanctum...'"

OBA1962 52: "Sacerdos interrogat: 'Creditis in Deum Patrm omnipotentem, creatorem caeli et terrae?' Omnes: 'Credo.' 'Creditis in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, natum et passum?' Omnes: 'Credo.' 'Creditis in Spiritum Sanctum...'"

immersion, which had a possibility in OBA.<sup>229</sup> In fairness, even some printed versions of OBA omitted these two rubrics.<sup>230</sup> The *Coetus*, relying on the near universal documentary tradition that suggested the primacy of immersion,<sup>231</sup> proposed restoring immersion not as a possibility, but as the primary mode of baptism. They did, nonetheless, recommend allowance for the possibility of baptism by infusion.<sup>232</sup> Presuming that the omission of the provision for baptism by immersion in older various printed versions of the Rite was an indication of the infrequency of the option in pastoral situations, then the decision of the *Coetus* to reverse this trend and make baptism by immersion normative is significant. This is certainly in line with the previously

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<sup>229</sup> Philip T. Weller, tr. and ed., *The Roman Ritual In Latin and English With Rubrics and Planechant Notation, Volume I: The Sacraments and Processions* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1950), OBA nn. 45-46: “In ecclesiis autem, ubi Baptismus fit per immersionem, sive totius corporis, sive capitis tantum, Sacerdos accipit Electum per brachia prope humeros, et superiore parte corporis nudatum, reliqua honeste contextum, ter illum, bel caput eius immergendo, et toties elevando, baptizat sub trina immersione, sanctam Trinitatem semel tantum sic invocando: *N. Ego te baptizo in nomine Patris, immerget primo, et Filii, immerget iterum, et Spiritus Sancti, immergit tertio; patrino, vel matrino, vel utroque eum tenente, vel tangente.*

Et cum Electus surrexerit de Fonte, patrinus vel matrino cum linteo in manibus suscipit eum de manu Sacerdotis: et Sacerdos, intincto pollice dextero in sacro Chrismate, illum in vertice in modum crucis perungit, dicens: *Deus omnipotens, etc.*, ut supra.

<sup>230</sup> *Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pontificis Maximi Jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV Auctum et castigatum cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix* (Baltimore: John Murphy, 1874), and *Collectio Rituum ad instar Appendicis in Ritualis Romani in Usum Cleri Archidioecesium ac Dioecesium Foederatarum Americae Septentrionalis Civitatum* (Washington, DC: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 1961).

<sup>231</sup> Alois Stenzel, S.J., *Die Taufe*, 108: “Wir kommen zum Taufakt selbst. Die vollständige Untertauchung, die Immersion, ist sicher der Ritus, der den theologischen Aussagen vom Röm 6:3 ff und Kol 2:12 am meisten entspricht.” More broadly, see 15-42.

*Apostolic Tradition*, 21: “... and then, when he has come up [from baptism], he shall be anointed...” (in *DOBL*, 7).

*De Sacramentis* II, 16: “We must now examine what it is we mean by baptism. You came to the font, you went down into it...” and 20: “You were asked: ‘Do you believe in God the Father almighty?’ You replied: ‘I believe,’ and you were immersed...” (in *DOBL*, 179).

Gelasian Sacramentary, XLIV: “... Then by single turns you dip him three times in the water. [Deinde per singulas vices mergis eum tertio in aqua.]” See *DOBL*, 235.

<sup>232</sup> S-77 31: “Rubricae RR reformati primo loco loquentur de immersione, tunc tantum de infusione, ut ordo dignitatis servetur (cui correspondere nequit ordo frequentiae).”

mentioned mandate that the “rites should clearly express what they signify, in order that ‘the Christian people, as far as possible, are able to understand them with ease and to take part in the rites fully, actively, and as befits a community.’”<sup>233</sup> Furthermore, as noted above, the preference for immersion indicated a return to an older practice.

The *Coetus* proposed that the renunciation of Satan and profession of faith by the rest of the community should follow the act of baptism, provided that baptisms had occurred during the Paschal Vigil, and their number was sufficiently large. In this case, it was likely intended that the community’s renunciation and profession was to occur at the same time that the neophytes were being anointed with chrism, clothed in a white garment and given a lighted candle. However, the communal renunciation and profession should be delayed until after the post-baptismal ceremonies if the number of baptisms was smaller.<sup>234</sup> This presumably helped demonstrate the relationship of the post-baptismal ceremonies to the act of baptism. A prayer might, optionally, accompany the giving of the lighted candle that would follow, which would interpret the reception of the light of Christ for the neophytes.<sup>235</sup> Then the faithful, following upon the renewal of their own baptismal promises, should be sprinkled with holy water. The *Coetus* then

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<sup>233</sup> S-77 6, 1a: “Ritus clarius expriment quod significant, ita ut ‘populus christianus facile percipere atque plena, actiosa et communitatis propria celebratione (mysterium) participare possit’ (art. 21).”

<sup>234</sup> S-77 32: “Si baptismus celebratur in vigilia Paschali et numerus baptizatorum est magnus, immediate post eos fideles praesentes diabolo renuntiant et fidem profitentur. Si parvus est numerus, fideles expectant, usquedum neobaptizati vestes albas et candelas accensas acceperint; sed renovatio promissionum fiat, antequam baptismalis asportetur aqua.”

S-77 33: “Sequitur unctio chrismatis, *impositio* vestis albae, traditio cerei accensi et formula, qua si casus fert, nomen christianum tamquam signum novae vitae explicatur.”

<sup>235</sup> S-77 33: “Insertio facultative talis formulae novitas est, sed novitas speciosa; nil impedit, quin hic neobaptizato nomen religionum, quod a parentibus accepit quodque retinere desiderat, in lumine novae vitae explicetur.”

suggested that, if necessary, the neophytes might explain how their new name was a sign of their new life in Christ.<sup>236</sup> Once the baptism and post-baptismal rites had been completed, the *Coetus* proposed that the neophytes should be confirmed.

As noted above, the debate surrounding the pre-baptismal anointing quickly spread to include debate on the post-baptismal anointing with Chrism. At this point in the debate, the discussion having continued uninterrupted, Gy and Ligier had apparently convinced the members of the *Consilium* as to the value of maintaining the pre-baptismal anointing. But still pressing for a simplification of the rite, one of the advisors to the *Consilium*, Malo Coquin, O.S.B., suggested that the post-baptismal anointing with Chrism might, instead, be suppressed. Cellier offered a rationale here, proposing that the post-baptismal anointing might be omitted because the celebration of confirmation – another anointing with Chrism – would immediately follow the celebration of baptism. Gy also argued against this possibility, suggesting that there was a difference in these two chrismations, clearly articulated by the prayer texts. One was a sacramental of the priestly role of the baptized, while the other was a Sacrament dealing with the gifts of the Spirit.<sup>237</sup> Now, however, Ligier and Gy were divided. Ligier again pointed to the East, arguing that their post-baptismal chrismation was the equivalent to confirmation, since confirmation as a stand-alone sacrament was non-existent in these traditions.<sup>238</sup> As he

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<sup>236</sup> S-77 33: "... nomen christianum tamquam signum novae vitae explicatur."

<sup>237</sup> The formula for confirmation was not, however, explicitly pneumatic: "N., signo te signo Cru † cis et confirmo te Chrismate salutis. In nomine Pa † tris, et Fi † lii, et Spiritus † Sancti." ("N., I seal you with the sign of the Cross and I confirm you with the Chrism of salvation. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.") See Johnson, *The Rites of Christian Initiation*, 316.

<sup>238</sup> The similitude of Eastern chrismation with Western confirmation was readily accepted. Those initiated in the orthodox traditions were not confirmed, because they had already been chrismated. See Sieverding, "*Ordo admissionis*," 224-225. See also Turner, *When Other Christians Become Catholic*, 56.



understood the proposition, it came down to a choice between either promoting universality with the Orthodox traditions or maintaining the post-baptismal anointing for the sake of the Roman tradition. On this point Ligier strongly supported seizing the opportunity for harmony with the East. Overall, this suggestion found favor with the *Consilium*. Therefore it was unanimously agreed that the *Coetus* would ascertain from Bernard Botte whether or “it was possible to omit the post-baptismal anointing, dependant on the same minister conferring confirmation immediately after baptism.”<sup>239</sup> They also posed a second question to Botte: “if this is not possible, which post-baptismal formula would [he] suggest in order highlighting the formula for confirmation?”<sup>240</sup>

Having, thus, been baptized and confirmed, the neophytes would complete their initiation by participating fully in the celebration of the Eucharist for the first time. This full participation, the *Coetus* argued, was consistent with the scholarly opinion of the time, regarding what was considered the oldest known Roman tradition.<sup>241</sup> The neophyte would then receive the eucharist under both species.<sup>242</sup> If the initiation were celebrated during the Paschal Vigil, the *Coetus* proposed that the neophyte’s reception of the

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<sup>239</sup> “Protocollum de iis quae diebus 3-6 junii 1965”, 2: “1) Utrum omitti possit unctio postbaptismalis in vertice, quando idem minister immediate post baptismum confert confirmationem?”

<sup>240</sup> “Protocollum de iis quae diebus 3-6 junii 1965”, 2: “2): Si negative, quid de formula unctionis post-baptismalis quasi-identica cum formula confirmationis?”

<sup>241</sup> The *Coetus* referenced *Apostolic Tradition*, 21 as evidence of the traditional Roman order of initiation, culminating in the reception of the eucharist. In his second edition of the text, Botte explicitly referred to the progression of initiation: “L’eucharistie est la dernière étape de l’initiation. L’auteur ne signale ici que ce qui est propre à l’eucharistie baptismale. Il a donné la prière d’action de grâces à propos du sacre épiscopal.” Botte, *Hippolyte*), 91.

<sup>242</sup> S-77 34: “Neobaptizati – si fieri potest – statim confirmanur ritu breviori et accedunt ad celebrationem eucharisticam. Immediate antequam Ss. Eucharistiam sub utraque specie accipiant, celebrans eos... alloquitur in memoriam revocando, quod participantes mensam eucharisticam culmen initiationis christianae iam adepti sint.”

eucharist should be preceded by a brief instruction regarding the nature of the eucharist. There was, apparently, a question raised by the *Consilium* as to whether or not there were, already, too many instructions within the rite, and whether or not this sort of direction might not best be contained within a prayer.<sup>243</sup> The proposition was not, however, accepted. The *Consilium* also raised a question here about the proper chant to be sung during the reception of communion, and to what degree this would require the composition of a new Mass proper, “For Baptism.” It was suggested that this might not be entirely necessary, as the Mass proper ought, simply, to be that of the Vigil – the intended setting for the rite. Ultimately, while various methods of addressing the situation were proposed, the decision was left to the *Coetus* responsible for Mass propers.<sup>244</sup> The *Consilium* approved all of the propositions put forward by the *Coetus*, including their final recognition that the shape of the Rite would have to take the work of *Coetus* 17 on Holy Week into account.<sup>245</sup>

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<sup>243</sup> S-77 35: “Postea si baptismus celebratur in vigilia Paschali fideles alloquens iis exponit, quomodo mysterium eucharisticum, hac nocte celebratum, considerari debeat tamquam anniversarium baptismi (‘Pascha annotinum’) quo in spiritu sui baptismi plene renovantur.”

A handwritten note in the University of Notre Dame Archive copy of S-77 reads: “M: not allocution but in formula or prayer.” A further note in the Notre Dame Archive copy indicates that it had also been asked whether or not there were already too many “allocutions” within the proposed Rite.

“Rapport sur le Consilium, 26 Avril,” Q.21f: “Ep. [X] plaudentibus aliis timet ne tali allocutione nimis isoletur communio. Allocutio iisdem periculis obnoxia erit quibus sic dicti ‘fervorini’ expositi sunt; omnia quae dicenda sunt in ipsa homilia dici possunt, uti pulchre fit, quando in homilia missae nuptialis ad communionem neo-sponsorum alluditur. Omnes – Relatore incluso – conveniunt in sententia allocutionem hanc facultative tantum esse introducendam vel adhuc melius ad modum monitionis.”

<sup>244</sup> “Le Saulchoir”, 1a-b. Molin suggested the possibility of recommending two different propers – one for mass with baptisms, and one without. Cellier proposed finding a setting of “Ecce Agnus Dei.” Martimort proposed, however, using the chant prescribed for adult First Communions in Lyons, “Venite populi.”

<sup>245</sup> S-77 Quaesitum 21: “Placetne Patribus, quae proposita sunt: de caractere facultativo unctionis in pectore et inter scapulas? de praecedentia huius unctionis (si fit) ante renuntiationem? de loco renuntiationis et professionis fidelium in vigilia Paschali? de interpretatione facultative nominis novi? de allocutione ante communionem? de deliberationibus cum coetu 17 de vigilia Paschali adhuc recognoscenda?”

### 3.2.2. Addressing the Concerns of the Consilium

With S-77 having been presented to the *Consilium*, Fischer, Cellier, and Ligier met briefly with each other in Rome to address a few of the issues raised during the presentation.<sup>246</sup> There were, at least, four issues that were discussed.

#### 3.2.2.1: Structure of the Rite

First, it had been pointed out by one of the members of the *Consilium* after the actual meeting that the term *statione* indicated particular points in time, rather than more lengthy periods. While the premise put forward by the *Coetus*, that *statione* helped to better capture the catechumen's progression through the catechumenate, had been accepted, it was thought that a restructuring of the five stations into three stations divided by three "times" would be more logical. Furthermore, perhaps noticing the discrepancy between the length of time and the ritual content of the stations within the document, the grouping of these elements would be solidified in the re-organization – though the individual elements within those stations would remain unchanged. The five stations as presented in the second half of S-77, DRi-2bis had been "*Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*," "*Exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus*," "*De Electione, de scrutiniis, et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis*" "*Sacramenta initiationis*" and "*Catechesis mystagogicae*." Reserving the term "station" for those ritual elements that were contained within a single liturgical celebration, and preferring "time" for the extended periods, the proposed shape was rewritten: "*1 Statio: Ad catechumenum faciendum*,"

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<sup>246</sup> The notation of this meeting is exceptionally brief. "Discussions at Rome" is contained in C.N.P.L. 1.C.ii.: "Autour de sch 77 presente aux Pères le 26 4 65." It is clear that this meeting could not have occurred on April 26, as the *Consilium* did not discuss the Schemata until April 30. The date of this follow-up meeting is unknown.

*“Tempus catechumenatus,” “2 Statio: Inscriptio vel electio,” “Tempus Quadragesimale,” “3 Statio: Baptismus cum ritibus praeparatoriis et consecutoriis,” and “Tempus mystagogiae”* (See below, Table 3.3). In this new outline, the content of the old first and old second stations would remain the same, while the names would be changed to become the first station and the first “time.” The old third station would, essentially, be subdivided into the second station and the second “time,” with the content remaining the same as in the first section of S-77 – that is, without the rites of immediate preparation. The old fourth station of the first section of S-77 would become the third station, and the old fifth station became the third “time.”

TABLE 3.3  
REVISION OF STATIONS  
IN APRIL 1965

S-77, DRi-2bis: First Section	S-77, DRi-2bis: Second Section	Protocollum de iis quae diebus 3-6 junii 1965 (Le Saulchoir)
1. Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum	1. Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum	S1. Ad catechumenum faciendum Tempus Catechumenatus
2. Celebrationes verbi Dei cum exorcismis minoribus et benedictionibus	2. De exorcismis minoribus et de traditionibus	
3. Electio seu inscriptio nominis et scrutinia	3. De electione, de scrutiniis et de ritibus immediate praeparatoriis ante ipsum baptismum	S2. Inscriptio vel electio Tempus Quadragesimale
4. Ritus immediate praeparatorii, tria sacramenta initiationis et ritus immediate consecutorii	4. Sacramenta initiationis	S3. Baptismus cum ritibus praeparatoriis et consecutoriis
5. Catecheses mystagogicae	5. ...	Tempus mystagogiae

### **3.2.2.2: Prayer Types: Deprecatory and Imperative**

Second, Ligier argued that liturgical history witnessed two different types of exorcistic prayer: deprecatory and imperative. “Deprecatory” indicates that the presider invokes God to free the person from the powers of evil, while “imperative” indicates that it is the one who speaks, albeit on God’s authority, who commands the departure of the evil spirit(s). The imperative form was most prevalent in the Roman Rite, while the deprecatory form was more common, though not exclusively so, in the East. Ligier proposed that the texts of the new Rite reflect this variety. The notes from the meeting indicate that he was referring to the *exorcismus per exsufflationem*, which was the optional second element in the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum* – the first stage. His suggestion was considered, but a decision on it was left until later, and Ligier was given the responsibility of assembling a collection of texts that would reflect these two approaches.<sup>247</sup>

### **3.2.2.3: Anointing on the Forehead**

Third, there was discussion on the anointing of the forehead, also included as an element in the *Ordo ad catechumenum faciendum*. Michel Dujarier’s thesis on this issue was recommended for study, and Ligier was, thus commissioned to prepare a memo on the role of the sponsors for this element, as well as for the first stage as a whole.

Fourth, in reference to the same element, the anointing on the forehead, the question was raised as to who was to perform it – the priest or the sponsors. In OBA1962

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<sup>247</sup> These texts occur in a document dated May 10, 1965 in C.N.P.L. 1.C.iii.: “Autour de la session du Saulchoir (Coetus 3-6 6 65).” The collection of texts will be treated below.

allowance had been made that sponsors might perform the anointing, particularly in cases where there were large numbers of catechumens. S-77 made no mention of sponsors performing this anointing, likely presuming that it would be a priest who performed them, especially given that sponsors had not been mentioned at all in the first station. However, as the *Coetus* was to revisit the question of the presence of sponsors in the rite, the provision for sponsors anointing the catechumens could also be revisited.

### 3.3: Preparation for Le Saulchoir

#### 3.3.1: Ligier's Text Collection, May 10, 1965

Following the meeting at Rome, Ligier responded quickly to the request for a collection of texts reflecting the difference between imperative and deprecatory exorcisms. By May 10, he had compiled a sampling of texts reflecting this difference. Advancing beyond the scope of his original assignment he provided a collection of texts relating to different aspects of the catechumenate from ancient and Eastern sources. He arranged these texts into five sections: *Formulae exsufflationis*, *Ritus introductionis in Ecclesiam*, *Impositio manuum ad dimissionem*, *Exorcismi* (Deprecatory, Deprecatory and Imperative, and Imperative), and *Formulae unctionis praebaptismalis*.

In the first section, the *Formulae exsufflationis*, Ligier presented five prayers: two Byzantine texts,<sup>248</sup> two prayers from the Coptic Rite,<sup>249</sup> and one option from the Maronite

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<sup>248</sup> The texts that Ligier supplied were, in many cases, many pages long. For the sake of brevity, the full texts will be supplied only in the cases where Ligier's example was adopted or adapted for use in the first published Schemata of the Rite, S-112, DRi-5, "Rituale Romanum: Titulus I: De Initiatione Christiana," October 4, 1965. ND DRi-5 (112). In these cases, the paragraph number in S-112 will be provided. For all other texts only the *incipit* and *explicit* of the prayer will be supplied.

Jacobus Goar, *Euchologion Sive Rituale Graecorum Complectens Ritus et Ordines Divinae Liturgiae Officiorum, Sacramentorum, Consecrationum, Benedictionum, Funerum, Orationum, &c. Cuilibet Personae, Statui, Vel Tempori Congruos, Juxta Usus Orientalis Ecclesiae. Cum selectis*

Rite.<sup>250</sup> In the second section, *Ritus introductionis in Ecclesiam*, Ligier supplied only one text, from the Maronite Rite.<sup>251</sup> In his third section, *Impositio manuum ad dimissionem*, Ligier cited five texts from ancient sources and four texts from other Eastern rites. He referenced two texts from the *Apostolic Constitutions*,<sup>252</sup> one text from John

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*Bibliothecae Regiae, Barberinae, Cryptae-Ferratae, Sancti Marci Florentini, Tillianae, Allatianae, Coresianae, & aliis probatis MM. SS. & editis Exemplaribus collatum. Interpretatione Latina, nec non mixobabararum vocum brevi Glossario, anies figuris, observationibus ex antiquis PP. & maxime Graecorum Theologorum expositionibus Illustratum.*, Second Edition (Venice: Bartholomaei Javarina, 1730), reprinted (Graz: Akademische Druck U. Verlagsanstalt, 1960), 277: "Sacerdos: Malignum omnem et immundum spiritum absconditum... beatitudinem sanctorum in tuo regno consequatur."

This second text is the prayer for signing the child with the cross on the eighth day after birth, in Goar, 264-265: "Domine Deus noster, te rogamus, te precaumr: signetur lumen vutis tui...et in saecula saeculorum. Amen."

<sup>249</sup> Henricus Denziger, *Ritus Orientalium, Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum, In Administrandis Sacramentis ex Assemanis, Renaudotio, Trombellio Aliisque Fontibus Authenticis Collectos, Prolegomenis Notisque Criticis et Exegeticis Instructus, Concurrentibus Nonnullis Theologis Ac Linguarum Orientalium Peritis*, Tomus Primus. (Wirceburgi: Typis et Sumptibus Stahelianis, 1863), 198: "Et Sacerdos insufflet in faciem ejus ter dicens: Exi Spiritus immunde... Respondet: Credo."

Denziger, 195-196: "Diaconus: Dominum precemur... Sacerdos: quia tibi est potestas misericordiae, omnipotens Domine Deus noster."

<sup>250</sup> Denziger, 353: "Et inspirat sacerdos in faciem baptizandorum... potentissimum nomen est."

<sup>251</sup> Denziger, *Ritus Orientalium*, 329-333: Ad portam ecclesiae, sacerdos signat cruce puerum... et Patri ejus ac Spiritui vivo et Sancto nunc."

<sup>252</sup> Ap Con VIII, vi, 1-14, in Franciscus Xaverius Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, Volume 1 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schoeningh, 1905): "Cumque doctrinae sermonem finierit, dico ego Andreas frater Petri: Universis consurgentibus diaconus in excelsum locum ascendens proclamat: Ne quis audientium, ne quis infidelium. Ac silentio facto dicat: Orate catechumeni. Et omnes fideles pro illis cum attentione orent dicentes: Kyrie eleison. Diaconus vero pro eis precetur dicens: Pro catechumenis omnes Deum intente invocemus, ut, qui bonus ac hominum amans est, benigne exaudiat eorum preces et obsecrationes, et suscepta eorum supplicatione opem illis ferat ac det petitiones cordis ipsorum, prout eis expedit; revelet eisdem evangelium Christi sui, illuminet eos ac instituat, erudiat eos cognitione divina; doceat eos mandata sua et iustificationes, inserat in eis castum ac salutarem timorem suum, aperiat aures cordis eorum, ut in eius lege die ac nocte occupentur; et confirmet eos in pietate, adunet et adnumeret eos sancto suo gregi, donatis eis lavacro regenerationis, indumento immortalitatis, vera vita; liberet vero eos ab omni impietate et non det locum adversario contra eos, mundet autem ipsos ab omni inquinamento carnis et spiritus, inhabitetque in eis atque inambulet per christum suum, benedicat introitus ac exitus eorum atque proposita moderetur iis ad commodum. Adhuc intente pro illis supplicemus, ut remissionem delictorum consecuti per baptismi initiationem digni fiant sanctis mysteriis et permansione cum sanctis. Surgite catechumeni: pacem Dei per Christum eius petite, diem quietum ac sine peccato et omne tempus vitae vestrae, mortem christinum, propitium ac benevolum Deum, veniam delictorum; vos ipsos soli ingenito Deo per christum eius commendate; inclinate et accipite benedictionem. Porro in singulis horum, quae diaconus proloquitur, ut iam diximus, populus respondeat: Kyrie eleison, et ante cunctus pueri. Catechumenis autem capita inclinantibus episcopus ordinatus benedicat eis benedictione huiusmodi: Deus omnipotens, ingenitus et inaccessus, solus verus Deus, Deus et pater Christi tui unigeniti filii tui, Deus

Chrysostom,<sup>253</sup> and one text each from Sarapion,<sup>254</sup> and the *Testamentum Domini*.<sup>255</sup>

From the Eastern traditions he presented two prayers from the Byzantine Rite,<sup>256</sup> and one each from the Coptic Rite<sup>257</sup> and the Ethiopic Rite.<sup>258</sup>

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paracleti ac omnium dominus, qui per Christum discipulos in doctores constituisti ad pietatis disciplinam; ipse et nunc respice super servos tuos, catechizatos in Christi tui evangelio, et da eis cor novum et spiritum rectum innova in visceribus eorum, ut cognoscant te ac faciant voluntatem tuam, in corde pleno et anima volente. Dignare illos initiatione sancta et aduna ad sanctam ecclesiam tuam et fac participes divinatorum mysteriorum per Jesum Christum, spem nostram, qui pro ipsis mortuus est, per quem tibi gloria et adoratio in sancto spiritu in saecula, amen. *Et post hoc diaconus dicat:* Exite, catechumeni, in pace.” Cf. S-112 34

Ap Con VIII, viii, 1-6: “Orate, illuminandi baptismo. Intente cuncti fideles pro ipsis deprecamur, ut Dominus dignos eos faciat, qui baptizati initiati in Christi mortem cum ipso resurgent fiantque participes regni ipsius ac mysteriorum eius consortes; adunet et adnumeret eos cum iis, qui salvi fiunt, in sancta ipsius ecclesia. Adhuc intende pro eis precemur: serva et suscita eos in gratia tua. *Consignati Deo per Christum eius inclinantes se benedicantur ab episcopo hac benedictione:* Qui per sanctos prophetas tuos praedixisti eis, qui initiantur ac baptizantur: Lavamini, mundi estote, et per Christum sanxisti spiritualem regenerationem: ipse nunc etiam respice in hos baptizandos et benedic eis et sanctifica ac praepara, ut digni fiant spirituali dono tuo ac vera tua adoptione, tuisque spiritualibus mysteriis atque aggregatione cum eis, qui salvantur, per Christum salvatorem nostrum, per quem tibi gloria, honor, et reverentia in sancto spiritu in saecula, amen. *Et dicat diaconus:* Exite, qui illuminandi estis.” Cf. S-112 33.

<sup>253</sup> John Chrysostom, Homily II, 2 Cor, in J-P Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* 61, 399-404: “Τοῦτο ἱερέων μάλιστα ἐστὶ κατόρθωμα, ἐπειδὴ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν. Προσιόντες γὰρ, πρότερον ὑπὲρ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ τῶν κοινῶν εὐχαριστοῦμεν ἀγαθῶν...ὧν γένοιτο πάντας ἡμᾶς ἐπιτυχεῖν, χάριτι καὶ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, μεθ’ οὗ τῷ Πατρὶ ἅμα τῷ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι δόξα, κράτος, τιμὴ, νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ, καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν”

<sup>254</sup> Sarapion, III (xxi) – IV (xxii), in Funk 161-163.

<sup>255</sup> Ignatius Ephraem II Rahmani, *Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi: Nunc primum edidit, latine reddidit et illustravit* (Moguntiae: Sumptibus Francisci Kirchheim, 1899) reprinted (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1968), (Test. Dom.) II, 5: “Deus, qui tonitrua demittis et fulgura paras, qui coelum condisti, et terram firmasti, qui fideles illuminas, aberrantes convertis, qui mortuos vitae restituisti et spe destitutis spem tribuisti, qui mundum ab errore liberasti, per descensum Unigeniti Filii tui Jesu Christi, exaudi nos Domine et da hisce animabus intelligentiam, completionem (i.e. perfectionem), fidem non ancipitem et agnitionem veritatis, ut fiant in gradum isto superiorem per sanctum nomen tuum dilectique Filii tui Jesu Christi, per quem tibi gloria et imperium cum sancto Spiritu nunc et semper et per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

*Hisce expletis, dimittantur.*

Si quis, dum adhuc catechumenus est, propter nomen meum apprehendatur et damnetur ad cruciatum, festiansque currat, ut suscipiat baptismum, ne anceps haereat pastor, sed ipsi conferat baptismum. Quod si ille violenter interficiatur ante susceptum baptismum, ne sit perplexus, justificatus enim ipse fuit, cum fuerit baptizatus proprio sanguine.” Cf. S-112 37.

<sup>256</sup> Goar, 64: “Diaconus: Rogate Catechumeni Dominum; Chorus: Domine miserere (Kyrie eleison);... Diaconus: Catechumeni capita vestra Domino inclinate; Chorus: Tibi Domine.”

Goar, 281: “*Sacerdos:* Dominator Domine Deus, servos tuos ad sanctam tuam illuminationem advoca, et gratia ista magna, dignos illos ostende: in vitam aeternam exuta vetustate illos regenera; et Sancti tui Spiritus virtute, ad Christi tui laudem illos reple: ut corporis filii numquam existant, sed regni tui



Ligier then presented a subdivided fourth section for Exorcisms, according to the different prayer styles, deprecatory, mixed (deprecatory and imperative), and imperative. The first subsection contained eight deprecatory prayers of exorcism, from six different sources. He cited only one ancient text, the *Testamentum Domini*.<sup>259</sup> Otherwise, Ligier

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filiis; *Et baptizandorum oratione completa, Diaconus vice capita suo jussu inclinandi (id est loco huius, Capita Domino inclinate) dicit: Quotquot ad baptismum estis dispositi, ad manuum impositionem accedite, et benedictionem accipite: Et manibus singulis, viris et mulieribus imponens Sacerdos, rursus ad Sanctam mensam regreditur, et exclamat: Quia tu es illuminatio nostra &c; Deinde Sacerdos dicit: Pax omnibus; Et Diacono dicente: Capita vestra Domino inclinate; Sacerdos precatur: Deus Pater noster, qui omnes vis salvare, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire: cognitionis tuae lumen in nostris et eorum qui ad baptismum sunt dispositi, cordibus infunde, et immortalis tui doni dignos illos rede: et Ecclesiae tuae sanctae Catholicae illos aggrega. Tuum enim est misereri, et salvare nos, et tibi gloriam rependimus.*” Cf. S-112 38.

<sup>257</sup> Denziger, 202: “Sacerdos: Dominator, Domine Deus omnipotens Pater Domini Dei et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, rogamus et obsecramus bonitatem tuam, o amator hominum pro famulis tuis catechumenis, miserere eorum, illosque confirma in fide tua; Diaconus: Orate pro catechumenis populi nostri, ut Dominus illos benedicat, et in fide orthodoxa confirmet ad extremum usque spiritum; et nobis peccata nostra dimittat; Chorus: Kyrie eleison; Sacerdos: Reliquias idolatriae omnes propulsa a cordibus eorum. Legem tuam, timorem tuum, veritates tuas, et praecepta tua statue in cordibus illorum. Firmam tribue illis agnitionem verborum, quibus per catechesim instituti sunt, ut tempore stato mereantur regenerationem in remissionem peccatorum suorum; praepara eos, ut sint templum Spiritus tui Sancti. Per gratiam, etc.; Chorus: Kyrie eleison.” Cf. S-112 39.

<sup>258</sup> Denziger, 226: “Sacerdos, imponens manus super eos qui baptizandi sunt, dicit: Famulus tuos, qui inserviunt, et adhaerent nomini tuo sancto et inclinant capita sua ante te, protege, o Domine, et cum eis sis. Adjuva eos in omne opus bonum. Excita corda eorum ab omni opere malo, quod in terra fit. Fac eos vivos, ut scilicet cogitent omnia, quae sunt ad vitam, et recordentur omnium operum tuorum, o Domine, per unicum Filium tuum, ut tibi, et ipsi Sancto Spiritui sit gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.” Cf. S-112 40.

<sup>259</sup> Test. Dom. II, vii: “Deus coelorum, Deus luminum, Deus archangelorum, qui sub tua virtute sunt, Deus angelorum, qui sub tuo imperio sunt, rex gloriarum et dominationum, Deus sanctorum, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui animas, quae constrictae erant morte, liberasti, qui (hominem) qui tenebris constrictus confixusque erat, per confixionem passionis Unigeniti tui illuminasti, qui funicula nostra solvisti et omne pondus a nobis removisti, qui omne satanae bellum a nobis propulsasti, Filii et Verbum Dei, qui morte tua nos immortales effecisti, gloria tua glorificasti, passione tua omnia reatum nostrorum vincula dissolvisti, per crucem tuam scelerum nostrorum maledictionem portasti, et per resurrectionem tuam docuisti ex hominibus fieri deos. Tu qui nostram cladem super te suscepisti, tu nobis viam in coelum stravisti, et nos corruptos mutasti in incorruptos. Audi me, Domine, ad te cum moerore et metu clamo: Domine Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, coram eo, coram quo stant sanctae virtutes archangelorum, cherubim, innumerabilium exercituum, principum, atque seraphim; velum tuum lux est, et coram tua facie ignis (ardet); thronus tuae gloriae ineffabilis est, et indicibiles sunt mansiones deliciarum tuarum, quas praeparasti tuis sanctis, quorum amictus et gazae tibi soli tuisque sanctis angelis visibiles sunt. Trepidant cuncta coram te, teque collaudant; adspectus tuus montes metitur, et nomen tuum, cum profertur, abyssos scindit. Te velant coeli, qui in manu tua includuntur, a te tellus et abyssi simul contremiscunt, pelagus et dracones, qui in eo sunt, commoventur, animal rapax repidans te veretur. (Tu es), per quem, prae metu, liquefiunt montes et firmamenta terrae; prae tua potentia tremit pavitque hiemis turbo, procella irae sibi definitos limites servat propter te; ignis vindictae praescriptum sibi praeceptum nequaquam transgreditur, sed sistit coactus in mandato tuo; universa creatura propter te emittit partus gemitus, jussa

relied on texts from current Eastern rites. From the Byzantine rite he supplied the prayer for the third exorcism in the rite for “making catechumens,”<sup>260</sup> and from the Armenian Rite he proposed the prayer before the renunciation of Satan.<sup>261</sup> Ligier supplied the texts

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usque ad tempus sibi constitutum commorari. A te fugit omnis natura et creatura adversa, per te subjugatur omnis adversarii militia, diabolusque prostratus (procumbit), serpens conculcatus, et draco interfectus. Gentes vero, quae te confessae sunt, per te, Domine, illuminatae et corroboratae fuerunt. Per te vita revelatur, spes firmatur, fides consolidatur et nuntius laetus praedicatur. Per te corruptela abolita est, et incorruptibilitas constituta. Homo tuis manibus fuit efformatus ex terra, postquam vero in te credidit, non amplius terra est.

Per nomen tuum, Domine, Deus omnipotens dilectique Filii tui Jesu Christi hosce exorcizo: depelle ex animabus horum tuorum famulorum omnem morbum et aegritudinem, omne scandalum et omnem infidelitatem, omnem dubitationem, omnem contemptionem, quemvis spiritum immundum, omnem operam magicam et mortiferam, quae sub terra ignea, tenebrosa, graveolente, incantatrice, et voluptuosa subsistit, auri cupidinem arrogantem, argentine cupidinem furentem. Sane, Domine Deus, cessare fac a servis hisce tuis, qui in te nominati sunt, satanae arma, omnem magiam, incantamenta, idolrum cultum, divinationem, astrologiam, necromantiam, stellarum observationem, astronomiam, passionum illecebras, turpium libidinem, angorem, cupidinem argenti, ebrietatem, adulterium, fornicationem, lasciviam, audaciam, litigationem, iram, confusionem, pravitatem, malamque suspicionem. Sane, Domine, exaudi me et in hosce famulos tuos insuffla spiritum pacis, ut a te custoditi, per te producant fructus fidei, virtutis, sapientiae, puritatis, asceseos, patientiae, spei, concordiae, modestiae et laudis, quoniam tibi vocati sunt servi in nomine Jesu Christi, cum in Trinitate, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti baptizantur, testibus tuis angelis, gloriis, dominationibus, omnique coelesti militia. Domine qui es subsistentia vitae nostrae et illorum, custodi corda ipsorum, Deus, quoniam fortis et gloriosus es per omnia saecula saeculorum.

*Universus populus et sacerdotes dicant: Amen, fiat, fiat, fiat.” Cf. S-112 23.*

<sup>260</sup> Goar, 276: “Domine Sabaoth, Deus Israel, qui omnem infirmitatem et omnem languorem sanas, respice super servum tuum: perquire, scrutare, et ab eo cuncta diaboli machinamenta abige. Increpa spiritus immundos, et ejice illos: et opera manuum tuarum expurga, et potenti tua virtute usus, sub pedibus tuis celriter Satanam contere. Victoriā adversus diabolum, et immundos spiritus ei confer, ut misericordia a te accepta, immortalibus et caelestibus mysteriis dignus habeatur; et gloriam tibi rependat, Patri, et Filio, et Sancto Spiritui: nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.; Dominum precemur. Dominator Domine, qui hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem creasti, eique vitam aeternam consequendi facultatem dedisti, deinde peccato lapsus non contempsisti, sed per Christi tui incarnationem salutem eius dispensasti: ipse et creaturam hanc tuam ab inimici servitute ereptam, in caeleste tuum regnum suscipe. Mentis eius oculos ut in illis Evangelii tui splendor illuceat, aperi. Angelum lucidum ab omnibus adversarii infidiis, ab occursu malo, a daemonio meridiano, a cogitationibus malignis eum liberantem, ejus vitae consocia; *Et insuffluat Sacerdos in os, in frontem, et in pectus pueri, dicens:* Malignum omnem et immundum spiritum absconditum, et sedem quasi nidum in eius corde sisi reservantem, ab eo expelle. *Hocque ter repetit.;* Spiritum erroris, spiritum nequitiae, spiritum idolatriae, et omnis avaritiae, spiritum mendacii et omnis immunditiae, instinctu diaboli inspiratae. Fac sanctae Christi tui caulae rationalem ovem, Ecclesiae tuae membrum, filium et haeredem regni tui: ut secundum praecepta tua conversatus, sigillo intemerato semper custodito, et veste pura servata, beatitudinem sanctorum in tuo regno consequatur.; *Exclamando.* Gratia, et miserationibus, et humanitate unigeniti Filii tui: cum quo benedictus es cum sanctissimo, et bono, et vivifico tuo Spiritu: nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.” Cf. S-112 24.

<sup>261</sup> Denzinger, 385: “Domine Deus, magnus et glorificatus a cunctis creaturis... regnum coelorum possideat semper, et in saecula saeculorum.”

that occurred before the renunciation of Satan, and after the pre-baptismal anointing from the Coptic Rite<sup>262</sup> and from the Ethiopic Rite.<sup>263</sup> Finally, Ligier included a prayer from the East Syrian Rite after the anointing on the forehead and before the renunciation of Satan.<sup>264</sup> This particular text is notable, in that it is followed by an imperative exorcism, the text of which reflects the previous prayer. Ligier indeed notes that an imperative exorcism followed the prayer, and included the latter text separately in the third subsection, “Imperative Exorcisms.”<sup>265</sup> These two East Syrian texts would have been better placed, it seems, within Ligier’s second subsection, consisting of mixed exorcisms – deprecatory with imperative. The first found in this grouping was from the Syriac baptismal rite according to St. Basil,<sup>266</sup> and the second from the second exorcism of the

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<sup>262</sup> Denziger, 198: “In nomine Filii unigeniti Jesu Christi emundo... et liberetur ab omnibus daemoniis in saeculum, Amen.”

Denziger, 200: “Sacerdos manu super eum imposita dicat: Dominator Domine Deus omnipotens... obtineatque felicitatem electorum tuorum per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum, per quem, etc.”

<sup>263</sup> Denziger, 223: “In nomine Filii unici Jesu christi, cape, munda et praepara... et libera eas ab omnibus fraudibus Satanae, in sempiternum. Amen.”

Denziger, 224: “Diaconus: Humiliate capita vestra... Sacerdos: ...Confirma et dirige eorum corda, per assumptionem Spiritus tui Sancti, et per voluntatem Filii tui, quae est sine defectu, nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.”

<sup>264</sup> Denziger, 272: “Te invoco, Domine omnipotens, per unigenitum Filium tuum, Dominum autem ac Deum nostrum Jesum Christum, ad expellendum omnem spiritum nequam, et ad ejiciendam omnem adversam et latentem operationem: ut inhabitationem Spiritus tui Sancti pure recipiant animae istae, quae ipsi offeruntur. Revelare Domine, et corrobora verbum fidei nostrae, quod eloquimur in nomine Christi tui, ut non inanibus et vacuis labiis loquamur, sed per gratiam tuam, et per virtutem illam, quae mundum a malo liberat. *Extollit vocem.* Quoniam tu regnas super nos Deus Pater et unigenitus Filius tuus et Spiritus tuus Sanctus nunc.” Cf. S-112 22.

<sup>265</sup> “Deinde venit exorcismus imprecatorius.” In “Autour de la session du Saulchoir (Coetus 3-6 65).” This imperative exorcism is found in Denziger, 272-273. See below, footnote 273, for the prayer text.

<sup>266</sup> Denziger, 320: “Invocamus te, Domine Deus, creator omnium visibilium et invisibilium, manum imponentes super figmentum tuum istud et opus manuum tuarum, et illud obsignamus in nomine tuo, Pater et Fili, et Spiritus Sancte, ac imperamus omnibus diabolis et spiritibus nequam, et immundis, ut recedant et fugiant ab isto tuo plasmate, et manuum tuarum opere. Exaudi nos, Domine, et increpa eos, ac famulos tuos hos ab omni operatione adversarii emunda.

Byzantine Rite, “*Ad faciendum catechumenum.*”<sup>267</sup> Finally, Ligier turned to imperative exorcism prayers, citing five eastern texts: the first exorcism in the Byzantine rite “*Ad faciendum catechumenum;*”<sup>268</sup> the East Syrian rite;<sup>269</sup> the baptism of girls according to James of Edessa;<sup>270</sup> and two texts from the Maronite Rite.<sup>271</sup>

The fifth section of sample texts was comprised of eleven pre-baptismal anointing formulas. Following Ligier’s order of presentation, the texts came from the Byzantine

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*Et cruciformiter in faciem baptizandorum exsufflat.*

Audi, rebellis et superbe quisquis es, qui hoc plasma conturbas, adjuro te per nomen magnum sanctum et impollutum Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, recede ab his servis Dei, et abi in terram aridam, et desertam, quia ibi est locus tuus, festina, et ne maneat inobediens... cum quo benedictus es, et gloriosus cum Spiritu tuo vivo, Sancto, bono, adorando et vivificante nunc.”

<sup>267</sup> Goar, 276: “Deus sanctus, timendus, et gloriosus, in omnibus operibus et virtute sua... ignis gehenna damnabit et in tenebras exteriores ubi vermis non dormit, neque ignis exstinguitur, tradet. Quia Christi Dei nostri est potestas, cum Patre, et Sancto Spiritu: nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.”

<sup>268</sup> Goar, 275-276: “Increpat te, diabole, qui advenit in mundum et habitavit in hominibus... Exi et discede a creatura hac cum omni potestate et angelis tuis. Quia glorificatum est nomen Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen”

<sup>269</sup> This text is the continuation of the deprecatory exorcism, cited above in footnote 269. Denziger, 272-273: “Te invocamus, Domine, Deus noster, creatorem visibilium omnium et invisibilium, et manum huic figmento tuo imponentes † signamus in nomine tuo, Pater et Filii, et Spiritus Sancte, et increpamus in nomine tuo sanctissimo omne daemonium, et spiritum mallum et impurum... quoniam ipsius est virtus, et imperium, et potestas, et ipsi gloriam attollimus, nunc.”

<sup>270</sup> This text begins with the same prayer as contained in the East Syrian rite (Denziger, 272 – see footnote 273 above), “Te invocamus, Domine Deus noster, creatorem visibilium omnium et invisibilium... Exaudi nos Domine, eosque objurga, et purga hanc famulam tuam ab omni adversarii operatione.” Denziger, 291-292: “Sacerdos: Te invocamus, Domine Deus noster... † Adjuro te per Deum victorem, purum et sanctum, Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum: procul esto a famula Dei, et abi in terram inviam et inaquosam etc.”

<sup>271</sup> Denziger 337-340: “Sacerdos: Exorcizo † vos, et alligo vos daemones immundi... Nunc autem † obsigno eum, et protego eum ab omni daemonum virtute in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti, nunc et semper in saecula. Amen.”

Denziger 353-354: “Adjuro vos, daemones impuri et spiritus mali, per virtutem Dei, ut exeatis a plasmate ejus et opere manuum ejus... per illud ipsum nomen Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sanctis signamus hos infantes et istam aquam.”

Rite,<sup>272</sup> the *Apostolic Constitutions*,<sup>273</sup> Sarapion,<sup>274</sup> the *Testamentum Domini*,<sup>275</sup> the East Syrian tradition,<sup>276</sup> Severus of Antioch,<sup>277</sup> the Syriac liturgy of St. Basil,<sup>278</sup> the Maronite Rite (two),<sup>279</sup> the Coptic Rite,<sup>280</sup> and the Ethiopic Rite.<sup>281</sup>

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<sup>272</sup> Goar, 290: “*Sacerdos accepto oleo crucis figuram exprimit in eius fronte, et in pectore, et in dorso, dicens: Benedictus Deus, qui illuminat, et sanctificat omnem hominem in hunc mundum venientem... In manibus: Manus tuae fecerunt me, et plasmaverunt me.*”

<sup>273</sup> Ap.Con. VII xlii 1-3, Funk, 449: “Post hanc autem professionem ordine... secundum unigeniti praeceptum.”

<sup>274</sup> Sarapion XXII (xv): oratio in unctionem baptizandorum: Domine, amans hominum et amans animarum... sancto spiritu in omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

<sup>275</sup> Test. Dom., II, 8: “Ungatur oleo exorcizato, dum ille, qui ipsum ungit dicit: “Ungo (te) hoc oleo ad liberationem ab omni spiritu prave et impuro et ad liberationem ab omni malo.”

<sup>276</sup> Denziger, 273: “Gratias agimus tibi, Domine Deus, pro eo, quod dignos effecisti servos tuos... cum quo benedictus es cum Spiritu tuo Sanctissimo et bono.”

<sup>277</sup> Denziger, 316: “Signatur N. oleo laetitiae, ut dignus fiat adoptione filiorum per regenerationem † in nomine Patris, Amen; † et Filii, Amen; † et Spiritus Sancti in vitam saeculi saeculorum. Amen.”

<sup>278</sup> Denziger, 322: “Qui per impositionem manus sanctorum Apostolorum Spiritum tuum Sanctum dedisti illis... *Tres tamen cruces ducito, in fronte, naribus, et arteriis: Oleo laetitiae, et salutis signatur N. in nomine Patris, Amen. In nomine Filii, amen. In nomine spiritus Sancti in vitam aeternam. Amen.*”

<sup>279</sup> Denziger, 347: “Sacerdos: Pater noster, qui es in coelis; Populus: Sanctificetur nomen tuum; *Sacerdos inclinatus: Pastor bone, et perditorum inventor, qui Trinitatis signaculo oves tuas obsignasti, ut a lupis rapacibus custodirentur, glorioso tuo nomine eas conserva... Tunc sacerdos... baptizandi caput oleo sancto ungit in typum crucis dicens: Obsignatur N. agnus in grege christiano, oleo vivo divinae unctionis in nomine Patris, Amen. † Et Filii. Amen. Et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.*”

Denziger, 355: “Domine Deus omnipotens, tu constituisti olim sacerdotes, levitas, et reges, et praecipisti, ut oleo ungerentur... *Et elevat vocem: (Denziger 342) Veniat, Domine, Spiritus tuus et Sanctus, et habitet, et requiescat super caput huius famuli tui, et obsignetur in nomine tuo, Pater vive; in nomine Filii tui unigeniti, et Spiritus tui Paracliti, qui nostra dimittit debita, nunc.*”

<sup>280</sup> Denziger, 199-200: “Diaconus: Humiliate capita vestra Domino... Sacerdos: Ungo te N. oleo laetitiae, propugnaculo contra omnia opera adversarii maligni, ut inseraris in radice olivae pinguis, quae est sancta Dei catholica et apostolica Ecclesia. Amen.”

<sup>281</sup> Denziger, 224: “*Diaconus dicit: Humiliate capita vestra. Sacerdos: Domine, Redemptor noster, amator humani generis... Sacerdos accipit oleum, et ungit eorum, qui baptizandi sunt, scapulas, granum pectoris, seu os stomachi, et manuum interiores et exteriores partes, genua, et omnes juncturas corporis eorum, in signum crucis, et dicit: Ungo te, N., oleo laetitiae, quod perempti omnem vim inimici, quod plantatum est in medio ligni olivae dulcis, quae est Ecclesia sancta Apostolorum Domini.*”

Ligier's original purpose of distinguishing between imperative and deprecatory prayers would be clearly accomplished in his compilation of texts. Beyond this, however, Ligier provided an important service with his larger collection, giving the *Coetus* a readily-available compendium of source texts from which to draw in composing the texts of the revised rite. Indeed, of the thirty-eight texts prepared by Ligier, thirteen would either be adopted (with, perhaps, some modification), or serve as inspiration for new texts in the first *Schemata* of the rite, S-112.<sup>282</sup>

### 3.3.2: Cellier's Agenda, May 15, 1965

In advance of the next meeting of the *Coetus*, scheduled to take place at Le Saulchoir on June 3-6, 1965, Cellier prepared a note regarding various materials to be examined during the session.<sup>283</sup> The elements in the first station of the OCGD would be the initial dialogue and catechesis, the laying on of hands – both the accompanying prayer, as well as the gesture – and the instruction given during the entry into the Church. Unaware of the scope of Ligier's undertaking, Cellier wondered, in his brief notations, whether the prayer used to accompany the laying on of hands would be one that previously existed, or whether a new one might have to be composed. He also suggested that the group should consider what type of gesture would be appropriate here. Cellier also indicated that the group should consider the tone of the minor exorcisms – that is, whether or not they should have a penitential flavor – as well as the shape of the prayers over the catechumens. For these prayers, Cellier notes that the litanic prayers based on

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<sup>282</sup> As noted above, in each instance where the prayer text was either used or adapted, the corresponding paragraph in S-77 has been given.

<sup>283</sup> "May 15, 1965 – Lyons", in C.N.P.L. I.C.iii.

John Chrysostom's dismissal of the catechumens could be a good model.<sup>284</sup> For the *Tempus Quadragesimale*, Cellier wrote down a basic framework for the scrutinies: the candidates would be on their knees in silence, while the sponsors would place their hand on the candidates' shoulders. After a litany and a prayer, the exorcism would follow. A *traditio* would follow the exorcism. This pattern would, thus, be repeated for each of the exorcisms.

### **3.3.3: Fischer's Agenda, May 31, 1965**

A note from Fischer to Cellier, written a few days before the session at Le Saulchoir, concurred with some of Cellier's propositions for the agenda of the meeting.<sup>285</sup> The note listed four elements that should be considered by the group. First, it indicated that the choice of texts for the litany over the catechumens, which Cellier had suggested be drawn from Chrysostom (*Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 6:3-8), be considered. Second, the note addressed the shape of the Scrutinies according to two areas. The litanic prayers over the catechumens by the community should be addressed, as should the texts of the exorcisms. The note suggested that six prayers of exorcism should be included of which three would be imperative and three would be deprecatory. Presumably the intent was that there would be two options presented for each of the scrutinies. Third, the note contained the suggestion that the text of the renunciation of Satan be changed somewhat,

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<sup>284</sup> What Cellier appears to mean is the dismissal of the catechumens from *Apostolic Constitutions* VIII, 6:5-8. See Funk, 479-481.

<sup>285</sup> "Note to Fr. Cellier, May 31, 1965", in C.N.P.L. 1.C.iii.:

especially regarding “*les pompes*”.<sup>286</sup> Fourth in the note was the possibility of altering the structure of the renunciation, turning it from a triple interrogation into a double interrogation.

### **3.4: Conclusions**

With an approved layout for the revised rite of adult initiation, a collection of varied prayer texts from various Eastern sources (and, of course, the texts contained in OBA and OBA1962), and an understanding of more specific considerations, the *Coetus* was prepared for their next meeting. This gathering would mark a point of transition in their work. At Le Saulchoir they would begin to bring the approved structure of the rite to textual reality, by adapting and crafting prayers, and developing more fully the description of the rite.

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<sup>286</sup> “Note to Fr. Cellier, May 31, 1965.” The renunciation, as it occurred in the rite was as follows: “*N., abrenuntias Satanae? Abrenuntio. Et omnibus operibus eius? Abrenuntio. Et omnibus pompis eius? Abrenuntio.*” OBA n. 35; OBA1962 n. 47.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### TOWARDS A RITUAL EUCHOLOGY

By the end of May, 1965, the *Coetus* had assembled a core structure for the rite of adult initiation, which had been presented to the *Consilium* in S-77 and approved. The meeting at Rome immediately after the presentation to the *Consilium* dealt, mostly, with discerning finer points regarding the structure, but also pointed forward to the next phase of the *Coetus*' work – developing the structure so that it might become a usable rite. The work of establishing a text was accomplished over the summer months of 1965, beginning with the meeting at Le Saulchoir, on June 3-6, 1965. Here the subcommittee began choosing, editing, and crafting texts – both rubrics and prayers – for the revised OCGD. Those in attendance at the meeting were Fischer, Cellier, Lengeling, Ligier, and Molin. Seumois and Stenzel were unable to attend.<sup>1</sup> The shape of the rite was to follow the pattern contained in S-77 as amended by Fischer, Cellier, and Ligier, with three stations alternating with three periods. For each element within the rite a separate worksheet had been created, containing, insofar as possible, three typed items: the paragraph reference from OBA; a paragraph reference in the new rite; and the name of

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<sup>1</sup> “Protocollum de iis que diebus 3-6 junii 1965 in sessione communi cum coetu 23 apud Salices (Le Saulchoir) in Gallia a submissione Coetus 22 ‘De baptismo’ tractata sunt” in CNPL I.C.iii: “Autour de la session du Saulchoir (Coetus – 3-6/6/65),” Introduction.

the element.<sup>2</sup> In most cases the worksheet also contained a fourth typewritten element: a rubric and/or prayer text, most typically from OBA. Occasionally the individual worksheets were supplemented by typewritten suggestions, usually in French, though occasionally in Latin, that appeared as attachments. Each worksheet had room for notes to be taken, and, where necessary, extra pages of notes were attached.<sup>3</sup> The texts proposed at this meeting were most frequently written in French. These French texts would be translated into Latin at the meeting of a special subcommittee, which would meet at Clervaux Abbey in Luxembourg on June 23-26, 1965.<sup>4</sup> Most texts that emerged from these two meetings would form the basis for the first official draft of the rite, S-112. In terms of composition, the notes for this meeting appear to indicate two separate manners of work. When dealing with texts that had originated in Latin, such as from OBA, the editing was often done in Latin, although translations into French were occasionally attached. On the other hand, newly composed texts were almost exclusively written in French.

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<sup>2</sup> References made to these worksheets will follow the page number, rather than the ritual number, since as the worksheets progress, elements will be rearranged. For example, the first element, the introductory dialogue, which occurs on the second worksheet, will be notated as NR 2.

<sup>3</sup> In cases where there are extra pages attached to the original, the page numbering system used here will use the first page number for each element, along with the Latin subdivision (bis, ter, quater, etc.). For example, the first element of the entire rite, the introductory dialogue, appeared on the second worksheet (NR 2), and there were five other pages of notes attached to it (NR 2bis, NR 2ter, NR 2quater, etc.).

<sup>4</sup> The translations from Clervaux are also included on the worksheets, and include the notation “Clervaux” beside them.

#### **4.1: The First Station: The Rite for Making Catechumens**

The first worksheet simply contained the order of the first station, noting that some of the elements were deemed optional, as had been previously agreed upon, but the order approved by the *Consilium* was altered (see Table 4.1, below). Originally, the order approved at Rome had begun with the introductory dialogue, moved to the optional exorcism by exsufflation, through to the imposition of hands, and the optional renunciation of false cults and statement of adhesion to Christ. After this the catechumen could, optionally, take a Christian name, and would then be signed on the forehead as well as, optionally, the senses. The celebration would continue with the introduction into the Church by the celebration of the Word, and would conclude with the dismissal of the catechumens. The new proposal moved two elements in this outline. First, the renunciation of false cults and statement of adhesion to Christ was to be moved ahead of the imposition of hands, thereby making it the third element in the order. Second, the giving of a Christian name was to be moved after the optional signing of the senses, making it the seventh element in the order.

##### **4.1.1: Introductory Dialogue**

The first element of the station, an introductory rubric and the initial dialogue between the priest or deacon and the candidates for the catechumenate, was contained in the second worksheet. There would be significant discussion surrounding this element, mostly in reference to the introductory dialogue. The proposed rubric, a new composition based on OBA 1 and 5 and OBA1962 1 (see Table 4.2, below), made the changes indicated during the Trier meeting, and indicated that the candidates with their sponsors, who were surrounded by the faithful, were to wait outside the Church to be

TABLE 4.1  
STRUCTURE OF THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS  
AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

S-77	Le Saulchoir
<p>Introductory Dialogue Optional Exorcism by exsufflation Laying on of hands Optional Renunciation of false cults and adhesion to Christ</p> <p>Optional Giving of a Christian name Signing of the forehead Optional Signing of the Senses</p> <p>Introduction into the Church and Celebration of the Word Dismissal of the Catechumens</p>	<p>Introductory Dialogue Optional Exorcism by exsufflation</p> <p>Optional Renunciation of false cults and adhesion to Christ Laying on of hands</p> <p>Signing of the forehead Optional Signing of the Senses Optional Giving of a Christian name Introduction into the Church and Celebration of the Word Dismissal of the Catechumens</p>

approached by the presider, a priest or deacon, who was dressed in white vestments, or vestments of some other festive color.<sup>5</sup> The proposed rubric then indicated that the presider was to give a brief address to the community which expressed both joy for the call of the candidates as well as the responsibilities of the candidates themselves. The proposed rubric was accepted by the *Coetus*, with three additions: the priest or deacon could wear a surplice or an alb; if the celebration of the Eucharist was to follow, the vestments should be the same as the color used for the Eucharistic liturgy; and if white vestments or the vestments for mass were not used, the alternative festive color was to be determined by the Conferences of Bishops.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Mention of the community contrasted with the directive for the element in S-77 18, which indicated the presence of parents (sponsors?) and friends (“parentes et amicos”).

<sup>6</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 8: “De colore liturgico in ritu ad catechumenum faciendum adhibendo addatur: Sit identicus cum colore Missae quae forte sequitur. Formula ‘color liturgicus festivus’

TABLE 4.2

INITIAL RUBRIC

IN THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS

AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

<p>OBA 1</p> <p>In primis Sacerdos, paratis his, quae supra de observandis in administratione Sacramenti Baptismi parvulorum dicuntur, indutus superpelliceo et stola, vel etiam pluviali violacei coloris, cum suis Clericis accedit ad gradus Altaris, et genibus flexis, pias mente ad Deum preces effundit, ut tantum Sacramentu digne valeat ministrare; et ad implorandum divinum auxilium, surgens, se signat, et si temporis ratio ferat, dicit: Deus in adjutorium...</p> <p>5. Deinde Sacerdos procedit ad fores ecclesiae, et stat in limine: catechizandus vero extra limen. Et si sint plures, mares et feminae, illi ad dexteram Sacerdotis, hae vero ad sinistram statuuntur. Tum sacerdos interrogat Catechumenum (singulariter singulos, si plures...)...</p>	<p>OBA1962 1</p> <p>Sacerdos,</p> <p>indutus superpelliceo et stola, vel etiam pluviali violacei coloris, cum suis clericis accedit ad gradus altaris, et genibus flexis, pias mente ad Deum preces effundit,</p> <p>ad implorandum divinum auxilium. Deinde surgens, se signat,</p> <p style="padding-left: 40px;">dicens: Deus in adjutorium...</p> <p>4. Tum sacerdos interrogat Catechumenum (singulariter singulos, si plures...)...</p>	<p>NR 2</p> <p>Candidati cum sponsoribus suis expectant extra limen vel in atrio ecclesiae, circumstantibus fidelibus. Sacerdos, vel Diaconus, indutus alba vel superpelliceo, et stola, vel etiam pluviali festivi coloris, accedit ad candidatos.</p> <p>Dans une brève allocution, il exprime la joie de l'accueil et rappelle la responsabilité des répondants.</p> <p><i>[Candidati cum sponsoribus suis expectant extra limen vel in atrio ecclesiae]</i></p> <p>Deinde, singulos singulariter interrogat:</p>
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determinationem relinquit Conferentiis episcopalibus secundum diversam reactiones diversarum regionum. Bona res, sed videtur communicanda Rmo P. Secretario, quia consequentiae oriuntur pro multis aliis campis Liturgiae."

Discussion then turned to the second part of the first element, the introductory dialogue. Cellier provided the group with a dialogue used in Lyons, which, while based on the tripartite dialogue from OBA, contained significant divergences from the traditional text (see Table 4.3 below). The first question in Cellier's proposal was the same as in OBA, simply asking the name of the candidate. OBA1962 eliminated this question, however, preferring a form in which the priest called out the name of each of the candidates, after which each candidate would respond, indicating their presence.<sup>7</sup> The second question in Cellier's proposal was the second question of both OBA and OBA1962 (from this point OBA1962 was the same as OBA): "What do you ask of the Church of God?" The answer to this question, however, was the first point of significant departure. While OBA sought the answer "faith," Cellier's proposal indicated a more explicitly Christological perspective: "Faith in Jesus Christ." Cellier clarified that the lived experience of the candidates demanded such a change. The candidate already possessed faith, he argued. Otherwise, why would they have come to the Church? The expansion of the response "Faith" to "Faith in Jesus Christ" was thus a logical move. Furthermore, Baptism and the Eucharist – the desired aim of the candidate – did not, in and of themselves, *make* one faithful. Rather, they are the means by which one lives a truly and wholly faithful life. Thus, while recognizing that the faith of the candidate was imperfect, the modified question supported the structure of the proposed rites, which suggested that faith develops in degrees. The third question in the proposal mirrored its counterpart in OBA, and it, too, took the candidates' response to the second question as a

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<sup>7</sup> OBA1962, 4: "Tum sacerdos catechumenos vocat nominatim, per nomen et cognomen familiae, prius masculos, deinde feminas, et ille qui est appellatus respondet: Adsum."

point of departure: “What does faith in Jesus Christ give to you?” The answer to this question was also different from the response in OBA: “Life as a child of God.” Cellier argued that the focus on the development of the candidates’ faith, witnessed in the second question, was highlighted in the change from the candidate seeking “eternal life” to “life as a child of God.” His suspicion was that those at such an early stage in the development of their faith were not yet equipped to understand the concept of eschatology.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, such a change would place emphasis on a desire for entry into the Church, rather than just a desire for the effects of baptism – grace, which gave eternal life. Overall, the view of the candidates’ faith presented in Cellier’s proposal was consistent with the sentiment expressed by Seumois in his 1957 text, *Adaptation dans le culte*. In this work he proposed a paraliturgical formula at this point in the ritual that reflects the content of the new proposition: “Why do you wish to enter into the catechumenate? To learn the truth revealed by God, to become children of God by baptism, and obtain eternal salvation.”<sup>9</sup> In both instances, ritual expression was given to an imperfect faith that was being nourished in and by the Church. Cellier’s proposal did not receive widespread support from the rest of the *Coetus*.<sup>10</sup> On the one hand, some appeared to push for more substantial change, because slight changes, significant as they were, might likely be perceived by the *Consilium* as tinkering with the rite. On the other

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<sup>8</sup> NR 2ter: “ ‘Vie d’enfant de Dieu’ me paraît préférable à ‘vie éternelle’ mal compris par la plupart des candidates au moment de leur entrée en catéchuménat (vie éternelle=vie future).’ ”

<sup>9</sup> Seumois, *Adaptation*, 292: “ ‘Pourquoi désirent-ils entrer au catéchuménat?’ – ‘Pour apprendre les vérités que Dieu a révélées, devenir enfants de Dieu par le baptême et obtenir leur salut éternel.’ ”

<sup>10</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 9: The summary of the session suggests that there was some sort of split on this issue, by noting “non omnibus placuerunt,” while acceptance is described as unanimous in several other sections of the document – the word “omnibus” is used frequently to describe support for a decision.

TABLE 4.3

INTRODUCTORY DIALOGUE

IN THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS

AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

OBA4	Cellier's Proposal
S: Quo nomine vocaris?	S: Quel est votre nom?
C: N.	C: N.
S: N., quid petis ab Ecclesia Dei?	S: N., que demandez-vous a l'église de Dieu
C: Fidem.	C: La foi en Jésus-Christ
S: Fides, quid tibi praestat?	S: Que vous donne la foi en Jésus-Christ?
C: Vitam aeternam.	C: La vie d'enfant de Dieu.

hand, others appeared to reject these smaller alterations because they too saw the changes as being trivial and not worth the time of the *Consilium*.<sup>11</sup> After much discussion Fischer suggested retaining the text from OBA in an unaltered fashion.<sup>12</sup>

Following the dialogue, the section concluded with a catechetical statement. Two alternate possibilities were offered for this text, both from Cellier. The first considerably shortened the text contained in both OBA and OBA1962. Emerging out of Cellier's proposal for the preceding dialogue, instead of seeking eternal life, the candidate was looking to live as a child of God. The truncated version of this text maintained the citation of Matthew 19:17b, adding to it an ascription of the commandment to Jesus, but eliminated the additional citation of Matthew 22:40 and the doctrinal statements about the Trinity (see Table 4.4 below). The intent was to clarify that the commandments that one must follow were not simply the Law of Moses, but the Law of Christ, who fulfilled the

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<sup>11</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 9: "P. Gy censuit melius et facilius acceptum iri mutationes quasi totales quam levissimae;" "...quae formula extra Galliam difficulter acceptabitur."

<sup>12</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 9: "D. Fischer censet dialogum initialem quamvis sit recentionis aetatis melius intactum relinqui propter inusitatam monumentalitatem."



former.<sup>13</sup> In the end, however, this “catechetical” text, like the one in OBA and OBA1962 was more of a directive than an instruction. Accordingly, Cellier noted that this catechesis might begin with an alternate formulation, such as “*Pour vivre en enfant de Dieu.*” Such a change would subtly shift the emphasis in the text from a focus on the candidate’s own desires (“If you would live...”) to a focus on the Church’s instruction (“To live...”). Alternatively, the second proposal attempted to more explicitly develop the literary form intended by the rite – catechesis – as well as referring back to the Christological perspective developed in the previous dialogue. Though freely composed, it sought to respect the structure found in OBA, emphasizing the Trinitarian dimension of faith. Responding to the call of SC to render texts intelligible to the faithful, language of scholastic thought was replaced with “terms highlighted in the baptismal Creed.”<sup>14</sup>

Overall, the *Coetus* preferred the first proposal for the catechetical text. Since, however they had decided to maintain the older initial dialogue with its emphasis on eternal life, rather than the newer Christological-ecclesiological composition, the opening statement of Cellier’s proposed catechesis would have to be rephrased to reflect the original dialogue. Furthermore, Cellier’s elimination of Matthew 22:40 (“The whole law and prophets depend on these two commandments”) was questioned. Was not following the law and the prophets the cornerstone of faith, and thus, of eternal life? The subcommittee that would convene at Clervaux was given the instruction to try and re-

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<sup>13</sup> NR 2ter: J’ai rajouté le ‘commandement nouveau’ pour montrer que le Christ ne se borne pas à rejeter la Loi de Moïse, même qu’elle a de meilleurs, mais qu’il accomplit cette Loi en ce qu’elle a de meilleurs, sans pour autant l’abolir.”

<sup>14</sup> NR 2ter: “J’ai essayé de respecter la structure Trinitaire de la foi, exprimée dans la formulation antérieure d’une manière trop scolastique, avec des mots bien éloignés du Credo baptismal.”

TABLE 4.4  
SUMMARY OF CATECHESIS TEXT  
IN THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS  
AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

OBA 5, OBA1962 4	Cellier's Proposal 1	Cellier's Proposal 2
<p>Si vultis habere vitam aeternam, servate mandata.</p> <p>Diligite Dominum Deum vestrum ex toto corde vestro, et ex tota anima vestra, et ex tota mente vestra, et proximum vestrum sicut vo ipsos.</p> <p>In his duobus mandates tota Lex pendet, et Prophetiae. Fides autem est, ut unum Deum in Trinitate, et Trinitatem in unitate veneremini, neque confundendo personas, neque substantiam seperando. Alia est enim persona Patris, alia Filii, alia Spiritus Sancti: sed horum trium una est substantia, et nonisi una divinitas.</p>	<p>Si vous voulez vivre en enfant de Dieu, observez le commandement du Christ: 'Tu aimeras le Seigneur ton Dieu de tout ton Coeur, de toute ton âme, et de tout ton esprit, et ton prochain comme toi-même.' Et encore: 'Aimez-vous les uns les autres, comme je vous ai aimés'</p>	<p>Si vous voulez croire en Jésus-Christ,</p> <p>reconnaissez qu'il est vivant, qu'il est le fils unique de Dieu venu en ce monde, et qu'il fait vivre son église en lui donnant l'Esprit Saint. Reconnaissez que par lui seul nous avons accès auprès du Père, et qu'il est pour tous les homes le chemin, la vérité et la vie.</p>

incorporate the reference to eternal life and the excised citation into the catechesis. The only other point of discussion surrounding this element was a technical one. OBA suggested that the dialogue and catechesis were repeated to each candidate. OBA1962 indicated that the dialogue and the catechesis were spoken once to the group as a whole. The *Coetus* sought a middle path, in which the dialogue was spoken individually and the catechesis was given to the group.

#### 4.1.2: Exorcism by Exsufflation

The second element of the first station was the optional exorcism by exsufflation, previously found at OBA 8. The prayer text here was found wanting by the group, as there was, in general, a preference for deprecatory exorcistic prayer. In particular, Lengeling questioned whether it was beneficial to maintain the priest's direct address of the devil<sup>15</sup> that had been expressed in the older rite: "Exi ab eo, spiritus immunde, et da locum Spiritui Sancto Paraclito."<sup>16</sup> Thus the suggestion was made that the group exchange the text from OBA for the first text from the Byzantine Rite proposed by Ligier in his earlier study.<sup>17</sup> This suggestion was rejected, though no rationale was provided for this decision. Instead, the exorcism over the elect of the *Gelasian Sacramentary*<sup>18</sup> was offered as a model of the desired style of prayer, although this text would not be used in the revision. The *Coetus* agreed that a new prayer should be written, and based on a recommendation from Fischer,<sup>19</sup> this text would utilize a verse from 2 Thessalonians: "And then the lawless one will be revealed, whom the Lord (Jesus) will kill him with the breath of his mouth and render powerless by the manifestation of the spirit," (2:8).<sup>20</sup> The content of this text would emphasize the action of God in the exorcism, rather than that of

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<sup>15</sup> NR 3: "Faut-il garder le dialogue avec le diable?"

<sup>16</sup> OBA 8, OBA1962 7.

<sup>17</sup> Goar, 276: "Domine Sabaoth, Deus Israel, qui omnem infirmitatem et omnem languorem sanas... et in saecula saeculorum. Amen." Cf. S-77, DRi-2bis, 24, and *DOBL*, 116.

<sup>18</sup> Gelasian Sacramentary XXX, 285. See also *DOBL*, 215-216.

<sup>19</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 10: "D. Fischer censet formulam noviter redigendam alludere posse ad 1 Thes 2:8 ut sensus christologicus (non magicus!) appareat."

<sup>20</sup> 2 Thessalonians 2:8: "Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus, quem Dominus Iesus interficiet spiritu oris sui, et destruet illustratione adventus sui eum."

the celebrant. At the same time it would provide a ritual connection to the exorcism, since the prayer was to coincide with the breath of the celebrant in the face of the candidate. The *Coetus* decided to look for other texts that might also be used, and left the composition of a new text to the subcommittee at Clervaux.

#### **4.1.3: Renunciation of False Cults and Adhesion to Christ**

The third element considered by the *Coetus*, the Renunciation of false cults and the adhesion to Christ, was considered optional. Reiterating their discussion from Trier, the group admitted that this might be a useful element, depending on local circumstances. Having once been suppressed, this element was clearly understood as a source of potential difficulties. Consequently, several steps were taken to allow this element to be retained where necessary, in a non-offensive form. First, a further clarification to the suggestion from Trier (that the element be used only in cases of past membership within institutionalized cults) was made in noting that only pagan religions should be explicitly renounced.<sup>21</sup> This addition was clearly made to avoid the reasons for its original suppression. Previously, as the title of the element indicated, the texts had emphasized the rejection of that which was non-Catholic, including Judaism, Islam, and various “heretical sects,” and the instruction was given to the catechumen to “abhor” the religious tradition from which they had come.<sup>22</sup> If the element was to be restored, it was to avoid

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<sup>21</sup> NR 4: “En évitant les formules réprimande les religions païennes.”

<sup>22</sup> OBA 10 contained four “abhor” statements: “Horresce idola, respue simulacra;” “Horresce Judaicam perfidiam, respue Hebraicam superstitionem;” “Horresce Mahumeticam perfidiam, respue pravam sectam infidelitatis;” and “Horresce haereticam pravitatem, respue nefarias sectas impiorum N.”

the denigration of other monotheistic traditions.<sup>23</sup> Seumois had pointed to this distinction in *L'Adaptation dans le Culte*, highlighting that what was to be renounced was Satan, idolatry, magic, and moral disorder.<sup>24</sup> Seumois did not mention Judaism within his text, and he appeared to differentiate between Islam as a whole and the way in which Islam was manifested in Africa, which he, nevertheless, viewed negatively.<sup>25</sup> The clarified understanding of the purpose of the element was a necessary first step in rehabilitating the element. Second, standing alongside the clarified understanding of the purpose of the renunciation, and likely flowing from Seumois' description of its nature, the *Coetus* recognized that the element was a rejection of particular beliefs that were contradictory to Christianity, and that these beliefs tended to be localized. Consequently, the response to these beliefs needed to be localized also. The *Coetus* proposed that, along with the performance of the element itself, the formula of renunciation might also best be left to the local Conferences of Bishops.<sup>26</sup> Third, emerging out of the localized significance of the element as well as the purpose of the renunciation as a whole, the *Coetus* was

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<sup>23</sup> The summary of the meeting makes this precise point in giving the element a new title: "De renuntiatione quoad deos falsos." False gods, not traditions other than Christianity are to be renounced; Judaism and Islam are not to be renounced, because they share belief in the same God. The altered title would not, however, be retained in the first draft of the text emerging from Clervaux.

<sup>24</sup> See Seumois, *Adaptation*, 277: "Ainsi les renonciations explicites à Satan, aux pratiques idolâtriques et magiques, aux désordres moraux mettaient l'âme dans les dispositions de pénitence et d'ascèse purificatrices des péchés."

See also Seumois, *Adaptation*, 291: "Le but de la cérémonie serait de provoquer un premier engagement chrétien par le rite de la première *entrée officielle dans l'Église* et par celui de l'*examen des candidats*. Cet engagement Chrétien doit comporter la condamnation du paganisme, les dispositions de pénitence (vrai repentir des fautes afin d'en obtenir le pardon; renonciation à toute pratique idolâtrique ou magique) et la promesse de vivre selon la foi."

<sup>25</sup> See Seumois, *Adaptation*, 125-126.

<sup>26</sup> NR 4: "Dépend de la situation du chaque région, il suffit d'une rubrique qui disait: *formulis ab episcopalis conf. creandis*."

insistent on maintaining the proper focus of the element, and not allowing it to turn into a renunciation of evil in general, and, by extension, a profession of faith. The candidates would not yet have progressed sufficiently in their journey of faith to make the full profession of faith which would lead directly to their baptism, and the rejection of evil itself would be sufficiently dealt with during the Scrutinies. At most, the candidate should be asked whether or not they wished to serve God.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the *Coetus* understood that the renunciation and adhesion needed to be very specific in universally acceptable content, while also being open enough to respond sufficiently to local concerns. Their proposal was to ask Seumois to author a sample text, from which the local Conferences of Bishops might work to create their own.<sup>28</sup> In doing so, the *Coetus* hoped to maintain the proper balance in the element, by not offending Jews and Muslims and not forcing the element to bear more weight than it should, while respecting local needs.

#### **4.1.4: Laying on of Hands**

The fourth element, considered to be the “essential rite” of the first station, likely because of its pre-eminent place in the rite of making catechumens in Gaul and Spain not to mention its pre-eminent place in Constantine’s conversion was the laying on of hands.<sup>29</sup> The group referred back to Ligier’s collection of texts, looking specifically to

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<sup>27</sup> NR 4: “ Et vous, catéchumènes, voulez-vous écarter donc les dieux du mal et servir Dieu et observent à sa loi.”

<sup>28</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 11: “Sodales censent melius esse formulationem non simpliciter relinquere autoritatibus territorialibus, sed bonam formulam offerre quam R.P. Seumois exarare posset.”

See Seumois, *Adaptation*, 291: “La cérémonie se terminerait par une bénédiction sous forme d’imposition des mains: Ancien Rite d’agrégation au catéchuménat en Gaule et en Espagne.”

<sup>29</sup> NR 4bis: “... le nouveau rituel fait de l’imposition de la main le rite essentiel, ‘ad catechumenum faciendum.’ ”

prayers from the Byzantine and Coptic rites.<sup>30</sup> The group also cited 1 Timothy 3:7, Ephesians 4:18-27, Ephesians 5:2-20, and Colossians 1:9-14 as scriptural texts that might offer concrete examples relating to the transformation of life intended by the catechumenate. John 16:13 was also mentioned as a textual possibility, since it emphasized the coming of the Holy Spirit and could point to the role of the Spirit during the period of the catechumenate.<sup>31</sup>

The worksheet began by reprinting the rubric from OBA 12: the priest was to lay his hand upon the head of each candidate, and afterward, with his hands extended, he was to pray the prayer. By choosing the rubric from OBA the *Coetus* decided to restore the act of handlaying to the rite, since in OBA1962 the handlaying was eliminated and the prayer was said with the priest's hand simply extended over the group of the elect.<sup>32</sup> No alterations were made to the rubric on the worksheet.

The worksheet did not include the text of the prayer in Latin, originally in the *Gelasian Sacramentary*,<sup>33</sup> but instead, a revised text in French was attached (see Table 4.5 below). The revision sought to mirror, insofar as possible, the original prayer, while making any adjustments necessitated by the new ritual surroundings: the suppression of

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<sup>30</sup> Goar, 281: “*Sacerdos*: Dominator Deus, servos tuos...et tibi gloriam rependimus.” See also *DOBL*, 113: “O Lord, our Master and our God...”

Denziger, 202: “*Sacerdos*: Dominator Deus omnipotens Pater Domini... praepara eos, ut sint templum Spiritus tui Sancti.” See also *DOBL*, 133: “Master, Lord God Almighty...”

<sup>31</sup> A rendition of John 16:13 in French is written into the worksheet NR 5: “Recevez le Sainte-Esprit. Il vous ouvre votre coeur à la Parole de Dieu et vous mener à la vérité toute entière.”

<sup>32</sup> That the handlaying was eliminated from OBA1962 is not entirely surprising, as this version of the rite tended to reflect choices made for the sake of expediency. Emerging out of a missionary context, there were often many candidates and catechumens. Thus, OBA1962 usually alters the ritual structure so that the rites would not be unduly extended.

<sup>33</sup> *Gelasian Sacramentary*, XXX, 285. See *DOBL* 215-216.

the imposition of salt, and the centrality of the handlaying within the station. The revised prayer was, in many places, very much the same as the original. The invocation of the revised prayer remained the same, as did the first intercession with only two exceptions. First, should the number of candidates be too great, the revised text allowed for the omission of their names. Second, rather than noting that the candidates had been called to “the beginnings of faith,” they were described as having been “called to the faith.” While no rationale for such a change was provided, it appears to be an extension of the principle noted in the introductory dialogue to this station. The candidates had faith, however imperfect, for they had responded to the call to become Christian. But the degree of faith displayed by the candidates was not as important as their response to faith – which was expressed in the desire to be united with the body of the faithful. The second intercession in the revision was a translation of the original with no significant alterations. The greatest amount of change, however, was found in the third and fourth intercessions of the revised text, which hinted at themes raised in the third intercession of the original. According to Maertens, this portion of the original text was well-suited for the rite, alluding to the knocking of the candidates on the doors to the church as a means of ritual entry into the community, and the ritual giving of salt to the candidates, which signified Christian wisdom and seasoning.<sup>34</sup> The revision made similar statements, while presuming that the candidates were no longer to knock at the door of the Church and

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<sup>34</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale*, 188: “ianuam pietatis: Image du quémendeur qui frappe à la porte; ... Ce thème est encore évocateur de l’antique usage: le candidat frappe à la porte de l’Église et il attend qu’on l’ait examiné, au nom de Dieu, pour être reçu dans la communauté.

Imbutus signo sapientiae: Il s’agit du sel. La signification primitive de ce ‘sacrement’ du pain salé, tel qu’il existait en Afrique, s’est perdue lorsque le rite pénétra dans un autre milieu culturel. Plutôt que de le supprimer, ce que ne fait guère la liturgie, on lui donna le sens d’un rite apportant au catéchumène la sagesse nécessaire pour suivre l’enseignement.”



were no longer to receive salt. The revision therefore asked for God's grace upon the candidates who would enter the Church via the catechumenate, and who would receive the seasoning of Christian wisdom through the Scriptures. The reference to the Scriptures served a second purpose, in that it also functioned as a reference to God's precepts, which were to inspire the candidate as they lived lives that reflected God's goodness. The revised text allowed for two possibilities here, which both pointed in the same direction. The life that the candidates were to live as catechumens was that of a member of the Church to which they would soon belong, or that which was inspired by the Holy Spirit. The rest of the revised text mirrored the original, except for the final petition, which in the original made explicit reference to salt. This reference was eliminated for ritual consistency, and instead the revised text asked that the candidates might be brought to the new birth of baptism by either the grace or mercy of God.

#### **4.1.5: Signation of the Forehead and of the Senses**

The *Coetus* was clear in their intent that the handlaying itself was to be the essential element of the station, and that it would lead into the fifth element, the signing of the forehead, and the optional signing of the senses that could follow.<sup>35</sup> The worksheet presented the rubric from OBA, which indicated that the priest was to make the sign of the cross with his thumb on the forehead of each of the candidates. The *Coetus*

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<sup>35</sup> NR 4bis: "Puisque le nouveau rituel fait de l'imposition de la main le rite essentiel, 'ad catechumenum faciendum,' les signations doivent apparaître dans le rite comme un prolongement, un développement de l'imposition de la main."

"Pour les cas où les conférences épiscopales adopteraient ces rites ne devraient pas rompre l'unité profonde entre l'imposition de la main et les signations. La renonciation aux faux cultes et l'adhésion au Christ devrait se célébrer avant l'imposition de la main (après l'exsufflation si les conférences épiscopales maintiennent ce rite). L'imposition du nom chrétien pourrait être célébrée après les signations."

TABLE 4.5

TEXTS FOR THE LAYING ON OF HANDS  
IN THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS  
AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

<p>OBA 12</p> <p>Omnipotens, sempiternus Deus, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, respicere dignare super hos famulos tuos N. et N., quos ad rudimenta fidei vocare dignatus es:</p> <p>omnem caecitatem cordis ab eis expelle: disrumpe omnes laqueos satanae, quibus fuerant colligati: aperi eis, Domine, januam pietatis tuae, ut,</p> <p>signo sapientiae tuae imbuti, omnium cupiditatum foetoribus careant,</p> <p>et ad suaven odorem praeceptorum tuorum</p> <p>laeti tibi in Ecclesia tua deserviant,</p> <p>et proficiant de die in diem, ut idonei efficiantur accedere ad gratiam Baptismi tui,</p> <p>percepta medicina.</p> <p>Per eundem Christum Dominum nostrum.</p>	<p>NR 5</p> <p>Dieu éternel et tout-puissant, Père de notre seigneur Jésus-Christ, daigne regarder tes serviteurs (<i>on peut ici citer leurs noms</i>) que tu as appelés à la foi.</p> <p>Écarte d’eux tout aveuglement du cœur, brise les liens par lesquels Satan les tenait attachés. Aujourd’hui, par ta grâce, ils deviennent catéchumènes dans ton église.</p> <p>Qu’ils reçoivent avec foi la parole de vie. [Amen.]</p> <p>Qu’ils adoptent généreusement la manière de vivre qui convient [aux membres de ton peuple/qui convient à ceux qu’anime l’Esprit Saint]. [Amen.]</p> <p>Qu’ils te servent avec joie dans ton église. [Amen.]</p> <p>[Qu’ils] progressent de jour en jour, et deviennent par ta [grâce/miséricorde], dignes de la nouvelle naissance du baptême. [Amen.]</p> <p>Nous te le demandons] par Jésus-Christ. Amen.</p>
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[ ]=Alternate textual possibilities.

understood the concerns voiced at the meeting of the *Consilium* regarding the inappropriateness of touch in Japanese culture, and accepted an amendment to the rubric that clarified that the cross could be traced in front of the candidate's forehead instead of on the candidate's forehead, should the local Conferences of Bishops allow for that

change.<sup>36</sup> In place of the formula from OBA, however, the *Coetus* had accepted Cellier's proposal at Trier: "I mark your forehead for Christ so that he will take possession of you."<sup>37</sup> During discussion on this portion of the element it was decided that the only addition to the text should be the insertion of each candidate's name: "N., I mark your forehead..."<sup>38</sup> The translation of the new rubric and text were left to the Clervaux subcommittee.

The structure of the optional accompanying signations further followed the *Consilium's* discussions regarding cultural sensitivity, and the *Coetus* began the reform of this portion of the element with the understanding that they would substantially retain the prayers contained in OBA and OBA1962. Indeed, the order and the accompanying texts for the optional signations (excepting that of the nostrils, which had been removed altogether) contained in the worksheet were the same as they had been in the previous versions of the Rite, except for the final signation, which was of the whole body. Here the group preferred the text from OBA over the new text of OBA1962. The latter was intended to accompany a single sign of the cross over all of the candidates at once, rather than as in the former and in the intended reform, over individuals. The concluding prayer for this element was to remain substantially as it had been in OBA and OBA1962, although the *Coetus* indicated that they were going to prepare a critical edition of the

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<sup>36</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 12: "De signatione – Rubrica dicat: Crux fiat ante frontem, non in ipsa fronte, si quaedam autoritas territorialis ita censet (repugnantia Asiatarum contra tactum corporalem)."

<sup>37</sup> NR 6: "Je te marque le front pour que le Christ prenne possession de toi."

<sup>38</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 12: "Formula a D. Cellier proposita omnibus placuit, sed nomen catechumeni semper inseratur."

prayer and, insofar as possible, restore it as it had been found in the Gelasian Sacramentary.<sup>39</sup> This work was left to the Clervaux subcommittee.

#### **4.1.6: Giving of a Christian Name**

The sixth element in the first station was the giving of a Christian name. The worksheet for this optional element was left blank, save for the name of Xavier Seumois being written in. Seumois, who was absent from the session, had treated this element quite thoroughly in *L'Adaptation dans le Culte*, and was recognized as being the authority behind the addition of this ritual. Just as in the case of the renunciation of false gods, the *Coetus* determined that Seumois should prepare this text.<sup>40</sup>

#### **4.1.7: Introduction into the Church with the Celebration of the Word**

The seventh element treated in the worksheets was the Introduction into the Church with the Celebration of the Word. The decision to move this element from much later in the rite to the first station had been made at Trier<sup>41</sup> and the elimination of the “artificiality” of the procession of priest and candidates into the Church as discussed at Rome had allowed for many possibilities in the revision of the element. The worksheet contained a streamlined rubric, along with a new text for the introduction from Cellier (see Table 4.6 below). In the older text, spoken during the procession, the emphasis was on entry into the Church for the purpose of receiving individual blessing from Christ, and

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<sup>39</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 12: “Pro textu orationis textus criticus restituendus erit.”

<sup>40</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 13: “De impositione nominis christiani: Ex rationibus de quibus sub e exaretur formula a R.P. Seumois.”

<sup>41</sup> In OBA1962, which respected the ordering of elements from OBA, the formal introduction into the Church was celebrated in the sixth of seven stages.

meriting eternal life. The new text, spoken before the procession, moved away from this tone and instead emphasized life in the Church: “Enter into the holy Church of God so that the Word of God will be your nourishment and that you will live in Christ with all of his faithful.”<sup>42</sup> After some discussion, Cellier’s text was accepted, with the only amendment being the removal of the word “holy.” In OBA and OBA1962 the text immediately preceded the catechumen’s recitation of the creed, which itself, led directly to initiation. Thus, the catechumen could be said to be in close proximity to becoming a member of the Church – the Mystical Body of Christ. Given the new location of this text, the excision of the word “holy” was intended to avoid giving the impression that the candidates were about to be fully accepted into the Church in the manner that had occurred in OBA and OBA1962, but rather, that they were being gradually introduced into it, and still had a considerable journey ahead of them.<sup>43</sup> The catechumens were physically entering the Church building – the place where they would be nourished in the presence of God’s word with the faithful, thereby learning to be the Church, without already being fully members of it. The *Coetus* had previously decided that the insertion of a sung verse during the actual entry of the priest, catechumens, sponsors, and faithful into the Church, and as they had discussed at Trier, Psalm 33(34) was judged the most appropriate choice, especially verses 6-12.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> NR 8bis: “N..., N..., N..., entrez dans la sainte église de Dieu pour que la parole de Dieu soit votre nourriture et que vous viviez dans le Christ avec tous ses fidèles.”

<sup>43</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 14: “De introductione in ecclesiam – Placuit textus Cellier, sed non dicatur: Intrate in Sanctam ecclesiam, ne oriatur impressio eos iam inseri corpori Mystico.”

<sup>44</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 14: “Tamquam cantus aptus e psalmis notetur Ps. 33[34]:6-12; sed ‘addatur vel alius psalmus conveniens’.”

TABLE 4.6

INTRODUCTION INTO THE CHURCH

IN THE RITE FOR MAKING CATECHUMENS

AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

<p>OBA 29</p> <p>His peractis, Sacerdos sinistra manu apprehendens dexteram Electi prope brachium, vel ei porrigens extremam partem stolae, ex humero sinistro pendentem, introducit eum in ecclesiam; et si Electi sint plures, primus sinistra manu trahit secundum, et secundus tertium, etc.</p> <p>Dum autem Sacerdos illum vell illos introducit, dicit (in plurali pro pluribus):</p> <p>N. et N., ingredimini in sanctam ecclesiam Dei, ut accipiatis benedictionem caelestem a Domino Jesu Christo, et habeatis partem cum illo et Sanctis ejus.</p>	<p>NR 8</p> <p>Tunc, his peractis,</p> <p>Sacerdos</p> <p>dicit:</p> <p>N., N., N., entrez dans la sainte église de Dieu pour que la parole de Dieu soit votre nourriture et que vous viviez dans le Christ avec tous ses fidèles.</p> <p>Deinde introducit catechumenos cum sponsoribus cum sponsoribus in ecclesiam, eos praecedens, sequentibus fidelibus.</p> <p>Iterim, cantatur psalmum conveniens, v.g. Ps. 33[34].</p> <p>Postea Sacerdos stans ad ambonem catechumenos breviter alloquitur, exponens dignitatem Verbi Dei in Ecclesiam annuntiati et audiendi, et sequitur sacra celebratio Verbi.</p> <p>(Possibilité aux Conférences Épiscopales d'un rite d'accueil selon les coutumes, exprimant aux catéchumènes qu'ils font partie de la famille. Par exemple, la remise d'une médaille, si c'est actuellement la coutume.)</p>
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When the procession reached its place, the *Coetus* indicated that the priest was to briefly explain to the catechumens the value of proclaiming the Word of God within the midst of the assembly, and the commensurate value of hearing the Word proclaimed within the context of the community. At this point, following the shape approved in S-77, the group allowed that some rite of welcoming be celebrated, such as the practice

distributing a holy medal, provided that the element make sense within the given cultural context. The giving of a holy medal was another element recommended by Seumois from his ministry with African catechumens. Under Charles Lavigerie, the Belgian White Fathers (Seumois' own order) would give those seeking baptism "a distinctive sign – a cross or a medal – which they wore upon their breast."<sup>45</sup> Seumois had elsewhere noted that this practice was well received, and suggested that those catechumens who wore the medal, typically picturing Mary, understood themselves to be under her protection as they progressed towards baptism.<sup>46</sup> No formal texts for this option were provided in the worksheets.

#### **4.1.8: Dismissal of Catechumens**

The eighth and final element treated in the first station was the dismissal of the catechumens. Because OBA did not envision any dismissals except after the sacrament had been conferred, dismissal prayers and rubrics were rather underdeveloped in the rite. OBA1962, despite being into separate stages, simply used the same post-sacramental dismissal text from OBA: "Then the priest says: 'N. and N., go in peace, and the Lord be with you.'"<sup>47</sup> The *Coetus*' stated vision for this element, following the pattern accepted at Trier, was a liturgical dismissal, complete with a prayer over the catechumens, intercessory prayers on the part of the faithful, the laying on of hands, and a brief formula of dismissal. Then, once the catechumens had left, the General Intercessions and the

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<sup>45</sup> Turner, *Hallelujah Highway*, 146.

<sup>46</sup> Seumois, *Adaptation*, 291: "La remise de la médaille (ou du chapelet), traditionnelle lors de l'entrée au catéchuménat, pourrait s'intercaler ici, et y trouverait sons sens: mettre le candidat sous la protection de la Ste Vierge dont il portera désormais l'image sur lui."

<sup>47</sup> OBA 50: "Postea Sacerdos dicit: N. et N., ite in pace, et Dominus sit vobiscum."

celebration of the Eucharist would follow.<sup>48</sup> The *Coetus* chose the text from OBA 15, the prayer for the imposition of salt, to provide the framework for the prayer over the catechumens.<sup>49</sup> Revision of this text would take place at Clervaux, and they proposed returning to the Liger text collection in order to find a suitable text for the litany. The formula for dismissal would be retained from OBA1962, with a single alteration. Rather than naming each of the catechumens, they would be addressed as a group: “Catechumens, go in peace and may the Lord be with you.” The worksheet also contained the pastoral response to concerns voiced during the most recent meeting of the *Consilium*, where he suggested the possibility that there might be situations in which the catechumens might remain in the liturgical assembly rather than be dismissed, even though they would not participate in the subsequent celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>50</sup> The proposal was put before the *Coetus* as to whether or not, in cases where the catechumens

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<sup>48</sup> NR 9: “Post orationem sacerdotalem, catechumenis ad manum sacerdotis accedunt qui eis manum imponit. Dum dimittuntur catechumeni, fideles praesentes, in forma litanica, pro iis orant, quam litaniam post discessum catechumenorum sequetur Oratio Fidelium, quandocumque post ordinem ad catechumenum faciendum Eucharistia celebratur.”

<sup>49</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 15: “Tamquam oratio sumatur formula, quae in RR sub n. 15 invenitur, suppressa mentione salis.”

OBA 15: “Deus patrum nostrorum, Deus universae conditor veritatis, te supplices exoramus, ut hunc famulum tuum N., respicere digneris propitius, et hoc primum pabulum salis gustantem, non diutius esurire permittas, quo minus cibo expleatur caelesti, quatenus sit semper spiritu fervens, spe gaudens, tuo semper nomini serviens. Perduc eum, Domine, quaesumus, ad novae regenerationis lavacrum, ut cum fidelibus tuis promissionum tuarum aeterna praemia consequi mereatur. Per Christum Dominum nostrum.”

<sup>50</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 15: “Quoad longam discussionem Romae hac de re cum ep. [X] ex [Y] habitam omnes consentierunt, dimissionem catechumenorum postulari quidem non posse, sed rubricae positive et explicite excludant omnem participationem activam in ritibus eucharisticis; suggeratur saltem mutatis sedum i.e. catechumeni a remotioribus sedibus liturgiae eucharisticae assistant, si moves populi hoc (adhuc) postulant... In Prot. Trev. Sub nn. 37 et 45 formulatio eo sensu mutanda, ne impressio oriatur saltem ultimam partem orationis fidelium iam pertinere ad liturgiam eucharisticam.” See “Instructiones, Schema 3” in C.N.P.L. 1.B.iii.



were not dismissed, they should participate in the General Intercessions.<sup>51</sup> This possibility was rejected by the *Coetus* following the same reasoning that had been voiced earlier at Cologne and Trier: the prayers of the faithful belonged to the baptized alone – the catechumens could be prayed for, but should they should not offer the prayers themselves.

#### **4.2: Liturgical Rites for the Time of the Catechumenate**

The second grouping of worksheets dealt with what had previously been known as “the Second Station,” but with the reconfiguration of the structure at the meeting in Rome, was now known as the Time of the Catechumenate, or the “*Tempus Catechumenatus*.” The liturgical rites that were to occur during this time period were celebrations of the Word with minor exorcisms and additional blessings, and liturgical dismissals of the catechumens.<sup>52</sup> Discussion of this period was somewhat disorganized, since the *Coetus* was attempting to create a new set of rituals that would be relatively versatile, and yet would be specific enough to contribute to the catechumens’ growth in faith. The *Coetus* began by describing the element for which they already had a structure – the liturgical dismissals. As indicated in S-77, this element was to follow the shape of the dismissal occurring during the first station. The priest would pray a prayer over the catechumens, after which he would lay hands on them. Intercessions would be prayed over the catechumens, who would be dismissed with a prayer and brief formula. There arose, however, some discussion surrounding the choice of texts for the first prayer over

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<sup>51</sup> NR 9: “Pourtant, si cela est nécessaire, les Conférences Épiscopales pourront autoriser la participation des catéchumènes à la Prière Universelle.”

<sup>52</sup> NR 10: “De Tempore Catechumenatus – Ritibus Liturbicis: De celebrationibus Verbi Dei cum exorcismis minoribus et benedictionibus adjectis.”

the catechumens. One proposition was that a fixed prayer be appointed, specifically, the prayer at OBA 28, which followed the final exorcism and preceded the catechumens' entrance into the Church, "*Aeternam ac justissimam pietatem...*" This specific possibility was rejected, even though the same prayer had been selected as the standard conclusion for the minor exorcisms at Trier, and it was decided that a collection of texts for these purposes would be assembled. The Roman prayer would, however, be maintained for use at the conclusion of the celebrations of the Word during the catechumenate, as the celebrations of the Word could include minor exorcisms.<sup>53</sup> Based on these discussions, a pre-emptive move was made by the *Coetus*, and they worked to prepare a clear rationale for the *Consilium* as to why other texts, beyond those contained in OBA should be used. The *Coetus* argued, in the first place, that there was a clear need for importing texts from outside OBA because of the expansion of the rite itself – like the liturgical dismissals. In cases such as this, one must necessarily borrow from elsewhere, which included moving beyond the Roman tradition to embrace prayers from non-Roman Western traditions as well as from the Christian East. Furthermore, they argued, given the acceptance of a common initiatory pattern that developed differently in varied locations, in some instances, older texts that underlay the Roman texts were available. Along this same line, the *Coetus* recognized that the Roman Rite was, itself, not pure – it had borrowed texts from other liturgical sources. However, the *Coetus* also gave reassurance that any new

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<sup>53</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 17: "Oratio 'Aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem' (RR 28) apta esse videtur ad concludendam liturgiam verbi durante catechumantus. 'Aliae' adhuc sunt inquirendae."

text was to not to be simply inserted into the new rite, but would be shaped according to the “genius of the Roman Rite.”<sup>54</sup>

The *Coetus* turned to the question of which texts might be included at this point in the rite. Five possibilities were suggested. The first choice was the first prayer for the catechumens in the prayer collection of Sarapion of Thmuis: “Lord of the universe, (our) help, deliverer of the delivered...”<sup>55</sup> This text was one of the nine prayers included in Ligier’s recent collection of texts. The second text, also in Ligier’s collection, was the blessing of the catechumen’s text from Apostolic Constitutions VIII: 6, 10-13, “Almighty God, uncreated and unapproachable, you the only true God...”<sup>56</sup> The third selection was the men’s prayer for the second exorcism in OBA 18, “*Deus, immortale praesidium...*” The fourth selection was the intention for the catechumens from the liturgy of Good Friday.<sup>57</sup> A fifth option was also presented, a newly composed text, which asked that the

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<sup>54</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 16: “Omnibus sodalibus visum est praesertim pro formalis hoc tempore sive pro exorcismis sive pro benedictionibus adhibendis inspiciendas esse traditiones cum Occidentis tum Orientis a traditione Romana divergentes. Tamen de objectione quae moveri potest contra talem methodum discussum est. Nonne injuriosum est traditioni Romanae inserere textus ex alia traditione profluentes. Responsum est: Negative, et quidem ex his rationibus: Sunt interdum textus omnibus traditionibus antiquiores; Non recipientum nisi assimilando eos genio Romano; necessitates novae novis indigent textibus; RR multa vestigia traditionum non-Romanum, puta Hibernicae vel Visigothicae continet.”

Regarding the issue of shaping texts according to the genius of the Roman Rite, the theory of Edmund Bishop was well accepted. Thus, Jungmann, in *The Mass of the Roman Rite* could clearly state that the Roman liturgical style embodied “clear logical orderliness... with... laconic brevity and stark realism” (I-76).

<sup>55</sup> The *Coetus* cited Lucien Deiss, *Aux sources de la liturgie: textes choisis et traduit par Lucien Deiss* (Paris: Fleurus, 1963), 114-115. See also Lucien Deiss, *Springtime of the Liturgy: Liturgical Texts of the First Four Centuries*, Matthew J. O’Connell, tr. (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1979), 185-186.

<sup>56</sup> *Aux sources de la liturgie*, 178-179. See also *Springtime of the Liturgy*, 223-224.

<sup>57</sup> “Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui Ecclesiam tuam nova semper prole foecundas: auge fidem et intellectum catechumenis nostris; ut renati fonte baptismatis, adoptionis tuae filiis aggregentur. Per Dominum. Amen.”

“Almighty and eternal God, who always blesses your Church with new members: Increase the faith and understanding of our catechumens; so that, renewed in the baptismal font, they may become your adopted children. We ask this through Christ our Lord. Amen.”

catechumens be shaped in faith, given a new heart, embrace the cross, and that God accompany them as they proceeded towards baptism.<sup>58</sup> This text, however, did not appear to merit favor among the group.

No instructions were given regarding the shape of the next element in this period, the celebrations of the Word. Perhaps the *Coetus* presumed that these would be conducted as one would usually during the celebration of the mass, if not during the mass itself.<sup>59</sup> The third element, the prayers of exorcism, was treated only briefly in the worksheets: the *Coetus* noted that a collection of texts was to be prepared, which would reflect the variety of texts from both East and West.

In the end, the group's discussion of the period of the catechumenate was left in a vague state. This is, largely, because they were attempting to create a ritual that would be flexible, and help create an atmosphere of growth in faith. However, this is also because the elements in this period were intended to be somewhat separable. Minor exorcisms and blessings of the catechumens could stand alone, or they could be joined together. And any of the three combinations (exorcism, exorcism and blessing, or blessing) could occur within the context of separate celebrations of the Word, during the community's celebration of the mass, or in private celebrations. As a consequence of the multiple

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<sup>58</sup> NR 12ter: "Dieu éternel et tout puissant, regard avec bonté ces nouveaux catéchumènes N., N., N. Conforme les dans la foi, pour qu'ils te connaissent toi le seul vrai Dieu, et celui que tu as envoyé, Jésus-Christ. Donne leur un cœur nouveau, pour qu'ils accomplissent ta volonté de tout cœur et de bon gré. Fais qu'ils ne rougissent pas de la croix de ton fils dont nous avons marqué leur front. Accompagne-les dans leur marche jusqu'au jour où ils deviendront pleinement tes enfants par le baptême, et où ils participeront avec ton peuple au repas du Seigneur dans la joie de l'Esprit Saint. Par Jésus-Christ. Amen."

<sup>59</sup> NR 11, "Celebrationes Verbi" was simply a blank sheet, with only the title of the element appearing. No paragraph number was proposed for this element, and, as it was an innovation within the rite, no paragraph number from OBA or OBA1962 was provided.

liturgical rites that these elements could be found in, discussion on the elements appears both scattered and short.

#### **4.3: The Second Station: Election or Inscription**

In treating the second station, the celebration in which the “catechumens become elect,”<sup>60</sup> the group turned to a new proposal that had been submitted on May 15, 1965, since a similar rite had been absent from both OBA and OBA1962. While no conclusive texts indicate which member of the *Coetus* submitted the proposal, it seems that the proposal was largely based on rite being celebrated in the Diocese of Lyons at that time. If Cellier was not the principal architect of the proposal, he was, at least, likely responsible for presenting the rite celebrated in Lyons to the rest of the group.

The proposal indicates that the rite was to be celebrated at the beginning of Lent, so that the elect might “enter into the celebration of Lent with the whole of the Christian community.”<sup>61</sup> There was no specific indication in the proposal as to the immediate surroundings of the Rite of Election, but the group had already determined that it should take place after the homily within a specially created votive mass. The Commentary from Lyons clearly indicates that the presider was to be the Bishop, but the description of the rite was written to allow for its celebration within the parish context.<sup>62</sup> The proposed

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<sup>60</sup> NR 32: “Par ce rite, les Catéchumènes deviennent les ‘Élus’.”

<sup>61</sup> NR 32: “C’est donc tendus vers le Baptême et l’Eucharistie de Pâques qu’ils vont entrer dans la célébration de ce Carême, avec l’ensemble de la Communauté chrétienne.” The use of the future tense suggests that Lent lay ahead of the elect. However, the Commentary on the Rite of Election from the Diocese of Lyons clearly indicates that Lent has arrived when some of the catechumens become elect: “Lorsque arrive le Carême, temps de préparation au Mystère pascal, l’Église reconnaît un certain nombre de ces catéchumènes comme aptes au Baptême et à l’Eucharistie lors des fêtes de Pâques.”

<sup>62</sup> “Commentaire: Rite de l’Élection des catéchumènes au début du Carême,” in C.N.P.L. 1.C.iii, IV: “l’Évêque ou... son délégué.”

rite was divided into four stages: Instruction, Presentation of Catechumens, Interrogation, and Inscription of Names.

The first element included in the proposal was a new element to the shape of the rite that the group had earlier determined. Instead of beginning with the presentation of the candidates to the celebrant, the rite was to begin with an instruction, addressed to the community. While not explicitly formulated, the introductory text was intended to show both “the Relationship between this rite of Election and the call that God had given to the entire Church, which is renewed in the attitude of baptismal conversion, [and] the complete orientation of the Church towards the Paschal Mystery.”<sup>63</sup> The initial translation of the text detailing the contents of the instruction was far less explicit, suggesting only that the community approach Lent with the same fervor as the elect.<sup>64</sup>

After the initial instruction, the proposal moved to the second element, initially designated first, the presentation of the catechumens. Originally, the proposal envisioned the catechumens being presented by the priest responsible for their formation, but, in keeping with earlier decisions, the possibility was added that they could be presented also by their catechist, or a deacon,<sup>65</sup> who would speak an introductory text which indicated that the catechumens being presented had “manifested their desire to participate in the

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<sup>63</sup> NR 32: “La monition s’adresse à l’ensemble de la Communauté: elle montre le rapport entre ce rite de l’Élection et l’appel que Dieu adresse à toute l’Église pour qu’elle se renouvelle dans l’attitude de conversion baptismale; elle est donc toute orientée vers la participation au Mystère Pascal.”

<sup>64</sup> NR 32bis: “Antequam praesententur, celebrans communitatem monet ut hanc quadregismam tali vivat fervore qui mox eligendi adjumentuo sit.”

<sup>65</sup> NR 32 originally listed “le prêtre responsable des catéchumènes” with a catechist or deacon written onto the text. This same list is presented in “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 19: “Praesententur catechumeni vel a sacerdote responsabili, vel a diacono vel a catechista. Bonum esset si catechistae in ipsa liturgia baptismi partem suam haberent.”

coming scrutinies and to receive baptism and the eucharist in the joy of the Easter season.”<sup>66</sup> The presider was then to invite the catechumens and their sponsors to come forward when their name was called.<sup>67</sup> The presentation of the catechumens was concluded when the priest, deacon, or catechist responsible for their formation indicated that “after having prayed and reflected, their sponsors, in the name of the community, believe that they can assure us that these catechumens have been prepared with faith and fervor.”<sup>68</sup>

Once this had happened, the proposal indicated that the interrogation of the sponsors and the catechumens was to begin. Before the presider questioned the sponsors, he began with a brief description of the importance of the event, so that the sponsors understood the gravity of the questions they were answering.<sup>69</sup> Then the proposal turned to the questioning of the sponsors themselves. The first question asked the sponsors to formally present their catechumen by name, while placing their hand on the catechumen’s shoulder. The proposal included three questions for each sponsor concerning the individual catechumens, and the questions were intended to be asked individually, rather than to the group of sponsors as a whole: Does the catechumen know the Gospel proclaimed by the Church today; does the catechumen strive to live a life

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<sup>66</sup> NR 32: “Père, à l’approche des Fêtes de Pâques, des Catéchumènes ont manifesté le désir de participer aux prochains scrutins et de recevoir le Baptême et l’Eucharistie dans la joie des Fêtes de Pâques.”

<sup>67</sup> NR 32: “Que ces Catéchumènes s’avancent avec leurs parrains et marraines à l’appel de leur nom.”

<sup>68</sup> NR 32: “Après avoir prié et réfléchi, leurs parrains et marraines, au nom de la Communauté, croient pouvoir vous assurer qu’ils s’y sont préparés avec foi et ferveur.”

<sup>69</sup> NR 33: “En tous temps, Dieu choisit ses élus. Il leur fait entendre la Bonne Nouvelle du Salut, mais Il demande à chacun d’eux d’y répondre. Aujourd’hui, l’Église veut savoir si ces Catéchumènes à me répondre à ce sujet, autant que leurs limites humaines le leur permettent.”

guided by the Spirit of Christ; and is the catechumen connected to the Christian community in its desire to live a life of faith, hope, and charity.<sup>70</sup> The only amendment to these questions was the elimination of the word “today” from the first question, since the catechumens were to believe the Gospel that was proclaimed by the Church from all time, not just on this particular day. The worksheet also indicates including the possibility that these questions might be asked collectively, rather than individually, should the need arise. Following the questioning of the sponsors, the presider was to ask each of the catechumens if they wished to be baptized.

The final element of the second stage was the inscription of names. The proposal began here with an instruction by the presider for the catechumen and sponsor to come forward, one by one, so that the catechumen’s names might be written into the book of the Elect.<sup>71</sup> The proposal indicated that when they came forward, the sponsor would speak the catechumen’s name, the presider would write it in the book, and the sponsor would also sign the book. While the inscription was taking place, the assembly was to be singing a song.<sup>72</sup> During the discussions, the issue was raised about who should sign the book underneath the name of the catechumen – the sponsor or the catechumen. No ready answer was forthcoming, and so it was proposed and accepted that the question should be

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<sup>70</sup> NR 33: “N., connaît-il l’Évangile de Jésus-Christ proclamé aujourd’hui par l’Église? N., s’efforce-t-il, dans sa vie de tous les jours, de se laisser conduire par l’Esprit du Christ? N., est-il lié à la Communauté chrétienne où il puise vie de foi, d’espérance et de charité?”

<sup>71</sup> NR 34: “Puisque vous vous portez garant du progrès de ces Catéchumènes qui demandent le Baptême, au nom du Christ, l’Église accueille aujourd’hui chacune de ces demandes et nous inscrivons le nom de ces nouveaux élus.”

<sup>72</sup> NR 34: “A tour de rôle, chaque parrain, accompagné de son filleul, s’approche du Célébrant et lui indique le nom de son filleul. Le Célébrant inscrit au registre le nom de l’Élu; en regard de ce nom, le parrain appose sa signature. Lorsque tous les noms sont inscrits, le Célébrant signe l’ensemble du document. Pendant ce temps, l’Assemblée chante.”



further investigated.<sup>73</sup> The suggestion was also made that the song sung during the inscription might be Psalm 4, Psalm 15(16), or Psalm 41(42). Following this, the presider was to call each of the elect by name, and officially proclaim that they were to be considered elect for Baptism and participation in the Easter celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>74</sup> In the original proposal, the second station was to be completed with the concluding prayer from OBA 11, “*Deus, qui humani generis...*” However, since the *Coetus* had decided to include the Rite of Election within the context of the celebration of the Eucharist, the pattern of liturgical dismissal was to be added to the end of the proposal. Thus, after the prayer over the elect (OBA 11), were the litanic intercessions over the elect, a concluding prayer, the laying on of hands, and the dismissal.

#### **4.4: The Time of Lent**

The work of the group on the second time period of the catechumenate, Lent, was divided into two areas of focus: the scrutinies and the *traditiones*. This new pairing, which had emerged out of the meeting at Rome in April, had only gradually taken shape. In S-77, the *traditiones* had been treated in the same stage as the minor exorcisms, though allowance had been made for their celebration in the next stage, which comprised election, scrutinies, and the rites of immediate preparation. With the reconfiguration of the shape of the catechumenal process, the two *traditiones* of the Apostles Creed and Lord’s Prayer were to be shifted later, seemingly to allow for the spiritual growth of the

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<sup>73</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 20: “Quaestio utrum olim ipsi candidati vel nomine eorum patrini nomen dederint i.e. subscripserint, adhuc investiganda est.

<sup>74</sup> NR 34: “N., N., N., vous êtes élus pour être baptiser et pour participer à l’Eucharistie à la prochaine fête de Pâques.”

catechumens.<sup>75</sup> And in the work leading up to the meeting at Le Saulchoir, Cellier had envisioned celebrating scrutiny and *traditio* within the same celebration.

#### 4.4.1: The Scrutinies

The group first looked at the scrutinies. Among the elements that the group had previously accepted was the decision to reintegrate the scrutinies into the masses for the three Sundays prior to Palm Sunday, and had indicated that they should occur following the homily.<sup>76</sup> Importantly, however, as they had decided at Trier, the mass texts that were to be used were not the ordinary texts for those Sundays in Lent. Rather, they were to be from specific Scrutiny masses.<sup>77</sup> Following Cellier's plan, the elect, along with their sponsors, were to come forward and face the presider, who would direct the elect to kneel and pray.<sup>78</sup> The *Coetus* decided to adapt the proposed text slightly here, referring to the "elect of God" rather than simply the "elect."<sup>79</sup> The proposal then made a significant alteration to the shape of the exorcisms in OBA. In the original texts the elect were instructed to recite the Lord's Prayer, ending with "deliver us from evil," after which the priest instructed the elect to stand and complete their prayer by saying

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<sup>75</sup> S-77 25.

<sup>76</sup> S-77 27.

<sup>77</sup> NR 16bis: "Haec scrutinia celebrantur in sic dictis Missis Scrutiniarum, post homiliam." See also NR35ter: "Scrutinia celebrantur in Missis scrutiniarum, post homiliam."

<sup>78</sup> NR 16bis: "Les catéchumènes (hommes et femmes) s'avancent avec leurs parrains et marraines et se placent devant le Célébrant. Deinde, Sacerdos dicit super Catechumenos stantes: 'Orate, electi, flectatis genua'."

The proposed rubric eliminated the ritual distinction between men and women, consistent with the *Coetus*' decision at Galloro.

<sup>79</sup> NR 16bis: "Orate, electi Dei, flectatis genua."

“Amen.”<sup>80</sup> Instead of the Lord’s Prayer, the proposal indicated that the elect were to pray silently. There are three possibilities as to why this change was made, any or all of which may have had some impact on the *Coetus*. First, silent prayer was a logical choice. Having decided that attaching a *traditio* to the end of a scrutiny, asking the elect to recite the Lord’s Prayer was problematic, since the Creed was the first text to be given to the elect at the first scrutiny, and the Lord’s Prayer was given at a later scrutiny. The pattern in OBA could not be maintained, since the elect would be asked to pray the Lord’s Prayer before it had been given ritually to them. Thus, proposing silent prayer eliminated this technical difficulty; no *traditio* was needed for silent prayer. Second, in the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer during the scrutiny, the scrutiny was transformed into something other than what it was intended to be. The recitation was readily understood as a test – a scrutiny of how much the elect knew about their faith. But the historical sources suggested that the scrutiny originated instead as an expression of the conflict that existed between those of faith and the demons of the world.<sup>81</sup> Third, and perhaps most significantly, patristic sources indicated a clear rejection of allowing the non-baptized to pray the Lord’s Prayer because of their status within the assembly. Augustine described how he would teach the Lord’s Prayer to the elect, but he explicitly stated that they would

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<sup>80</sup> OBA 16, OBA1962 20: “*Deinde sacerdos dicit super masculos stantes: Orate, Electi, flectite genua, et dicite: Pater noster. Et electi, genibus flexis, orant, et dicunt: Pater noster, usque ad Sed libera nos a malo, inclusive. Sacerdos subjungit: Levate, complete orationem vestram, et dicite: Amen. Et illi surgentes respondent: Amen.*”

<sup>81</sup> Dujarier explained that the celebration of the scrutinies was originally intended to “express the conflict that goes on within the heart of the heart of the convert between Christ and Satan, who tries to block the candidate’s path to God and keep him in his clutches... In short, the scrutinies were never meant to be an examination of the candidate’s knowledge of the truths of the faith – which is precisely how they did develop in the West several centuries later” (*The Rites of Christian Initiation: Historical and Pastoral Reflections*, 120-121). Part of this transition in meaning was, almost certainly, connected to the eventual attachment of the *traditiones* to the scrutinies, first witnessed in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

not be entitled to pray it until after their baptism.<sup>82</sup> Both Ambrose<sup>83</sup> and Cyril<sup>84</sup> further this same impulse, not even teaching the very model of Christian prayer to the elect until after their initiation.<sup>85</sup> According to these sources, the Lord's Prayer was not intended to be prayed by those not baptized. While the worksheets and notes from the meeting are silent on the rationale behind the suppression of the elect praying the Lord's Prayer during the scrutinies, perhaps some or all of these reasons played a role in the decision.

Further debate ensued, however, principally through Fischer, as to the proper sense of silent prayer.<sup>86</sup> The notes from the meeting make no mention of the direction of this debate, but perhaps, while discussing why the elect were not to pray the Lord's Prayer, the larger issue of how the elect might pray within the liturgical assembly may have arisen. Fischer may have been concerned with ascertaining whether or not the elect

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<sup>82</sup> Augustine, Sermon 59: 7, 8: "So because you are going to say this every day even after baptism, and much more so after baptism—in fact, you won't be praying this prayer except after baptism, because in a week's time you are going to be giving it back, not praying it; after baptism you will pray it, but how can someone who isn't born yet say *Our Father*? ... This prayer can be a great encouragement to you; in it you may not only learn to ask God your Father who is in heaven for whatever you desire, but also learn what you ought to desire. Amen." *Sermons, (51-94) on the Old Testament*. Volume III/3. Translation and notes by Edmund Hill, O.P. (Brooklyn: New City Press, 1991).

<sup>83</sup> Ambrose of Milan, *De Sacramentis* 5:18-30. In particular, see 5:18: "Que reste-t-il d'autre que la prière? Et ne croyez pas qu'il n'y a que peu d'importance à savoir comment vous devez prier. Les saints apôtres disaient au Seigneur Jésus: «Seigneur, apprends-nous à prier comme Jean l'a appris à ses disciples.»..."

See also 5:19: "Homme, tu n'osais pas tourner ton visage vers le ciel, tu baissais les yeux vers la terre, et soudain tu as reçu la grâce du Christ, tous tes péchés t'ont été remis. De mauvais serviteur, tu es devenu un bon fils." Botte, *Des Sacrements, Des Mystères*.

<sup>84</sup> Cyril of Jerusalem, *Mystagogical Catechesis* 5:11-18. The Lord's Prayer is taught to the neophytes, not to the elect, while the Creed is taught to the elect.

<sup>85</sup> See also *Apostolic Constitutions* III, 18:1-2: "[Opens with a moral exhortation to the newly baptized, leading to this introduction to the Lord's Prayer:]... praying as a son to his father, and saying [these words which come] from the common assembly of the faithful: Our Father in the heavens..." in *DOBL* 36-37.

<sup>86</sup> NR 16bis: "Renvoi le sens de la prière en silence."

"Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 25: "Adhuc disceptatum est quid sibi velit oratio in silentio (quaestis historica D. Fischer demandata)."

should pray at all within the liturgical gathering of the Church, silently or not. The *Coetus* had addressed a portion of this issue previously. At their 1964 Cologne meeting, they formally embraced a principle that they saw exemplified in the ancient sources: only the baptized may pray within the liturgical assembly. This is precisely the reason why the *Coetus* argued that the catechumens and elect should be dismissed, optimally, before the Prayers of the Faithful; in cases where they could not be dismissed, they were not to participate in offering these prayers since they were not yet initiated into the priesthood of Christ. The testimony of the *Apostolic Tradition* points to this dynamic: “When the teacher has finished instructing, let the catechumens pray by themselves, separated from the faithful,” and “and afterward let them then pray together with all the people, not praying with the faithful until they have carried out all these things [baptism, anointing, kiss of peace].”<sup>87</sup> Furthermore, the witness of Augustine points to the same scenario. In describing an exorcism, Augustine indicates that the role of those being scrutinized was to stand firm in the face of the evil, while the role of the faithful was to pray for the protection of the one being scrutinized.<sup>88</sup> Augustine appears to exclude the possibility of silent prayer on the part of those undergoing exorcism. Was it because the elect were not

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<sup>87</sup> Botte, *Hippolyte*, 18: “Quand le docteur a cessé de faire la catéchèse, les catéchumènes prieront à part, séparés des fidèles.” 21: “Et ensuite ils prieront désormais ensemble avec tout le peuple; car ils ne prient pas avec les fidèles avant d’avoir obtenu tout cela.” See Paul F. Bradshaw, Maxwell E. Johnson, and L. Edward Phillips, *The Apostolic Tradition: A Commentary* (Minneapolis : Augsburg Fortress, 2002).

<sup>88</sup> Augustine, Sermon 216:6: “What we are doing for you by invoking the name of your redeemer, you must complete by thoroughly scrutinizing and crushing your hearts. *We block the wiles of the ancient and obstinate enemy with prayers to God and with stern rebukes; you must stand up to him with your earnest prayers and contrition of heart, in order to be snatched from the power of darkness and transferred into the kingdom of his glory*” (emphasis added). *Sermons, (184-229Z) on the Liturgical Seasons*. Volume III/6. Translation and notes by Edmund Hill, O.P. (New Rochelle: New City Press, 1993).

yet perfected, that they could not yet pray in the midst of the assembly? The *Coetus* resolved to investigate the historical question of the silent prayer of the elect further.

In the proposed shape of the scrutinies, after the silent prayer of the kneeling elect, each sponsor was to place their hand on the shoulder of the elect in their charge, and keep it there throughout the litanic prayer of the community on behalf of the elect. The *Coetus* proposed adding a brief introduction by the priest to the beginning of the intercessions; this was accepted. The text of the intercessions was to be based on the litanies for the catechumens in the catecheses of John Chrysostom and from the Apostolic Constitutions, and was to be concluded with a prayer by the priest.<sup>89</sup> The priest would then pray a prayer, which would vary according to which scrutiny was being celebrated, drawing out the penitential flavor of the scrutinies: “the scrutinies make manifest that baptism is given for the remission of sins, which is inseparable from entering into life as a child of God.”<sup>90</sup> When these prayers had been concluded the priest was to begin the exorcism, which was described in two parts, as in OBA. First, with the elect still kneeling, the priest, with hands outstretched over the elect, would pray a prayer, specific to the scrutiny, which would be drawn from OBA and OBA1962.<sup>91</sup> The deacon would

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<sup>89</sup> NR 16bis: “Puis les parrains posent la main sur l’épaule de leur filleul, tandis que la Communauté prie pour eux ‘in forma litanica’ (prière d’après les catéchèses de Saint Jean Chrysostome.”

See John Chrysostom, *Huit Catéchèses Baptismales Inédites* Sources Chrétiennes 50, Introduction, Texte Critique, Traduction et Notes de Antoine Wenger (Paris : Éditions du Cerf, 1957), 70-71. Chrysostom’s second homily on 2 Corinthians contains several intercessions for the catechumens. See PG 61, 399-404.

See also Apostolic Constitutions VIII, 6: 5-8.

<sup>90</sup> NR 16ter: “Nous avons essayé de manifester dans ces oraisons la dimension pénitentielle des scrutins. Les scrutins manifestent que le baptême est donné pour la rémission des pêches, inséparable de l’accès à la vie filiale.”

<sup>91</sup> The suggestions for each of these prayers came from the pre-exorcistic handlaying of the exorcisms in OBA and OBA1962: “Deus Abraham, Deus Isaac, Deus Jacob...” (OBA 17, OBA1962 21, 30); “Deus caeli, Deus terrae, Deus Angelorum...” (OBA 23, OBA1962 23); and “Deus, immortale

then instruct the elect to stand up. During the second portion of the exorcism, the priest, with his hands joined, would speak the formula of exorcism.

The form of texts for the second part of the exorcism was an item of significant discussion among the group. On the one hand was the imperative exorcism – the tradition of the Roman Rite, as found in OBA – in which the minister, himself, addressed the demon and commanded it to leave the elect. On the other hand was the deprecatory exorcism, generally accepted, argued Ligier, throughout the non-Roman Christian tradition. Here the minister asked God to expel the demon from the elect. The *Coetus* settled on a compromise position, and agreed that during the period of experimentation, the rite would contain both an imperative and a deprecatory option for each of the exorcisms, and that the choice of texts would be left to the discretion of the presider. Following the experimentation, however, the local Conferences of Bishops would decide which of the options was to be used throughout the region.<sup>92</sup> The content of the originally proposed texts was the same, varying only in their manner of address (see Table 4.7 below). These new compositions were inspired by the formulae of the classical catechuminate, but departed from the ancient style in order to render exorcisms

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praesidium omnium...” (OBA 19, OBA1962 28). In OBA the first text was from the first male exorcism and the second female exorcism, the second text was from the first female exorcism, and the third text was from the second male exorcism. These prayers were rendered in French in the worksheets, and included only slight changes to the original texts. In OBA17 God sent an angel to guide Israel out of Egypt, while in the proposal God accompanied Israel on their journey into the Promised Land. In OBA 23 the list of what belonged to God (God of the heavens, earth, angels, archangels, patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors, virgins, and all who live holy lives) was shortened, eliminating confessors and virgins, and the reference to those who “live holy lives” (omnium bene viventium) was changed to read “those who praise you through their faith and holy life” (“ceux qui te rendent témoignage par leur foi et leur vie sainte”). The text for the third prayer was not translated in the worksheets; only a reference was provided. See NR 35bis.

<sup>92</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 23: “Communiter acceptum est... quoad formam (utrum imprecatori vel deprecatori) optio forsan relinqui posset sacerdotibus durante experimento, sed post experimentum autoritas territorialis statuat de forma.”

meaningful in contemporary society: “without eliminating the realism that the Christian faith accords to Satan’s action, we tried ‘to exorcize’ (!) that which, in the ancient formulae, gave the impression of a demonic possession to which the catechumens became victims.”<sup>93</sup> The newly composed prayers would treat those attitudes and beliefs which were associated with the rule of the devil in an individual’s life: not only sin and death, but pride, self-centeredness, and self-sufficiency.<sup>94</sup> These three attitudes could be perceived metaphorically in the Gospel texts through the Samaritan woman’s initial rejection of Jesus, in the condition of blindness, and in the reality that Lazarus could not restore himself to life. Accordingly, these prayers for the scrutinies reflected the progression of the elect from recognizing one’s own sinfulness to understanding penitence, to being disposed to receiving the promise of eternal life.<sup>95</sup> Each of the prayers concluded with the same formula, “we trace on your forehead the sign of the cross...,” at which point the original proposal indicated that the elect were signed by the priest, as in OBA. In OBA1962, however, the pattern had been altered, so that the priest made the sign of the cross over the elect as a group, and each one of the elect signed the cross on their own forehead with their thumb. The *Coetus* accepted the plan to restore the priest’s signation of the elect, but some members wondered whether the sponsors might sign the elect instead, since their role in the scrutinies was rather limited following

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<sup>93</sup> NR 16quater: “Sans faire s’évanouir le réalisme que la foi chrétienne accorde à l’action de Satan, nous avons essayé ‘d’exorciser’ (!) ce qui dans les anciennes formules donnait l’impression d’une possession diabolique dont les catéchumènes seraient victimes.”

<sup>94</sup> See Fischer, “Baptismal Exorcism,” 48-55.

<sup>95</sup> NR 18ter, 2g: “Nous avons essayé de mettre une progression entre les trois exorcismes: dans le premier, appel à se découvrir pêcheur; dans le deuxième, approfondissement de la pénitence; dans le troisième, appel à se disposer à recevoir la vie de Dieu.”



the litany of intercessions. No decision was reached on this particular matter. Each of the three scrutinies was to be concluded by the same prayer, “*Aeternam ac iustissimam pietatem...*” after which the elect were to be dismissed.

TABLE 4.7  
PRAYERS OF EXORCISM  
DURING THE SCRUTINIES  
AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

Imperative	Deprecatory
<p><i>First Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Tu sais, esprit du mal, que le Christ seigneur a remporté sur toi une victoire éternelle : Lui, qui, a repoussé au désert la triple tentation, qui a libéré Marie Madeleine de l’esclavage du pêché/démon, et qui a triomphé de toi sur la croix.</p> <p>Aussi en son nom je t’ordonne de t’écarter de ces catéchumènes N., N., N., Menteur, et père du mensonge ne les empêche pas plus longtemps de reconnaître que Jésus-Christ seul est saint, qu’ils sont pêcheurs, et qu’ils ont besoin de son pardon.</p> <p>Car notre Dieu et seigneur Jésus-Christ a daigné les appeler gratuitement à la source vive du Baptême, pour qu’ils deviennent le temple de l’Esprit Saint pour la rémission de leurs pêches.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons sur leur front le signe de la sainte croix, pour qu’ils soient victorieux de tes suggestions mauvaises et qu’ils obtiennent par le baptême le pardon de leurs pêches. (Signat singulos)</p> <p>Par le Christ notre seigneur qui nous sauve par son amour, qui vit et règne avec le père dans l’unité du Saint Esprit, pour les siècles des siècles.</p>	<p><i>First Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Seigneur Jésus-Christ, fils unique de Dieu, tu as remporté sur l’Esprit du mal une victoire éternelle : Toi, qui, as repoussé au désert la triple tentation, qui as libéré Marie Madeleine de l’esclavage du pêché, et qui as triomphé de Satan par ta mort sur la croix.</p> <p>Nous t’en supplions, écarte l’esprit du mal de ces catéchumènes N., N., N., Fais que ce menteur, et père du mensonge ne les empêche pas plus longtemps de reconnaître que toi seul est saint, qu’ils sont pêcheurs, et qu’ils ont besoin de ton pardon.</p> <p>Car tu as daigné les appeler gratuitement à la source vive du Baptême, pour qu’ils deviennent le temple de l’Esprit Saint pour la rémission de leurs pêches.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons sur leur front le signe de la sainte croix, pour qu’ils soient victorieux des suggestions mauvaises de l’esprit du mal et qu’ils obtiennent par le baptême le pardon de leurs pêches. (Signat singulos)</p> <p>Nous te supplions, qui nous sauves par ton amour, qui vis et règnes avec le père dans l’unité du Saint Esprit, pour les siècles des siècles.</p>

TABLE 4.7

*continued*

Imperative	Deprecatory
<p><i>Second Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Je t'exorcise, esprit du mal, qui que tu sois au nom du père tout puissant, au nom de son fils Jésus-Christ, notre seigneur et notre sauveur, et par l'action du Saint Esprit : Écarte-toi de ces catéchumènes, N., N., N.</p> <p>Ils appartiennent à Dieu, qui est leur créateur et les appelle à devenir ses enfants.</p> <p>Ils reconnaissent qu'ils sont pêcheurs, mais espèrent être libères complètement de ton emprise par la grâce du Christ sauveur ; vainqueur de ta puissance mensongère par sa mort sur la croix et sa résurrection glorieuse.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons...</p>	<p><i>Second Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Père tout puissant, nous t'en supplions, au nom de ton fils Jésus-Christ, et confiants dans l'action de l'Esprit Saint : Écarte-toi de ces catéchumènes, N., N., N.</p> <p>Ils t'appartiennent à toi qui est leur créateur et les appelle à devenir tes enfants.</p> <p>Ils reconnaissent qu'ils sont pêcheurs, mais espèrent être libères complètement de l'esprit du mal par ton fils Jésus-Christ, qui a triomphé de lui par sa mort sur la croix et sa résurrection glorieuse.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons...</p>
<p><i>Third Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Esprit du mal, reconnais que tue es condamné et vaincu. Par la puissance du Père, la gloire de Jésus-Christ son fils et la Sainteté de l'Esprit ton pouvoir usurpe sur le monde est détruit.</p> <p>Aussi, je te l'ordonne, écarte-toi de ces catéchumènes N., N., N.</p> <p>Toi qui des l'origine recherche la mort de l'homme, ne les empêche pas plus longtemps de se disposer, par la grâce du Christ a recevoir la (plénitude de) vie des enfants de Dieu.</p> <p>Je te l'ordonne au nom de Jésus-Christ, qui a promis l'eau vive a la samaritaine, que a guéri l'aveugle ne pour qu'il marche dans la lumière, qui a fait sortir vivant du tombeau son ami Lazare. Oui je te l'ordonne au nom de Jésus-Christ que Dieu a ressuscité pour qu'il soit le seigneur et répande l'Esprit Saint sur toute créature.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons...</p>	<p><i>Third Scrutiny</i></p> <p>Dieu éternel et tout puissant, par la gloire de Jésus-Christ ton fils et la Sainteté de l'Esprit tu as condamné, vaincu et détruit le pouvoir usurpe qui fiat de l'esprit du mal le prince de ce monde.</p> <p>Aussi, nous t'en supplions écarte l'esprit du mal de ces catéchumènes N., N., N.</p> <p>Des l'origine il recherche la mort de l'homme, plus longtemps de se disposer, par la grâce du Christ a recevoir la plénitude de vie des enfants de Dieu.</p> <p>Nous t'en supplions au nom de Jésus-Christ ton fils, notre seigneur, qui a promis l'eau vive a la samaritaine, guéri l'aveugle ne pour qu'il marche dans la lumière, et fait sortir vivant du tombeau son ami Lazare. Au nom de Jésus-Christ ; et que tu as ressuscité et fait seigneur pour qu'il répande l'Esprit Saint.</p> <p>Aussi nous traçons...</p>

Beyond the question of whether the demon should be expelled by the priest's direct invocation or by the intercession of God was the question of how God should be addressed in the exorcism. On the one hand, many deprecatory models tended to address Jesus, who had expelled demons during his ministry: as Christ exorcised in the past, let

Christ now exorcise. However, the imperative exorcisms contained within OBA were far more Trinitarian in content, relying on the action of the Father, through Christ, in the power of the Holy Spirit: the priest could now exorcize because of God's power. Certainly the scholarly work of Josef Jungmann on the address of liturgical prayer was important here. Fischer himself summarized Jungmann's position on the issue, writing that "the essence of Jungmann's thesis [in *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer*] is that up until the fourth century liturgical presidential prayer... did not address Christ directly, but used the *per Christum* form."<sup>96</sup> Here was an opportunity, therefore, to return to the original pattern. The issue surrounding the proper form of exorcistic address was left unanswered by the group, but would be revisited later.<sup>97</sup>

#### 4.4.2: The Traditiones

The optional *traditio* of the Gospels and the universal *traditiones* of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were the next element treated in the worksheets.<sup>98</sup> That there was no clear vision as to how these rituals were to take place appears evident, given that the prepared worksheet in question was blank, save for a title. The first question that was asked during the deliberations appears to have been surrounding the location of the *traditiones*. While the location of this element had not been firmly established, the growing preference appears to have been locating the *traditiones* during the celebration

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<sup>96</sup> Balthasar Fischer, "Foreword to the Second English Edition (1989)", Josef A. Jungmann, *The Place of Christ in Liturgical Prayer; Foreword by Balthasar Fischer*, A. Peeler, tr., (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1989), x.

<sup>97</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 27: "Adhuc disceptatum est... utrum invocandus sit Pater an Filius."

<sup>98</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 30: "Praecedat traditio symboli, sequatur traditio orationis dominicae."

of the scrutinies.<sup>99</sup> Fitting them in to the recently established form of the scrutinies, the *Coetus* proposed that the *traditiones* should occur after the exorcism and before the concluding prayer,<sup>100</sup> with the *traditio* of the Gospels, if it was to take place at all, being celebrated during the first scrutiny, the *traditio* of the Creed during the second, and the *traditio* of the Lord's Prayer during the third. In these cases, the *traditio* was to be preceded by a brief instruction on that which was being given over.<sup>101</sup> The entire community was to recite the Creed in giving it to the elect, but the priest alone was to give the Lord's Prayer, since the priest represented Christ, the one who teaches all to address God as Father.<sup>102</sup> Should the *traditiones* be celebrated outside the context of the scrutinies, they were to follow the homily during a specific celebration of the Word and include a liturgical dismissal.

#### **4.5: The Third Station: The Sacraments of Initiation**

The group turned to the third station. As it stood at this meeting, the third station was to consist of both the rites of immediate preparation and the celebration of the sacraments of initiation.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> In his preparations for the meeting at Le Saulchoir, Cellier had indicated that the *traditiones* of the Gospel, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer might be celebrated following the exorcism of each of the three scrutinies, respectively. The *Coetus* had already noted in S-77 that only the *traditiones* of the Creed and Lord's Prayer were to be considered universal; others could, of course, be added at the local level.

<sup>100</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 29: "De Traditionibus: Si simul fiunt cum scrutiniis, fiant post ea ante orationem conclusivam, si non in propria celebratione verbi post homiliam."

<sup>101</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 31 "Si simul fiunt altera non introducatur nova homilia, sed monitione quadam quae in memoriam revocet verba Domini legendo pericopam Lc 11:1-2."

<sup>102</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 32: "Quando traditur symbolum recitatur a tola communitate, quando oratio dominica a solo celebrante (Christum repraesentante qui nos docuit ut sic oremus)."

<sup>103</sup> Perhaps because of the recent adjustment to the content of the stations, discrepancies exist between the worksheets and the report of the meeting to the *Consilium*. In the worksheets, which had most

#### 4.5.1: The Rites of Immediate Preparation

On the original worksheet, the title of this section was simply, the rites of immediate preparation.<sup>104</sup> It was noted on the worksheet that these were optional rites, at the discretion of the local Conferences of Bishops. The revised title, “The Optional Rites of Immediate Preparation,” while certainly wooden, was, at the very least, a descriptive title. The typed instruction on the worksheet indicated that the *Ephphatha* and the *redditio symboli*, and the optional giving of a Christian name, were to be performed during Holy Week or on Holy Saturday.<sup>105</sup> The way in which this instruction was given suggests that the group envisioned three different manners in which the rites of immediate preparation were to be observed: *Ephphatha* and *redditio symboli*; *Ephphatha*, *redditio symboli*, and giving of a Christian name; or no rites of immediate preparation.<sup>106</sup> No provision appears for celebrating the *Ephphatha* without the *redditio symboli*. This was a significant alteration from S-77, in that this document considered the *redditio* of

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likely been prepared before the restructuring in April 1965, these rites were to be contained within the station containing election and the scrutinies (then entitled the third station). Therefore, the typed information on the worksheets was, most likely during this meeting, corrected to include the rites of immediate preparation among the renamed third station (previously the fourth station), alongside the sacraments of initiation themselves. However, in the report of the meeting, the rites of immediate preparation are contained within the Liturgical Rites for the Season of Lent, and the third station begins with the celebration of the sacraments of initiation.

<sup>104</sup> NR 18: “De ritibus immediate praeparatoriis.”

<sup>105</sup> NR 18: “In Feria VI hebdomadae sanctae vel Sabbato Sancto, ad libitum Conf. Episc. tres actus praeparatorii locum habent: Ephpheta, Redditio Symboli, Impositio novi nominis (ad lib. Conf. Ep.).”

<sup>106</sup> The “double option” is, to say the least, confusing here. It appears that they intended celebrating the rites of immediate preparation as a whole to be optional, and the addition of the giving of a Christian name to the rites of immediate preparation to be an option within the original option. Thus, presumably, local Conferences of Bishops could not decide to excise the *Ephphatha* from the celebration of either *Redditio symboli* or *Redditio symboli* and taking of a new name.

The rubric devised at Clervaux supports this interpretation: “Ubi Conferentia episcopalis id opportunum judicaverit, in Sabbato Sancto vel Feria VI in Passione Domini, electi convenient ut ad ritum epphetationis et redditionis symboli quibus addi potest, si placuerit, et impositio novi nominis.”

both the Creed and the Lord's Prayer to be optional elements, which, if occurring as part of the rites of immediate preparation, were only a preemptive doubling of the public recitation of the Creed and Lord's Prayer during the Paschal Vigil. This marks, therefore, a partial return to the pattern from Trier, where only the *redditio symboli* occurred in conjunction with the *Ephphatha*.

The celebration was to take place within a modified Liturgy of the Word. After the appointed reading, which recounted Jesus healing the deaf man with the word *Ephphatha*, Mark 7:31-37, the presider was to preach a homily. Immediately afterwards, the *Ephphatha* rite was to take place, with the celebrant offering a single formula while he touched both the right and left ear and the mouth/lips of each of the elect, instead of the ears and the nose. The formula written into the worksheet was the original formula from OBA and OBA1962, though not divided into two parts, according to the direction contained in S-77. Furthermore, S-77 had indicated clearly that the prayer was to be adapted, since the reference to scent was connected to the now eliminated touching of the nose. Fischer suggested a revision for the text, which was accepted and recorded in the summary of the meeting (see Table 4.8 below).<sup>107</sup> The proposed text excised allusions to touching the nose, and instead, emphasized the touching of the ears and mouth. Fischer's revision was roughly based on *De Sacramentis* 1.2, insofar as Ambrose explained that the elect's ears were being touched so that "they might be opened to the word and to the homily of the priest."<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 34: "Formula sic fere sonare posset (propositio Fischer): "... ad audiendum evangelium Christi et ad confitendum misericordiam Dei."

<sup>108</sup> *De Sacramentis* 1.2: "C'est donc pour cela que l'évêque t'a touché les oreilles, pour que tes oreilles s'ouvrent à la parole et au discours de l'évêque" in Botte. See also *DOBL*, 178.

TABLE 4.8

THE EPHPHATHA PRAYER

IN THE RITES OF IMMEDIATE PREPARATION

AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

<p>OBA 34, OBA1962 46</p> <p><i>Postea sacerdos pollice... tangit aures et nares electi (singulorum electorum) tangendo vero autem dexteram et sinistram, dicit:</i></p> <p>“Ephpheta, quod est, Adaperire.”</p> <p><i>Deinde, tangendo nares, dicit:</i></p> <p>“In odorem suavitatis. Tu autem effugare, diabole; appropinquabit enim iudicium Dei.”</p>	<p>NR 19</p> <p><i>Tunc celebrans dicit, pollice tangens aurem dexteram et sinistram singulorum electorum et os, clausis labiis:</i></p> <p>“Ephpheta, quod est, Adaperire</p> <p>ad audiendum evangelium Christi et ad confitendum misericordiam Dei.”</p>
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The second element of the rites of immediate preparation was the *redditio symboli*. In OBA the priest laid his hands on the head of each of the elect, and then, the priest and elect together recited the creed and then the Lord’s Prayer. In OBA1962 the only significant change was the gesture; the priest stretched his hands over the heads of all the elect while they recited the creed and Lord’s Prayer together. The *Coetus* decided, however, to eliminate the gesture, present in the Gelasian Sacramentary, but absent from both Ambrose’s and Egeria’s descriptions of the rite.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, in OBA and OBA1962 the *redditio* was not properly a “handing back,” since the priest, in his capacity as representative of the faithful, was not so much receiving the creed from the elect as he was leading the elect in their recitation. In order to make this rite an actual *redditio*, the revised rubric indicated that only the elect were to recite the Creed.<sup>110</sup> The summary of

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<sup>109</sup> On Ambrose see Satterlee, *Ambrose of Milan*, 153-155.  
On Egeria see *DOBL* 33-35.

<sup>110</sup> OBA 31: “Deinde surgit (si plures, omnes simul), et Sacerdos imponit manum super caput eius (singulorum, si plures), et Electus cum eo recitat Symbolum Apostoloru, et Orationem Dominicam.”

the meeting added the possibility that the elect might also sing the creed.<sup>111</sup> No mention was made of *redditio* of the Lord's Prayer in either the worksheets or the summary of the meeting. Perhaps the *Coetus* still saw the actual *redditio* of the Lord's Prayer as occurring during the Paschal Vigil. Indeed, this had been the reason why it was treated as an optional element in S-77.

Following the *redditio* of the Creed, the optional giving of a Christian name could occur. The notes on the worksheet simply indicate that composition of a rubric for this element was to be the absent Seumois' responsibility. No information about this element was provided in the summary of the meeting.

#### **4.5.2: The Structure of the Sacraments of Initiation**

The second grouping of elements in the third station was the celebration of the sacraments of initiation at the Paschal Vigil. The *Coetus* presented ten elements in this station, four of which, the blessing of the font, the explanation of the new Christian name, Confirmation, and the celebration (and reception) of the Eucharist, were additions to the previous structure, and two, the anointing with the oil of Catechumens<sup>112</sup> and the explanation of the new Christian name, were to be considered optional at the discretion of local Conferences of Bishops. Furthermore, two of the elements that were considered preparatory in OBA1962, the anointing with the oil of catechumens and the renunciation,

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NR 20: "Deinde Electi reddunt Symbolum Apostolorum."

<sup>111</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 35: "De Redditione symboli: Omittatur impositio manus; symbolum recitetur vel cantetur."

<sup>112</sup> The anointing with the oil of Catechumens was considered mandatory in OBA, but was optional in OBA1962; OBA1962 48a notes, however, that its omission is purely pastoral, and if omitted, its restoration should be sought through catechesis.



were moved to a location more proximate to the actual baptismal action. Also, the profession of faith and baptism were combined in the proposal to form one element. Thus, a slightly different order from OBA and OBA1962 was proposed (see Table 4.9, below): blessing of the font, anointing with the oil of catechumens, renunciation, profession of faith and baptism, anointing with chrism oil, clothing in a baptismal garment, the giving of a lighted candle, the explanation of the new Christian name, the celebration of Confirmation, and the celebration (and reception) of the Eucharist.<sup>113</sup>

TABLE 4.9  
STRUCTURE OF THE CELEBRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS  
AS REVISED AT LE SAULCHOIR

OBA	OBA1962	NR
	<b>Sixth Stage...</b>	Blessing of Font
Renunciation Anointing with the Oil of Catechumens	...Renunciation Optional Anointing with the Oil of Catechumens	Optional Anointing with the Oil of Catechumens Renunciation
Possible Blessing of Font <sup>114</sup> Profession of Faith Baptism Anointing with Chrism Baptismal Garment Lighted Candle	<b>Seventh Stage</b>  Profession of Faith Baptism Anointing with Chrism Baptismal Garment Lighted Candle	Profession of Faith and Baptism Anointing with Chrism Baptismal Garment Lighted Candle Optional Explanation of Christian Name Confirmation Liturgy of the Eucharist
Dismissal	Dismissal	

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<sup>113</sup> The worksheet indicating the contents of the celebration of the Sacraments, NR 22, is incomplete. It neglects mention of the last three elements: explanation of the new Christian name, the celebration of Confirmation, and the celebration of the Eucharist.

<sup>114</sup> The blessing of the font in OBA was presumed not to occur, but mention was made in the rite of the possible necessity of blessing the font. Should this be the case, the priest was referred to the

#### 4.5.2.1: Blessing of the Font<sup>115</sup>

Based on the mandate given in SC, the first element of the sacraments of initiation was to be the blessing of the font, originally named “*consecratio aquae*” in the worksheets. Preparation of the text was to be a joint task between the group and *Coetus* 17, which had been assigned the task of revisiting the recently restored rites of Holy Week.<sup>116</sup> The group referred to a 1963 study by Lengeling, and proposed that it should be used in revising the text for the blessing of the font.<sup>117</sup> The prayer should be “precise and concrete... brief and dense,” because it would, optimally, be the text used both during the Vigil and for each baptism outside the Vigil.<sup>118</sup> In so doing, the group was suggesting a departure from the received tradition. In OBA and OBA1962, the blessing of the font was not simply an option that might be used, but it was something that should not occur except in cases of necessity. Of course, both OBA and OBA1962 did not presume that the celebration of Baptism was taking place at the Vigil, where the font would have been

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*Benedictio fontis seu aquae baptismalis extra pervigilium Paschae et Pentecostes cum aqua consecrata non habetur.*

<sup>115</sup> In general, the revision of the text for the blessing of the font lies outside the scope of this study, since revision of the text would fall to a subcommittee comprised of members of both *Coetus* XXII and XVII. While the discussion of this element is considerable at the Le Saulchoir meeting, in all of the drafts of the rite that emerge from the *Coetus* proceedings, the blessing of the font is treated as an appendix. While it is, therefore, an important and necessary part of the rite, it was not seen as being, properly, part of the rites of adult initiation. For a more complete description of the process of revision, see the two articles by Dominic Serra on the subject: “The Blessing of Baptismal Water at the Paschal Vigil: Ancient Texts and Modern Revisions” in *Worship* 64 (1990), 142-156; and “The Blessing of Baptismal Water at the Paschal Vigil in the Post-Vatican II Reform” in *Ecclesia Orans* 7 (1990), 343-368.

<sup>116</sup> S-77 29.

<sup>117</sup> Emil J. Lengeling, “Die Taufwasserweihe der römischen Liturgie: Vorschlag zu einer Neuformung” in Walter Dürig, ed., *Liturgie: Gestalt und Vollzug* (München: Max Hueber Verlag, 1963), 176-251.

<sup>118</sup> NR 23: “Faire une proposition précise et concrète, par Lengeling. Qui serait brève et dense pour Vigile pascale et pour chaque baptême.”

blessed according to the structure of the *Missale*. Thus, that the revised rite desired that the blessing of the font be clearly attached to the rite of Baptism, was a logical outcome of the decision that initiation should take place during the Vigil, again, where the font would, ordinarily, be blessed. However, the further decision to alter the stand-alone rite of Baptism by requiring the blessing of the font was based on the underlying recognition that the blessing itself gave the theological context for the celebration of baptism.<sup>119</sup> In particular, noted Gy, the specific exorcism of the water in the blessing underscored the Relationship between heaven and earth in winning salvation for humanity.<sup>120</sup> Along these same lines, the group articulated that the text should emphasize the biblical images of the Red Sea, creation, and the Baptism of Christ, should these elements be found consistently in Patristic treatments of baptismal theology.<sup>121</sup> Most importantly, however, based on his earlier work, Lengeling insisted that the text must emphasize Paul's baptismal theology.<sup>122</sup> In this, he was supported by the rest of the *Coetus*.<sup>123</sup> Therefore,

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<sup>119</sup> NR 23: "Pour baptême hors Vigile Paschale... car c'est la bénédiction qui donne son contenu au Baptême."

<sup>120</sup> NR 23: "Gy rappelle: relation du monde cosmique et du salut, d'où réfléchir à l'exorcisme de l'eau."

This theme has been stated more recently in Serra, "The Blessing of Baptismal Water," 153: "Surely, the exorcistic intercessions played so important a part in the original blessing precisely because baptism was understood in the light of conversion and of Christ's victory over sin and death. In our own age, when adult baptism is again seen as the model supplying the framework for understanding all initiation, perhaps these corollaries of exorcism ought to be given greater expression in the water blessing."

<sup>121</sup> NR 23: "-avec références bibliques: Mer Rouge, Création, Baptême du Christ. -demander aux patrologues qui ont travaillé le typologie du Baptême les éléments permanents (Lundberg? Daniélou?)

In Hermanus A. P. Schmidt, *Introductio in Liturgiam Occidentalem* (Rome: Herder, 1965), Jean Daniélou has eight listings under the heading "Christian Initiation: Baptism: Symbolism, Typology," including *Bible et Liturgie. La théologie biblique des sacrements et des fêtes d'après les Pères de l'Église*, Lex Orandi 11 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1951). Per Lundberg only has one text listed: *La typologie baptismale dans l'ancienne Église*, Acta seminarii neotestamentici Upsaliensis, 10 (Uppsala: Almqvist and Wilsells, 1942).

<sup>122</sup> In Lengeling's proposal, two significant Pauline additions were made to the prayer. First, the official text was altered to include reference to 2 Cor. 5:17, the Christian as a new creation: the original

connecting the blessing of font to the celebration of the sacraments of initiation was not simply the result of merging two distinct rituals, but indicated a decided choice regarding the theology of initiation itself. Practical questions were also asked about this element, namely, about the necessity of pouring oil into the font, and about plunging the candle into the water.<sup>124</sup> It is not clear from the notes of the meeting that any consensus was reached on these two issues. Further treatment of the element was left until Fischer heard back from *Coetus* 17, regarding the possibility of forming a mixed subcommittee, which would optimally meet for a single day later in the year.<sup>125</sup>

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text, “Respice, Domine, in faciem Ecclesiae tuae, et multiplica in ea regenerationes tuas, qui gratiae tuae affleuntis impetu laetificas civitatem tuam: fontemque baptismatis aperis toto orbe terrarum gentibus innovandis: ut, tuae, maiestatis imperio, sumat Unigeniti tui gratiam de Spiritu Sancto” (pages 183 and 193) became “Respice ergo, Deus, in faciem Ecclesiae tuae et gratiae tuae affleuntis impetu laetifica civitatem tuam, fontemque baptismatis aperi **in novam creaturam renascendis**, ut, tuae maiestatis imperio, sumant unigeniti tui gratiam de Spiritu Sancto.” Second, the final petition of Lengeling’s proposed revision was a new addition, and referred to Romans 6: “Ut, quos aut sexus in corpore aut aetas discernit in tempore, consepulti cum Christo per baptismum in mortem, cum ipso ad vitam resurgant” (194).

<sup>123</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 36: “D. Lengeling insistit in desiderio (quod omnibus legitimum esse videtur) nempe quod formula abbreviata consecrationis aquae melius exprimat theologiam Paulinam baptismi.”

<sup>124</sup> NR 23: “Faut-il verser l’huile? Plonger la cierge?”

While pouring Chrism into the font is witnessed in *Ordo XI* and later Gallican texts, it is absent in the Gelasian Sacramentary. Plunging the Paschal candle into the font was a more recent addition, according to A.J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil*, Alcuin Club Collection 71 (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1992), 476-479. He sees its spread through the West from the 10<sup>th</sup> century *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*, although he allows that Alcuin witnesses “a transitional stage in which the choice of immersing either the two Vigil-candles or the Easter candle was allowed” (477).

<sup>125</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 36: “De consecratione aquae: Redactio formulae brevioris pro nobis non ita urget, quia identica esse debet cum formula breviori a coetu competenti pro ipsa vigilia paschali exaranda. Res pro nostro coetu demandatur D. Lengeling, qui omnibus sodalibus propositionem suam mittet. D. Fischer etiam hae in re contactum cum R.P. Vandenbroucke quaeret insinuando (apud eum et simul apud R.P. Secretarium) formationem parvae commissionis mixtae, quae sine magna difficultate pro una die convenire potest Romae proximo autumnio.”

#### 4.5.2.2: Pre-Baptismal Anointing

The second element treated in the celebration of the sacraments of initiation was the optional pre-baptismal anointing with the oil of catechumens. In OBA and OBA1962 this anointing occurred after the renunciation. The *Coetus*' decision to move the anointing before the renunciation not only restored the sequence contained within the Gelasian Sacramentary,<sup>126</sup> but restored the inherent connection between the parallel elements of renunciation and profession of faith.<sup>127</sup> Maertens had argued this, and saw the *Apostolic Tradition*'s insertion of anointing in between the renunciation and profession as being Hippolytus' own innovation.<sup>128</sup>

Thus, the pre-baptismal anointing with the oil of Catechumens was to be celebrated immediately after the font had been blessed. The *Coetus* indicated that the elect with their sponsors should approach the font and stand around it, so that all of the rites of Baptism occurred at the font; in OBA the elect moved to the font after the renunciation and anointing, so that their profession of faith could be made by the water.

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<sup>126</sup> Gelasian Sacramentary, XLII: "After [the *Ephphatha*] you touch his breast and between the shoulder blades with exorcized oil; and to each one, addressing them by name you say: 'Do you renounce Satan...'" See *DOBL* 230.

In particular, the ordering disagrees with that contained in *Apostolic Tradition* 21, where the renunciation precedes the anointing: "And when the priest takes each one of those who are to receive baptism, he shall bid him renounce, saying: 'I renounce you, Satan, and all your service and all your works.' And when each one has renounced all this, he shall anoint him with the oil of exorcism..." See *DOBL* 7.

<sup>127</sup> S-77 30.

<sup>128</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale*, 97-98: "Hippolyte présente déjà une tradition qui tend à dissocier la renonciation de la profession de foi. Il intercale, en effet, entre les deux cérémonies une onction d'huile que d'autres églises plaçaient ailleurs. Cette séparation ira en s'accroissant au cours des siècles puisque la Rome du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle ne craindra pas de faire la renonciation au matin du samedi et l'adhésion au Christ dans le baptême même (cf. Gélasiën Ed., Mohlberg 421-423 et 449)."

The worksheet then provided the existing rubric and prayer from OBA 36.<sup>129</sup> In OBA the elect were to be anointed on the breast, and between the shoulders on the back. The allowance was made in OBA1962, for cultural reasons, that the elect to be blessed by the priest's ordinary blessing with the sign of the cross, instead of by the anointing. The blessing was accompanied by a variant of the original formula for anointing, by which the elect were "strengthened with the sign of cross."<sup>130</sup> The *Coetus* sought to avoid this sort of virtual anointing, and searched for possible solutions within the scope of liturgical history and theology. The most helpful solution that they found was the combat theology expressed by Ambrose,<sup>131</sup> and also described by Daniélou:

Oil is used, especially by athletes, to strengthen their bodies. 'The high priest,' writes the Pseudo-Dionysius, 'begins by anointing the body of the postulant with holy oils, thus in symbol calling the initiate to the holy contests which he will now have to undertake under the direction of Christ, for it is He who, God as He is, orders the combat. He himself descended into the arena with the combatants, to defend their freedom and to assure their victory over the forces of death and damnation. So the initiate also will throw himself gladly into these struggles which he knows to be divine. He will march in the footsteps of Him Who, in His goodness, was the first of athletes. So it is that, having overcome all the stratagems and all the powers that oppose his deification, in dying to sin by baptism, we can say that he partakes of the very death of Christ' (Hier. Eccl. 401D-404A).

So the anointing with oil is meant to strengthen the initiate for his struggles with the demon. But it is important to notice that this does not refer only to the future

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<sup>129</sup> OBA 36: "Sacerdos intingit pollicem dexteræ manus in Oleo Sancto Catechumenorum et inungit singulos Electos primum in pectore, deinde inter scapulas in modum crucis, dicens singulariter singulis: 'Ego te linio oleo salutis in Christo Jesu Domino Nostro in vitam æternam. Amen.' "

The prayer in OBA1962 48 is the same. While the rubric is phrased differently, it contains substantially the same direction.

<sup>130</sup> OBA1962 48a: "Ego te corrobore signo Crucis, in Christo Jesu, Domino nostro, in vitam æternam."

<sup>131</sup> *De Sacramentis* 1.4: "You were rubbed with oil like an athlete, Christ's athlete, as though in preparation for an earthly wrestling-match, and you agreed to take on your opponent. The wrestler has something to hope for: every contest has its trophy. You wrestle in the world, but it is Christ's trophy you receive, the prize for your struggles in the world. And even though this prize is awarded in heaven, the right to the prize is achieved here below." See also Botte, *Des Sacrements. Des Mystères*.

struggles of the new Christian, but to the act of Baptism itself, as the Pseudo-Dionysius so well shows. We should keep before our minds the dramatic meaning of the Easter night as a struggle with the demon. We have seen that this conflict has been in progress since the beginning of the preparation, since the moment of the enrollment. Now comes the supreme struggle; like a good athlete, the candidate needs to be anointed before engaging in it.<sup>132</sup>

Along with this understanding of the pre-baptismal anointing as a preparation of the elect for battle with the Devil, the group turned next to the East. Looking through Ligier's collection of texts, they noticed the pre-baptismal anointing in the Ethiopian rite; the hands were anointed in order to strengthen the elect for battle.<sup>133</sup> The combat theme was further developed by their choice of prayer text from the Maronite rite: "*Corrobora, Domine, infirmitatem famuli tui in praelio et da ei ut semper tentationem vincet.*"<sup>134</sup> This text also had the benefit of utilizing the same verb in the alternate formula in OBA1962, *corroboro*. Thus, while the pre-baptismal anointing could be omitted altogether, if the element was to be performed, it would be an anointing of the chest and back – or on the hands – and it would articulate a theology of entering into spiritual combat.

#### 4.5.2.3: Renunciation of Satan

The *Coetus* turned next to the renunciation, which, as they had argued earlier, was best seen in proximity to the profession of faith, rather than being separated from it by an anointing. In OBA the element had begun with the priest asking each candidate their

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<sup>132</sup> Jean Daniélou, *The Bible and the Liturgy*, Liturgical Studies 3 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1956), 40-41. See also Daniélou, *Bible et liturgie*, 8.

<sup>133</sup> See Denziger, 224.

<sup>134</sup> See Denziger, 348. The prayer itself is longer, and the group altered the form of the original from the first person plural to the third person singular: "*Corrobora, Domine, infirmitatem nostram in praelio cum ipso et da nobis, ut semper ejus tentationem vincamus: indue nos arma, quibus omnis error dispellatur, et forti manu tua daemon confusus a nostro conspectu recedat, ac nobis concede in caelesti regno portionem, hereditatemque cum Sanctis tuis, quoniam tuum est regnum, virtus et gloria, nunc.*"

name and questioning each individually. OBA1962 had altered the form, and the priest was to call each of the elect by name, to which each was to respond “*adsum*,” and then question them all as a group. In the proposed revision, the *Coetus* indicated that the name of the elect should be given to the priest by the sponsor, after which the priest would question the elect, one by one.<sup>135</sup> The worksheet provided, unaltered, the same text for the renunciation as was present in OBA, which itself was the same as OBA1962 excepting the insertion of the elect’s name before the first question in the older text.

There was much debate at this point in the discussion about the use of the term “*pompis*” in the final question asked of the elect: “*Et omnibus pompis ejus?*”<sup>136</sup> In his earlier note to Cellier, Fischer had indicated that this precise issue should be addressed. Underlying the question appears to have been the work of both Maertens and Hans Kirsten.<sup>137</sup> Both Kirsten and Maertens, in comparing nine different groupings of renunciation statements, argued that the oldest core associated with Satan was “angels” (ἄγγελος), “works” (ἔργοις), and “pomps” (πομπός).<sup>138</sup> However, according to a theory arising from Hebrew linguistics, Maertens argued that these three words, when retranslated into Hebrew from Greek, became “sent,” and were thus, largely

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<sup>135</sup> NR 25: “Tunc celebrans, de monime certior factus a patrinis (matrinis), unumquemque interrogat: N., abrenuntias Satanae...”

<sup>136</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 39: “Per longum et latum disceptatum est de vocabulo POMPA, de cuius sensu aliquid in instructione de redigendis Ritualibus particularibus dicendum esset.”

<sup>137</sup> Hans Kirsten, *Die Taufabsage: eine Untersuchung zu Gestalt und Geschichte der Taufe nach den altkirchlichen Taufliturgien* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlaganstalt, 1960).

<sup>138</sup> Maertens listed the renounced elements from Tertullian, Ambrose, Cyril, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Basil, the Gelasian Sacramentary, and *The Apostolic Tradition* (Latin, Coptic, and Ethiopic versions).

The more complete list is found in Kirsten, where he compares sixty different texts from East and West. In these sixty texts “pomps” occurs thirty-two times, “works” occurs thirty times, and “angels” occurs twenty-five times (39-51).



interchangeable.<sup>139</sup> Kirsten could likewise argue that the original similarity in meanings of these words lead to different pairings emerging in different liturgical traditions: in North Africa one found reference to “pomps” and “angels;” in the Gallican tradition one found “works” and “pomps;” and in Spain one found “angels” and “works.”<sup>140</sup> The English word “angels,” as well as the French “*anges*,” has retained the original connection; angels are divine messengers – those who are sent from God. According to Maertens, “works,” or “*oeuvres*” in French, should be understood as “missions for a defined purpose” (“*missions pour un travail déterminé*”), which similarly indicates that they are something sent upon something else by some authority outside of themselves. Finally, πομπός, one who brings, carries, or leads something (therefore a messenger, or a guide) clearly conveys the same sense as angels. The difficulty arose, argued Maertens, when the Greek, which was itself a rendering of the Hebrew, was translated into Latin; πομπός became “*pompa*.” The Latin term maintained the sense of bringing something, but more precisely described the ostentatious procession (by which the thing that was carried or brought went from place to place). In this linguistic transition Maertens saw the “transformation of angels into worldly, pagan, seductions” that Tertullian railed against in *De Corona* 13: “the pomp of the devil and his angels, offices of the world, honors, festivals, popularity huntings, false vows, exhibitions of human servility, empty

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<sup>139</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale*, 98: “Or les trois mots qui ont le plus de chance d’être primitifs (pompes, anges et oeuvres), quand on les retraduit en hébreu, pourraient être rendus par le même mot: envoyé.”

<sup>140</sup> Kirsten, 65.

praises, base glories, and in them all idolatry.”<sup>141</sup> While Maertens saw Tertullian’s expression of pomps as being, at least, somewhat connected to the original sense of the word, since they were visible expressions of paganism, when paganism ceased playing a significant role in the world, the original choice between the visible body of the Church and the visible body of pagan society disappeared.<sup>142</sup> The formula remained, although stripped of a context that made sense – a choice between two visible communities – and its meaning was forced to be altered. The result, Maertens argued, was that Satan’s pomps had become spiritualized and individualized. The new definition was thoroughly opposed to the original sense of the renunciation, and, by extension, was thoroughly opposed to the spirit of Christian initiation.

It appears that Fischer may have thought of two different solutions to the issue of Satan’s pomps. A first proposal may have been the elimination of the redundant renunciation, thus transforming the renunciation of Satan into a double interrogation in line with the one found in *De sacramentis* 1.5: “Do you renounce the devil and his works?”<sup>143</sup> An alternate proposal that was voiced at Le Saulchoir, perhaps by Fischer himself, although this is not absolutely clear, was that the group search for an alternate

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<sup>141</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale*, 98: “Puis, dans le monde latin, on aurait traduit pompê grec en pompae latin – transformant les anges en séductions du monde païen: ‘Nous les avons abjurées une fois pour toutes, en prononçant le serment baptismal. Voilà ce que c’était que ‘les pompes du diable et de ses anges’: dignités du siècle, honneurs, solennités, quêtes de suffrages populaires, vœux menteurs, servitudes humaines, vaines louanges, gloires honteuses et, au fond de tout cela, l’idolâtrie’ (De corona, 13).”

<sup>142</sup> Maertens, *Histoire et Pastorale*, 99: “Quoi qu’il en soit de l’interprétation première de la formule, il est évident, en tout cas, que l’ensemble de ses expressions désigne le monde païen: Satan, le Dieu de ce monde (2 Cor. 4:4), les institutions (oeuvres) qui exploitent le mal dans ce monde, tous les suppôts de Satan (anges) et les séductions par lesquelles ils prennent possession des âmes. Tous ces termes avaient un sens extérieur, visible: on savait bien concrètement à quoi l’on faisait allusion: on renonçait à un ‘monde’ visible pour entrer dans un autre monde visible.”

<sup>143</sup> *DOBL* 178. See also Botte, *Des sacrements, Des mystères*, 62: “Abrenuntias diabolo et operibus eius...”

term for the third renunciation.<sup>144</sup> In the end, the group decided to leave the text of the renunciation as it appeared in OBA, while further investigating the historical concerns raised by Kirsten and Maertens through Fischer.<sup>145</sup>

#### **4.5.2.4: Profession of Faith and Baptism**

In treating the profession of faith and the actual act of baptism, the *Coetus* had already made several significant decisions. Regarding the profession of faith, the group had decided shortly after their first meeting that the profession should include an explicit mention of Christ's resurrection, since the formula in OBA and OBA1962 mentioned only his incarnation and suffering. The phrase "*et resuscitatum*" was, therefore, added to the second statement of faith.<sup>146</sup> However, the group also wrestled with a difference in the manner in which the profession of faith was elicited between OBA and OBA1962, and settled on an approach that utilized elements of both approaches. From OBA they retained the individualized questioning and answers; from OBA1962 they retained the unity of the Trinitarian profession. The result was that the celebrant would question each of the elect individually, proceeding through the three professions for each of the elect before moving on to elicit the profession of faith from the next elect. Thus, on the

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<sup>144</sup> NR 25: "N'y est il pas une autre manière de présenter les 3 interrogations et de les aménager? Ordre? Cf. Maertens, 98. Kirsten: Die Taufabsage."

<sup>145</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 40: "D. Fischer censuit dialogum talem qualem, esse retinendum non obstante facto quod inspecta traditione (cf. Kirsten, *Die Taufabsage*) aliter ordinari posset. Habet suam vim ipsa evoluti nisi constet de deformatione."

<sup>146</sup> NR 26: "Credis in Jesum Christum, Filium ejus unicum, Dominum nostrum, natum et passum et resuscitatum."

The suggestion that explicit mention of the resurrection be added to the profession of faith had been made during their discussion of Jungmann's proposed shape for the rite for adult initiation, which occurred on Wednesday, September 16, 1964.

worksheets, which contained the typed profession from OBA with the addition of the words “*et resuscitatum*,” the changes to the profession of faith were entirely rubrical.

Similarly, the primary change to the administration of baptism itself was something earlier agreed upon by the *Coetus*. During their meeting at Rome, the group had argued that the sources pointed overwhelmingly to baptism by immersion rather than infusion. Therefore they agreed to place the form of baptism by immersion first in the rite, ratifying its pride of place. The rubrics from OBA surrounding baptism by immersion – which had been omitted from OBA1962 – were unaltered on the worksheet. The rubrics for baptism by infusion, however, were altered in two ways. First, the instruction that the godparents should hold the elect’s shoulder while the elect had their head over the font was omitted. No discussion was noted surrounding this decision, and it appears likely that this omission was simply an oversight; the directive was present in the draft of the rite that emerged at Clervaux.

The second, far more substantial, alteration in the rubrics for adult infusion concerned the manner in which the water was poured. Again, no discussion is noted on this element, and the summary of the session simply indicates that all present agreed that the instruction to pour the water in the shape of the cross was to be removed from the rubric.<sup>147</sup> The rationale behind this decision may be similar to what was stated immediately above: the action of pouring water in the sign of the cross does not find its source in baptism by immersion. Certainly, however, this tradition would have been seen

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<sup>147</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 41: “Tollenda omnibus visa est rubrica de fundenda aqua IN MODUM CRUCIS.”

as an innovation within the Roman tradition, as there is no mention of it in any of the ancient Roman texts.

The *Coetus* then turned to an issue that had been raised at various points in their meetings surrounding the baptismal formula itself. Despite the desire of some members to alter the formula<sup>148</sup> so that it more closely reflected the ancient Roman practice,<sup>149</sup> the decision was made to put the question aside and retain, for the time being, the existing formula.<sup>150</sup>

The worksheet concluded with a rubric that had been included in S-77, regarding the community's renunciation of the devil and profession of faith. In the version of the text included on the worksheet, the allowance was made, if baptisms were celebrated at the Vigil and the number of those baptisms was large, for the faithful to make their own renunciation of the devil and profession of faith after the elect had been baptized. If, however, the number of elect to be baptized was small, the faithful were to wait until after the neophytes had been anointed, clothed in a white garment, and given a lit candle. Following upon the community's renunciation and profession, they were to be sprinkled

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<sup>148</sup> NR 26: "Discussion sur le suppression de l' 'Ego te baptizo'."

<sup>149</sup> Triple baptism during a triple interrogatory profession of faith was understood, by the group, to be the earliest known Roman practice, based on the *Apostolic Tradition* as well as the evidence provided by Tertullian and Cyprian. Alternatively, Ambrose, Augustine, and the Gelasian Sacramentary have no specific formula. See Louis Ligier, S.J., *De Sacramento Baptismi* (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Theologica, 1968), 37-41. He presents the argument that the liturgical act itself was the formula in the early Roman tradition, and that the theology of the formula was expressed by the profession of faith and, perhaps, the blessing of the font: "In primis saeculis 'forma baptismi,' *theologice* intellecta, existebat; sed expressio eius *liturgica* erat amplior quam nunc, quia interrogationes de Symbolo et probabiliter benedictionem aquae comprehendebat" (41).

<sup>150</sup> "Protocollum junii 3-6 1965", 42: "Mutatio ipsius formae baptismi in sensu antiquioris traditionis Romanae considerata est tamquam quaestio non matura, saltem pro nunc remittenda."

with holy water.<sup>151</sup> The only change to this text was replacing explicit mention of the renunciation of the devil and the profession of faith with the more general term, “baptismal promises.”<sup>152</sup>

In their revision of the rubric from S-77, explicit mention of the Vigil was eliminated, because this would have been redundant: the rites were expected to have been performed during the Vigil. In recognition that not all celebrations of adult initiation would take place during the Vigil, however, the summary of the meeting included the explanatory indication that the celebration of initiation should, nonetheless, conclude with the celebration of the eucharist, using the texts of a votive mass yet to be composed, “*post baptismum celebranda.*” These texts would be composed by the *Coetus* along with *Coetus XIII*, which was responsible for votive mass texts.<sup>153</sup>

#### **4.5.2.5: Post-Baptismal Anointing**

The *Coetus*, in treating the post-baptismal anointing with chrism, almost completely adopted the rubric and prayer from OBA. The only changes that were made to the rubric were for the sake of clarification. First, rather than naming the priest (*sacerdos*) as the one who performed the anointing, the revised text named the celebrant

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<sup>151</sup> NR 26, S-77 32: “Si baptismus celebratur in Vigilia Paschali et numerus baptizatorum est magnus, immediate post eos fideles praesentes diabolo renuntiant et fidem profitentur. Si parvus est numerus, fideles expectant, usquedum neobaptizati vestes albas et candelas accensas acceperint; sed renovatio promissionum fiat, antequam baptismalis asportetur aqua.”

<sup>152</sup> NR 26: “Si numerus baptizatorum est magnus, immediate post eos fideles praesentes promissiones suas baptismalis renovant. Si parvus est numerus, fideles expectant, usquedum neobaptizati vestes albas et candelas accensas acceperint; sed renovatio promissionum fiat, antequam baptismalis asportetur aqua.”

<sup>153</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 43: “Quia etiam baptismus adultorum ‘extra tempora’ celebratus celebratione eucharistica concluditu et coronatur creanda est specialis Missa votiva post baptismum celebranda: res mixta inter coetum nostrum et coetum de Missis votivis. Inde etiam hic Relator contactus instituat.”

(*celebrans*). This change would allow for the same rubric to be used by bishop, priest, or deacon. Second, the manner in which the anointing was to take place was clarified by moving the closing parenthesis: the elect were not to be arranged in the form of a cross, but the celebrant was to anoint in the form of the cross.<sup>154</sup> The only change that was made to the prayer text was grammatical. In the final reference to Christ, the word *eodem* was removed,<sup>155</sup> thereby restoring the text to its form in the Gelasian Sacramentary.<sup>156</sup> The revised description of the post-baptismal chrismation concluded with the addition of an instruction for the celebrant to cleanse the thumb used to anoint the neophytes. This was not a new rubric, but was, rather, a logical shift in location to correspond with the action in question. In OBA and OBA1962 the instruction to clean the thumb was contained within the same rubric as the instruction to give a white garment to each of the neophytes. The old rubric was, thus, divided. Furthermore, the rubric was simplified, in that mention of “cotton or a similar material” was excised from the direction.<sup>157</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> OBA 41: “Deinde Sacerdos intingit pollicem dexterum in sacro Chrismate et perungit verticem Electi (singulorum Electorum) in modum crucis, dicens...”

NR 27: “Deinde Sacerdos intingit pollicem dexterum in sacro Chrismate et perungit verticem Electi (singulorum Electorum in modum crucis), dicens...”

<sup>155</sup> OBA 41: “Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui te regeravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum (hic inungit) ipse te liniat † Chrismate salutis in eodem Christo Jesu Domino nostro in vitam aeternam.”

NR 27: “Deus omnipotens, Pater Domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui te regeravit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, quique dedit tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum (hic inungit) ipse te liniat † Chrismate salutis in Christo Iesu Domino nostro in vitam aeternam.”

<sup>156</sup> Gelasian Sacramentary, XLIV. See *DOBL*, 233-236.

<sup>157</sup> OBA 42: “Tunc bombacio vel re simili pollicem tergit...”

NR 27: “Tunc pollicem tergit.”

#### 4.5.2.6: Presentation of a Baptismal Garment

Consistent with their initial insistence at Galloro that symbols needed to be “immediately intelligible,”<sup>158</sup> the revisions to the rubric surrounding giving a white vestment to the neophytes was altered to reflect the practice of OBA1962: no white cloth was to be placed on the neophytes head, but only a white vestment was to be given. However, the new rubric did not specify that the garment needed to be white. Rather, in recognition that colors convey different meanings in different cultures, the instruction was that the vestment could be white or it could be another regionally recognized “festive” color.<sup>159</sup> The prayer text, however, was not modified to reflect the optional use of colors other than white. Indeed, the only change to the prayer text was the shift from addressing each of the neophytes separately (“*Accipe...*”) to addressing the neophytes as a group (“*Accipite...*”). This change in address, which was present in OBA1962, may have been occasioned for practical purposes. The priest was only to speak the formula once, while the neophytes were given a white garment by their sponsors. In settings where the number of neophytes was larger, this change would have eliminated sufficient time from the rite, thus preventing the presentation with a white robe from being seen as too important within the shape of the overall rite. The presentation would not be allowed to obscure the ritual significance of the baptism that had preceded it.

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<sup>158</sup> “Rapport I”, 13: “Il faudra certainement retenir les signes qui ont le mérite d’être bibliques et immédiatement intelligibles, comme l’eau courante (au sens d’une immersion mitigée), la chandelle allumée, le vêtement blanc.”

<sup>159</sup> NR 28: “Tunc celebrans imponit baptizato vestem candidam, vel ejus coloris qui in regionem tamquam festivis habetur.”



#### 4.5.2.7: Presentation of a Lit Candle

The worksheet dealing with the presentation of a lighted candle began with the rubric and text from OBA 43, except for the portion of this rubric that included instructions regarding the neophyte putting on the white garment that had just been received. As it appeared in the worksheet, the rubric dictated that the priest was to place a lighted candle in the right hand of each neophyte, repeating the text for each presentation. The only changes to this instruction were technical ones, rendering “*sacerdos*” as “*celebrans*,” and “*Electo*” as “*neophyto*.” The formula for the presentation of the lighted candle was not changed, except that it addressed the neophytes in the plural rather than the singular. Thus, the revision proposed that the text was to be spoken once, rather than for each of the neophytes, as had been the case in OBA1962, consistent with the ritual changes seen previously in the presentation with a white garment.<sup>160</sup> In OBA1962 each neophyte was presented with a lighted candle at the same time by their own sponsor, while the priest spoke the formula once. As in OBA, however, the revision proposed that the neophytes received the candle from the priest.

#### 4.5.2.8: Explanation of the Christian Name, Confirmation, and Eucharist

The proposed revision for the celebration of the sacraments of initiation concluded with two new rubrics. First, as had been agreed upon at the Trier meeting in 1964, the neophytes should be given the opportunity to express how their new Christian name, had they taken one, was a sign of their new life in Christ. The original rubric

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<sup>160</sup> OBA 43: “Postea dat Electo celebrans cereum seu candelam accensam in manu dextera, dicens (singulis, si plures):

NR 29: “Postea dat neophyto celebrans cereum seu candelam accensam in manu dextera, dicens:

given in the worksheet for this optional rite indicated that a formula should be provided: “*Post hos ritibus, formula qua si casu fert, nomen christianum tamquam signum novae vitae explicatur.*” However, the revision of this text eliminated the formality of a rubric, and left the content of this element to the neophyte themselves: “*Post hos ritus, si casu fert, nomen christianum tamquam signum novae vitae explicatur.*”<sup>161</sup>

The second rubric contained another longstanding principle of the *Coetus*, which had been expressed in their first document, S-30: “presbyters having an episcopal mandate could both baptize and confirm the neophytes within the same celebration.”<sup>162</sup> This was a clear extension of one of the concluding rubrics in OBA, that a bishop, when celebrating the rites of adult initiation, should confirm the neophytes, and that the Eucharist could be celebrated immediately afterwards, to complete their initiation.<sup>163</sup> The new rubric indicated that, “if it was possible, the newly baptized should, at once, be confirmed and proceed to the celebration of the Eucharist, where they would receive under both species.”<sup>164</sup> The proposed rubric also took into account the suggestion of the *Consilium* and indicated that a specific communion chant should be sung, although no mention was made about which text was to be sung. However, in revising the proposed rubric, mention of a specific communion song disappeared, though no reason was given

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<sup>161</sup> NR 30.

<sup>162</sup> S-30 23f: “sacerdos qui adultum baptizat possit etiam de mandato episcopi neophyto Confirmationem conferre ut completa initiatio christiana adulti statim habeatur.”

<sup>163</sup> OBA 52: “Si adsit Episcopus, qui id legitime praestare possit, ab eo Neophyti Sacramento Confirmationis initiantur. Deinde si hora sit congruens, celebratur Missa, cui Neophyti intersunt, et Sanctissimam Eucharistiam devote suscipiunt.”

<sup>164</sup> NR 30: “Neobaptizati – si fieri potest – statim confirmantur ritu breviori et accedunt ad celebrationem Eucharisticam. Immediate antequam SS Eucharistiam sub utraque specie accipiant.”

for this change. The other addition to the rubric was the direction that reception under both eucharistic species was to be left to the decision of the local bishop, consistent with the norm laid down in *SC* 55.<sup>165</sup> Otherwise, the content of the instruction remained the same.<sup>166</sup>

#### **4.5.3: The Time of Mystagogy**

Formerly entitled “The Fifth Station – Mystagogical Catechesis,” the worksheet for the concluding element to the process of adult initiation was left entirely blank. In the planning leading up to the meeting at Le Saulchoir, very few points about this concluding period had been articulated. The most complete description of what the period was intended to look like was contained in the “Instructiones” emerging from the meeting at Trier in February, 1965.

One of the elements that had been suggested had been the composition of new mass texts for a mass of the neophytes. A further proposal had been made that these texts might be based on the texts for this same purpose from the Ambrosian Rite. An alternate proposal emerged at Le Saulchoir that *Coetus* XIII, the group responsible for revising mass texts, might consider the Ambrosian texts in their revision of the texts for the six Sundays of Easter season.<sup>167</sup> In making this suggestion the *Coetus* altered the format of the Ambrosian Missal. The Ambrosian mass texts for the neophytes were options that

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<sup>165</sup> *SC* 55: “In instances to be specified by the Apostolic See, however, communion under both kinds may be granted both to clerics and religious and to the laity at the discretion of the bishops, for example, to the ordained at the Mass of their ordination, to the professed at the Mass of their religious profession, the newly baptized at the Mass following their baptism.”

<sup>166</sup> *NR* 30: “Neobaptizati – si fieri potest – statim confirmantur ritu breviori et accedunt ad celebrationem Eucharisticam et recipiant SS Eucharisticam sub utraque specie si episcopus permisserit.”

<sup>167</sup> *NR* 31: “Six messes pour les dimanches du temps pascal. Oraisons du missel ambrosien.”

could be used during the octave of Easter, excepting the Second Sunday of Easter. The suggestion in question would affect not the Octave of Easter, but the Sundays of Easter, thus supplanting the mass texts already associated with the Easter season in instances where the neophytes were in attendance. The suggestion was also made that these new masses for the Sundays of Easter would use the usual Easter Lectionary texts, but to each of these would be added a third optional reading from the Acts of the Apostles, thereby creating an Easter structure of a reading from the Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles. This suggestion was to be forwarded to *Coetus IX*, which was responsible for revising the Lectionary.<sup>168</sup>

A final note was made on the worksheets about the desire to find a fitting conclusion to the process of initiation. No suggestions were made, but it is possible that the *Coetus* had something along the lines of the Ambrosian tradition in mind here as well. According to Cesare Alzati, during the Carolingian age the initiation rites were concluded on the Saturday after Easter, when two junior priests, “taking their place at the doors of the baptistery of St. John, proceed to uncover the heads of the neophytes saying:

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<sup>168</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 44: “Pro hoc tempore sex missae creandae sunt cum tertia lectione ex Actibus Apostolorum facultativa (quae denuo pertinent ad contactus cum R.P. Vandenbroucke instituendos).”

It may be that the use of the Acts of the Apostles for the First Reading throughout the Easter season is because of the request of *Coetus XXII*. In his book *Preaching the Rites of Christian Initiation*, Forum Essays 4 (Chicago: Liturgy Training Publications, 1994), Jan Michael Joncas highlights the appropriateness of these texts: “Idealized portraits of the primitive Christian community occur in all cycles on the Second Sunday of Easter; the preacher might want to show how *kerygma* (proclamation), *didache* (teaching), *koinonia* (communal life), *diakonia* (service) and *leitourgia* (worship) mark every authentic Christian community from the days of the apostles until now. The Second and Third Sundays of Easter rehearse the foundational preaching of the apostles (especially Peter’s Pentecost speech) and the conflict it creates. The remaining Sundays of Eastertide disclose the church’s ministry *ad intra* (the designation of the Seven, the Council of Jerusalem, the election of Matthias) and *ad extra* (Peter’s baptism of Cornelius and his household, Philip’s preaching in Samaria, Paul and Barnabas founding churches in various locations). It should be easy for the preacher to indicate how the local community continues these missions in contemporary practice” (56-57).

*Benedicat vos Dominus de Sion, et videatis quae bona sunt Jerusalem omnibus diebus vitae vestrae.*”<sup>169</sup>

It should be noted that the period of Mystagogy was not fixed. It might continue through the season of Easter (with the masses for the neophytes on each Sunday of the Easter season), or end on the second Sunday of the Octave of Easter.<sup>170</sup>

#### **4.6: Conclusions**

After having assembled many specific texts for the revised rite of adult initiation, the *Coetus* concluded their meeting, forming a smaller subcommittee for translating the newly composed texts. They would meet at the Abbey of Clervaux in Luxembourg from June 23-26. A second subcommittee was formed to compose the *Relatio* for the *Consilium*, comprising Cellier for his pastoral expertise, Coquin for the preparation of a critical text, Lengeling for his expertise with the Western liturgical traditions, and Ligier for his expertise with the Eastern liturgical traditions.<sup>171</sup> No date was established for this meeting.

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<sup>169</sup> Alzati, *Ambrosianum Mysterium*, 13.

<sup>170</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, 44: “Conclusio periodici mystagogiae (quae corresponderet Dominicae in albis depenendis) adhuc praeparanda remanet.”

<sup>171</sup> “Protocollum junii 3-6 1965”, VI b: “Praenotanda Materialia pretiosissima Commissioni praeparata sunt a sodalibus Cellier (secundum experientias Lugdunensis) Coquin (textus criticus), Lengeling (traditio latina necnon traditiones separatorum in Occidente), Ligier (traditio orientalis).”