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This article wishes to settle a debate that has been circulating in traditional Catholic circles. Some writers have examined the new rite of episcopal consecration and concluded that it must be invalid. Since this would cause manifest problems if it were true and due to the heightened awareness of such a theory, *The Angelus* presents (for the first time in English) a study of this question concluding that it *is valid*.

This article was translated exclusively by Angelus Press from *Sel de la Terre* (No.54., Autumn 2005, pp.72-129). Fr. Pierre-Marie, O.P., is a member of the traditional Dominican monastery at Avrillé, France, several of whose members were ordained by Archbishop Lefebvre and which continues to receive its priestly ordinations from the bishops serving the Society of Saint Pius X which Archbishop Lefebvre founded. He is a regular contributor to their quarterly review, *Sel de la Terre* (*Salt of the Earth*). The English translations contained in the various tables were prepared with the assistance of H.E. Bishop Richard Williamson, Dr. Andrew Senior (professor at St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas), and Fr. Scott Gardner, SSPX.

ollowing the Council, in 1968 a new rite for the ordination of bishops was promulgated. It was, in fact, the first sacrament to undergo its "aggiornamento," or updating.

In 1978, a certain Fr. Athanasius Kröger, O.S.B., published a study in the *Una Voce Korrespondenz* (Vol.2, pp.95-106), in which he raised doubts about the validity of episcopal consecrations accomplished with the new rite. According to him, the new form was not specific enough, and it created a situation analogous to that of the Anglican ordinations that were declared null and void by Pope Leo XIII.

Later, Dr. Rama Coomaraswamy published a study entitled "The Post-Conciliar Rite of Holy Orders." Dr. Coomaraswamy concluded that the new episcopal consecrations are "almost certainly invalid." When updating his study, posted on his Internet site in 2002, he claimed that his study had never been refuted.

For about a year now, various documents have been circulated on the Internet claiming "to demonstrate" the invalidity of the ordination of bishops performed according to the rite of Pope Paul VI. Taking up the arguments of the two aforementioned studies, they add several other considerations, notably about a change in the matter of the sacrament.

In the interest of bringing a little order and clarity to the question, we shall apply ourselves to studying the validity of the episcopal consecrations according to the ritual published by the Vatican in 1968. We shall proceed according to the Scholastic method so as to treat of the matter as rigorously as possible.... We take the position (today, the most widely held) of the sacramentality of the episcopate; so doing, we adopt the hypothesis that is most unfavorable to the validity of the new rite. [N.B. Theological debate over this point has taken place for centuries. Although the Church has defined that there are precisely seven sacraments, it remains unclear whether episcopal consecration remains part of the sacrament of Holy

Orders or is merely "a sacramental," an ecclesiastical ceremony wherein the powers of the episcopate, "bound" in the simple priest, are "freed" for the exercise of the fulness of the priesthood.–*Ed.*]

THE DIFFICULTIES

(OBJECTIONS FAVORING IN-VALIDITY)

Analyzed according to the four causes, a sacrament is a compound of *matter* (material cause) and *form* (formal cause); it is administered by a *minister* (efficient cause) who must have the *intention* of doing what the Church does (final cause). For a sacrament to be valid, the four causes must be respected. It is enough for only one of them to be deficient to render a sacrament invalid.

DEFECT OF FORM

The form of consecration in the 1968 Pontifical is completely different from the former rite.² Here are the two formulas:

The form according to the traditional rite:

Fulfill in Thy priest the completion of Thy ministry, and adorned in the ornaments of all glorification sanctify him with the moisture of heavenly unguent.³

The new form:

So now pour out upon this chosen one that power which is from you, the governing Spirit whom you gave to your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, the Spirit given by him to the holy apostles, who founded the Church in every place to be your temple for the unceasing glory and praise of your name.⁴

It is easy to see that the two formulas have nothing in common.

Now, it seems that the new form is insufficient. Indeed, the grace that is asked, the "*Spiritus principalis*" ("the governing Spirit," the Spirit that

¹ Studies of Comparative Religion, Vol.16, Nos. 2,3; republished by The Roman Catholic (New York: Oyster Bay Cove) as a brochure. Dr. Coomaraswamy is a former surgeon. He has since become a sedevacantist and was recently ordained a priest by Bishop Jose Lopez-Gaston, a Thuc-line bishop.

² The ordination prayer in the Roman Pontifical before the Council is very ancient: "The most important part dates back to the Leonine Sacramentary." (Joseph Lécuyer, C.S.Sp., "La prière d'ordination de l'évêque," Nouvelle Revue Théologique, June 1967, p.601, which refers the reader to L. C. Mohlberg, Sacramentarium Veronense [Rome, 1956], pp.119-20.) Now, the Leonine Sacramentary dates from the 5th or 6th century (not to exclude the possibility that it encompasses prayers more ancient still: Dom Martène has reported on a pontifical from the Church of Tarentaise [in the region of Savoy] that he dates to before 300 AD and which includes the essential of

the traditional form: *De Antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus* [Anvers, 1736], p.250 ff.)

³ Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis of Nov. 30, 1947, DS 3860: Comple in Sacerdote tuo ministerii tui, et ornamentis totius glorificationis instructum caelestis unguenti rore sanctifica...."[English version: Denzinger, The Sources of Catholic Dogma, tr. by Roy J. Deferrari, 30th ed. (1955; reprint, Loreto Publications, n.d.), 2301. Hereafter, abbreviated Dz.]

⁴ [English version: ICEL, 1978.] The Latin formula: "Et nunc effunde super hunc electum eam virtutem, quae a te est, Spiritum principalem, quem dedisti dilecto Filio tuo Jesu Christo, quem ipse donavit sanctis Apostolis, qui constituerunt Ecclesiam per singula loca ut sanctuarium tuum, in gloriam et laudem indeficientem nominis tui."

makes rulers) certainly is here the Holy Spirit, from the fact that the word is capitalized.

The formula is much too vague, for *all* the sacraments give the Holy Spirit [not Holy Orders alone–*Ed.*].

In order for the sacrament to be valid, it would be necessary to signify the specific grace given by the sacrament. In the old form, the "ministerii tui summum" (the completion of Thy ministry) was asked, which, in the context, clearly means the highest degree of priesthood, namely, the episcopacy. Consequently, it does seem that the new form is invalid because it does not signify precisely enough the grace of the episcopacy.

As a confirmation of the insufficiency of the new form, Pope Leo XIII's declaration of the nullity of the Anglicans' priestly ordinations can be cited. Among the arguments he made was that of insufficiency of form:

All know that the sacraments of the New Law, as sensible and efficient signs of invisible grace, ought both to signify the grace which they effect, and effect the grace which they signify. Although the signification ought to be found in the whole essential rite—that is to say, in the matter and form—it still pertains chiefly to the form; since the matter is the part which is not determined by itself, but which is determined by the form...But the words which until recently were commonly held by Anglicans to constitute the proper form of priestly Ordination—namely, "Receive the

Holy Ghost," certainly do not in the least definitely express the Sacred Order of Priesthood, or its grace and power.... This form had indeed afterwards added to it the words "for the office and work of a priest," etc.;—but this rather shows that the Anglicans themselves perceived the first form was defective and inadequate. But even if this addition could give to the form its due signification, it was introduced too late, as a century had already elapsed since the adoption of the Edwardine Ordinal, for, as the hierarchy had become extinct, there remained no power of ordaining.⁵

To justify the adoption of a new form of episcopal consecration, Pope Paul VI explained in his Apostolic Constitution *Pontificalis Romani*, which accompanied the promulgation of the new rites of ordination:

...[I]t was judged appropriate to take from ancient sources the consecratory prayer that is found in the document called the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus of Rome*, written in the beginning of the third century. This consecratory prayer is still used, in large part, in the ordination rites of the Coptic and West Syrian liturgies.⁶

Now, Dr. Coomaraswamy tells us:

While [Paul VI] is correct in pointing to the "Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus" as the source of his new rite, he stretches the truth to the limit in stating that this highly questionable document is "still used in large part in the ordination rites of the Coptic and Western Syrian liturgies." In fact the Hippolytus text has almost nothing in common with the eastern rites, and the crucial words—especially the

NEW RITE

Et nunc effunde super hunc electum eam virtutem, quae a te est, Spiritum principalem, quem dedisti dilecto Filio tuo Jesu Christo, quem ipse donavit sanctis Apostolis, qui constituerunt Ecclesiam per singula loca ut sanctuarium tuum, in gloriam et laudem indeficientem nominis tui.

TRANSLATION:

So now pour out upon this chosen one that power which is from you, the governing Spirit whom you gave to your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, the Spirit given by him to the holy apostles, who founded the Church in every place to be your temple for the unceasing glory and praise of your name.

TEXT OF HIPPOLYTUS

nunc
effunde eam
virtutem quae a te est, principalis sp(iritu)s

quem dedisti dilecto filio tuo Je(s)u Chr(ist)o, quod donavit sanctis apostolis qui constituerunt ecclesiam per singula loca sanctificationem tuam, in gloriam et laudem indeficientem nomini tuo.

TRANSLATION:

Now pour forth on him that power which is from Thee, the governing Spirit whom Thou gave to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, whom He gave to the holy apostles who founded the Church in the place of Thy sanctuary unto the glory and unceasing praise of Thy name.

rites for the ordination of deacons, priests, and bishops, June 18, 1968: AAS (1968) 369-73. [English version: ICEL, *Documents on the Liturgy 1963-1979: Conciliar, Papal, and Curial Texts* (Liturgical Press, 1982), 2606-12.]

Letter Apostolicae Curae, Sept. 13, 1896 (DS 3315-3316). [English version: "A Light in the Heavens": The Great Encyclical Letters of Pope Leo XIII (reprint: TAN Books & Publishers, 1995), pp.400-401.]

⁶ Apostolic Constitution Pontificalis Romani recognitio,, approving new

critical phrase of "governing spirit"—is nowhere to be found within these eastern rites.⁷

As proof of his affirmation, Dr. Coomaraswamy gives the text of the consecratory prayer from the Pontifical of the Antiochean Syrians, in which one finds nothing in common with Pope Paul VI's form. It thus seems that they wanted to mask the insufficiency of the new form by a trick. Or, at the very least, they gave proof of remarkable incompetence.

The essential words of the form according to the new rite ("So now pour out...praise of your name") reflect the theology of the episcopacy as a power of governing only: either as a power of jurisdiction, or as an aptitude infused into the soul to receive jurisdiction; and these essential words omit the idea of the episcopacy as the supreme degree of the priesthood.

It is only in the words following the essential part that mention is made of the function of "high priest."

On the contrary, in the traditional Roman rite, the designation of the supreme degree of priesthood is contained in the essential part of the form by the words "Fulfill in Thy priest the completion of Thy ministry."

Consequently, in the essential part of the form, the *sacerdotal* power of the bishop is rejected, and only his *pastoral* power is kept. Thus there is exclusion, or suggestion of exclusion, of what is, according to traditional theology, the essential power of the bishop: the completion or plenitude of the power of Order by the plenitude of the sacramental character of Order.

The new form, while taking its inspiration from it, does not reproduce that of the *Apostolic Tradition*. Let us compare the two.

A genitive has been transformed into an accusative⁹: *principalis Spiritus* becomes *Spiritum principalem*; *super hunc electum* was added, without mentioning other minor modifications.¹⁰

In short, the consecratory prayer of Pope Paul VI is inspired by, but does not reproduce that of the *Apostolic Tradition* of Hippolytus; it constitutes an artificial creation of Dom Bernard Botte in 1968.

Consequently, this form is invalid.¹¹

DEFECT OF MATTER

This is a relatively recent argument, since it is not found in the writing of Fr. Kröger or Dr. Coomaraswamy, even in his posting of 2002.

In the traditional rite, the bishop-elect receives the imposition of the Gospels book upon his neck. Then the imposition of the hands (the *matter* of the sacrament) takes place, followed by the consecratory preface which contains the *form* of the sacrament (the words of consecration).

In the new rite, the imposition of the Gospels book has been modified and displaced: it is placed upon the bishop-elect's head (and no longer upon his bowed neck), between the imposition of the hands and the consecratory preface (and no longer before the imposition of the hands).

The result, it seem, is a dissociation between the matter and the form, a dissociation that can render the sacrament invalid. In the sacrament of baptism, for example, if the priest were to pour the water in silence, then add another rite (for example, the imposition of salt on the tongue), and finally pronounce the words ("I baptize thee in the name of the Father, *etc.*"), the baptism would be invalid.

A further difficulty (which does not seem to have been remarked before) is that, in the new rite, the consecrator speaks the words of the sacramental form with hands joined. In the old rite, he spoke them with his hands extended in front of his breast, which prolonged the rite of the imposition of the hands and manifested the union of matter and form.

In order to show clearly the difference in the course of the ceremony in the two rituals, they are reproduced here (see "The Ceremony before Vatican II" and "The Ceremony since 1968," on pp.6-7.)

DEFECT OF INTENTION

One could raise one other difficulty against the validity of the new ritual: *intention*. It has been declared that this ritual was adopted with an ecumenical intention. The Copts and the western Syrians are mentioned. The Anglicans could have been mentioned, too, since they have also adopted a similar rite, derived from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus.

Now, such an intention can corrupt the validity of a rite. Indeed, among the reasons Pope Leo XIII gave

⁷ Coomaraswamy, "The Post-Conciliar Rite of Order," Internet.

Before the Middle Ages, the expression was "mysterii summam," which amounts to the same thing, for the completion (or perfection, or plenitude) of the sacrament is the same thing as the completion of the ministry.

⁹ In Latin, the genitive case is used when a noun modifies another noun and frequently demonstrates possession. The accusative case is used to show the direct object of the verb. ("Principalis spiritus" may appear to be nominative at first, but in context and in reference to the original Greek, it is clearly genitive.)

¹⁰ The work Rore Sanctifica [a study written in French alleging to "prove"

the invalidity of the new rite of consecration for bishops–Ed.] (St. Remi Publishing, 2005), from which we have drawn this objection, makes the reproach that the word puero was replaced with Filio. Rore Sanctifica uses an Ethiopian (?) version of the Apostolic Tradition which has the word puer instead of Filius. (which is found in the Latin version of the Apostolic Tradition we have used.)

This argument may seem ridiculous to more than one reader, but we have presented it, for it is one of the "strong points" of the work *Rore Sanctifica*.

for the invalidity of the Anglican ordination rite is defect of intention:

With this inherent defect of form is joined the defect of intention, which is equally essential to the sacrament. The Church does not judge about the mind and intention in so far as it is something by its nature internal; but in so far as it is manifested externally she is bound to judge concerning it. When any one has rightly and seriously made use of the due form and the matter requisite for effecting or conferring the sacrament he is considered by the very fact to do what the Church does. On this principle rests the doctrine that a sacrament is truly conferred by the ministry of one who is a heretic or unbaptized, provided the Catholic rite be employed. On the other hand, if the rite be changed, with the manifest intention of introducing another rite not approved by the Church and of rejecting what the Church does, and what by the institution of Christ belongs to the nature of the sacrament, then it is clear that not only is the necessary intention wanting to the sacrament, but that the intention is adverse to and destructive of the sacrament.12

As regards intention, a final difficulty arises from the fact that the new rite was introduced for the purpose of applying the new conciliar theology concerning the episcopacy. Here is the comment of Canon André Rose expressed in an article published in *La Maison Dieu*, No.98 (the journal of pastoral liturgy edited by Cerf Publishing)¹³:

On June 18, 1968, the Apostolic Constitution *Pontificalis Romani recognitio* was promulgated, approving the new ceremonial for the ordination of deacons, priests, and bishops. The most striking change introduced by this document is undoubtedly the introduction of a new consecratory prayer for ordination to the episcopacy.

The Roman document cites the doctrine of the Constitution *Lumen Gentium* on the episcopacy as the supreme degree of the sacrament of Holy Orders....It is to better emphasize the doctrine of the Second Vatican Council that the formula of the consecration prayer for episcopal ordination is now replaced by a new prayer, extracted from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, a document from the early 3rd century.¹⁴ Nonetheless, this ancient text has always been in usage to the present day, in a more developed form, in the liturgy of the Copts and western Syrians.¹⁵

¹² Apostolicae Curae (DS 3318).

This intention to apply the conciliar doctrine could be disquieting when one knows that the Council gave a heterodox teaching on collegiality, a doctrine that it was necessary to correct by a *nota praevia* which is hardly mentioned in our day.

This disquietude could increase from the fact that the ritual in use at the time was reproached for having been modified in the 12th century in such a way as "to veil somewhat the universal collegial power of the bishops over the entire People of God." ¹⁶

ARGUMENTS ON THE CONTRARY¹⁷

The reform of the ritual of episcopal consecration was examined by the Holy Office at a time when Cardinal Ottaviani [known for his staunch and unwavering orthodoxy—*Ed.*] was the Prefect. Fr. Bugnini relates the episode in his memoirs.

The completely positive answer from the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith was particularly pleasing and an occasion of both joy and surprise. The Consilium had been worried especially about the proposal to use the text from the *Traditio Apostolica* of Hippolytus for the prayer of episcopal ordination. Here is what the Congregation said (November 8, 1967):

"Their Eminences of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith carefully examined the matter at their plenary session on Wednesday, October 11, 1967, and came to the following decisions:

"The new schema is approved with the following qualifications:

- 1. Number 89: in the questions asked of the candidate for the episcopal office, greater emphasis should be put on faith and its conscientious transmission; moreover, the candidate should be expressly asked about his determination to give obedience to the Roman Pontiff.¹⁸
- 2. Number 96: The text of Hippolytus, duly adapted, is acceptable. Pegarding the approach: the mind of the Cardinals is that liturgical innovations should be dictated by real need and introduced with

The article appeared in Au Service de la Parole de Dieu (Gembloux: Ed. J. Duculot, 1968), pp.129-45, and reprinted in La Maison Dieu, 98, pp.127ff.

The ancient formulary came from the 7th-century Gelasian Sacramentary, augmented by a part coming from the Frankish liturgy. The original part, of Roman origin, presented the ordination of a bishop under the form of the "spiritual" vesture of a new Aaron. The non-Roman supplement was formed of a mosaic of extracts from the epistles, underscoring the relations between the mission of the bishop and that of the apostle. On the superiority of the prayer of Hippolytus in relation to this prayer, see J. Lécuyer, "The Prayer for the Ordination of a Bishop" in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, Vol.89, June 1967, pp.601-6. The author underlines the profound parallelism between certain passages of the Constitution *Lumen Gentium* and this prayer. See also, "L'Evêque d'après les prières d'ordination" (article written in collaboration by several Canons Regular of Mondaye), in *L'Episcopat et l'Eglise universelle* (Paris, 1962), pp.739-68.

The complete text of this prayer is to be found in H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, (Graz, 1961) pp.23-24.

[&]quot;From the 12th century a slightly different formula was introduced at Rome, undoubtedly for fear of overshadowing the exclusive power of the Pope over the whole Church: instead of saying "ad regendam ecclesiam tuam et plebem universam," henceforth was said "ecclesiam tuam et plebem sibi commissam," which results in veiling somewhat the universal collegial power of the bishops over the whole People of God." (Joseph Lécuyer, C.S.Sp., "La prière d'ordination de l'évêque," Nouvelle Revue Théologique, Vol.89, June 1967, pp.602-3.) What Fr. Lécuyer regrets as a loss seems to us rather a clarification: a simple bishop does not rule "the whole people," even if he must have a solicitude for the universal Church.

¹⁷ It is known that in the arguments on the contrary ("sed contra"), the argumentation is not always irreproachable. St. Thomas sometimes gives a response to these arguments at the end of his article in order to rectify what might have been deficient. That is what we shall do here.

^{18 &}quot;Largior pars fiat circa ipsam fidem eamdemque fideliter tradendam et explicita quaestio ponatur candidato de praestanda obedientia romano ponifici."

^{19 &}quot;Placet textus Hyppoliti [sic], opportunis inductis accomodationibus."



THE CEREMONY BEFORE VATICAN II

[Near the end of the litany, a cleric places the Gospels book on the altar.]

The litany finished, all rise and the consecrator, wearing the miter, stands in front of the faldstool, and the bishop-elect kneels before him.

The consecrator takes the Gospels book, opens it, and helped by the two bishop co-consecrators, he places it in silence on the head and shoulders of the bishop-elect, turning it in such a way that the bottom of the pages touches his head, and the top, his shoulders. One of the ordinand's assistants, kneeling behind him, holds the book thus positioned until the moment when the consecrator hands it to the new bishop.

Then the consecrator touches with both hands the head of the ordinand, saying: "Receive the Holy Spirit."

This is done in turn by the bishop co-consecrators, who not only must touch with both hands the head of the ordinand while saying "Receive the Holy Spirit," but also (with, at the right moment, the intention of conferring the episcopal consecration) recite with the bishop-consecrator the prayer, "Be pleased, O Lord,..." and all of the preface which follows....

The consecrator, not wearing the miter, [joins his hands] and says: "Be favorable, Lord, to our supplications, and inclining towards your servant the abundance of Thy sacerdotal grace, pour forth upon him the virtue of Thy blessing. Through our Lord Jesus Christ."

[At the word benedictionis, the three prelates make the sign of the cross over the bishop-elect.]

Extending his hands, the consecrator alone says: "For ever and ever."...

Then he says the words of the form of episcopal consecration, which must be recited in a speaking voice, hands extended: "Fulfill in Thy priest the completion of Thy ministry...."

Pontificale Romanum, Pt. I, ed. typica (Vatican: Plyglotte Press, 1962). The details in brackets have been taken from Consécrations des Evêques (Angers: Richer, 1920) pp.51ff.

THE CEREMONY SINCE 1968

After the litany, the principal consecrator alone stands and, with hands joined, sings or says: "Lord, be moved by our prayers. Anoint your servant with the fullness of priestly grace, and bless him with spiritual power in all its richness. We ask this through Christ our Lord."

R. Amen.

Deacon: Let us stand.

[All rise.]

The principal consecrator and the consecrating bishops stand at their places, facing the people. The bishop-elect rises, goes to the principal consecrator, and kneels before him.

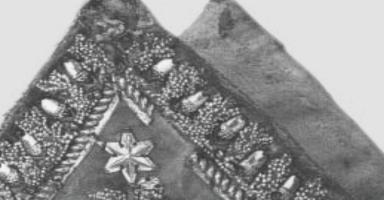
The principal consecrator lays his hands upon the head of the bishop-elect, in silence. After him, all the other bishops present do the same.

Then the principal consecrator places the open book of the Gospels upon the head of the bishopelect; two deacons, standing at either side of the bishop-elect, hold the Book of the Gospels above his head until the prayer of consecration is completed.

Next the principal consecrator, with his hands extended, sings the prayer of consecration or says it aloud: "God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...."

The following part of the prayer is sung by all the consecrating bishops, with hands joined: "So now pour out upon this chosen one that power which is from you, the governing Spirit...."

Pontifical Romain (Paris: Desclée-Mame, 1977). We have rectified the translation to bring it closer to the original: Pontificale Romanum, ed. typical (Vatican: Libreria Editirice Vaticana), 1968. [English version: ICEL, Roman Pontifical, 1978.]



PARISONS

SECOND TYPICAL EDITION (1990)

The second typical edition of the new rite, published in 1990, contains a few changes to the rubrics. Here is our translation from this ritual:

After the litany, the principal consecrating bishop, standing with hands extended, says, "Receive, Lord...."

R. Amen.

Deacon: Let us stand.

[All rise.]

The bishop-elect approaches the principal consecrator (who stands in front of the faldstool) and kneels before him.

The principal consecrating bishop places his hands on the head of the bishop-elect in silence.

After the imposition of hands, the bishops present remain around the principal consecrating bishop until the end of the prayer of ordination, in such a way, however, that the action can be seen clearly by the faithful.

Then the principal consecrating bishop takes the Book of the Gospels which a deacon hands him, and places it, open, upon the head of the bishop-elect; two deacons standing on either side of him hold the Book of the Gospels above the bishop-elect's head until the end of the ordination prayer.

The bishop-elect kneeling before him, the principal consecrating bishop, without the miter, having near him the co-consecrating bishops also without miter, says, hands extended, the prayer of ordination: "God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ...."

The following part of the prayer is recited by all the consecrating bishops, hands joined, in a low voice, nevertheless in such a way that the principal consecrating bishop's voice can be clearly heard: "So now pour out upon this chosen one that power which is from you, the governing Spirit...." all the precautions that so sacred and serious a matter requires.

"Once the changes listed have been made in the *Ordo*, it is then to be studied by a joint committee, in accordance with the august decision of the Holy Father..."

20

Now, Cardinal Ottaviani would never have allowed a rite of doubtful validity to pass review.

Archbishop Lefebvre, visibly raised up by God to sustain the little flock of the faithful, never called in question the validity of the new rite of episcopal ordinations as published by Rome.

We know that he was informed of the objections made against the ritual, especially by Fr. Kröger.

If Archbishop Lefebvre had had a serious and positive doubt about the validity of the ordinations, he would not have failed to say so given the seriousness of the consequences.

For the 37 years that have elapsed since this rite was promulgated, most of the Roman Rite bishops of the Catholic Church have been ordained with it. There is certainly not a single resident bishop (a bishop having the power of jurisdiction) who was ordained before 1968.

Consequently, if the new rite is invalid, the Roman Church is deprived of a hierarchy, which would seem contrary to the promises of Christ ("the gates of hell shall not prevail against her").

ANSWER TO THE QUESTION

In order to answer the question, it is necessary to find out what was done.

Now, at this level of inquiry, we should first point out the lack of seriousness of those who have undertaken to "demonstrate the invalidity of the new rite."

For example, Dr. Coomaraswamy, followed in this by numerous disciples, did not go to the trouble to inform himself as to the identity of the Coptic and Syrian rites to which Pope Paul VI compares the new rite.

The doctor quite simply made an error as to rite. He compares the rite of Pope Paul VI with a Syrian rite that has nothing in common with it, and then confidently concludes that the pope "stretches the truth to the limit in stating that this highly questionable document is 'still used in large part in the ordination rites of the Coptic and Western Syrian liturgies.'"

Annibale Bugnini, La Riforma liturgica, 1948-1975 (Rome: CLV Edizioni liturgiche, 1983), p.692 [English version for citations: The Reform of the Liturgy 1948-1975 (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990), p.712]. This approbation was conveyed to Fr. Bugninii on November 8. The notification bears a protocol number (Prot. 578/67), but no signature, at least on the copy we consulted in the archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier), under "Pontificale Romanum."

Indeed, we shall have no difficulty in showing that the affirmation of Pope Paul VI is exact and that it is the doctor who has not done his work.

When someone pretends to be involved in something serious like theology, he must do it seriously. This is not the case with Dr. Coomaraswamy and the "Coomaraswamists." ²¹

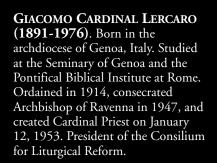
THE GENESIS OF THE NEW RITE

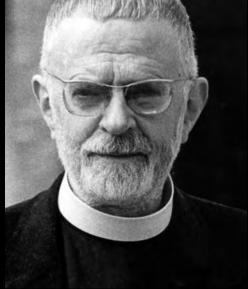
Let us begin by exposing the genesis of the new rite.22 The execution of the reform prescribed by the Second Vatican Council was entrusted to a new organism, parallel to the Congregation of Rites, called the Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia (Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy), referred to hereafter as the Consilium. Its president was Cardinal Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna,23 and its secretary was Fr. Bugnini (who had already worked on the preparation of the Constitution on the Liturgy.)

The Consilium was composed of two different groups. Firstly, there were 40 members as such, for the most part cardinals or bishops, who had a deliberative vote. Then there was the group of consultors, more numerous and given the task of preparing the work.

The consultors were divided into a certain number of study groups (*coetus*), each one tasked with a specified area. Each group was presided over by a *relator* who had to organize the work. Dom Bernard Botte, O.S.B. (1893-







FR. LOUIS BOUYER, ORATORIAN (1913-2004). Born in Paris; grew up in a non-denominational Protestant environment. Studied for Protestant license in theology at Paris. Influenced by his teachers, Auguste Lecerf (Calvinist), Oscar Cullmann (Lutheran), and Sergei Bulgakoff (Russian Orthodox). Began publishing in 1938. By 1947 he had become a Catholic priest and member of the Oratory, and had obtained a doctorate in theology from the Catholic Institute of Paris. His major works are *Liturgical Piety* (1954), and *Eucharist* (1968).

1980), a monk of Mont-César (Belgium) was the relator of "Group 20" given the task of revising the first part of the Roman Pontifical [which included the rite of ordinations]. His collaborators were: Fr. B. Kleinheyer (secretary), then professor at the seminary of Aix-la-Chapelle, author of a thesis on the ordination of the priest in the Roman Rite; Fr. C. Vogel, professor at Strasbourg, who had taken the succession from Msgr. Andrieu for editing the *Ordines Romani* and the Romano-Germanic Pontifical; Fr. E. Lengeling, professor of Liturgy at Munster-in-Westphalia (later Dean of the Faculty of Theology); Fr. P. Jounel, professor at the Superior Institute of Liturgy at Paris; Msgr. J. Nabuco, Brazilian prelate and author of a *Commentary on the Roman Pontifical*; finally, (but not at the beginning) Fr. J. Lécuyer, then professor at the French Seminary in Rome, who in 1968 became Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost after the resignation of Msgr. Lefebvre. The three most active members were Dom Botte and Frs. Kleinheyer and Lengeling.

The group held its first meeting at Trier from August 3-5, 1965. Despite his faults, of which we shall speak later, it must be recognized that Dom Botte was competent, and that the group which he directed worked seriously. After the first presentation of the project of the new rite before the Consilium, Dom Botte wrote to Fr. Kleinheyer on November 27, 1965:

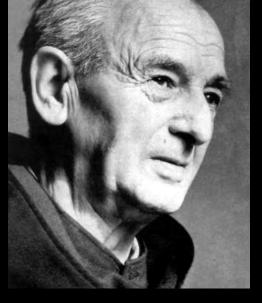
I believe that that is the first time that they found themselves in the presence of a *coetus* that proposed reasonable things supported by sufficient documentation and justification.

²² See especially: Bernard Botte, O.S.B., Le Mouvement liturgique: Témoignage et souvenirs (Desclée, 1973) pp.156ff. This book contains interesting

²¹ Coomaraswamy and most of his disciples are sedevacantists. It is a windfall for them to have been able to "demonstrate" the invalidity of the new rite of episcopal ordination. Thus the last conclave was a "conclave of laymen" and Benedict XVI cannot be pope, because he is not even a bishop...

admissions. [English version of cited passages: From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal, tr. by John Sullivan, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1988), pp.125ff.

²³ 1891-1976. After the Council, Cardinal Lercaro became a public leader of the progressive wing. Later, Cardinal Gut replaced Cardinal Lercaro at the head of the Consilium.



DOM BERNARD BOTTE (1893-1980). Monk of Mont César, Belgium, as a young monk he assisted Dom Beauduin and listened to his lectures at Liturgical Weeks. He specialized in Oriental languages, which enabled him to study the ancient sources of rites. He collaborated in the Centre de Pastoral Liturgique and the Institut Supérieur de Liturgie. He was appointed to the Consilium, and directed work groups that devised several key changes in the Roman liturgy.



ARCHBISHOP ANNIBALE BUGNINI (1912-82). Ordained priest in 1936; Secretary, Commission for General Liturgical Restoration, 1948-60; Secretary, Pontifical Preparatory Commission on the Liturgy, 1960-62; *Peritus*, Conciliar Commission on the Liturgy, 1962-64; Secretary, Consilium for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Liturgy, 1964-69; Secretary, Congregation for Divine Worship, 1969-75. Ordained titular Archbishop of Diocletiana, 1972; Pro-Nuncio Apostolic in Iran, 1976-82.



ALFREDO CARDINAL OTTAVIANI (1890-1979). One of the 20th century's most influential churchmen. Known for being staunchly orthodox, he was Secretary of the Holy Office from 1959-66 and Prefect of the Doctrine of the Faith from 1966-68. He is best known for writing the Introduction to the "Short Critical Study of the New Order of Mass" along with Cardinal Bacci which was sent in 1969. As a result, it is commonly known as "The Ottaviani Intervention."

One bishop told me: "There is no way not to agree with you, since it has been explained so well." It went completely otherwise for the *ordo missae*! 24

The *Coetus* drafted five successive schemas: Schemas 102 (*De Pontificali* No. 5 of September 10, 1965),²⁵ 150 (*De Pontificali* No. 7 of April 5, 1966),²⁶ 180 (*De Pontificali* No. 12 from August 29, 1966),²⁷ 220 (*De Pontificali* No. 15 of March 31, 1967),²⁸ and 270 (*De Pontificali* No. 17 of February 1, 1968). All these schemas are kept in the archives of the German Liturgical Institute at Trier, where they can be consulted.²⁹

THE ORIGIN OF THE NEW RITE AS TOLD BY DOM BOTTE

Let us first look at what the artisans of the new rite said about their reform, then we shall look at what they didn't say.

The chief artisans of the reform were the "experts," that is to say, the consultors. Undoubtedly, their work was subject to the Consilium and to the Roman Congregations, but it was the consultors who had the initiative in the work, and who sometimes exerted pressure that their superiors did not have the courage to resist. An example is given in the memoirs of Dom Botte:

Thereafter we decided to use the new rite on the occasion of the ordination of Bishop Hänggi, bishop-elect of Basel. But before obtaining the pope's definitive approval, the text still had to be submitted for review to the appropriate Roman congregations. This is why I was called to Rome to appear before a commission composed of representatives of the congregation for the Faith, the Congregation of the Sacraments, and the Congregation of Rites.

The latter congregation proceeded in an entirely correct fashion: it sent me a series of written remarks which I had time to examine. Some looked well-advised to me, and I immediately agreed to them. Others were less so, but I was able to prepare a reply. Unfortunately, the other two congregations did not have the same attitude, and their

²⁴ Archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 116

²⁵ This first schema of the Pontifical was presented to the Consilium at the sixth plenary session, from Nov. 21-23, 1965.

²⁶ Discussed in a relation between the relators of the Consilium in May, 1966

²⁷ Discussed at the seventh plenary session of the Consilium, October 6, 1966.

²⁸ Sent to the Congregations for the Doctrine of the Faith and of Sacraments and Rites on April 8, 1967, and to Pope Paul VI on April 19.

The history of the work of Group 20 has been written: Jan Michael Joncas, "The Work of the Consilium in the Reform of the Roman Rite Episcopal Ordination, 1965-1968," in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 108 (1994), 81-127, 183-204. Nevertheless, this work only provides information of a "material" nature.

representative waited to get into the meeting to raise loads of unforeseen objections. The representative from the Congregation of the Faith³⁰ proved particularly zealous in dissecting the text and asking for corrections. As banal an expression as "celebratio mysteriorum" was suspect because it could be regarded as approving the theories of Dom Casel [See The Angelus, April 2002- Ed.] As a result we were not moving ahead. Perhaps this was fortunate, in a certain way, since for the time being it limited the damage to a small part of the text. But on the other hand, if we continued at this pace and with the same method, I didn't see where it would all end, or, especially, what would be left of our draft since everything was being challenged. This never would have happened with Cardinal Lercaro, but Cardinal Gut was incapable of leading the discussion, and when he did intervene, it was generally misinterpreted. Father Bugnini was visibly ill-at-ease, but he was intimidated by the cardinal's attitude. We couldn't continue on in this way.

I managed to keep my cool during the first meeting, but afterwards I had one of the most beautiful fits of anger in my life. I quite frankly told Cardinal Gut and Father Bugnini that if this should go on in the same way and in the same spirit, I'd pack my bags and return home. The commission had before it a draft which had required several years' work by specialists. It had been revised and corrected several times by about forty consultors of the Commission. It had been examined and approved by about forty cardinals and bishops. And, at the last minute everything had to be changed and new solutions improvised at a moment's notice on the advice of half-a-dozen incompetent bureaucrats. No lay institution could survive with such work methods.

I don't know how things were worked out, but I'm fairly certain that Father Bugnini found a diplomatic solution. He knew I'd given no empty threat, and he himself was exasperated by the procedure. As a matter of fact the person from the Congregation of the Faith who really got on our nerves had disappeared by the next session, and I've never seen him since. At the beginning of the second meeting I ventured to tell the representatives of the congregations, except for the Congregation of Rites, which had sent its remarks beforehand, what I thought of their method. The review then moved ahead by leaps and bounds, and it was over by the end of the meeting. The text was ready for the ordination of Bishop Hänggi. 31

It is not normal to leave so much power to experts, even if they are very knowledgeable in their field. They should have been more closely directed by the hierarchy and checked as regards doctrine. Our Lord entrusted His Church to bishops, not to "experts," and the principal role of the hierarchy is to watch over the orthodoxy of the faith.

It comes as no surprise that the result of the Consilium's work was not a happy one for the Church. The reforms reflect the attitudes—and the defects—of the experts.

Now, Dom Botte had a failing: a lack of filial piety towards Rome. This stands out in his memoirs:

It was not just "the Roman atmosphere" that Dom Botte didn't like. It was also the theology and liturgy of Rome:

The Pontifical took shape progressively, from the fifth to the end of the thirteenth centuries, to a great extent outside Rome. It contained elements of very different origin and value. The essential element, that is, the laying on of hands, was somewhat buried under a pile of secondary rites. Furthermore, certain formulas were inspired by medieval theology and needed correction. For example, the theologians of the Middle Ages considered the handing over of the paten and chalice to be the essential rite of ordination to the priesthood. Now, this was not compatible with the Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis of Pius XII which had re-established the primacy of the laying on of hands. The rite of handing over the paten and chalice could be retained, but not the accompanying formula: "Receive the power to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead." The power to celebrate Mass is given to the priest by the imposition of hands alone.³³ Besides, the text was loaded with questionable symbolism: for example, the miter as symbolizing the two horns of Moses as he came down from the mountain. The investiture ceremonies were interminable....

The main one was the formula for the ordination of a bishop. The text in the Pontifical was comprised of two parts. The first was derived from some old strictly Roman sacramentaries, the Leonine and the Gregorian. They articulated only one idea: the bishop was the high priest of the New Testament. In the Old Testament the high priest was consecrated by anointing with oil and clothing with precious vestments. In the New it was the anointing of the Holy Spirit and the ornament of virtues. The literary form of this section did not make up for its poor content. The typology insisted exclusively on the cultic role of the bishop and left aside his apostolic ministry. The second part was a long interpolation found for the first time in the Gelasian Sacramentary. It consists of a jumbled series of scriptural quotations, most of which-but not all-are linked to the apostolic ministry. This interpolation of the Gelasian did not suffice to re-establish the balance. Could we, after Vatican

imposition of hands alone. But that does not prevent one from keeping the venerable rite of "handing over" the implements which does but illustrate this power. If Dom Botte were right, it would have been necessary for Pius XII to correct the ceremonial of the ordination of priests when he promulgated his Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis, but he declined to do so.—Ed.

When the Commission was established, I was often obliged to stay in Rome in order to speak before the group. These visits were as short as possible. As there were two sessions back-to-back, I received permission to speak on the last day of the former and on the first day of the latter. My excuse was that after three days I turned anti-clerical, and after a week I risked losing my faith. It was only a joke, but I must say that I did not bear up well under the Roman atmosphere. I like Italy a lot though, and have fine memories of time spent in Verona, Florence, and Venice. But Rome was something else. There was too much red, purple, and cassocks. I stayed at the Pensionato Romano, a large building six stories high, located on the via Transpontina, not far from the Vatican. It was comfortable and meticulously clean; but the cooking was insipid, and the atmosphere purely clerical. My only break was to eat my meals in the little public restaurants on the nearby streets where I felt more at ease.32

³⁰ According to Fr. Bugnini, two representatives from this congregation participated at the meetings: Msgr. Philippe and Msgr. G. Agustoni (op. cit., p.692).

³¹ Botte, An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal, pp.138-39.

³² *Ibid.*, p.131.

³³ It is true that the power to celebrate Mass is given to the priest by the

II, retain such a poor formula? Was it possible to correct and improve the text? $^{\rm 34}$

It should come as no surprise that by giving Dom Botte free rein the result was a ritual that broke with the tradition of the Roman Church. He describes how he proceeded:

I didn't see how we could make a coherent whole out of the two badly matched parts of the formula. Should we create a new prayer from start to finish? I felt myself incapable of this. It's true that some amateurs could be found who would be willing to attempt it-some people feel they have a special charism for composing liturgical formulas—but I don't trust these amateurs. Wouldn't it be more reasonable to seek a formula in the Eastern rites that could be adapted? An examination of the Eastern rites led my attention to a text I knew well, the prayer in the Apostolic Tradition of St. Hippolytus.

The first time I proposed this to my colleagues they looked at me in disbelief. They found Hippolytus' formula to be excellent, but they didn't believe it had the slightest chance of being accepted. I told them that I perhaps had a way of getting it accepted. If I was paying attention to this text it wasn't because I had just finished a critical edition of it, but because my study of the Eastern rites made me notice that the formula always survived under more evolved forms. Thus, in the Syrian Rite the prayer for the patriarch's ordination³⁵ was none other than the one in the *Testamentum Domini*,³⁶ a reworking of the Apostolic Tradition. The same is true for the Coptic Rite where the prayer for the bishop's ordination is close to that of the Apostolic Constitutions,³⁷ another reworking of Hippolytus' text. The essential ideas of the Apostolic Tradition can be found everywhere. Reusing the old text in the Roman Rite would affirm a unity of outlook between East and West on the episcopacy. This was an ecumenical argument. It was decisive.

I had provided the fathers with a synoptic table of the different texts with a brief commentary. The discussion was lively, and I understand why. What finally obtained a favorable vote was, I think, Père Lécuyer's intervention. He had published in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* a short article showing how the text of the Apostolic Tradition agreed with the teaching of the ancient Fathers. During the session, when it was time to vote on this issue, he made a plea which convinced those who were wavering. Afterward we invited him to join our work group, and he was a great help to us by his theological competence and knowledge of the Fathers.³⁸

³⁴ Botte, An Insider's View of the Liturgical Renewal, pp.134-35.

Dom Botte then explains how the allocution for the ordination of a bishop was composed:

Another problem was that of the addresses to the candidates. These were found in the Pontifical for all the orders except the episcopacy. They were drafted at the end of the thirteenth century by Durand of Mende. Why did he not compose one for the ordination of a bishop? We don't know, but the question came up: wouldn't it be desirable to have an address at the beginning of this ordination? It was the hope of the Council that the ordination rite be a catechesis for the people. We believed we were responding to the Council's directives by providing an address given by the first consecrator. In our first draft there was only a simple rubric indicating the moment when it was to be made, for our understanding was that the person speaking would improvise it. Therefore, we had not drafted any text. The bishops of the Commission asked us-with an insistence that surprised us-to draft a formula which could at least serve as a model. So I asked Professor Lengeling to compose an address inspired by the teachings of Vatican II. He did this very carefully. It was an excellent synthesis of the Council's teaching: each sentence was backed up by precise references. However, since the conciliar style is not particularly elegant, I tried to give a more harmonious literary shape to the text. I don't know if I succeeded, but at least I am sure that I did not misrepresent the drafter's thought since he agreed with me.³⁹

We shall conclude this account of the genesis of the new rite by the explanation of how the examination of the candidate which precedes the ordination of the bishop-elect was changed:

The final point that presented us with a problem was the examination which precedes the ordination of the bishop. This is an old tradition which was kept by the Pontifical. The one consecrating asked a series of questions of the candidate before the people. Undoubtedly this venerable custom should be kept, but the examination aimed at the orthodoxy of the candidate in light of heresies today having only historical interest. We thought it preferable to have the examination cover the commitment of the bishop to the church and his people. I drafted a questionnaire which I submitted for review to my consultors. We proposed it to the Commission which received it well and helped us finalize it. It serves as a useful complement to the address of the consecrator.

This insider testimony puts a finger on the problem with this liturgical reform: it was entrusted

Antioch in Syria in the first half of the third century, probably written by a bishop to instruct his fellow bishops in the episcopacy on proper conduct in the pastoral ministry, it includes treatises on Christian life, the hierarchy, the liturgy, lawsuits, offerings, and the reconciliation of sinners); the Didache of the Twelve Apostles (originating in Syria, from the first century—with a later, final redaction—by one or several unknown authors containing teaching on the doctrine of the "two ways," a liturgical section, advice on discipline, and comments on eschatology); and the Diataxis of the Holy Apostles or the Apostolic Tradition (see below). This compilation has been accused of being at the service of a heterodox theology (Arian according to B. Capelle and J. Lecuyer; subordinationist, Apollinarist or Macedonian according to others) whereas several defend its orthodoxy (F.-X. Funk; M. Metzger in his edition of "Sources Chrétiennes" (SC) Nos. 320, 329, and 336). See the text in Appendix 3.

³⁵ Note that it involves the ordination of a patriarch. Coomaraswamy compares the rite of Paul VI with the rite of ordination of a simple bishop (quite different from the rite of ordination of a patriarch), and he is astonished at finding no concordance.—Ed.

This is a translation into Syriac of a Greek text (probably 5th century) from the patriarchate of Antioch, analogous to the Apostolic Constitutions. It contains an ecclesiastical rule which follows closely the Apostolic Tradition, placed in the mouth of our Lord at the time of an apparition in Galilee after His resurrection. It constitutes the first books of a vast canonical collection called the Clementine Octateuch. Edited by I. E. Rahmani (Mayence, 1899) with the title Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi (reprint–Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1968); French translation in F. Nau-P. Ciprotti, La Version syriaque de l'Octateuque de Clément (Paris: Lethielleux, 1967). See the text in Appendix 3.

³⁷ A Syrian compilation, probably written at Antioch c. 380, of three earlier writings: The Didascalia of the Apostles (originating from the region of

³⁸ Botte, An Insider's View, pp.135-36.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p.136.

to specialists who did not have much interest (nor, probably, competence) in that which concerns the integrity of the Faith.

It is quite inexact to claim that the examination in the traditional rite only targeted "heresies today having only historical interest." It was a magnificent moral and doctrinal allocution exposing the candidate to what he must do and believe. Certain questions are even quite current:

Will you receive with respect, teach and guard the traditions of the orthodox Fathers, and the constitutions and decrees of the apostolic Holy See?...Will you, with the help of God, keep and teach chastity and sobriety?...Do you believe that there is only one holy, catholic, and apostolic Church?...Do you anathematize every heresy that arises against this holy Catholic Church?...Do you believe that the New and the Old Testaments, the Law, the Prophets, and the Apostles have as their sole inspiration God the Lord almighty?

Rather than replace this questionnaire on faith and morals, it would have been better to complete it in such fashion as to fight against more recent errors. But this was hardly the concern of Dom Botte and the other "specialists."

OBJECTIONS ENCOUNTERED

Dom Botte and Fr. Bugnini hardly speak of the objections that were made to their work. Even if they were not numerous, they merit being made known.

The prayer of Hippolytus was presented by Dom Botte at the sixth plenary session of the Consilium (from November 21-23, 1965); here are the reactions to this reading as they are conserved in the private protocol of Group 20 (we translate from the Latin text):

Msgr. Hervas⁴⁰: We have no right to change the form [of the sacrament].

Dom Botte: That's true, but we do have a right to propose changes to the Holy See.

Fr. Antonelli⁴¹: We must pursue the investigation. It would be preferable to indicate the essential words in the new preface.

Cardinal Confalonieri: In the prayer of Hippolytus the essential idea is well indicated ("Nunc effunde..."). But the allegory taken from the Old Testament in the current preface is beautiful. In the second part [of Hippolytus' prayer] there are ideas to retain.

All are agreed that the investigation is to be continued.42

After the reading of this protocol, Dom Botte wrote to Fr. Kleinheyer on December 11, 1965:

As regards the formula of episcopal consecration, I do not think that it will be difficult to get the text of Hippolytus passed. The objections are only coming from Cardinal Confalonieri, because the Roman formula seems so beautiful to him. The others have been struck by the richness of the text. The Cardinal's idea was to keep the Roman formula

⁴⁰ The Most Reverend Jean Hervas y Benet, Bishop of Mallorca in Spain (1905-82)

and enrich it with the second half of Hippolytus. It will be sufficient for us to show that this would result in something rather lame. 43

Several personages outside the Consilium were consulted. On April 14, 1966, Fr. Louis Bouyer [1913-2004] wrote to the secretariat of Group 20:

Taken as a whole, this revision is a happy simplification and a return to a more ancient tradition and more meaningful by its sobriety. Nevertheless, I am afraid that it also undeniably savors in some measure of antiquarianism.

He leveled two criticisms: on the one hand, the abandonment of the consecratory prayer in its "Eucharistic" form (in the form of a preface). He recognized that this form was of Gallican origin, but he found it very much in keeping with Biblical tradition and he wondered if the ancient Gallican tradition might not be closer to the origins than the Roman tradition. And on the other hand, he did not like Hippolytus:

Hippolytus was certainly an antiquarian, but, like most antiquarians, while he understood well enough the antiquity he wished to preserve as such, he did not realize that undoubtedly he shared to a lesser degree the spirit of the popes who were his contemporaries and to whom he was opposed (very likely in liturgical matters as well as in everything else). He was just an "integrist" before it was called that, and you accord far too much honor to this particularly narrow-minded and fanatical anti-pope by substituting his lucubrations for texts that have behind them centuries of usage.⁴⁴

Dom Botte replied June 2nd with a handwritten letter five pages long. Here are some excerpts:

The questions you ask are the very questions I have asked myself, and I think it is a good idea to explain to you why I resolved them in the way I did, which you know.

- 7. On the subject of prayer in the form of a preface, two remarks:
 - a) I do not believe that the introduction "Vere dignum..." ["It is truly meet..." is the beginning of every preface in the Missal-Ed] is due to a Gallican influence, which would represent a more ancient tradition. If one follows the development of texts, it can be seen that it involves an interpretation of a rubric: in tono praefationis ["in the tone of the preface"-Ed.]. Besides, we have the Gallican consecration prayers conserved in the Gelasian [sacramentary] (and given a secondary importance in the Pontifical), and they do not have the Vere dignum.
 - b) It is incontestable that there are forms of blessing in the form of a thanksgiving...But it must be remarked that essentially these involve blessings of things and not consecrations of persons....Notice that in no Eastern rite, not even in the Gallican or the old Roman, are the ordination prayers in the form of a thanksgiving. By setting aside the form of thanksgiving, we are conforming ourselves to a universal tradition from which the Roman Rite

⁴¹ Ferdinando Giuseppe Antonelli, O.F.M., secretary of the Congregation of the Sacraments, who became a bishop in 1966 and cardinal in 1973 (1896-1993).

⁴² Archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, Kleinheyer file, B 116.

⁴⁴ Ibid., B 117.

departed because of an erroneous interpretation of a rubric.

2. As for the obsession with reducing everything to Hippolytus, I believe that it exists only in your own mind.... There is only one case where we have preferred him, that of the prayer of the episcopal consecration....Contrary to what you think, I was not guided by a doctrinaire desire to go back to the rites and usages of antiquity.

a) The Roman formula (contrary to what happens for the priesthood and the diaconate) is of a poverty of thought that contrasts with the sumptuousness of the form. Everything is reduced to the symbolism of Aaron, which, moreover, ends by being materialized in the rites. Everyone is in agreement in finding that it only gives a very imperfect idea of the theology of the episcopacy.⁴⁵

b) Consequently, the question arose, can we rework it, add to it, or replace it with another formula. I could hardly see anyway of reworking it. It has its unity. Introducing foreign developments would only result in making of it a monster of the genre of Homer's chimera. Have a new formula composed by theologians? May God preserve us! I refuse to do it, and I do not believe anyone is capable of doing it. Therefore but one solution remained: look [for a replacement] in the Eastern tradition.

c) One fact impressed me: For the consecration of the patriarch in the patriarchates of both Antioch and Alexandria, we find two related formulas which are revisions of the prayer of Hippolytus. Whoever the author may be, this is a fact of tradition. For centuries, these prayers have been in usage in these two patriarchates and give the episcopacy an infinitely richer version than the Roman prayers. Would this not be an opportunity, since it is necessary to change, to get closer to the Eastern tradition? As you see, it is not a concern for antiquarianism that has guided me, but a concern for ecumenism....After these considerations, if Hippolytus had a bad character, that is another question. The work has an existence independent of its author. We have no intention of getting caught up in controversies about his person, nor the authenticity of his work. Our guarantee is that this prayer inspired two great Eastern patriarchates.⁴⁶

His disparagement of the Roman liturgy aside, the soundness of Dom Botte's argumentation must be recognized: the *fact* that the prayer of Hippolytus was adopted by two Eastern patriarchates⁴⁷ assures

45 This is undoubtedly the most contestable passage in this letter of Dom Botte. The purpose of the traditional rite was not to give a complete theology of the episcopacy, but it highlighted very well its essential aspect: the bishop is the high priest of the New Testament, he possesses the supreme degree of the priesthood. That is much less clear in the new rite. In reality, it was a lack of love for the Roman liturgy that led him to seek something else.—Ed.

⁴⁶ Archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B

From this we see how futile are the discussions of *Rore Sanctifica* to determine whether Hippolytus is really the author of the Apostolic Tradition. The problem does not lie there.

its worth, prescinding entirely from the person of its author⁴⁸ or his character,

Another objection came from Msgr. Lallier, Archbishop of Marseille, or rather from his secretary Fr. Colin (for Msgr. Lallier was about to leave Marseille for Besançon). In a letter dated September 28, 1966, at his bishop's behest, Fr. Colin wrote his remarks to Fr. Bugnini.⁴⁹ He does not address the principle of the reform, but he asks:

But one might wonder if a revision as profound as the one envisaged does not risk being premature at the present time. A reform excellent in itself can, in fact, not be opportune and miss its goal if the psychological conditions in which it is introduced are not favorable. Now, the consequences of the reform of ordinations are great, as much for the priests as for the seminarians and even the Christian people.

His criticisms bear upon the suppression of the minor orders.⁵⁰ As regards our subject, only this sentence applies:

Moreover, allow me to express my sorrow at seeing the disappearance of certain very rich formulas from the present Pontifical, especially among the texts of Gallican origin.

We were only able to find one reply to Fr. Colin in the archives of the secretariat of Group 20. But we did find a letter from Fr. Vogel to Fr. Kleinheyer, dated November 15, 1966,⁵¹ where he says:

I was quite disagreeably surprised when I read the letter from Marseille (Fr. Colin). Apparently there is some resistance from that quarter. But I could not have imagined it would be manifested so strongly. How good it is that, in our little working group, we have been clear and of the same opinion on the essentials of the subject from the beginning!

Incidentally, we know that Dom Botte energetically opposed Msgr. Lallier's participation in the committee tasked with the final revision of the schema.⁵²

A final objection: We saw that Msgr. Jean Hervas y Benet, a Spanish bishop, had expressed an objection during the first presentation of the new rite before the Consilium. He returned to the attack in a three-page typewritten note dated October 14, 1966, written in Latin.⁵³ All the while praising the erudition and work of the experts, he shared his several qualms of

⁴⁹ Archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 117.

⁵¹ German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 117.

53 German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 117; our translation

⁴⁷ At the Church's beginning, there were only three patriarchates: Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria, all three tied to the person of St. Peter. He it was who founded the Church of Antioch before going to Rome, and he sent his "secretary," St. Mark, to found the Church of Alexandria in his name, as it were. The presence of the same prayer in the two patriarchates of Alexandria and of Antioch is obviously a very strong argument.

⁵⁰ He expressed himself in these terms: "Certainly, the minor Orders often did not correspond with the exercise of a real 'function.' But they had an indisputable spiritual advantage: that of making the clerics become progressively more aware of the profound exigencies of the priesthood, of 'revealing' to them little by little the interior attitudes that the Church expects of her ministers and from which a priest cannot dispense himself in the daily exercise of his ministry: welcoming the faithful, fidelity to the Word of God, combat against the devil, the testimony of an exemplary life, etc. Would there not be a detriment to the spiritual formation of the clergy by suppressing too hastily these 'steps'?"

On June 22, 1966, the Secretariat of State had asked that Msgr. Lallier, Archbishop of Marseille, be assigned to the work group. Dom Botte made a little threat: it was either him or Msgr. Lallier. (Bugnini, *La Riforma liturgica*, pp.690-91.)

conscience. He observes that the new consecratory formula would completely eliminate the consecratory preface presently in use, of which the essential part had just been declared by Pope Pius XII in the constitution *Sacramentum Ordinis*. Now, he says, to justify such a step, it would be necessary:

a) That it be able to be shown, for grave reasons, that it is not possible to improve upon the existing consecratory form, by removing or adding some part, according to the Council's norm: "in such a way that new forms organically proceed from the old."...

b) It would be necessary to establish undeniably that the new form better and more perfectly signifies the sacramental action and its effect. That is to say, that it should be established in no uncertain terms that it contains no ambiguity, and that it omits nothing from among the principal charges which are proper to the episcopal order.

He proposed comparing the old formula and the new by placing them in parallel columns, which he began to do for the essential words and for the passage that indicates the power of governing ("*ut pascat gregem sanctum tuum*" ["may shepherd thy holy flock"–*Ed.*] in the new rite). Then he posed the question:

A doubt occurs to me concerning the words "*Spiritus principalis*": do these words adequately signify the sacrament? And can not the words "*pascere gregem tuum*" be interpreted uniquely of the power to teach and to sanctify, excluding the power to govern?

And he concluded by saying that sufficient elements had not been given to the Consilium to enable them to judge such an important matter.

The critique was grave, and called for a serious response. We do not know if such a response was forthcoming, for we have found nothing in the archives of the Group 20 secretariat. On the other hand, we did find a letter dated October 21, 1966, from Dom Botte to Fr. Kleinheyer, the Group secretary, displaying an unpardonable levity, of which we present a few excerpts:

My Dear Professor:

Attached is a comment on our schema by a Spanish bishop. Theologians are rather obtuse people who have no notion about literary genres. There is a difference between a treatise of theology or a Conciliar decree and a sermon. What preacher would ever dream of using so ugly a word as "sacramentaliter" ["sacramentally"–Ed.]⁵⁴ or its translation.

In fact, Dom Botte does not take up the questions raised by Msgr. Hervas about the new rite of episcopal consecration. Even if the objections do not call into question the validity of the new rite, they clearly pose the question of the lawfulness and the opportuneness of such a change. The offhand and even contemptuous way Dom Botte treats the problem ("theologians are rather obtuse people") in itself suffices to condemn this reform.

The prayer of ordination of a bishop (presented in Schema 180) was discussed at the seventh session of the Consilium on October 6, 1966. The only opposition came from Cardinal Felici⁵⁷ and Msgr. Hervas. Fr. Lécuyer successfully defended the new prayer. It was approved on October 7, 1966, by 30 votes for, 3 against, and 2 "juxta modum" [an affirmative vote but with reservations–Ed.]. The Consilium approved, by a vote of 34 for and 1 abstention, that the entire schema (including the ordinations of deacons and priests) be submitted to the Sovereign Pontiff for approval.⁵⁸

The new rite was approved by the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith on October 11, 1967. The only remarks concerned the examination of the candidate and the ordination prayer, about which it was noted: "The text of Hippolytus, duly adapted, is acceptable." 59

The Congregation of Sacraments requested that the new rite be preceded by an introduction affirming the sacramental nature of ordination to the episcopacy, in conformity with *Lumen Gentium*. As for the text, comments were only made about details, as, for instance, that they found the allocution to be too long. ⁶⁰

Finally, the Congregation of Rites (of which Fr. Bugnini was the under-secretary) only made comments about details.⁶¹

Before receiving the pope's definitive approbation, the reformed rite was submitted to a joint commission of the Congregations for the Faith,

Msgr. Hervas regretted the omission of this word from the rite of ordination to the priesthood.

⁵⁵ William Durand, Bishop of Mende from 1286 to 1296, a liturgist of repute.

⁵⁶ German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 117.

⁵⁷ Cardinal Felici committed a blunder that Dom Botte knew how to exploit. The cardinal declared that he preferred the address actually in usage to the one that had been proposed. Dom Botte replied that there was no address in the rite currently in effect (*ibid.*, B 131.) Six years later, in his memoirs Dom Botte savored his victory: "Hardly had I finished my explanation than I heard the peremptory remark: 'The old address was better.' The speaker wanted to develop his idea, but I grabbed the mike in front of me and cut him off by asking where this address was found in the Pontifical.

He wanted to go off on a tangent, but I brought him back to the question. He gazed at me with a stunned look. I added: 'Don't look, it's not worth your time—there never was an address for the ordination of a bishop in the Pontifical.' A little discreet laughter was heard, followed by silence. Our address was approved without difficulty." (Botte, *op. cit.*, p.128.)

⁵⁸ German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer file, B 131.

⁵⁹ This document of the CDF is cited more fully above under "Arguments on the Contrary."

⁶⁰ The pages that we consulted in the Trier German Liturgical Institute archives on the *Pontificale Romanum* shelf are undated and unsigned.

⁶¹ The comments were handed by the congregation's secretary, Msgr. Ferdinando Antonelli, to the under-secretary, Fr. Bugnini, on December 16, 1967. (Trier German Liturgical Institute, *Pontificale Romanum* shelf.)

of Sacraments, and of Rites, which met February 1-2, 1968.⁶²

The pope approved the reform of the rite on June $10,\,1968.^{63}$

IS THE NEW RITE VALID?

Having set forth the genesis of the new rite, now we must answer the question: is this rite valid? As we have seen, the prayer for the ordination of a bishop was taken from the Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus, also called the *Diataxis* of the Holy Apostles. Dr. Marcel Metzger, a researcher in canon law and professor of the Strasbourg Theology Faculty, explains its historical context:

The relations between Chapter VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions⁶⁴ and the Egyptian Church Order,⁶⁵ the Testament of the Lord Jesus Christ,⁶⁶ and the Canons of Hippolytus⁶⁷ have led researchers to posit a common source, which several researchers have attempted to reconstitute by presenting it as a work of Hippolytus of Rome (d. 235): the Apostolic Tradition. This identification has been contested by other researchers. Basing our judgment upon the work of M. Richard and J. Magne, we prefer the title *Diataxis* of the Holy Apostles: this document forms the outline of Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions and has already been amply studied and reported on, in particular in Dom Bernard Botte's attempted reconstitution.⁶⁸ It mainly treats of ordinations, the celebration of the Eucharist, baptism, community meals, prayer and fasting.

62 Bugnini, La Riforma liturgica, p.692.

63 To give an idea of the liberty that the reformers took with the pope's directives, we point out this fact: The pope had explicitly asked that the chant of the *Veni Creator*—which Fr. Bugnini and Dom Botte wanted to suppress—be kept in the rite of ordination of bishops. In the 1968 edition, the rubric prescribes that it be sung after the homily, "or another hymn that corresponds to it, according to local custom," and the 1990 edition rubric merely directs that "it may be sung, or another hymn...."

64 See footnote 37.

65 A compilation in use in the patriarchate of Alexandria [c. beginning of the 3rd century]. It is the most ancient document of the collection from which all the others are derived. Dom Botte matches its second half to the Apostolic Tradition. See R. H. Connolly, *The So-called Egyptian Church Order and Derived Documents* (Cambridge, 1916).–Ed.

66 See footnote 36.

⁶⁷ An Alexandrine anthology probably dating from the second half of the 4th century. Edition: R. G. Coquin, *Les Canons d'Hippolyte*, Oriental Patrology [series] XXXI, 2 (Paris, 1966).–*Ed.*

⁶⁸ Bernard Botte, O.S.B., La Tradition apostolique de saint Hippolyte: Essai de reconstitution, LQF 39 (Munster-Westfalen, 1963); abridged version: Hippolyte de Rome: la Tradition apostolique d'après les anciennes versions (SC 11 bis), (Paris, 1968). On the controversy over this document, see these sources: J. Magne, Tradition apostolique sur les charismes et Diataxeis des saints Apôtres (Paris, 1975), pp.23-32; A. G. Martimort, "La Tradition apostolique," L'Année Canonique, 23 (1979), 159-173; A. Faivre, "La documenation canonico-liturgique," Revue des Science Religieuses, (1980), 297-86; G. Kretschmar, "La liturgie ancienne dans les recherches historiques actuelles," La Maison Dieu, 149 (1982), 59-63. (Metzger's note.) [Translator's note: The trimestrial review La Maison Dieu, dedicated to liturgical matters, was launched in 1945 as the organ of the Liturgical Pastorate Center, itself an arm of the Cerf Publishing

Origin, date, and author. For those who attribute the authorship of this work to Hippolytus, everything is simple: it would have been compiled at Rome c. 215 to 218. 69 But if this attribution is rejected, [as it seems to be] by researchers at present, one can only repeat with J. Magne that it is "an anonymous compilation containing elements taken from different periods." $^{770,\ 71}$

The original Greek has been lost except for a few passages. An ancient, fifth-century Latin version exists which contains a good half of the work. The other Eastern versions (Coptic, Arabic, Abyssinian) enable the text to be reconstructed with a fair degree of certitude. In addition to these translations, we also possess free adaptations, though which lack the same value, such as Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions and its Epitome. The other passages are such as Book VIII of the Apostolic Constitutions and its Epitome.

As for the priest named Hippolytus to whom this work is attributed-without certitude-we know little about him: Pope Damasus (366-84) composed an inscription for his grave, proof that his cultus as a martyr was official at that time. Yet the same pope informs us that he was schismatic. It is believed that he was reconciled with Pope Pontian (230-35) while in exile, but this is uncertain. The Roman Calendar [in the Chronography of 354] records under August 13 the feast of Hippolytus with that of St. Pontian.

The Apostolic Tradition contains 42 chapters (and a conclusion) which can be divided in three parts: the Constitution of the Church (Chapters 1-14: regulations concerning bishops, deacons, priests, confessors, *etc.*), Christian initiation (Chapters 15-21: catechumenate, baptism, confirmation, Eucharist), and the usages of the community (Chapters 22-42: rules concerning

Co., an important participant in the Liturgical Movement that culminated in the liturgical changes ushered in by Vatican II. The publishing house was actually founded by a Dominican priest at the request of Pope Pius XI, to offer an alternative to Charles Maurras and his organization, Action Française.]

69 See Botte, O.S.B., SC 11 bis, p.14.

- J. Magne, Tradition apostolique sur les charismes..., p.86; later, this author even speaks of "pre-Apostolic regulations." J. M. Hanssens, in La liturgie d'Hippolyte, ses documents, son titulaire, 2nd. ed. (Rome, 1959), p.250, while accepting the attribution of the work to Hippolytus, also thinks that this document contains more ancient elements: it was "both an Apostolic document and the personal work of an author, Hippolytus," a thesis further developed on p.500.
- 71 Marcel Metzger, Les Constitutions apostoliques (Paris: Cerf, SC 329,1985), I, 17-18.
- This document is part of a collection of writings discovered on a Veronese palimpsest. It was published in 1900 by Hauler at Leipzig under the title: Didascaliae apostolorum fragmenta Veronensia latina. A palimpsest is a parchment that has been used more than once, the earlier writing having been scraped off. Thanks to modern techniques, it is possible to read the earlier writing. However, in the case of this manuscript, Hauler used a chemical agent which rendered it impossible to read today using an ultra-violet lamp. Dom Botte thought that, from what he was able to verify with the naked eye and using a magnifying glass, Hauler's work was careful and can be relied upon for what has now become illegible (Botte, op. cit., p.xvii).

³ F. X. Funk, *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum* (Paderborn, 1905), II, 72-96. This writing, also called the Constitutions by Hippolytus, is an extract from the Apostolic Constitutions; however, for some chapters, the text of the Epitome is closer to that of the Apostolic Tradition, notably for the prayer for the consecration of a bishop, of which the Greek is very close to the Latin and Ethiopian versions of the Apostolic Tradition.

meals, prayer, *etc.*). The prayer for the consecration of a bishop is found in Chapter 3, while Chapter 4 gives a Eucharistic prayer utilized by the bishop after his consecration. In fact, it is this prayer that has been taken (with modifications)⁷⁴ for the second Eucharistic prayer of Pope Paul VI's new Mass.

If we had only this book (of which we know neither the origin nor even the orthodoxy) it would be necessary to scrutinize the prayer of consecration to see if it can validly confer the episcopacy. However, as we have shown, Dom Botte points out that this consecratory prayer was incorporated into two Eastern rites, and it is this fact that determined the Consilium [that is, the Commission for the Implementation of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy–*Ed.*] to accept it. The two rites are the Coptic rite, used in Egypt, and the Western Syrian rite, used notably by the Maronites.⁷⁵

Let us note in passing that these two rites are perfectly Catholic. This has nothing to do with the rites of "schismatic and heretical Abyssinians," as one "Coomaraswamist" pontificated on the Internet on July 11, 2005. Beside the fact that neither the Maronites nor the Copts are Abyssinian,⁷⁶ this Internet pontificator apparently does not know that the Eastern "schismatics and heretics" use the same rites as the Catholics.

To assure ourselves of the validity of Pope Paul VI's rite, it will suffice for us to place side by side the new consecratory prayer and the two Eastern rites in question. The validity of these two rites can in no wise be called into question, otherwise the Coptic Church (Catholic as well as Orthodox) and the Syrian Church (which includes the Maronites) would have neither bishops nor priests, nor would they ever have had them. We have prepared a fourcolumn comparison (refer to the table on pp.6-9 of this article) with, in order from left to right, Pope Paul VI's new consecratory prayer,77 the Latin version of the Apostolic Tradition [i.e., "of Hippolytus"–Ed.],78 the Coptic rite, and the Syrian rite. For the latter two texts we have used the Denzinger translation.⁷⁹ With the four prayers transcribed into the same language, the comparison is made easy.

A more complete comparison of all the episcopal consecration prayers of this family is found in a 1919 study by Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B. (see table on p.16).⁸⁰ This author compares 11 prayers for the consecration of a bishop of which–in addition to the two we

⁷⁴ See *Sel de la Terre*, 52 (Spring 2005), p.75.

provide–two more are certainly valid: the prayer for the consecration of a Maronite metropolitan [a hierarchical rank between patriarch and archbishop– *Ed.*] and that for a Coptic metropolitan and patriarch. He summarizes everything in a table of comparison which proves that all these prayers are from one family. All this was known 50 years before Pope Paul VI's reform, and even before the deviation of the liturgical movement.⁸¹

The comparison between these various prayers seems to us sufficiently eloquent in itself: the new rite contains the substance of the Coptic and Syriac rites. Its validity cannot be doubted without striking from Church history these two Churches from which have come such great saints and doctors: St. Athanasius and St. Cyril of Alexandria (patriarchs of Alexandria), St. John Chrysostom and St. Jerome (ordained priests at Antioch), etc. Will it be necessary to say that these personages were merely pious laymen?

In the answers to the difficulties we shall enter into certain discussions in more detail, but it seems to us that the substance of the demonstration is achieved by this comparison.

Let it be said, though, that we are only speaking of the *validity* of the new rite *as it was published by the Vatican*. We do not speak of the *legitimacy* of this reform (was it good to suppress the Roman rite and replace it by an Eastern rite?), nor of the validity of the different *translations* and *adaptations* of the official right in divers particular cases: because of the generalized disorder that prevails in matters both of liturgy and dogma, there can be serious reasons for doubting the validity of certain episcopal consecrations.

For instance, on the occasion of the episcopal consecration of Msgr. Daneels, Auxiliary Bishop of Brussels, Archbishop Lefebvre said:

They published booklets for this consecration. For the public prayers, here is what was said and then repeated by the crowd: "Be an apostle like Peter and Paul, be an apostle like the patron saint of this parish, be an apostle like Gandhi, be an apostle like Luther, be an apostle like Martin Luther King, be an apostle like Helder Camara, be an apostle like Romero...." An apostle like Luther?! What intention did those bishops have when they consecrated this bishop, Msgr. Daneels?

It's frightening... Has this bishop really been consecrated? It can be doubted, all the same. If that was the intention of the consecrators, then it is unimaginable! The situation is even more serious than we had thought.⁸³

⁷⁵ The Latin version of the text of these two rites was attached as an appendix to [Group 20's] Schema 180 of Aug. 29, 1966.

Abyssinia is another name for Ethiopia. The Ethiopians have their own Rite, different from that of the Egyptian Copts.

⁷⁷ Pontificale Romanum, 1968. The text is the same in the second edition (1990). The document that served as a basis for the new rite was not the Latin version (in column 2), but a reconstitution based upon the Latin version, the Ethiopian version, and the Greek epitome of the Apostolic Constitutions (see n.10). This explains certain differences between the first two columns.

⁷⁸ Hippolytus of Rome, La Tradition apostolique d'après les anciennes ver-

sions, with introduction, translation, and notes by Bernard Botte, O.S.B. 2nd ed., SC 11 *bis* (Paris: Cerf, 1984). It is the version that was discovered on the Veronese palimpsest and then published by Hauler (see n.9).

⁷⁹ Henricus Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in Administrandis Sacramentis, 2 vols. (Graz, Austria, 1961).

⁸⁰ Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B., L'Anaphore apostolilque et ses témoins (Paris: Lethielleux, 1919), pp.274-93. See Appendix 2.

^{81 [}Translator's note: Cf. Didier Bonneterre, The Liturgical Movement (Kansas City: Angelus Press, 2002).]

⁸² Conference given at Nantes, February 5, 1983.

⁸³ Conference given at Ecône, October 28, 1988.

It would be necessary to examine each case. Given the difficulty of the thing, the usage that seems to prevail among traditionalists is to conditionally re-ordain priests ordained by the conciliar Church and returning to Tradition. This prudential measure obviously does not weaken the conclusion of our study on the validity of the new rite in itself.

SOLUTION OF THE DIFFICULTIES

DEFECT OF FORM

It is clear that the new form has nothing in common with the old form since the new rite does not take as its starting point the tradition of the Roman Church, but an Eastern tradition. Pope Pius XII, in his Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis of November 30, 1947, defined what constituted the form of ordination in the Roman Rite. Obviously he did not intend to declare null and void the forms of the sacrament in usage in the Eastern Rites.

The expression "Spiritus principalis" used to designate the grace of episcopacy occurs in the two rites that we have compared with the form of Paul VI, but also in other Eastern rites. 84 Dom Botte explained it this way:

The expression "Spiritus principalis" used in the formula of episcopal consecration raises several difficulties and gives rise to various translations in the proposed modern language versions. The question can be resolved provided that a sound method of explication is followed.

For indeed there are two problems that must not be confused. The first is that of the meaning of the expression in the original language of Psalm 50. That is the business of exegetes and specialists in Hebrew. The second is the meaning of the expression in the consecratory prayer, which is not necessarily linked to the first. To assume that the words did not change meaning for twelve centuries is a methodological error. And this error is all the more serious in this case as the context in which the word is used in the psalm does not serve to elucidate its meaning. Nothing indicates that the psalmist had the faintest idea of likening the situation of a bishop to that of David. For a Christian of the third century, the expression had a theological meaning which had nothing in common with what a king of Juda could have been thinking twelve centuries earlier. Even if

we suppose that *principalis* is a mistranslation, that would have no importance in this matter. The only problem that arises is to know what meaning the author of the prayer gave to the expression.

The solution must be sought in two directions: the context of the prayer and the usage of the word *hègemonicos* [the Greek word corresponding to the Latin *principalis*] in the Christian vocabulary of the third century. It is evident that Spirit designates the person of the Holy Ghost. The entire context shows this: everyone keeps silent because of the descent of the Spirit. The real question is this: among all the epithets that might have been suitable, why was *principalis* chosen? At this point it is necessary to broaden the investigation.

The three orders [i.e., bishops, priests, and deacons] have a gift of the Holy Ghost, but it is not the same for each. For the bishop, it is the Spiritus principalis [the Spirit of authority]; for the priest, who forms the bishop's council, it is the Spiritus consilii [the Spirit of counsel]; and for the deacon, it is the Spiritus zeli et sollicitudinis [the Spirit of zeal and solicitude]. It is clear that these distinctions are made according to the functions of each minister. Thus it is clear that principalis must be correlated with the specific functions of the bishop. It suffices to reread the prayer to be convinced of this.

The author begins with the typology of the Old Testament: God has never left His people without a leader, nor His sanctuary without a minister; this is also true for the new Israel, the Church. The bishop is both leader who must govern the new people, and the high priest of the new sanctuary which has been established in every place. The bishop is the ruler of the Church. Hence the choice of the term *hègemonicos* is understandable: it is the gift of the Spirit apt for a leader. The best translation in French would perhaps be "the Spirit of authority." But whatever the translation adopted, the meaning seems certain. An excellent demonstration of this was made in an article by Fr. J. Lécuyer: "Épiscopat et presbytérat dans les écrits d'Hippolyte de Rome," *Rech. Sciences Relig.*, 41 (1953) 30-50.85

It can be concluded that the formula is certainly valid, for it has been utilized from time immemorial in numerous Eastern rites; it means the gift of the Holy Ghost that creates the bishop.⁸⁶

In passing, let us point out that this destroys the objection of *Rore Sanctifica* (see above, No.4, p.4), which claims that the essential form contains a Monophysite heresy, an "anti-*filioque*" heresy, an anti-Trinitarian heresy, and that it is Cabalistic and Gnostic to boot, for according to this view it affirms that the Son receives the Holy Spirit from the Father at a particular moment of His life. In reality, here it involves a gift of the Holy Ghost imparted to the

(continued on p.22)

⁸⁴ For example, the consecration of the patriarch of Alexandria ("effunde super eum in spiritu tuo hegemonico scientiam tuam"), of the Syrian bishop ("mitte super servum tuum istum Spiritum tuum Sanctum et principalem"), and of the Maronite metropolitan ("effunde virtutem praefecturae Spiritus tui super hunc famulum tuum"): Henricus Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium Coptorum, Syrorum et Armenorum in Administrandis Sacramentis, II, 48,

^{97, 200.}

⁸⁵ Dom Bernard Botte, "Spiritus Principalis (formule de l'ordination épiscopale)," Notitiae, 10 (1974), 410-11.

⁸⁶ The gifts of the Holy Spirit in sacred Scripture are called "spiritus." See Is. 11:2: "spiritus sapientiae et intellectus, spiritus consilii et fortitudinis..." designate the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit.

Four-Column Comparison

1	Pontificale Romanum, editio typica, 1968. 1968 EDITION	La Tradition Apostolique d'Hippolyte, Don Botte (2nd Ed.) HIPPOLYTUS
2	Deus et O God,	Deus et O God,
3	Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,	Pater domini nostri Iesu Christi, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
4	Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort,	Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, the Father of mercies and the God of all comfort,
5	qui in excelsis habitas et humilia respicis, Who dwellest on high but regardest the humble,	qui in excelsis habitas et humilia respicis, Who dwellest on high but regardest the humble,
6	qui cognoscis omnia antequam nascantur, Who knowest all things before they come to pass,	qui cognoscis omnia antequam nascantur, Who knowest all things before they come to pass,
7		
8	tu qui dedisti in Ecclesia tua normas Thou hast established the plan of thy Church.	tu qui dedisti terminos in ecclesia Thou hast established Thy standard in the Church.
9	per verbum gratiae tuae, By Thy gracious word,	per verbum gratiae tuae, By Thy gracious word,
10	qui praedestinasti ex principio genus iustorum ab Abraham, Thou hast chosen the descendants of Abraham to be Thy holy	praedestinans ex principio genus iustorum ab Abraham, choosing the descendants of Abraham to be Thy holy people
	people from the beginning, qui constituisti principes et sacerdotes,	from the beginning, principes et sacerdotes constituens,
11	Thou hast established princes and priests,	establishing princes and priests,
12	et sanctuarium tuum sine ministerio non dereliquisti, and didst not leave Thy sanctuary without ministers to serve Thee,	et sanctum tuum sine ministerio non derelinquens, and not leaving Thy holy place without ministers to serve Thee,
13	cui ab initio mundi placuit in his quos elegisti glorificari: Who, from the beginning of the world wast pleased to be glorified in these whom Thou hast chosen:	ex initio saeculi bene tibi placuit in his quos elegisti dari: from the beginning of ages it has pleased Thee well to be given in these whom Thou hast chosen:
14	Et nunc And now	Nunc Now
15	effunde super hunc electum eam virtutem, quae a te est, Spiritum principalem, pour forth on this chosen one that power which is from Thee, the governing Spirit,	effunde eam virtutem quae a te est principalis Spiritus pour forth on him the power of the governing Spirit which is from Thee
16	quem dedisti dilecto Filio tuo Iesu Christo, Whom Thou gavest to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ,	quem dedisti dilecto Filio tuo Iesu Christo, Whom Thou gavest to Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ,
17	quem ipse donavit sanctis Apostolis, Whom He gave to the holy Apostles,	quod donavit sanctis Apostolis, which He gave to the holy Apostles
18	qui constituerunt Ecclesiam per singula loca ut sanct- uarium tuum, in gloriam et laudem indeficientem	qui constituerunt Ecclesiam per singula loca sanctificationem tuam, in gloriam et laudem indeficientem who founded the Church in divers places as Thy means of sanc-
	Who founded the Church in every place as Thy sanctuary, unto the glory and unceasing praise	tification unto the glory and unceasing praise
19	nominis tui. of Thy name.	nomini tuo. of Thy name.
20	Da,	Da,

Grant,

Rite Copte, Dz., Ritus Orientalium, t.2, p.23	Consecration du Patriarche Maronite, Dz., Ritus Orientalium, t.2, p.220' MARONITE RITE
Dominator Domine Deus omnipotens O almighty God, Ruler and Lord	Deus O God,
Pater Domini nostri et Dei nostri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi Father of our Lord and our God and our Savior Jesus Christ	Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,
	Pater misericordiam et Deus totius consolationis, Father of mercies and God of all comfort,
(see Line 7)	qui in puris altis habitas perpetuoet omnia videns, Who dwellest on high forever in splendorand seest all things,
cognoscens omnia antequam fiant, knowing all things before they are done,	qui omnia, antequam fiant, nosti Who knowest all things that are to happen before they occur
qui es in altissimis et respicis humiles, Who art on high but regardest the humble,	
qui dedisti statuta ecclesiastica Who hast established the foundation of the Church	qui illuminationem dedisti Ecclesiae Who hast given light to the Church
per unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum, through Thine only-begotten Son our Lord Jesus Christ,	per gratiam unigeniti Filii tui through the grace of Thine only-begotten Son
	qui elegisti Abraham, qui placuit tibi in fide Who chosest Abraham, who pleased Thee with his faith
qui constituisti sacerdotes ab initio Who established priests from the beginning	qui principes et sacerdotes ordinasti in sanctuario tuo altissimo Who ordained princes and priests in Thy highest sanctuary
qui non reliquisti locum tuum sanctum sine ministerio, Who did not leave Thy holy place without ministers,	qui non reliquisti sublime sanctuarium tuum sine ministerio Who didst not leave Thy exalted sanctuary without ministers
qui complacuisti tibi glorificari in iis, quos elegisti: Who hast pleased Himself to be glorified in these whom Thou hast chosen:	Tibi, Domine, etiam placuit modo laudari in hoc servo tuo, et dignum effecisti eum, praeesse populo tuo; It pleased Thee also, O Lord, to be praised now in this Thy servant,
Tu iterum nunc Thou, again, now	and Thou hast made him worthy to preside over Thy people;
effunde virtutem Spiritus tui hegemonici pour forth the power of Thy leading Spirit	illumina eum et effunde super eum gratiam et intelligentiam Spiritus tui principalis,
	enlighten him and pour forth upon him the grace and understand- ing of Thy governing Spirit,
	quem tradidisti dilecto Filio tuo, Domino nostro Jesu Christo
	Whom Thou hast bequeathed to Thy Son, our Lord Jesus Christ
quem donasti Apostolis sanctis tuis which Thou gavest to Thy holy Apostles	qui datus fuit sanctis tuis Who was given to Thy saints
CO	NTINUED

(see Line 22)

in nomine tuo. in Thy name.

Da igitur Bestow,

per Filium tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et potentia et honor, cum Spiritu Sancto in sancta Ecclesia et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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through Thy Son Jesus Christ, to Whom be glory and power and honor, with the Holy Spirit in the holy Church both now and forever. Amen.

per puerum tuum Iesum Christum, per quem tibi gloria et potentia et honor, patri et filio cum spiritu sancto et nunc et in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

through Thy Son Jesus Christ, through Whom be glory and power and honor, to the Father and to the Son, with the Holy Spirit both now and forever. Amen.

and unto endless ages. Amen.

human nature of our Lord. This (created) gift is conferred by the three Divine Persons, as is every work that is external to the Trinity, but it is attributed to the Father (see Jas. 1:17), according to the classical Catholic principle of appropriation.

The consecratory prayer of a bishop in the Antiochean Syrian Rite which Dr. Coomaraswamy cites is indeed quite different from Pope Paul VI's rite.87 But the Apostolic Constitution Pontificalis Romani approving the new rite does not refer to this prayer. As we have explained, it was necessary to compare the new rite with the consecration rite of a Maronite patriarch. The doctor simply confused the two rites. Moreover, Dr. Coomaraswamy did not go to the trouble of looking at the Coptic rite, the second rite to which Pope Paul VI referred. When we pointed this out to a "Coomaraswamist," the answer back was that the Coptic rite was quite close to the Syrian rite, and that that could not affect the demonstration. That answer merits a double zero, and suffices to show that the work of the "Coomaraswamists," even if it looks impressive (especially by its volume) is in reality worthless.

The utilization of the form that is in use in two certainly valid Eastern rites assures its validity. The difficulty raised in this objection cannot open to doubt the *fact* of its validity, but calls for an explanation of *how* it can be valid.

To respond to the difficulty, two solutions can be offered: 1) Either the designation of the episcopal power by one of its properties (the capacity to receive jurisdiction⁸⁸) is sufficiently clear, in which case the essential part suffices;⁸⁹ 2) or else the essential part, insufficiently determined, is specified by the context, especially by the expression "summum sacerdotium" [fullness of the priesthood] which follows. This would be an instance of "significatio ex adjunctis" [that is, the full significance of the form is expressed by the surrounding words and ceremonies]: a form that

does not fully express the essence of the sacramental grace is expressed by the prayers and the ceremonies which accompany it. Thus, in the traditional Mass, the Offertory manifests the propitiatory aspect of the Mass, and its suppression in the new rite constitutes a grave omission.

Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the Coptic rite does not mention in any way the "completion of the priesthood" anywhere. Only an indirect mention is made of the plenitude of the power of Order in the expression: "May he have the power to constitute clerics according to his order for the sanctuary" (ut sit ipsi potestas...constituendi cleros secundum mandatum ejus ad sanctuarium).

What is important in the sacramental form is its meaning. Now, it is clear that the various modifications introduced do not change the meaning: "Spiritum principalem" in the accusative designates a gift of the Holy Ghost, as we have explained above. This explains why one finds the word *Spiritus* either in the genitive (designating the Person who gives the gift), as in the Latin version of the Apostolic Tradition; or in the accusative (designating the gift) as in the Canons of Hippolytus, which has "tribuens virtutem tuam et spiritum efficacem," and as in the new rite. It is truly puerile to think that the addition of the phrase "super hunc electum" changes the meaning of the formula. Moreover, an analogous formula occurs in the form of consecration of a Maronite metropolitan.⁹⁰

In general, when the several rites are compared, one can see that the differences are important. That proves that our Lord did not specify the form as precisely as He did for baptism or for the Eucharist (where the various formulas are very similar). He left a certain latitude to His Church, and it is futile to split hairs over minor changes that do not affect the meaning.

⁸⁷ That said, even the consecratory prayer of a bishop in the Maronite rite contains the expression "Spiritus principalis" in the essential part, at least in the translation given by Henry Denzinger, who uses the version of Renaudot in a Florentine manuscript: "Mitte super servum tuum istum Spiritum tuum Sanctum et principalem..." (Ritus Orientalium, II, 97). Dr. Coomaraswamy gives the translation from the Pontifical des Syriens d'Antioche (Liban: Sharfe, 1952), Pt.2, 204-05: "Send upon your servant here Thy holy and spiritual breath..." (Le Drame anglican, p.49). It seems that there are variants in the Syrian rite.

⁸⁸ As we have said in the introduction, we are working from the hypothesis that is most unfavorable to the validity of the new rite, namely, the sacramental nature of the episcopacy, in the sense that the episcopal consecration is held to impart some additional element of the sacrament of Orders beyond that which is conferred in ordination to the priesthood.

⁸⁹ In the sacrament of Extreme Unction, the form of the sacrament is a prayer for obtaining the pardon of sins committed by the divers senses and organs. That is not the essence of the sacrament (which is a grace that fortifies the

soul for the moment of death), but one property of it.

See Dom Paul Cagin, L'Anaphore apostolique, p.280: "super hunc famulum tuum." Several other rites have "super eum." Rore Sanctifica suspects that the use of the word "electus" is an allusion to Manicheism: "Now, given the Gnostic nature of the system from which this form comes, it is legitimate, in light of this context, to wonder if the episcopal rite of Paul VI might not be a rite conferring the powers to a Manichean elect." (Rore Sanctifica, p. 98). This is literally ridiculous. The use of the word "electus" is constant in ordination rites even in the most ancient documents. It suffices to look at page 22 of Rore Sanctifica to see that the word is used in a text which the author dates before the year 300. As for his objection to the usage of the word "Filius" instead of "puer" (see footnote 10), one can simply answer that the Greek word for boy or child has been translated by son in the Latin version...and in Ludolf's translation of the Ethiopian version; cf. Dom Paul Cagin, L'Anaphore apostolique, p.275. Rore Sanctifica does not even give his source. It is not a serious work.

DEFECT OF MATTER

The new rite clearly states that the matter of the sacrament is the imposition of hands.

Finally, in the ordination of a bishop, the matter is the laying of hands on the head of the bishop-elect by the consecrating bishops, or at least by the principal consecrator, that is done in silence before the consecratory prayer.⁹¹

The cause of the difficulty is that the imposition of the Gospels book on the bishop-elect's head occurs between the imposition of hands and the consecratory

In the second edition of the Pontifical (1990) several lengthy *prænotanda* were added. An explanation is given of the ceremony of the imposition of the Gospels in paragraph 26:

By the imposition of the Gospels book on the head of the ordinand during the ordination prayer, and by its placement in the hands of the newly ordained bishop, one of the bishop's principal duties, the faithful preaching of the Gospel, is highlighted.

Let us begin our reply by seeing how the reformers explained the change which they introduced. In 1969 La Maison Dieu published an issue on the new rites of infant baptism and of ordinations, in which it is said:

The first addition was the imposition of the Gospels book during the consecratory prayer. This was an ancient usage in the patriarchate of Antioch. It is difficult to say when it was introduced at Rome, but it was done for papal ordinations, according to the testimony of the *Liber* Diurnus⁹²: two deacons held the Gospels book open over the candidate's head. The same rite was introduced in Gaul under the influence of the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, 93 but with a variation: the Gospels book was no longer held by two deacons, but by two bishops.94

Here is the text of the *Liber Diurnus* given in Migne's *Patrology*: 95

⁹¹ Paul VI, Apostolic Constitution *Pontificalis Romani*, June 18, 1968. This is also stated in the rubrics. For example, in the 1990 edition, it reads: "By the imposition of the bishops' hands and by the consecratory prayer, the gift of the Holy Ghost is given to the elect for his episcopal function."

- 92 The Liber Diurnus is a collection of formulas used by the Roman chancellery. The rite for papal ordination that it contains was included in the collection of Ordines Romani edited by M. Andrieu under two forms, XL A and XL B. The most ancient probably goes back to the sixth century. [Note by Dom Botte.]
- 93 The Statuta are an apocryphal collection composed in Gaul towards the end of the fifth century, probably by Gennadius of Marseille; see C. Munier, Les Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua (Paris, 1960). [Note by Dom Botte.]
- 94 La Maison Dieu, 98 (2nd trimester, 1969), 113.
- 95 Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum, Title VIII (Ritus Ordinandi Pontificis), PL 105, 38D-39A.
- "Adesto supplicationibus nostris omnipotens Deus," etc. In the 1962 Pontifical, this prayer is said before the litany. This was already the case in the Roman Pontifical in the 13th century before Durand of Mende (Le Pontifical de la Curie romaine au XIIIe siècle, "Sources liturgiques," 4 (Paris: Cerf, 2004), p.80.–Ed.
- "Propitiare, Domine, supplicationibus nostris," etc. In the 1962 Roman Pontifical, this prayer is said after the imposition of hands just before the

Post litaniam ascendunt ad sedem, simul episcopi et presbyteri. Tunc episcopus Albanensis dat orationem primam: deinde episcopus Portuensis dat orationem secundam: postmodum adducuntur Evangelia, et aperiuntur, et tenentur super caput electi a diaconibus. Tunc episcopus Ostiensis consecrat eum pontificem.-After the litany, the bishops and the priests go up to the faldstool. Then the Bishop of Albano says the first prayer;⁹⁶ the Bishop of Porto, the second;⁹⁷ then the Gospels book is brought forward,98 it is opened, and held upon the head of the elect by the deacons. Then the Bishop of Ostia consecrates him pontiff.99

Since the second prayer is said after the imposition of hands, it can be seen that the imposition of the Gospels book took place between the imposition of hands and the consecratory prayer. 100 As for the text of the Statua Ecclesia Antiqua, here it is:

Episcopus cum ordinatur, duo episcopi ponant et teneant evangeliorum codicem super cervicem eius et uno super eum fundente benedictionem, reliqui omnes episcopi qui adsunt, manibus suis caput eius tangant.-When a bishop is ordained, let two bishops place and hold the Gospels book on his neck, and while the blessing is pronounced over him, let the other bishops present touch his head with their hands. 101

In the article already cited, Dom Botte had this to say about the imposition of the Gospels book:

The imposition of hands is followed by the opening of the Gospels book on the head or shoulders of the bishopelect. 102 As I said above, this ceremony is to be found in very ancient liturgical books in Syria. It was introduced at Rome for papal ordination, then was generalized throughout Gaul by the Statuta Ecclesiae Antiqua, though according to the latter, the Gospels book was supposed to be held by two bishops. They reverted to the ancient tradition: the Gospels book is held by two deacons. No formula expresses the meaning of the ceremony. Only the Byzantine Rite furnishes an explanation: the bishop must be subject to the yoke of the Gospel. This is the only authorized commentary that we have, and it is coherent.103

In a study that came out in 1957, Dom Botte said: No formula expresses the signification of the ceremony. The Pontifical directs that the book be imposed super

- consecratory prayer. This was already the case in Roman Pontifical of the 13th century (ibid., p.82).–Ed.
- 98 Migne points out in a note: "In the episcopal ordination, the Ordo Romanus says that the Gospels book is held on the head of the elect not by deacons, but by bishops.'
- ⁹⁹ The prayer begins with the words: "Deus honorum omnium." The current consecratory prayer says "Deus honor omnium." It is said that a formula proper to the pope must be added to the sentence: "Et idcirco famulo tuo N. quem ad summi sacerdotii ministerium elegisti, hanc, quaesumus, Domine, gratiam largiaris" and this sentence is found word for word in the 1962 ritual. This confirms that the consecratory prayer of the Roman ritual is very ancient, since the Liber Diurnus dates to the seventh or eighth century, and repeats the formularies of St. Gelasius (492-496) and of St. Gregory the Great (590-604).
- ¹⁰⁰ See the preceding notes (especially n.33).
- ¹⁰¹ Charles Munier, Les Statuta Ecclesiæ Antiqua, (PUF, 1958), p.95.
- ¹⁰² The Coomaraswamists thought that their objections were beginning to be taken into account [by ecclesiastical authorities] by the fact that, in a recent episcopal consecration, the imposition of the Gospels book was made on the ordinand's shoulders and not his head. Yet from this passage it is clear that this variant was recognized by Dom Botte even in 1969.
- ¹⁰³ La Maison Dieu, 98 (2nd trimester, 1969), 119.

cervicem et scapulas [on the neck and shoulders], but the ancient documents have it imposed on the head.... [This rite] certainly represents a real usage of the Church of Antioch, for St. John Chrysostom alludes to it, and as does the Pseudo-Denis later on. It is found in all the rites of the Syrian type. 104

Indeed, this ceremony is common in the Syrian rites currently in use. We found it in the ordination rites of Syrian bishops (according to Morin¹⁰⁵ and Renaudot¹⁰⁶), the Maronite patriarch,¹⁰⁷ and Maronite bishops and metropolitans.108

To summarize: the imposition of hands on the head of the ordinand during the episcopal consecration is still practiced today in the Eastern Rites, and it was practiced at Rome formerly. Evidence of the occurrence of the imposition of the Gospels book between the imposition of hands and the consecratory prayer at Rome is contained in the Liber Diurnus.109

How can it be explained that this placement of the imposition of the Gospels book does not break the unity between the matter and form? Here are two justifications of the fact (each of which is sufficient).

The imposition of the Gospels book does not break the moral unity between the imposition of hands and the consecratory prayer. It must be remembered that the union between the matter and form of a sacrament is a moral union (they concur to signify the same thing), and not a physical union (as exists between a man's soul and body). There can be an interval between

the two as long as the form clearly applies to the matter. Thus in the sacrament of penance, a certain time can elapse between the confession and the absolution. Similarly in the traditional Roman rite for sacerdotal ordination, the matter is the first imposition of hands which is done in silence, while the form is the consecratory prayer that is made a little later. 110 Between the two, a prayer to the Holy Spirit is made with hands joined.

Whatever may be the meaning attributed to the ceremony of the imposition of the Gospels book in the new rite (prolongation of the imposition of hands,¹¹¹ the sending of the Holy Spirit,¹¹² submission to the yoke of the Gospel,¹¹³ the *munus prædicandi* confided to the bishop¹¹⁴), it is clear that it fits into the ceremony of episcopal ordination and that it manifests no intention of interrupting the conferral of the sacrament: that is even more evident in the ancient rite in which the Gospels book is kept on the neck of the bishop-elect during the entire consecratory

The principal consecrator lifts his hands at the beginning of the consecratory prayer: this gesture is equivalent to the imposition of hands, since moral contact suffices for the sacrament to be validly conferred.¹¹⁵

As for the fact that in the new rite the ordaining bishop must join his hands while saying the essential words of the rite (no explanation is given), one might

¹⁰⁴ Bernard Botte, O.S.B., "L'Ordre d'après les prières d'ordination," in Études sur le sacrament de l'ordre, Lex Orandi Series Vol. 22 (Paris: Cerf, 1957), pp.20, 22.

¹⁰⁵ Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium, II, 75.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., II, 97.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 219-20.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., II, 199.

 $^{^{109}}$ In all the preparatory schemas of the new ritual until Schema 270 of Feb. 1, 1968, the imposition of the Gospels book was placed before the imposition of hands, as in the ancient rite. In the text promulgated by Rome on June 18, the imposition of the Gospels book was placed after the imposition of hands. No explanation for this change was given. Dom Botte did not propose it, but he accepted it, since he speaks of it as a natural thing in his Maison *Dieu* article which came out the following year. In our opinion, it is purely a practical matter: it is difficult to impose hands on the candidate while the Gospels book is placed upon his head... To remedy the difficulty, the Eastern rituals prescribe an elaborate sequence of raising and lowering the Gospels book. The redactors probably found it simpler to place the imposition of the Gospels book after the imposition of hands, as was already the case in the Liber Diurnus.

¹¹⁰ Pius XII, Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis, DS 3860.

¹¹¹ This is the explanation given by M. Metzger in Les Constitutions Apostoliques II (Bks. III-VI), SC 329, introduction, critical analysis, translation, and notes by Marcel Metzger, pp.78-9 [in the Introduction]. This is the way he explains that in the Apostolic Constitutions no mention is made "of the imposition of hands, but of a gesture of the same significance which can be likened to an extension [of the hands]: the deacons hold the Gospels book open on the head of the ordinand (VIII, 4, 6) at the moment of the consecratory prayer."

According to a text of Severian of Gabala (4th-5th century): "The presence of tongues of fire on the [Apostles'] heads is the sign of an ordination.

Indeed, as custom demands up to the present day, since the descent of the Holy Spirit is invisible, that one impose upon the head of whoever is to be ordained high-priest the Gospels book; and when this imposition is made, one must see nothing but a tongue of fire posing on his head; a tongue because of the preaching of the Gospel; a tongue of fire because of the words 'I am come to cast fire on the earth." (Translated by J. Lécuyer, "Note sur la liturgie du sacre des évêques," Ephemerides Liturgicæ, 66 (1952), 370. Let us point out that in the traditional rite, the imposition of hands is accompanied by the prayer "Accipe Spiritum Sanctum-receive the Holy Ghost" (Pontificale Romanum [1962], p.69.)

¹¹³ This is the meaning given in the traditional Roman rite, a meaning known even by St. John Chrysostom: "It is for this reason, that, during the ordination of priests, the Church also places the Gospels book on the head of the ordinand, so that he, too, may learn that, while he is the head of all, yet is he subject to these laws; commanding all, yet himself commanded by the Law; making laws on everything, yet himself receiving laws from the word (of God).... Consequently, the imposition of the Gospels book on the high-priest signifies that he is subject to an authority." (Greek Fathers, LIV,

¹¹⁴ The duty to preach, as Rubric 26 of the prænotanda of the second edition of the Pontifical implies (see above).

^{115 &}quot;That no occasion for doubt may be offered, we command that in any conferring of orders the imposition of hands be made by physically touching the head of the one to be ordained, although even the moral touch suffices for performing a sacrament validly." (Pius XII, Apostolic Constitution Sacramentum Ordinis, DS 3861 [Dz. 2301]). As for the pretension that the imposition of the Gospels book on the head of the bishop-elect would prevent moral contact between the consecrator's hand and the ordinand's head, it should suffice to point out that a priest who forgets to uncover the ciborium validly consecrates the hosts, or that absolution can be conferred through an opaque screen, etc.

regret it, but that certainly does not prevent the validity of the rite: in the traditional rite, only the principal consecrator had his hands extended at that moment, 116 yet it is certain that the co-consecrators validly consecrated.

DEFECT OF INTENTION

We have never seen anything to suggest that the new rite was made in view of ecumenism with the Anglicans. The "ecumenical" argument envisaged the Eastern Rites. Let us revisit Dom Botte's memoirs:

If I was paying attention to this text it wasn't because I had just finished a critical edition of it, but because my study of the oriental rites made me notice that the formula always survived under more evolved forms. Thus, in the Syrian Rite the prayer for the patriarch's ordination was none other than the one in the *Testamentum Domini*, a reworking of the Apostolic Tradition. The same is true for the Coptic Rite where the prayer for the bishop's ordination is close to that of the Apostolic Constitutions, another reworking of Hipploytus' text. The essential ideas of the Apostolic Tradition can be found everywhere. Reusing the old text in the Roman Rite would affirm a unity of outlook between East and West on the episcopacy. This was an ecumenical argument. It was decisive. 117

The situation is quite different from that in which the new Mass was redacted, during which the reformers clearly manifested their desire for ecumenism with the Protestants who participated in the elaboration of the new rite. Such a *rapprochement* and such collaboration with heretics was a danger to the orthodoxy of the faith, and in fact resulted in a new Mass *favens hæresim* (favoring heresy). In this case the *rapprochement* is with rites in usage in the East by Catholics as well as by schismatics The fact of desiring to establish cordial relations with these Rites does not manifest *a priori* any intention dangerous to the faith. And in fact the new rite does not deserve to be characterized as "*favens hæresim*," even if one might have other valid reasons for refusing it.¹¹⁸

If there are Anglicans who have adopted (ad libitum) a liturgy similar to Pope Paul VI's rite, different explanations can be offered: 1) The Anglicans might have doubts about their own rite (even if they corrected the rite declared invalid by Leo XIII), and consequently may desire to have recourse to a certainly valid rite. 2) As it would be humiliating for them to reinstate the rite of the Roman Church which they rejected, it might be for them a less compromising solution to adopt a rite inspired by the Apostolic Tradition that is known to be valid

thanks to its usage in the Eastern Rites. 3) The new rite being less explicit than the pre-conciliar Roman rite (to which, over the centuries, additions were made to specify the true nature of the episcopacy against errors), it would be easier for them to accommodate it to their own ideas, introducing slight modifications as needed. An example of a favorable reception is given in a letter from Oscar Cullman to Fr. Bruno Kleinheyer, dated March 19, 1968, after the first episcopal consecration in the new rite, that of Msgr. Hänggi, Bishop of Basel:

I consider that the ordination on the occasion of Msgr. Hänggi's consecration is a very beautiful fruit of the efforts of the Council in liturgical matters. As a Protestant, I can only say that I could have participated completely in this liturgy (a few passages excepted), and that this could also be an example for the investiture of the Protestant ministers of the Church.¹¹⁹

Consequently, nothing supports the allegation that conciliar Rome adopted the new rite because they share the ideas of the Anglicans concerning the episcopacy and their non-Catholic intention, even if the new rite is more easily acceptable to the Protestants than the old rite.

The most contestable point of doctrine issuing from Vatican II as regards the episcopacy is collegiality. We know that Pope Paul VI himself was obliged to insert a nota explicativa prævia (preliminary explanatory note)¹²⁰ to the Dogmatic Constitution on the Church in order to avoid a heterodox interpretation being given to the Conciliar text. Here is the passage of this note that especially concerns us:

A person becomes a *member of the College* by virtue of episcopal consecration and hierarchical communion with the head of the College and its members. Cf. Article 22, §1, at the end.

In consecration is given an ontological participation in sacred functions, as is clear beyond doubt from tradition, even liturgical. The word functions is deliberately employed, rather than powers, since this latter word could be understood as ready to go into action. But for such ready power to be had, it needs canonical or juridical determination by hierarchical authority. This determination of power can consist in the granting of a particular office, or in an assigning of subjects; and it is given according to norms approved by the highest authority. Such an ulterior norm is demanded by the nature of the case, since there is question of functions which must be exercised by several subjects working together by Christ's will in a hierarchical manner. It is clear that this "communion" has been in the life of the Church according to circumstances of the times, before it was, so to speak, codified in law.

¹¹⁶ Consécration des Évêques (Angers: Richer, 1920), p.52: "Alone extending his hands over the elect, the consecrator continues [and says the consecratory prayer]."

Botte, O.S.B., From Silence to Participation: An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal, tr. by John Sullivan, O.C.D. (Washington, D.C.: The Pastoral Press, 1988), p.135.

¹¹⁸ See what we said above at the end of the main answer above.

¹¹⁹ Archives of the German Liturgical Institute (Trier), Kleinheyer drawer, B 130, our translation.

¹²⁰ Curiously, this preliminary note is published at the end of the Constitution Lumen Gentium in the [French] Centurion edition (1965) [as well as in the Abbott edition from which the English citation below is taken].

Therefore, it is significantly stated that *hierarchical* communion is required with the head of the Church and its members. *Communion* is an idea which was held in high honor by the ancient Church (as it is even today, especially in the East). It is understood, however, not of a certain vague feeling, but of an *organic reality* which demands a juridical form, and is simultaneously animated by charity. Hence the Commission by practically unanimous consent decreed that it must be written: "in *hierarchical* communion." Cf. Modus 40, and also what is said of *canonical mission* under Article 24.

The documents of the more recent Popes dealing with the jurisdiction of bishops must be interpreted in the light of this necessary determination of powers.¹²¹

Collegiality was taught by the Council in the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen Gentium* in Articles 22 and 23. These paragraphs are not quoted in the Apostolic Constitution *Pontificalis Romani* of June 18, 1968, promulgating the new rite, nor in the rubrics of the first edition (1968). The second edition (1990), which contains much more developed rubrics, refers to the collegiality of *Lumen Gentium* in the following passages from the *prænotanda*:

No. 12: By virtue of episcopal ordination and by hierarchical communion with the head and members of the college, one is constituted a member of the episcopal college.

The order of bishops is the successor to the college of the apostles in teaching authority and pastoral rule; or, rather, in it [the episcopal order] the apostolic body continues without a break.¹²² Indeed, as successors of the apostles, bishops receive from the Lord, to whom was given all power in heaven and on earth, the mission to teach all nations and to preach the gospel to every creature, so that all men may attain to salvation by faith, baptism, and the fulfillment of the commandments (cf. Mt. 18);¹²³ the episcopal college, insofar as it is assembled under the one head of the Roman Pontiff, the successor of Peter, expresses the unity, the variety, and the universality of the flock of Christ.¹²⁴

In the new rite of consecration itself, collegiality is explicitly mentioned in the consecrator's allocution:

Never forget that in the Catholic Church, made one by the bond of Christian love, you are incorporated into the college of bishops. You should therefore have a constant concern for all the churches and gladly come to the aid and support of churches in need.

The specific errors related to collegiality (the affirmation of a second supreme authority in the Church, or the existence of a real power of jurisdiction received prior to canonical mission) are not expressed in these passages. Therefore, there is no proof that the redactors wanted to modify the rite with the intention of doing something other than what the Church has always done when ordaining bishops. Nevertheless, one could say that the will to affirm the doctrine of Vatican II on the episcopacy

constitutes a supplementary reason to refuse this new rite: without denying its *validity*, one can deny its *liceity*.

Answers to the Arguments

Undoubtedly, if the new rite were systematically invalid, the Catholic Church would be in a piteous state. Nevertheless, it still would not be without a hierarchy. Indeed, the bishops of the Eastern Rites would still remain, as they would continue to benefit from a valid ordination. And in the Roman Church, the bishops of Tradition would remain as well as—though for how long?— a few aged bishops ordained according to the former rite, all of them non-resident bishops. If the new rite were invalid, the Church would not be utterly without hierarchy: still, there would be an almost total disappearance of the Roman Church's hierarchy, which seems hardly compatible with the special assistance of Providence over this Church, Mother and Mistress of all the Churches.

Nor is it possible to make a definitive argument from the fact that the reform was examined by a commission of the Holy Office while Cardinal Ottaviani was Prefect. On the one hand, as we have seen, Dom Botte arranged things in such a way as to sideline the Holy Office's representative during the meetings of the examining commission. On the other, it must be remembered that Cardinal Ottaviani had gone blind during the last part of his tenure. That is undoubtedly the reason why he began by letting the new Mass pass. Archbishop Lefebvre had to go and see him and insist that he reconsider his decision and sign The Short Critical Study of the Novus Ordo Missae available from Angelus Press.–Ed.|. Just as he did with the new Mass, Cardinal Ottaviani could have allowed deficiencies to slip into the new episcopal consecration rite.

There is no proof that Archbishop Lefebvre studied the reform of the episcopal consecration. A former seminarian even claimed that Archbishop Lefebvre had been tricked by a false report that presented Pope Paul VI's reform as being in conformity with the Eastern rites. In fact, it is possible that Archbishop Lefebvre was shown the resemblance between the rite of Pope Paul VI and the Eastern rites, but in that there is no deception. The former seminarian of whom we speak was himself deceived by R. Coomaraswamy and did not notice this resemblance.

¹²¹ [English version: Walter M. Abbott, S.J., ed., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: The America Press, 1966), pp.99-100.]

¹²² See Lumen Gentium, Article 22.

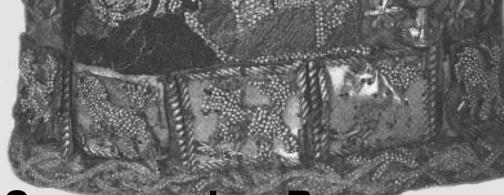
¹²³ See *Ibid.*, Article 24.

¹²⁴ See Ibid., Article 22.

Consequently, not much can be inferred from Archbishop Lefebvre's silence, except a certain probability: it is likely that, if the new rite were certainly invalid, as some "Coomaraswamists" claim, then Providence would not have allowed a fact of such importance to escape the notice of a person manifestly chosen by God to guide faithful Catholics in this time of confusion.

CONCLUSION

We think that we have shown that the reasons for suspecting the validity of the new rite of episcopal consecration as it was promulgated by Rome in 1968 are not at all serious. Moreover, the validity of the new rite could not be called into question without also calling into question the validity of several Eastern rites recognized by the Church from time immemorial. However, as we remarked at the end of the main response, if the new rite is still valid *per se*, it is quite possible that, owing to bad translations or an adaptation of the rite that strayed too far from the original, or because of a consecrator's defect of intention, in certain particular cases we could have an invalid ceremony.



Appendix I: Consecration Prayers

THE CEREMONY BEFORE VATICAN II

It is truly meet and just, right and for our salvation, that we should at all times and in all places give thanks to Thee, holy Lord, Father almighty, eternal God, the honor of all the dignities that by holy orders serve Thy glory; O God, who, in the inspiration of secret and familiar conversation, among other teachings regarding divine worship, commanded Moses to regulate priestly vestments, and then ordered that Thine elect, Aaron, be clothed for the offering of sacrifice in a mystical garment, desiring thus to guarantee the continuity of Thy teaching, that every generation receive from its forebears instruction; and also that the signs of future realities being respected in the old Testament, the reality might be for us more certain than the enigmas of figures. The vesture of the former priesthood indeed represents the ornament of our souls, and it is no longer the honor of vestments, but rather the splendor of their souls which recommends to us the glory of the pontiffs, since that which then pleased the eyes had as object to make the truths that were contained therein understandable. Therefore, to thy servant, whom thou hast chosen for the ministry of perfect priesthood, grant, we beseech Thee, Lord, that this grace which all these vestments, by the glitter of gold, the brilliance of gems, and the variety of skilled handiwork, signified, shine in his conversation and in his actions. Fulfill in Thy priest the completion of Thy ministry, and adorned in the ornaments of all glorification sanctify him with the moisture of heavenly unguent.

[Here the anointing of the head takes place while the *Veni Creator* is sung.]

May this unguent, Lord, flow abundantly upon his head, overflow upon his bosom and reach even to the extremities of his body so that the virtue of Thy Spirit may fill him within and protect him without. May the constancy of the law, the purity of charity,

and the sincerity of peace abound in him. By Thy gift, may his feet, which must preach peace and announce Thy benefits, be beautiful. Charge him, Lord, with the ministry of reconciliation by word and by deed, by the force of miracles. May he go and preach, not with the oratorical cleverness of human wisdom, but by showing Thy spirit and Thy strength. Give him, Lord, the keys of the kingdom of heaven, that, without glorying in himself, he make use of the power which Thou grantest him to edify and not to destroy. Let all which he may bind or loose on earth, be bound or loosed in heaven. Let the sins which he shall retain be retained, and forgiven to those to whom he has forgiven them. Let whomever he has cursed be cursed, and blessed, whom he has blessed. Let him be this faithful and wise servant whom Thous dost establish, Lord, over Thy family, that he nourish it in due time, and render every man perfect. Let him be active, prudent, hate pride, love humility and truth, and never betray it out of human respect or fear. Let him not make the darkness light, nor the light darkness; evil of good, nor good of evil. Let him give of himself both to the wise and to the simple, so that he profit from the progress of all. Place him, Lord, upon the episcopal see to rule Thy Church and the people confided to him. Be his authority, his might, his strength. Shower upon him Thy blessings and Thy grace, so that Thy gift make him always apt, and Thy grace, prompt to implore Thy mercy.

[The consecrator concludes in a low voice, joining hands, and saying the following:] Through Jesus Christ our Lord...

R. Amen.

THE CEREMONY SINCE 1968

[The principal consecrator lays his hands upon the head of the bishop-elect, in silence. After him, all the other bishops present do the same. Then the principal consecrator places the open Book of the Gospels upon the head of the bishop-elect; two deacons, standing at either side of the bishop-elect, hold the Book of the Gospels above his head until the prayer of consecration is completed. Next the principal consecrator, with his hands extended, sings the prayer of consecration or says it aloud:]

God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, you dwell in heaven, yet look with compassion on all that is humble. You know all things before they come to be; by your gracious word you have established the plan of your Church. From the beginning you chose the descendants of Abraham to be your holy nation. You established rulers and priests, and did not leave your sanctuary without ministers to serve you. From the creation of the world you have been pleased to be glorified by those whom you have chosen.

[The following part of the prayer is sung by all the consecrating bishops, with hands joined:]

So now pour out upon this chosen one that power which is from you, the governing spirit whom you gave to your beloved Son, Jesus Christ, the Spirit given by him to the holy apostles, who founded the Church in every place to be your temple for the unceasing glory and praise of your name.

[Then the principal consecrator continues alone:]

Father, you know all hearts. You have chosen your servant for the office of bishop. May he be a shepherd to your holy flock, and a high priest blameless in your sight, ministering to you night and day; may he always gain the blessing of your favor and offer the gifts of your holy Church. Through the Spirit who gives the grace of high priesthood grant him the power to forgive sins as you have commanded, to assign ministries as you have decreed, and to loose every bond by the authority which you gave to your apostles. May he be pleasing to you by his gentleness and purity of heart, presenting a fragrant offering to you, through Jesus Christ, your Son, through whom glory and power and honor are yours with the Holy Spirit in your holy Church, now and for ever. **R.** Amen.



Appendix 2: Comparison of Formulas (1919)

As early as 1919, Dom Paul Cagin, O.S.B., a monk of Solesmes, made a comparison (adjacent at right) of the texts of the consecratory prayers of the Apostolic Tradition and ten other ancient texts, of which four were Eastern rites still in vigor. An image of a summary table [re-typeset below-Ed.] he compiled at the conclusion of his study of the 11 texts is reproduced here (Dom Paul Cagin, L'Anaphore apostolique et ses témoins [Paris: Lethielleux, 1919], pp.274-91). In the column headings, the Apostolic Tradition (referred to as "V" for "Veronese Manuscript") is on the far left, the consecration of a Coptic bishop (Cc) is seventh from the left, preceded by the Apostolic Constitutions (AC VIII) and the consecration of a Maronite metropolitan (MM). On the far right are the Testamentum Domini (T) and the consecration of a Maronite patriarch (MP).

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Appendix 3: Two Additional Texts

We provide here the texts of the prayers for episcopal consecration from the *Testamentum Domini* and the Apostolic Constitutions. This will enable the reader to verify Dom Botte's assertion, which we have quoted in our study:

Thus, in the Syrian Rite the prayer for the patriarch's ordination was none other than the one in the *Testamentum Domini*, a reworking of the Apostolic Tradition. The same is true for the Coptic Rite where the prayer for the bishop's ordination is close to that of the Apostolic Constitutions, another reworking of Hippolytus' text. (Botte, *An Insider's View of Liturgical Renewal*, p.135)

The Testament of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the Maronite Rite

(Rahmani, p.30, cited in Dom Paul Cagin, pp.286-288.)

(Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium, t.2, p.220.)

TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Deus qui omnia in virtute fecisti et formasti, qui fundasti conceptu mentis orbem habitabilem, qui ornasti coronam omnium rerum a te factarum, qui dedisti eis in timore servare jussa tua, qui tribuisti nobis intellectum veritatis, et notum fecisti nobis Spiritum tuum illum bonum,

O God, Who didst make and form all things with power, Who founded the habitable world by the thought of Thy mind, Who bejeweled the crown of all things made by Thee, Who granted to these (men) in fear to follow Thy commands, Who gave us an understanding of truth, and made known to us Thy Good Spirit,

Deus et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Pater misericordiam et Deus totius consolationis, qui in puris altis habitas perpetuo, qui es altissimus, laudabilis, terribilis, magnus et omnia videns, qui omnia, antequam fiant, nosti, apud quem omnia, antequam sint, jam erant, qui illuminationem dedisti

ecclesiæ per gratiam Unigeniti Filii tui, prædefiniens

ab initio illos qui cupiunt æquitatem et faciunt quae

sancta sunt, habitare in mansionibus tuis;

O God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, Who livest forever in the purest heavens, Who art the Most High, praiseworthy, fearsome, great and all-seeing, Who knowest all things before they are, in Whom all things already were, even before they are, Who granted the Church light through the grace of Thine only-begotten Son, choosing those from the beginning who thirst for justice and do what is holy and right, causing them to live in Thy many mansions,

qui elegisti Abraham qui placuit tibi in fide, et Henoch sanctum transtulisti ad thesaurum vitæ, qui principes et sacerdotes ordinasti in sanctuario tuo altissimo;

Who didst choose Abraham, who pleased Thee in faith, and Enoch whom Thou transported to heaven, Who hast ordained princes and priests unto Thy highest sanctuary,

CONSECRATION OF THE

Deus, qui omnia in virtute fecisti et firmasti ac fundasti conceptu mentis orbem habitabilem, qui ornasti coronam omnium rerum a te factarum, qui dedisti nobis in timore custodire mandata tua, qui tribuisti nobis intellectum veritatis et manifestasti nobis Spiritum tuum illum bonum, qui Filium tuum dilectum misisti unicum Salvatorem nostrum immaculatum pro redemptione nostra,

O God Who didst make and form all things with power, Who founded the habitable world by the thought of Thy mind, Who bejeweled the crown of all things made by Thee, Who granted to us in fear to keep Thy commands, Who gave us an intellect for truth, and made known to us Thy Good Spirit, Who sent Thine only-begotten Son as our only pure Savior for our redemption,

Deus Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis, qui in puris altis habitas perpetuo, qui es altissimus, laudabilis, terribilis, magnus et omnia videns, qui omnia, antequam fiant, nosti, apud quem omnia, antequam sunt, jam erant, qui illuminationem dedisti Ecclesiæ per gratiam unigeniti Filii tui, prædefiniens ab initio illos, qui cupiunt æquitatem et faciunt, quæ sancta sunt, habitare in mansionibus tuis ;

O God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Father of mercies and God of all consolation, Who livest forever in the purest heavens, Who art the Most High, praiseworthy, fearsome, great and all-seeing, Who knowest all things before they are, with Whom all things already were, even before they are, Who grantest the Church light through the grace of Thine only-begotten Son, choosing from the beginning those who thirst for justice and do what is holy, causing them to live in Thy many mansions,

qui elegisti Abraham, qui placuit tibi in fide, et Henoch sanctum thesauro vitæ donasti, qui principes et sacerdotes ordinasti in sanctuario tuo altissimo, Domine;

Who didst choose Abraham, who pleased Thee in faith, and Enoch whom Thou transported to heaven, who hast ordained princes and priests unto Thy highest sanctuary, O Lord;

3

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TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD JESUS CH

Domine, qui vocasti eos ad laudandum et glorificandum in loco gloriæ tuæ nomen tuum et Unigeniti tui; Domine Deus, qui non reliquisti sublime sanctuarium tuum sine ministerio ante constitutionem mundi et ex mundi constitutione sanctuaria tua ornasti et decorasti princibus (i.e., pontificibus) et sacerdotibus fidelibus juxta formam cælorum tuorum.

O Lord, Who hast called these (men) to praising and glorifying Thy Holy name in the place of glory, and of Thine only-begotten Son; Lord God, who hast not left Thy sublime sanctuary without a minister from before the forming of the world, and from the beginning of the world hast bejeweled Thy sanctuary, and decorated princes (i.e., popes) and faithful priests, in the form of Thy heavens.

qui vocasti eos ad laudandum et glorificandum in loco gloriæ tuæ nomen tuum et Unigeniti tui; Domine Deus, qui non reliquisti sublime sanctuarium tuum sine ministerio ante constitutionem mundi; sanctuaria tua exornasti et decorasti principibus (pontificibus) et sacerdotibus

fidelibus juxta formata coelorum tuorum.

CONSECRATION OF T

Who hast called these (men) to praising and glorifying Thy holy name in the place of glory, and of Thine only-begotten Son; O Lord God, who hast not left Thy sublime sanctuary without a minister from before the forming of the world, and from the beginning of the world hast bejeweled Thy sanctuary, and decorated princes (popes) and faithful priests, in the form of Thy heavens.

Tibi, Domine, etiam placuit modo laudari in hoc

servo tuo, et dignum effecisti eum, præesse populo

May he, Thy servant, also please Thee in the way of praise, for

Thou hast made him worthy to be set before Thy people,

Domine cui etiam nunc collaudari placuit, et dignatus es constituere principes (id est præsidentes) populo tuo,

O Lord, Who art now pleased to be praised, and dost deign to constitute princes (that is presidents) for Thy people,

Illumina et effunde intelligentiam et gratiam spiritus tuus principalis, quem tradidisti dilecto Filio tuo Jesu Christo.

May Thy governing spirit enlighten and pour forth understanding and grace, which Thou didst give to Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ.

illumina eum et effunde super eum gratiam et intelligentiam Spiritus tui principalis, quem tradidisti dilecto Filio tuo, Domino nostro Jesu Christo;

May Thy governing spirit enlighten and pour forth understanding and grace, which Thou didst give to Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ;

Da, Deus, sapientiam, consilium, fortitudinem, virtutem, unitatem spiritus ad faciendum omnia per tuam cooperationem.

Grant, O God, wisdom, counsel, fortitude, virtue, oneness of spirit, for the making of all things through Thy cooperation.

da ei, Deus, sapientiam laudabilem, fortitudinem, virtutem, unitatem spiritus ad faciendum omnia per tuam cooperationem.

Grant unto him, O God, praiseworthy wisdom, fortitude, virtue, oneness of spirit, for the making of all things through Thy cooperation,

Concede, Deus, Spiritum tuum sanctum, qui datus fuit sancto tuo, mitte eum Ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ et puræ, et omni loco, qui laudes tuas canit. Da, Domine, ut servus tuus iste placeat tibi, ad enarrationem gloriæ et laudem incessabilem, ad glorificationes perfectas, ad tempora propitia, ad orationes acceptas, ad postulationem fidelem, ad cogitationem rectam, ad cor humile, ad actionem vitæ et humilitatis ac veritatis, ad scientiam

Grant, O God, Thy Holy Spirit, who wast given to Thy Holy One, send Him to Thy holy and pure Church, and to all places which sing Thy praises. Grant, O Lord, that this Thy servant may please Thee, for the proclaiming of glory and inexpressible praise, for the perfection of glorifications, for temporal goods, for acceptable prayers, for preaching the Faith, for right knowing, for a humble heart, for the actions of life and humility and Concede ei Deus, Spiritum tuum Sanctum, qui datus fuit sanctis tuis, confirma Ecclesiam tuam puram et sanctam et omnem locum tuum sanctum, largire etiam, Domine, ut servus tuus iste, qui placuit tibi, sit ad enarrationem gloriæ et laudem incessabilem, ad glorificationes perfectas et tempori aptas, ad orationes acceptas, postulationes fideles, cogitationes rectas, cor humile, ad actionem vitæ et humilitatis ac veritatis, ad scientiam rectitudinis.

Grant unto him, O God, Thy Holy Spirit, Who was given to Thy saints; make Thy Church pure and holy, and all Thy holy places; grant also, O Lord, that this Thy servant, who has pleased Thee, may proclaim Thy glory and unspeakable praise, for the perfection of glorifications, for temporal goods, for acceptable prayers, for faithful prayers, right thoughts, a humble heart, for the actions of life, and humility, and truth, and for knowing the truth.

rectitudinis.

truth, and for the knowing of rightness.

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TESTAMENT OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Pater qui nosti corda omnium, huic servo tuo, quem elegisti ad episcopatum, ut pascat gregem tuum sanctum et summo sacerdotio fungatur sine querela, die ac nocte tibi ministrans, concede ut appareat facies tua, eumque dignum redde

O Father, Who knowest the hearts of all, grant to this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen for the Episcopate, that he would feed Thy holy flock, and perform the functions of the High Priesthood without blame, day and night serving Thee, grant that Thy face appear, and make him worthy

CONSECRATION OF THE MARONITE PATRIARCH

Pater, qui nosti corda omnium, effunde virtutem tuam super hunc servum tuum, quem elegisti ad patriarchatum, ut pascat universum gregem tuum sanctum et summo sacerdotio fungatur sine querela, die ac nocte tibi ministrans, et concede, ut illi appareat facies tua, eumque dignum redde,

O Father, Who knowest the hearts of all, pour forth Thy strength upon this Thy servant, whom Thou hast chosen for the priesthood, that he may feed Thy entire holy flock, and that he may perform the office of the High Priesthood without blame, day and night serving Thee; grant also that to him Thy face may appear, and make him worthy,

qui tibi diligenter et cum omni timore offerat oblationes Ecclesiæ sanctæ tuæ impertire ei, ut habeat tuum Spiritum pollentem potestate ad solvenda omnia ligamina, quemadmodum Apostolis tuis concessisti.

who shall diligently and with all fear offer the oblations of Thy Holy Church, command that he have Thy powerful spirit, with the power of loosening all bonds, as Thou didst give to Thy Apostles,

qui tibi attente et cum omni timore offerat oblationes Ecclesiæ tuæ sanctæ, et impertire ei totam potestatem, quam dedisti sanctis Apostolis tuis, ut potestate Spiritus tui solvat omnia ligamina,

who shall devoutly and with all fear offer the oblations of Thy Holy Church, grant unto him the fullness of power, which Thou didst give to Thy Apostles, that by the power of Thy Spirit he may loosen all bonds,

Ut placeat tibi in humilitate, imple illum charitate, scientia, discretione, disciplina, perfectione, magnanimitate cum puro corde, dum orat pro populo, dum contristatur pro his qui stulte agunt, eosque ad auxilium trahit, dum offert tibi laudes, confessiones ac orationes, in odorem suavitatis,

That he may please Thee in humility, fill him with charity, knowledge, discernment, learning, perfection, magnanimity with a pure heart, while he prays for the people, while he weeps for those who act foolishly, may he draw them to seek help, while he offers Thee praise, prayer and acclaim in the odor of sweetness,

et ut placeat tibi in pura humilitate, caritate illum imple, scientia, discretione, disciplina, perfectione, magnanimitate cum puro corde, dum orat pro populo, dum contristatur pro his, qui stulte agunt, eosque ad auxilium trahit, dum offert tibi laudes et confessiones ac orationes in odorem suavitatis

that he may please Thee in pure humility, fill him with charity, knowledge, discernment, learning, perfection, magnanimity with a pure heart, while he prays for the people, while he weeps for those who act foolishly; may he draw them to seek help, while he offers Thee praise, prayer and acclaim in the odor of sweetness,

per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum una cum Spiritu sancto ante sæcula et nunc et omni tempore et in generationem generationum et in sæcula interminabilia sæculorum. Amen.

through our Lord Jesus Christ Thy Son, together with the Holy Ghost, before all ages, now, and in all times, and unto all generations, and unto endless ages. Amen.

per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum dilectum, per quem tibi gloria, honor et imperium una cum Spiritu tuo Sancto ab æterno et nunc et omni tempore et in generationem generationum et in sæcula infinita. Amen.

through our Lord Jesus Christ, Thy beloved Son, through Whom may Thou be glorified and honored, and with Thy Holy Spirit, from all eternity, now, and in all times, and unto all generations, and unto endless ages. Amen.



END

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The Apostolic Constitutions and the Coptic Rite

1 APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS

(Denzinger, Ritus Orientalium, t.2, p.23.) COPTIC RITE OF EDISCOPAL OPPINATION

Qui es, vere Domine, Deus, omnipotens, Who art truly the Lord, God, almighty,

Dominator Domine Deus omnipotensO Lord God Almighty,

solus ingenitus ac regem non habens qui semper es, et ante sæcula exsistis; qui nullo indiges, omnemque causam atque ortum superas; solus verus, solus sapiens; qui solus Altissimus es, natura invisibilis cujus cognitio, expers principii; solus bonus ac incomparabilis; qui omnia nosti ante quam fiant occultorum cognitor, innacessus; Domino carens;

alone and unbegotten, having no superior, Who always art, and were before all ages, Who lackest nothing, Who art above all causes, alone true, alone wise, Who alone art the Most High, Whose nature and knowledge is invisible, Who hast no beginning, alone good and incomparable, Who knowest all things before they are, knower of all hidden things, inaccessible, having no lord above Thee.



Deus et Pater unigeniti Filii tui, Dei ac Servatoris nostri, conditor universorum per ipsum, provisor, tutor;

O God and Father of Thine only-begotten Son, our God and Savior, maker of all things through Him, provider, teacher,

Pater Domini nostri et Dei nostri et Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi,

Father of our Lord, God and Savior Jesus Christ,

(See Line 3)

une sole ingenite, sine principio nullum regem habens super te, qui es semper et es ante sæcula, infinite et sole altissime, sole sapiens, sole bone, invisibilis in natura tua, principii expers, et apud quem est scientia incomprehensibilis et incomparabilis, cognoscens occulta, cognoscens omnia antequam fiant,

the One and Only Begotten, without beginning, having no superior, Who always art, and were before all ages, infinite and most high, alone wise, alone good, invisible in Thy nature, without beginning, with Whom is incomprehensible and incomparable knowledge, Who knowest all hidden things, knowing all before it comes to be,

Pater misercordiarum, et Deus totius consolationis; Father of mercies, and God of all consolation, **N.B.:** For the ordination of Coptic metropolitans and patriarchs:

Pater misericordiarum et Deus omnis consolationis. Father of mercies and God of every comfort.

For the ordination of Maronite metropolitans: Qui es Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius creaturae. Who art the Father of mercies and the God of every creature.

qui in altis habitas, et humilia respicis. Tu qui dedisti leges ac regulas Ecclesiæ, per Christi tui adventum in carne,

Who livest in heaven, and seest all things below, Thou who didst give laws and rules to the Church, through the coming of Thy Christ in the flesh,

qui es in altissimis et respicis humiles, qui dedisti statuta ecclesiastica per unigenitum Filium tuum Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum,

Who dwellest on high and seest all things below, Who didst give laws to the Church through Thine only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ,

CONTINUED...

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Deus cognitor cordis,

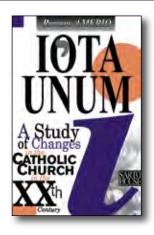
O God, who knowest the hearts of all,

COPTIC RITE OF APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION qui constituisti sacerdotes ab initio, ut qui ab initio prestitisti sacerdotes in populi tui curationem. adsisterent populo tuo, 8 Who from the beginning granted priests for the healing of Thy Who made priests from the beginning that they would people, assist Thy people, Abelem in primis, Sethum, Enosum, Henochum, **N.B.:** For the ordination of a Coptic metropolitan Noam, Melchisedecum et Jobum; qui constituisti or patriarch: 9 Abrahamum et cæteros patriarchas, cum fidelibus Qui elegisti Abraham dilectum tuum ad hæreditatem fidei, tuis famulis, Moyse, Aarone, Eleazaro, Phinee; et Enoch sanctum transtulisti ad thesauros lucis, propterea quod tibi placuit, qui donasti Moysi mansuetudinem et qui in ipsis desumpsisti principes, et sacerdotes in Âaron plenitudinem sacerdotii, qui unxisti reges ab initio tabernaculo testimonii; qui Samuelem elegisti in et principes, ut judicarent populum tuum in veritate. sacerdotem ac prophetam; Who didst choose Thy beloved Abraham for the inheritance first Abel, then Seth, Enos, Enoch, Noah, Melchisedech and Job, of faith, and transported holy Enoch to the kingdom of light Who made Abraham and the patriarchs, with Thy faithful servants because he was pleasing to Thee; Who didst give Moses meekness and Aaron the fullness of priesthood; Who anointed Moses, Aaron, Eleazar, Phineas, Who in them gave us princes and priests in the Ark of the Covenant, Who chose Samuel as kings and princes from the beginning that they might rule Thy a priest and prophet, people in truth. For the ordination of a Maronite metropolitan: Abelem et Seth et Enos et Cainan et Malalaielem et Jared et Henoch et Matusalem et Lamech et Noe et Sem et Melchisedech et Job. Qui apparuisti Abrahamo, Isaaco, Jacobo, Moysi, et reliquis patriarchis cum illis fidelibus et tibi placentibus, Aaron sacerdote et Eleezaro et Phinees, ex quibus constitit sacerdotium et lex testimonii; qui Samuelem elegisti sacerdotem et prophetam. Abel and Seth and Cainan and Malaleel and Jared and Henoch and Mathusala and Lamech and Noe and Sem and Melchisedech and Job. Who appeared to Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and to other patriarchs and faithful, pleasing servants, the priest Aaron and Eleazar and Phineas, from whom Thou didst establish the priesthood and the law of testament; Who chose Samuel as priest and prophet, qui sanctuarium tuum sine ministris non reliquisti; qui non reliquisti locum tuum sanctum sine qui benevolentia prosecutus es eos in quibus voluisti ministerio, qui complacuisti tibi glorificari in iis, 10 quos elegisti: Who hast not left Thy sanctuary without a minister, Who hast Who hast not left Thy holy place without a minister to please followed with kindness those by whom Thou wishest to be and glorify Thee, upon those whom Thou hast chosen, praised. Ipse nunc quoque, intercessu Christi tui, per nos tu iterum nunc effunde virtutem Spiritus tui hegemonici infunde virtutem principalis tui Spiritus, 11 May Thou now also, through us, by the intercession of Thy Christ, pour forth again, in Thy Name, the strength of Thy encompour forth the strength of Thy governing Spirit, passing Spirit qui subministratur per dilectum Filium tuum Jesum **N.B.:** For the ordination of a Maronite 12 metropolitan: Who servest through Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, Ut ministerium exhibeat Filio tuo dilecto Domino nostro Jesus Christo. That he may show himself a minister to Thy beloved Son, our Lord Jesus Christ. quemque voluntate tua donavit sanctis apostolis ad te quem donasti Apostolis sanctis tuis æternum Deum pertinentibus. 13 which Thou gave to Thy holy Apostles. and Who by Thy will gavest to the holy Apostles all things pertaining to Thee, Eternal God, 14 Da in nomine tuo, in nomine tuo. Da igitur Grant therefore Grant in Thy name, 15

Through Thy Son Jesus Christ, our God and Savior, through Whom it is meet to give Thee and to the Holy Spirit equally,

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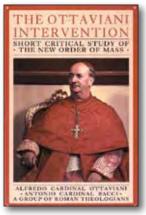
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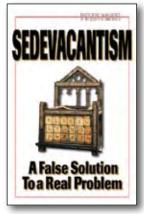
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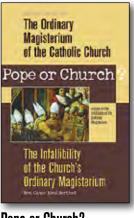
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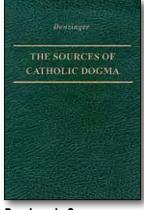
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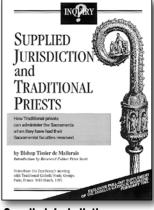
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