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The Continental Liturgical Movement in the Roman Catholic Church¹

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CHURCH LIFE, Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant, in twentieth century Europe and America is marked by four interrelated concerns. These are: the search for an interconfessional ecclesiastical union through the Ecumenical Movement;² the rediscovery of a biblical and patristic theology of depth and relevance;³ the elaboration of a Christian social ethic, or the implementation of the gospel imperatives in social thought and action; and the renewal of the worship of the Church, as grounded upon the self-offering of Christ of a redeemed humanity to the Father in conjunction with his perfect Sacrifice on the Cross, remembered and renewed in the Eucharistic Liturgy. It is increasingly realized, even by the most sanguine enthusiasts of the Ecumenical Movement, that a will to unity, admirably devised schemes of unity, and even co-operation in the important sphere of social thought and action, are no substitutes for a common theology and a common worship, and that, since worship is the adoring response of the People of God to the transforming Revelation of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, theological and liturgical studies must proceed hand in hand. From this complex of four strands our particular concern is with the astonishing growth of the Continental Liturgical Movement and its impact on the theory and practice of worship in the English Churches.

1. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE LITURGICAL MOVEMENT

A provisional definition of a tentative character will provide a skeleton on which the flesh and muscle of the Liturgical Movement (its history, principles, and practices) can later be laid. The Liturgical Movement may be defined as an interconfessional renewal of Christian worship and life which sees in the self-offering of the Eternal Son of God on the Cross a Sacrifice which is both the descent of Divinity and the ascent of the Perfect.

1. This article and one which will appear in our October issue on "Orthodox, Anglican and Free Church Contributions to the Liturgical Movement" will form a chapter of *The Ecumenical Century, 1900 to the Present*, which will be the last volume of Dr. Davies' five-volume series *Worship and Theology in England*, published by the Princeton and Oxford University Presses.

2. The fullest and most authoritative study is R. Rouse and Stephen Neill (eds.), *A History of the Ecumenical Movement 1517-1948* (London, 1954).

3. For a study of the parallel course of the liturgical and biblical movements, see K. Federer, *Liturgie und Glaube; eine theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Freiburg, 1950).

Humanity, and therefore as the type and pattern of Christian worship in the Eucharist, the nexus of Christian unity, the inspiration of all human talents and labour, and the supreme means of grace. In the narrower sense "Liturgy" refers to the Eucharistic rite (as both Revelation and response in which the Sacrament of the Word is linked with the Sacrament of the Holy Communion), and the restoration of the Eucharist to its central place in truly corporate worship has been the primary concern of the Liturgical Movement. In the wider sense "Liturgy" has been used to refer to the whole round of the official public worship of the Christian Church, in the Daily Office, and in authorized forms. In this wider sense, moreover, the Movement has been concerned with such major issues as the theological basis of worship, its sincerity and relevance to modern life.

It must be insisted that the Liturgical Movement has been encouraged by the researches of learned liturgiologists as well as by the severely practical concerns of parish priests and ministers. It is not only an organization within the single largest Communion of Christendom (the Roman Catholic Church), but also an interdenominational reformation of Catholic and Protestant import. It may quite properly be regarded as a movement of the Holy Spirit, since its effect has been to increase the holiness, charity, social witness, and ecumenicity of Christians in a tragically divided world. Its outstanding mark is vitality. Its impact was first felt in a significant manner in Europe in 1840 and its influence on Britain and North America has been considerable, especially in recent decades. If Protestants have led in the theological revival of our times, then Catholics have clearly pioneered in the Liturgical Movement. More important, however, is the fact that the vitality of each movement has had a marked influence on its opposing ecclesiastical tradition.

An immediate and preliminary pointer to the significance of the Continental Liturgical Movement is the assessment of its importance made by non-Roman-Catholic scholars in recent years. Between the first and second world wars there was the pioneering appreciation of the Movement in the work of the Swedish Lutheran (later Archbishop) Yngve Brilioth in his *Eucharistic Faith and Practice, Evangelical and Catholic* (1930) and of the Anglican priest, A. G. Hebert, in *Liturgy and Society* (1935). More recently, however, there have been a series of important studies of the Continental Liturgical Movement, each of which manifests an amazing empathy from the Protestant side. Jean-Daniel B eno t, of the University of Strasbourg, a French Reformed theologian, has published *Liturgical Renewal: Catholic and Protestant Developments on the Continent* (1958), which was originally given as a series of lectures to Anglican clergymen in the diocese of London. This is an important indication of the interaction of Catholic and Protestant theory and practice in worship. The Anglican liturgiologist and former Dean of Lincoln Cathedral, J. H. Srawley, has produced a suggestive account of the principles of the most recent phase of the Liturgical Movement in *The Liturgical Movement* (Alcuin Club, 1954). Two

American Episcopalian clergy. Massey H. Shepherd, Jr.⁴ in *The Liturgical Renewal of the Church* (1960) and A. R. Shands in *Living Liturgy* (1946) and in the volume he has edited, entitled *The Liturgical Movement and the Local Church* (1959), show how deeply sensitive and appreciative is right-wing Protestantism to the new developments of worship on the continent of Europe. Furthermore, an American Lutheran scholar, Ernest B. Koenker, has produced the fullest theological appraisal of *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church* (Chicago, 1954) from the Protestant side.

An even more impressive testimony to the impact of the Continental Liturgical Movement is to be found in the growing recognition on the part of Protestant Communion (in some cases this is a *recovery* of an earlier tradition) that Holy Communion or the Lord's Supper is the central and climactic act of the corporate worship of the Christian community. This is to be found in certain movements within the Protestant Churches of Britain and America. Many of these movements, though not all, have an official character. These are: the "Parish and People" Movement within the Church of England and the "Associated Parishes" of the American Episcopal Church; the "Church Service Society" and the Iona Community Movement within (and also beyond) the Church of Scotland; the important "Methodist Sacramental Fellowship" in England and the newly founded Wesley Society in the United States; and the "Church Order Group" among the ministry of the Congregational churches in England and Wales. Moreover, the denominations to which these movements belong have been engaged in important liturgical experiments, some of which have been incorporated in their official books of worship. Lutherans and Episcopalians, of course, already have an honoured Liturgy. That such interconfessional liturgical borrowing and lending, which has crossed the Catholic, Orthodox, and Protestant lines, is a significant fact of our times can be seen from the most cursory survey of the pages of acknowledgments which preface the texts of most modern liturgies, denominational handbooks or manuals of worship, and devotional compilations. Besides, a rain-shower of liturgical pamphlets in ecclesiastical journals, and a hailstorm of books, pelting from the presses, ought by now to have drenched the literate minister and thoughtful laymen in the new liturgical climate of our times. Though many are high, few are dry. Possibly only the most Tridentine of Roman Catholics and the most dissident of Protestant Dissenters remain dry in this deluge, merely because they are lost in the arid desert of a sixteenth century controversy.

If it be erroneous to refuse to acknowledge the impact of the Liturgical Movement, it is equally so to claim too much for it, as two considerations will bear out. In the first place, far from the influence having been all one

4. Professor Massey H. Shepherd, Jr. has also written a notable ecumenical liturgical volume, *The Reform of Liturgical Worship: Perspectives and Prospects* (New York, 1961).

way, and the Roman Catholics the donors and the Protestants merely recipients, there has been reciprocal giving and accepting. At first glance the claim that classical Reformed worship has influenced the liturgical thought and practice of the Roman Catholic Church would seem improbable to the point of absurdity; it seems less so when some of the more revolutionary principles of the Continental Liturgical Movement are considered. Yet, many of these principles were once the convictions and are now the commonplaces of Reformed celebrations of the Holy Communion or Lord's Supper. Such principles are: the insistence upon a rite translated from the Latin into the vernacular for the edification of the common people; an insistence upon participation rather than passivity on the part of the communicants, with its correlate of corporate Communion rather than any private Eucharistic devotions (such as the "Forty Hours" or "Benediction"); the manducation of *both* the consecrated Bread and Wine, rather than Communion in *one* kind; liturgical preaching, for which a parallel can be found in the "Communion Discourses" in the Reformed tradition; and the so-called Western or Basilican posture for celebration, in which the priest or minister faces the people across the Holy Table (possible only when the Altar is brought forward from the usual position immediately beneath the East wall and window). Each of these principles and practices, for which a pre-Reformation precedent can be found, even if arbitrarily and unconvincingly, are more easily and naturally found as legitimate Reformed protests against abuses of the Sacrament as celebrated in the later mediaeval Western Church, and they have been customary in most Reformed Churches during the past four centuries. Thus it is not necessary to claim Roman Catholic influence for practices which have been characteristically those of classical Protestantism in its worship.

Furthermore, it has been characteristic of English and American life (and not less of English and American theology) to adapt, modify, and mould its borrowings to suit its own needs. While the insularity and moderation of English theology⁵ is not as prominent in the twentieth as it has been in the three centuries prior to the present, it is itself a factor which would urge the pragmatic English to be suspicious of Continental importations until they have been tested thoroughly and Anglicized. On the positive side, England can claim that she made her own contributions of singular importance to the renewal of worship. If France urges the claim that the origins of the Liturgical Movement are to be found in a Romantic protest against Rationalism made vivid in the mediaevalism of the novels of Victor Hugo and J. K. Huysmans, or if Germany urges the priority of Schlegel, then England demands the palm for Sir Walter Scott's "Waverley" series of novels, or, if the debate is desperate, for the architectural mediaevalism of William Beckford and Horace Walpole. In these "Gothic Games" (if the international competition to discover the earliest pioneers of neo-media-

5. See C. C. J. Webb, *A Century of Anglican Theology* (London, 1933), pp. 20-5.

evalism may be so termed) France can claim that Rohant de Fleury, with his study of the Mass in art, Didron's iconographic monographs, and Viollet-le-Duc's architectural researches and restorations were at least as significant as the mediaeval restorationism of Pugin, Barry, G. G. Scott, Street, and Butterfield⁶ in Victorian England, even though an English nationalist might find it convenient to cite the German Reichensperger's tribute to Pugin that "he was the hero in the fight for Christian art."⁷ Though the Oxford Movement was not without Continental influences, it would be an injustice not to regard it as predominantly an indigenous and successful English attempt to renew liturgical and sacramental worship. Thus the ambiguities of origins and the multiplicity of cultural influences, as well as the pragmatic character of English religion, are restraints on exaggerated claims for the impact of the Continental Liturgical Movement on English ways of worship. It must, however, also be insisted upon that English theology has become increasingly dependent upon European theology in the twentieth century and that the impact of the second phase of the Continental Liturgical Movement has been considerable.

What has been said of English theology is also largely true of American theology and worship, which has been profoundly influenced by the free and spontaneous techniques of evangelism in the "Great Awakenings" and on the western-moving frontier, making the very concepts of Liturgy and Church traditions matters of suspicion. Here, too, pragmatism prevails. The "Continental" or European character of the Liturgical Movement will be considered as reference is made to its most important contributions which came from France in the nineteenth and from Belgium, Italy, the Rhineland, and Austria in the twentieth century.

2. THE FIRST PHASE: SOLESMES

Since worship, which he termed the *opus Dei*,⁸ was for St. Benedict of Nursia the primary privilege and duty of monks (although both contemplation and manual labour played their important but subordinate parts), it is not surprising that the restoration of the Benedictine order in France was accompanied by an intense renewal of liturgical life. The pre-eminent pioneer in the Liturgical Movement in France was Dom Prosper Guéranger (1805-1875), an ardent disciple of Lamennais. The latter had wished to bring France back to the political and social order of the days of Pope Gregory VII by means of the revival of the Roman Catholic Church. How-

6. See B. F. L. Clarke, *Church Buildings of the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1938).

7. Olivier Rousseau, *L'Histoire du Mouvement Liturgique* (Paris, 1945; English translation, "The Progress of the Liturgy," Westminster, Maryland, 1951), p. 132.

8. There are two instances in the *Regula* of Saint Benedict where this term is employed, once notably in *Caput* LXIII, where it is stated: *Ergo nihil operi Dei praeponat* ("Nothing is to take precedence over the worship of God").

ever roseate Lamennais' view of the eleventh century was (and this is a common characteristic of mediaeval religious restorationists), it is understandable. After the political unsettlements of popular revolution succeeded by dictatorships in nineteenth century France, it was inevitable that an idealized image of the conjoint rule of the Orb and the Cross (of godly emperor and holy pontiff) in the eleventh century, in which Chartres—the sublimest symbol of French Catholic faith—was erected, should glisten enticingly in the mind of devout Frenchmen. It was a case, not of *reculer pour mieux sauter* (for to advance beyond Chartres was unthinkable), but only of *reculer pour sauter*. For Guéranger, as for St. Francis of Assisi, the command was to rebuild God's house in ruins.⁹ Guéranger's ruins demanding restoration were those of the ancient abbey of Solesmes, left desolate by the image-breakers of the French Revolution. If Lamennais desired a revival of the mediaeval politico-social order, Guéranger longed for the restoration of the Church life of the Middle Ages. His own vocation, he was convinced, was to return to the Church those now desolate sanctuaries of prayer which had nourished saints. The restored abbey of Solesmes would be the type and forerunner of such ecclesiastical renewal.

Solesmes, widely known for its restoration of Gregorian chanting, was the first power-house and dynamo of liturgical renewal, and its Daily Office and its celebration of the Festivals were widely admired and frequently imitated. While relatively few were able to make their pilgrimage to Solesmes and share in its worship, two publications of the greatest influence carried the principles and the scholarship of the abbey to the remotest corners of Catholic Christendom. These were the *Institutions liturgiques* of 1840 and *L'Année liturgique*, issued from 1841 onwards. Within sixty years of issuing the first imprint of the *Année liturgique*, over half a million copies had been sold and it had been translated into the major European languages. Though Guéranger was the director of this scholarly work, much of the credit for the Greek and patristic erudition must go to Dom Pitra, one of his monks, who edited classical works on the Greek Liturgy and hymnology and was created a Cardinal in 1863.

The entire aim of Guéranger was the rejuvenation of liturgical piety in an age that was increasingly secular, rationalistic, and individualistic. He believed that the restoration of the Benedictine rule and worship would build up Christian faith to combat secularism, that Christian mysticism was the antidote to rationalism, and that the disciplined community life in the Church would defeat undisciplined individualism. For him the Church was most truly herself in worship, an offering of adoration to God linked with the perfect Offering of the God-man and High Priest, Jesus Christ, with and for humanity. The Divine Liturgy, being the Spirit-prompted response of the Church at worship, was regarded as the essential means of human sanctification and therefore of humanity's renovation and redemption.

9. G. Cozien, *L'Oeuvre de Dom Guéranger* (Paris, 1933), p. 43.

The conception is romantically conveyed in the preface to his *L'Année liturgique*:

It is in Holy Church that the Divine Spirit dwells. He came down to her as an impetuous wind, and manifested Himself to her under the expressive symbols of tongues of fire. Ever since that day of Pentecost, He has dwelt in this His favoured Bride. He is the principle of everything that is in her. He it is that prompts her prayers, her desires, her canticles of praise, her enthusiasm and even her mourning. Hence her prayer is as uninterrupted as her existence. Day and night her voice voice sounds sweetly in the ear of her divine Spouse, and her words are ever finding a welcome in His heart.¹⁰

Guéranger believed that the temporal cycle of the Liturgy was a providentially inspired means of accommodating in time the eternal mysteries of the Creation of man, his re-creation and restoration through the Incarnation, and his sanctification in the Church by the Holy Spirit. The sanctoral cycle he interpreted as the proof of the Divine renewal, from the first century of the Christian dispensation to his own. Rome was for him the mother of saints and the traditional Roman rite was the path to perfection. Utterly faithful to the Roman *magisterium*, he approved all devotions officially sanctioned by the Roman Church, whether it were the cult of the Blessed Sacrament or of the Sacred Heart.

Although he was deeply concerned to instruct the laity in the meaning of the Liturgy, and, indeed, had translated several parts of it into French (always excepting the Canon of the Mass), he never deviated from the conviction that the Mass must be said in Latin, the "sacred tongue." As a keen Ultramontanist (and therefore the sworn enemy of any attempt to retain or introduce any national variants or "Uses" in the Liturgy), he might be expected to prefer the use of the Latin language, but it was due in part to his excessive antiquarianism and in part also to his view that a partially understood language would preserve the essential element of mystery in Christian worship. (He seemed unaware that such a thesis makes mystery and ignorance equivalents, whereas mystery and transcendence are more properly correlated.)

His profound spirituality (which made his so admirable an expositor of the Liturgy) was nourished upon a love of the Scriptures, themselves illuminated by patristic examples of exegesis, and upon a high respect for the continuity of tradition. Father Louis Bouyer, critical as he is of the sentimentalism and archaologism of Guéranger's restoration of the Liturgy, yet acknowledges that his reforms made the monastic worship at Solesmes "one of the most impressive types to be found in modern times."¹¹ Such devotion and erudition in general and, in particular, the restoration of the Gregorian mode of chanting, austere and yet haunting; a scrupulous observance of all rubrics and ceremonies of the Roman rite; and above all, a sober, unclut-

10. Vol. I, pp. 1-2, translated and cited by Dom Olivier Rousseau, *L'Histoire du Mouvement Liturgique*, chap. 1.

11. *Life and Liturgy* (republished as a paperback, 1962), p. 11.

tered, untheatrical celebration of the Liturgy were his abiding contributions to the renaissance of Catholic worship.

Guéranger's importance can also be gauged in his stimulus to others to maintain and to improve upon his own work. His own religious order, the Benedictines, made excellent use of his initiative and example by the prosecution of liturgiology in France, England, Belgium, and in the Rhineland. The first prior of Farnborough, England (itself a daughter house of Solesmes), was Dom Fernand Cabrol, who in the very year of the foundation of the house had published a study of the liturgy of Jerusalem in the fourth century based upon his edition of the *Peregrinatio Silviae* (1895). In 1903 he began to publish the monumental *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie chrétienne et de Liturgie*, with the help of the learned Dom Henri Leclercq. Two other distinguished Frenchmen also promoted the scientific study of liturgies. One was Louis Duchesne, the author of a work translated as *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*, which went into several editions, and the other was Pierre Batiffol, author of the *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain* (1893) and of the popular *Leçons sur la Messe*. In Southern Germany the first centre of revived Benedictinism was the congregation of Beuron, founded in 1863. The founders had stayed with Guéranger in Solesmes and were greatly attracted by his liturgical ideals, as was evident in the writings of Dom Maurus Wolter.¹² The Belgian Solesmes was the abbey of Maredsous, a great liturgical centre of Benedictinism which has attained even greater fame in our own day as the promoter of the daughter house of Mont-César near Louvain, which had its own profound modification of the Guéranger tradition to offer under Dom Morin and Dom Lambert Beauduin. The second great twentieth century Benedictine liturgical centre is Maria Laach in the Rhineland, renowned for the work of Abbot Herwegen and Dom Odo Casel, which complemented and corrected the work of Guéranger, and was itself complemented by the practical concerns of Abbot Pius Parsch of Klosterneuberg in Austria. A most distinguished English contribution to liturgics was made by the Benedictine lay brother, associated with Downside, Edmund Bishop. Erudite and original, his work was entitled *Liturgica Historica; Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford, 1918) and has recently been reissued. All these, however much they might and did differ from Prosper Guéranger, were sons that could rise up and call him blessed.

Admirable, even epochal, as was Guéranger's work, it was not flawless. The flies in this liturgical amber were romanticism and Ultramontanism. The sober worship of Solesmes was, indeed, a relief after the theatrical posturings and the dramatic *mise-en-scène* of the Baroque period, but Baroque was a genuine expression of the spirit of its age whereas Solesmes was an artificial and antiquarian reconstruction of a long-buried past, if indeed that

12. See his *Gertrudenburg*, St. Gertrude's sixteenth century *exercitia spiritualia* patterned on the liturgical cycle, a massive commentary on the Psalms, and the *Praecipua Ordinis Monastici Monumenta* which devotes a chapter to the value of the Divine Office.

past had ever existed in such an idealized form. The mediaevalism it sought to summon from oblivion was a fancied mediaevalism, as irrelevant as the manufacture of a modern gargoyle in concrete, even if much lovelier. In brief, this was only a splendid fossil, not the contemporary expression of a living tradition of Divine worship. Moreover, it was essentially monastic worship, the "shadowy image of Cluny."¹³ It had no direct relevance to the worship of the masses in city or rural congregations in the nineteenth century, being an idyllic, aesthetic, and disciplined escape for monks.

It was romantic, not only in its roseate reconstruction and apparent irrelevance, but also in its sentimentality. The real focus of the Eucharist for Dom Guéranger was the "miracle" of the Divine Presence of Christ, not the sacrificial Action. To put the point directly: Guéranger was impressed by the descent of Christ in a moment of time in the Mass rather than by the Church's ascent with Christ and inclusion in His perfect and eternal Offering which consummates the whole drama of redemption for the people of God. It was an irruptionist and individualistic conception of the action of God in the Sacrament of Holy Communion, which could naturally accommodate such modern cults as that of the Sacred Heart and the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, which suffer from the same excessively subjective emphasis.¹⁴ Different considerations may help to establish the justice of this criticism: notably, the radical revision of the Eastern liturgies demanded by Guéranger in *Les Institutions liturgiques* in order to make them conform to the Roman rite of 1570; the disproportionate emphasis given by his successors to the Feast of Corpus Christi in *L'Année liturgique* (an entire volume is devoted to the theme), and the fact that the most genuinely communal worship at Solesmes, celebrated with the most impressive ceremonial, was Benediction rather than the Community Mass.

Guéranger's Ultramontanism (also a legacy from Lamennais) accounted for the liturgical inflexibility that made him consider the 1570 Missal of Pope Pius V as inalterably sacrosanct, assuming it to be the final development of Western worship. He was, therefore, prevented from considering that earlier forms of the Roman liturgy might have been worthier of preservation. Moreover, he was almost as blind to the intrinsic glories of the Eastern rites as he was to the importance of ancient French usages, as distinguished from the Neo-Gallican liturgies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries on which he poured the vials of his disapproval.

The very deficiencies of a Guéranger, however, were to be corrected by his own order, especially in the work of Dom Lambert Beauduin of Mont-César and of Abbot Idefons Herwegen and Dom Odo Casel of Maria Laach. The Belgian Benedictine saw that the right locus for the liturgical revival was a properly instructed parish congregation, and the German Benedictines were the constructive critics of the idiosyncratic and romantic

13. Bouyer, *Life and Liturgy*, p. 12.

14. See E. Dumoutet, *Le Désir de voir l'Hostie* (Paris, 1926), for a penetrating criticism of sentimental subjectivism in mediaeval worship.

tendencies of revived mediaevalism, and they had their own positive *Mysterientheologie* to expound. Both Mont-César and Maria Laach were daughters of the Solesmian revival.

3. THE SECOND PHASE: MONT-CÉSAR AND MARIA LAACH

It is during the second phase, that is in the twentieth century, that the Liturgical Movement has made its most impressive contributions, and its influence is far from being spent. The greatest impetus the Movement received was the strong support of Pope Pius X, who became the official propagator of the liturgical apostolate.

The beginning of the second phase of the Continental Liturgical Movement is usually dated from a speech made in 1910 at Malines by Dom Lambert Beauduin. In this he urged that the Liturgy should be understood as the action of the Church as a whole bringing the whole individual man in the whole community to God. The idea of lay participation in the Eucharist was, however, put forward by another Belgian Benedictine, Dom Gerhard Van Caloen, as early as 1883 at the Eucharistic Congress of Liège, and he had given proof of his conviction by the publication of a small missal in Latin and French, the *Missel des Fidèles* in 1882. It was the Abbey of Mont-César, however, founded in 1897, which became the chief centre of liturgical renewal in Belgium, and Beauduin was its leading luminary.

Lambert Beauduin was professed as a Benedictine monk in 1906, after eight important years of experience as a parish priest devoted chiefly to social work. Here was a man who knew the supreme importance of worship, but also the extraordinary difficulty of maintaining the life of devotion in the crowded tenements of the industrial cities of present-day Europe and the apparent lack of any nexus between worship and daily work. Realizing that the Liturgy in the Church is the central and integrating act of all parish life, he became convinced of the paramount need for parish priests to instruct their flocks in the meaning of the supernatural life as mediated by the rites and Sacraments of the Church. Thus a parish worship in which an instructed laity shared in the prayers as well as in the praises of the Mass would mean spiritual renewal.

Partly as a result of his passionate and intelligent advocacy of these convictions, the Catholic Congress at Malines (1909) resolved on a programme of liturgical reform, which was fully approved by Cardinal Mercier. There was complete agreement, in the first place, on the need to emphasize the use of the Roman missal as a book of popular piety (instead of the usual private devotional manuals) and therefore on the need for a wide dissemination of the complete text of at least Sunday Mass and Vespers in a vernacular translation. It was also proposed to give a definitely liturgical character to popular piety. This aim was to be accomplished by encouraging the laity to recite Compline as evening prayer, to attend parish High

Mass and Vespers, to use the prayers of the Missal as both a preparation for and a thanksgiving after receiving Communion, and to restore the ancient liturgical traditions in their homes. It was also agreed to work for a wider and more worthy use of the Gregorian chant, according to the wish of Pope Pius X. Finally, it was agreed to provide annual retreats for parish choirs at a liturgical centre, and thus fulfil the wish of Pope Pius X, who had founded a *schola cantorum* in Salzano, where he had been parish priest, and who had declared in the frequently cited sentence in *Motu Proprio* (1903): "We must not sing or pray during Mass, but we must sing and pray the Mass."¹⁵

In order to give effect to these reforms Dom Beauduin published *La Vie liturgique*, of which 50,000 copies were sold during its first year of publication (1909). After two years his series of pamphlets had developed into the review, *Questions liturgiques*, which was intended exclusively for the clergy.¹⁶ At frequent gatherings of parish priests in retreat at Mont-César Abbey, the ardent monk and former secular priest instructed them in the meaning of liturgical spirituality. Thus the treasures of Solesmes, instead of being hoarded in monasteries, were prodigally scattered to become the common possession of the parochial clergy, and through them of the laity.

Beauduin's teaching was admirably condensed in *La Piété de l'Église, principes et faits* (1914), which demonstrated the theological basis of true piety, based upon the Divine action in the life of the faithful. Written from within the context of a bitter-sweet remembrance of a parish ministry in which he found labouring men and women to be mere driftwood caught by the impersonal industrial maelstrom, "hands" to be used if skilled, and discarded if ailing, old, or redundant, he insisted that the liturgical revival would enable men and women to know the dignity of human nature. This reality was made known in the Incarnation, which had made possible the lifting up of our callous, sinful, and lonely humanity to God, and the Liturgy was the recalling and renewal of the Incarnation's effects upon the faithful by the power of the re-creating and sanctifying Holy Spirit. Recalling the acrimonious class feuds of his parish, the disdainful patronage of employers, and the sullenness or servility of employees, and the desperate need for a charity that would work for social justice and go beyond it, Dom Beauduin maintained that the Liturgical Revival would foster brotherhood by a profound understanding of the Church as the Body of Christ, in which he lives and works, organically uniting the members to himself and to each other. Furthermore, Dom Lambert insisted that the Eucharistic Sacrifice evoked the spirit of renunciation in the faithful, for here again the Incar-

15. *Motu Proprio* insisted that the public worship of the Church is the principal means of sanctifying the people of God, that worship should be purged of profane music, and that Gregorian chanting should be encouraged. In the Bull. *Divino Afflatu* (1911), Pius X insisted on the reform of the Church Calendar, the Psalter, and the Breviary.

16. See L. Beauduin, *Mélanges liturgiques recueillis parmi les oeuvres de Dom L. Beauduin*, o.s.b. (Louvain, 1954), which contains the most important articles written by him.

nate Christ and High Priest makes the perfect Offering of his life to the Father and the "Offertory" requires the participants to offer themselves with Christ for the world. The rich appositeness of Beauduin's teaching was a genuine integration of the liturgy as adoration in the Church and witness in the world.

The stronger theological and historic undergirding of the Liturgical Movement was to come from the German Benedictines of Beuron and especially of Maria Laach. As the historical studies of Guéranger had been applied to the practical needs of parish congregations by Beauduin, so the liturgical researchers of Maria Laach were applied to the parishes by Abbot Pius Parsch and the Augustinian canons of Klosterneuberg.¹⁷

The leadership of Maria Laach in the second phase of the Liturgical Movement coincided almost exactly with the abbacy of Dr. Ildefons Herwegen (1913-1946). The exact beginning of Maria Laach's influence may perhaps be traced to Holy Week in 1914, when a group of Catholic university teachers, doctors, and lawyers asked the abbot of Maria Laach to advise them on how to encourage the faithful in more active participation in the Mass. It was the research undertaken and promoted by Herwegen and his most able henchman, Dom Odo Casel, which taught the clergy and the more cultured laity the revolutionary implications of the Liturgy for life. This corporate scholarly enterprise included the commencement of the series "Ecclesia Orans" in 1918 with the appearance of Guardini's *Vom Geist der Liturgie*,¹⁸ and in the same year the monks of Maria Laach and of other Benedictine foundations in the Rhineland edited and issued *Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, and three years later there began to appear the important annual, *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft*, in 1951. The third of these monuments of scholarship, and the most penetrating, is a memorial to Dom Odo Casel, the outstanding theologian of the entire Movement. In 1931 Herwegen established the important Institute of Liturgical and Monastic Studies at Maria Laach.

It is profoundly significant that this spiritual and intellectual renewal of worship was promoted during a time when Europe was prodigally expending the blood of its manhood in the mud and barbed-wire entrenchments of Flanders, where there were

No passing bells for those who die as cattle
Only the monstrous anger of the guns
Shall patter out their hasty orisons.¹⁹

Our own century was and is peculiarly in need of the integration and wholeness that divided man can recover in the Liturgy by understanding his destiny in the purpose of God, as a part of the people of God, fortified by the

17. See Pierre Mesnard, *Le Mouvement liturgique de Klosterneuberg* (Lyon, 1943).

18. Translated into English by A. Lane and published together with an additional work under the title *The Spirit and the Liturgy* (London and New York, 1940).

19. Wilfrid Owen's *Anthem for Doomed Youth*, recently popularized by Benjamin Britten's *War Requiem*.

grace of God. Maria Laach's task was to demonstrate the "Christification" of man in community.

Many aspects of the Liturgical Movement are illustrated in the researches of Maria Laach and its associated Benedictine monasteries. These include the return to the Biblical and Christ-centred tradition of the Early Church; the recognition of the importance of the vivifying Word proclaimed in the lections and sermons of the *Synaxis* as well as in the *Verbum visibile* of the Eucharist; the need for an objective and corporate, as contrasted with a subjective and individualistic, liturgical piety; an emphasis on the *communal* offering of the Eucharistic Sacrifice, as well as a complementary stress on the Holy Communion as a commemorative repast; and also the strongly social implications of the Liturgy for the overcoming of class divisions and its potential consecration of Christian art. Maria Laach's chief contribution to the understanding of the Liturgy, however, has been its systematic exposition of it as the efficaciously sanctifying representation of the Christian Mystery of salvation. This is the so-called *Mysterientheologie*.²⁰

Its chief exponent, Dom Odo Casel, distinguishes three correlated aspects of the *Mysterium*.²¹ First of all, the supreme Mystery is God in his own Being, the utterly Holy and Unapproachable One. Secondly, the revelation of God in Christ is the personal Mystery of God the invisible revealed in the flesh, and in his humiliation, Incarnation, Sacrificial death upon the Cross, as in his Resurrection and Ascension, God marvellously reveals himself in a way that far surpasses all human capacities. The third mystery is that of the cult which is defined as a liturgical action "in which the redemptive act is rendered present in the rite"²² and "since the cultic community accomplishes the rite, it shares the saving rite and through it attains redemption."²³

It must, however, be emphasized that for Casel not only the Passion of Christ but the entire work of redemption is made present again in the Liturgy, from his advent to his second advent. Moreover, this is declared and believed to be not a psychological or subjective reality but an ontological and objective reality, which, though veiled in symbol or image, actually shares in the reality of God's redemptive action of grace for his people.

Related to "mystery" is the term "transfiguration" and these are seminal terms for the Eastern Church as for Maria Laach. The purpose of the Liturgy, as of the Christian religion, is to sanctify, even to deify mankind, bringing transfigured Christians to the Christ of the Transfiguration.

✓ Through the bestowal of grace in the Liturgy, man is raised to the supernatural order and therefore into sharing the Divine existence, light, and glory. Not for Maria Laach any individual meditations on the crucified Christ or devotions to the Christ "imprisoned" in the Tabernacle, but a

20. See the over-high evaluation of Casel's work in Alphonse Heitz's article in "La Maison-Dieu," VII (1946), where (p. 51) he describes as mere 'tid-bits' (*amorces*) the contributions of the predecessors of the Maria Laach School.

21. See *Das christliche Kultmysterium* (3rd ed., Regensburg, 1948).

22. *Repraesentatio* or *gegenwartigsetzung* are the words used.

23. *Das christliche Kultmysterium*, p. 121.

proleptic sharing of the life of the glorified Christ. The focal centre is the Christ in Glory, but with the constant remembrance that this Christ went "from God to God" by the route of the humiliation and the *via dolorosa*.

It will be no surprise, therefore, recognizing the Eastern patristic provenance of the central theological concepts of Maria Laach's expositors, that the art of Beuron and Maria Laach is Byzantine, not Baroque in character. It is a simplified stylized art in which the symbols point to the universal divine reality that intersects time, rather than the dramatic, tortuous, psychologism (and even naturalism) that characterizes Baroque. The art of the German Benedictines is closer to the Christ in Glory of the tympanum of Vézelay than to the El Greco Christ in the agony of the Garden of Gethsemane. This, indeed, might have been expected from Abbot Herwegen's sharp disjunction in *Kirche und Seele* (Munster, 1928) between the sentimental, subjective, and individualistic piety²⁴ of the later mediaeval and post-Tridentine Mass with the objective and corporate liturgical piety of the Fathers. In the same book he had also argued that mediaeval romanticism (which, by implication, had been rejuvenated by Guéranger) had shifted the emphasis in the Eucharist from the union of the whole Church with God to a concentration on individual benefits to be derived from the Mass. By such a misplaced emphasis, Herwegen maintained that a Christocentric action of the Church had degenerated into a pious or moralistic passivity of the laity, as individual spectators, who were no longer participants in the Eucharistic action. It is clear that the liturgical work of Maria Laach was as much a revolution as it was a restoration.

The scholarly researches and recovered insights of Maria Laach were made available to the parishes by the Augustinian canons of Klosterneuberg in Austria, chiefly through the work of popularization undertaken by Pius Parsch, which was later to be taken up by the pastor Pinsk in Berlin and the Jesuit scholar Jungmann in Innsbruck.²⁵ Parsch's deepest insight was to join in promoting the union of a Biblical movement with the Liturgical movement through the review, *Bibel und Liturgie*, thus uniting the Liturgy with its main source, the record of God's revelation. The Bible itself came alive for many thousands of Catholics perhaps for the first time since the Reformation of the sixteenth century, and in the true context of the Liturgy.

Further developments in the second phase of the Liturgical Movement, accelerated by the work of Maria Laach, are to be found in France. Here the important Centre de Pastorale Liturgique was founded in 1943 by a remarkable act of continuing co-operation between Benedictines, Jesuits,

24. Gallican worship found such floridity attractive (see Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, London, 1948) and the neo-Platonism of the Pseudo-Dionysius reached its most bizarre and idiosyncratic heights in symbolical interpretations of Gulielmus Durandus.

25. Joseph Jungmann, S.J., is the author of a masterly historical study, *Missarum Solemnia; eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe* (2 vols., 4th impression, Vienna, 1958). This has been translated into English as "The Mass of the Roman Rite, Its Origins and Development" by F. A. Brunner.

Oratorians, and secular priests. This centre has concentrated on making the Liturgy the centre of the mission of the Church in a secularized nation. Elsewhere in France a limitation of the mission of the Church by focusing on the new intellectual pagans or almost exclusively on establishing social justice has aroused more opposition than is inevitable on the introduction of innovation. The critics have argued that such an approach has led to the denial of the importance of the parish as the traditional unit of the Church, that it has disregarded the traditional Liturgy in favour of "para-liturgies" as half-way houses between the outsider and the insider, and that social justice may be a by-product of Christian concern elicited by the true fraternity created by the Holy Spirit, but can never be the main end of the Liturgy or the mission of the Church.

Even more significant, as a proof of the pre-eminent importance of Maria Laach's contribution to the second phase of the Liturgical Movement, is the remarkable number of Roman Catholic theologians and liturgiologists who have endorsed, or partly endorsed, the theological and practical insights of Herwegen and Casel. Among these may be mentioned Dom Anscar Vonier, o.s.B., Henri de Lubac, s.J., Jean Daniélou, s.J., P. Doncoeur, s.J., Pié Duployé, o.P., Eugène Masure and Louis Bouyer, CONG. ORAT., all of whom expound the *Mysterientheologie*. It is accepted, with some reservations, by François Diekamp, J. Butler, Karl Adam, and Sohngen. It is, however, severely criticized by Joseph Jungmann and Theodore Klauser, as well as by certain members of the hierarchy.

The *Mysterientheologie* has been criticized as denigrating the scholastic and mediaeval interpretations of the Mass, as Greek antiquarianism, and as denying the once-for-allness of history in claiming the re-enactment of the crucial historic event in the Liturgy. The debate continues, but it is undeniable that the theology of the Mystery has brought freshness and vigour and, most meaningfully, a sense of the rediscovery of the saving work of Christ, into the worship of scholars and of simple people. Its ecumenical significance is profound. Not only does it provide a bridge between Eastern Orthodox and Western Catholic theology, but it provides a third alternative to mediaeval scholastic and post-Tridentine Eucharistic interpretations and this has met with an interested response on the part of Protestant theologians. Its revivification of parish life, through emphasis on the Divine initiative and the action of grace in the Liturgy, is its most impressive fruit—a veritable Harvest of the Holy Spirit.

The *Mysterientheologie* has many other important implications. Faith, in its view, is more than assent to intellectual propositions, since it requires the commitment of the whole life of the whole man to God. Man is no longer envisioned atomistically, but as a part of the people of God, mystically incorporated into the *Corpus Christi* in the action of the Mass, sharing the life, purposes, and divine energy of God. This theology, furthermore, views man's daily work as worship, the offering which the Christian in the world brings to the company of the transfigured, to be presented in the Offertory

of the Liturgy, together with the Perfect Offering of Atonement renewed. The Eucharist itself is transformed also: it is no longer merely a hierarchical offering in which the laity are passively present, but an action of grace in which the general priesthood of the people of God is exercised in response to the gracious Offering and Sacrifice of the Great High Priest, Christ himself.

4. A THEOLOGICAL CONSENSUS FOR PRACTICAL REFORMS

Despite differences of emphasis in the various countries in which the Liturgical Renaissance has been experienced, there is a broad, general theological agreement which has been sufficient to warrant a platform for liturgical reforms.

If one comprehensive category is sought which may be sufficiently inclusive of the many aspects of the Liturgical Movement, it might well be "Social Salvation." It is a reminder that in our time the rediscovery has been made of the Church as the people of God, the saved and saving society. In its worship the Church reaffirms its utter dependence upon the grace of God as it rehearses the mighty acts which have created and re-created the people of God—the Creation, the Restoration after the Fall in the Incarnation, the Passion and Sacrifice, the Resurrection, the Ascension and continual Intercession of Jesus Christ, the bestowal of the Spirit of renewal and integration, the Holy Spirit, and his witnesses (the saints) being a great cloud—and as it looks forward in hope to the Consummation of the Divine purpose in the Second Advent and the Final Judgment of Christ and the gathering in of the nations. As part of the Church militant on earth the people of God rejoices, even amid its trials, with the veteran victors of the Church triumphant. The Body of Christ offers a symphonic sacrifice of praise.

From this conception of social salvation which is the being and the end of the Church, several important liturgical corollaries may be drawn. It follows that true Christian worship can never be an individualistic, idiosyncratic looking for personal merit or advantage ("O it will be glory for me") but must be the communal action of the entire *Corpus Christi*. Here there should be no passive performance of an empty, if aesthetically pleasing, rite in which mere spectators are dumb while the priest consecrates the sacred elements in a language of great dignity, mystery, and unintelligibility (such as Latin is for the great majority of the faithful), with his back turned to the people of God. Neither should there be a concentration upon one special moment of time (as at the elevation of the Host) to the comparative neglect of the rest of the action, nor should there be private meditation at the Exposition of the Mass in a monsternace, as if this were the height of devotion; both are excluded because the Eucharist is a communal and continuously significant rite.

The Liturgical Movement in its variously important emphases teaches

the social nature of salvation. That is why it is concerned with a vernacular rite²⁶ (or, in many parishes also with a Dialogue Mass) to encourage common participation and joint understanding. The sense of the general priesthood of the laity (who are the *laos tou Theou*) is made more visible when the priest celebrates in the Western or Basilican posture facing the people from behind the altar which is placed centrally in the new churches inspired by the Liturgical Movement, and when provision is made for the faithful to take part in the Offertory procession to demonstrate that their own life and work is to be consecrated with the Perfect Offering of Christ Crucified for their salvation and the world's. It cannot be too frequently emphasized that the Liturgical Movement expresses in all its teaching and reforms the demand that the people of God shall take their full part in Divine worship and that the central altar, vernacular translations of the Roman rite, and the closest relationship between priests and the faithful shall express a common status (though differentiated liturgical functions) of the redeemed and renewed of Christ all participating in the Eucharistic action.

The social nature of salvation is also expressed by the Liturgical Movement in its ecumenical thrust. In delving behind post-Tridentine and mediaeval scholastic Eucharistic interpretations, the leaders of the Movement have recovered the Biblical and Patristic roots of theology and thus opened up a conversation between Catholic, Orthodox, and, to some extent, Protestant Christians. There is renewed appreciation for the hitherto divided insights of a fragmented Christendom. The objective and communal piety of the Church Fathers in East and West is again acclaimed for its profundity and relevance. The understanding of the Liturgy as the representation in time of the eternal action of God mysteriously revealed in the Incarnation and the adoration paid to Christ the King of Glory are grateful appropriations of the treasures of spirituality of the Eastern Church. The emphases on the efficacy of grace through the mediatorship of Christ, the importance of edification of the faithful in vernacular rites and liturgical preaching, the growing sense of the priesthood of all believers shown in the liturgical apostolate, and, above all, the return to vigorous Bible study, all have parallels in classical Protestantism. The increasing openness²⁷ to such diverse Christian traditions is a manifestation of the ecumenical zeal of some protagonists of the Liturgical Movement in working for the better visible expression of the *Una Sancta*. Even more remarkable evidence of ecumenical interchange is provided by the recent foundation of religious communities by French and Swiss Protestants at Taizé and Pomeyrol in France, and at Grandchamp in Switzerland, in which a primary concern is for the restoration of liturgical worship and prayer for the unity of Christ's Church. Such ecu-

26. See C. Korolevskij, *Liturgie en Langue vivante; Orient et Occident* (Paris, 1955) and C. R. A. Cunliffe (ed.), *English in the Liturgy; a Symposium* (London, 1956).

27. As evidence of such openness on the Roman Catholic side one has only to recall the researches of Herwegen and Casel into the Eastern rites or Louis Bouyer's *The Spirit and Forms of Protestantism*. On the Protestant side the openness to Roman Catholic liturgy is evidenced in the works of Y. Brilioth, Hebert, Bénéoit, Thurian, Massey Shepherd, Shands, and many others.

menical reciprocity is at least partly attributable to the growing impact of the Liturgical Movement.

In yet another sense, and a very significant one, the Movement has stressed the social nature of salvation by integrating worship and work, *orare* with *laborare*. Not only have many of its churches, expressing the glory of Creation and Incarnation in modern techniques of art and architecture, been placed in the thick of the ugly milieu of industrial slums, but their worship has enabled men and women to discern a purpose in their daily labour as co-workers with Christ the carpenter, whose yoke then becomes easy. Particularly in the Offertory have they learned to lay the products of their labours on the altar, that they and their work and their associates may be hallowed. Moreover, the inspiration for social justice has often been stimulated by their worship of God, the beneficent Creator, the gracious Redeemer of the whole human race, and Sanctifier and Judge. They have learned penitence, forgiveness, and charity—those Divine lenitives for the inevitable abrasions caused by industrial relationships—in the *Liturgy*. The Liturgical Movement has shown that the Divine Action in the Liturgy provokes corporate human action in and after worship. It is, therefore, the nexus between adoration and sacrificial service, between worship and witness, between hearing and obeying, between commission and mission.