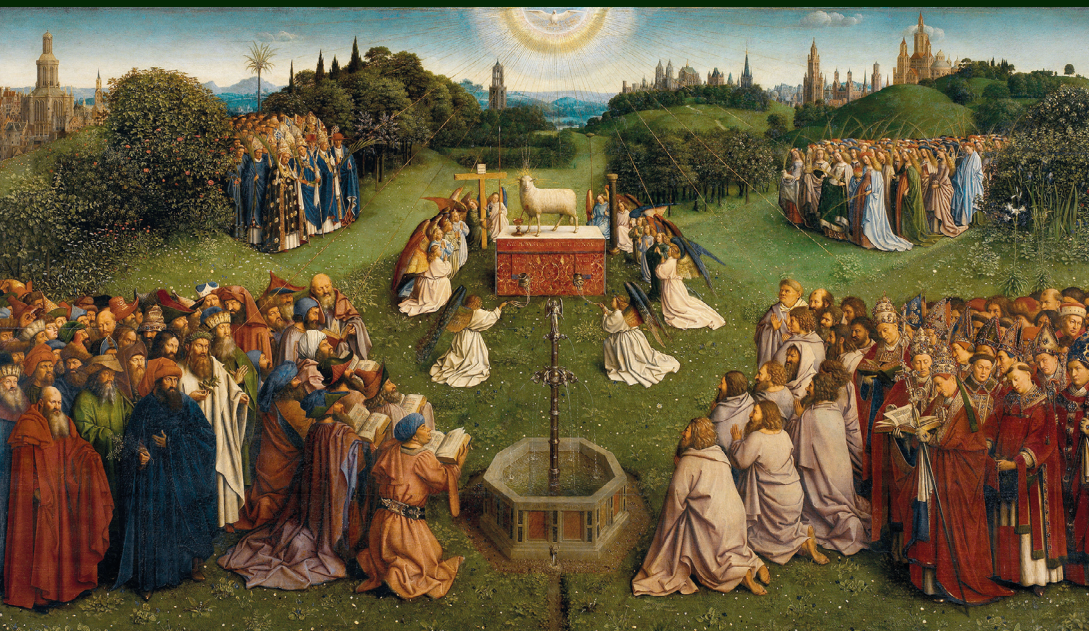


Vojtěch Novotný

Institutionalization of Liturgics in the Early Modern Period



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In memory of P. Jiří Reinsberg

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Introduction

“Most of the branches of science we know today were created by a process of specialization that began in the humanistic and second scholastic periods. This is also true of the branches of theology, whose specializing development began in the 15th century and has not ceased to be subjected to revision to this day. Speculative, methodological and pedagogical reasons for the internal differentiation and organization of theology have given rise to an ever-changing pattern of disciplines. These changes are not only a manifestation of external changes in the interpretive paradigm but also a testimony to how, in the Church, ‘through the reflection and study of the faithful’ (including related errors and inaccuracies), coupled with ‘a deeper understanding of spiritual realities from one’s own experience,’ there is ‘a growing understanding of the words and things handed down.’ The study of the history of particular theological disciplines in their formal constitution, not only in their individual propositions, thus leads to a growing knowledge of the triune God and his communion with man. What is more, it introduces a person to this relationship as such. It is a way of experiencing the communion of the Church in its diachronic dimension.”¹

This conviction, which has directed some of our previous studies, guides us now as we approach the question of the processes by which

1 Vojtěch Novotný, *Anthropologia sacra: Origini dell'antropologia teologica nell'ortodossia veteroprotestante* (Milano: Casa Editrice ITL-Centro Ambrosiano, 2014), 9, quoting Second Vatican Council, *Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation Dei Verbum*, 8 (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, curantibus Josepho Alberigo et al., editio tertia (Bologna: EDB, 1973), 974).

liturgy as an institutionalized theological discipline came into being. Institutionalization here means the creation of specific terminology to designate the discipline, its insertion among the study subjects in theological faculties, and the creation of specialized academies or departments. While the reality of liturgy itself and its concept, along with the material scope of liturgy and the formal definition of its scientific character, are constantly evolving and have a pluralistic character in each period, the prism of institutionalization provides a criterion that can be considered as a clear manifestation of the fact that liturgy has been included among the so-called sacred sciences (*disciplinae sacrae*) as their generally recognized, relatively independent part. We have therefore chosen this point of view as one of the possible keys to understanding the history of liturgics – so that, as far as possible, we do not start from an a priori notion of liturgy or liturgical science but, instead, we allow theology to speak in the way in which it expressed itself at a particular time.

The present text is a small study of the history of theological epistemology and its historical prolegomena.² It confirms, complements, clarifies, and corrects the current state of research on the origins of the scientific discipline that deals with Christian liturgy, which “is the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; at the same time it is the font from which all her power flows.”³

This state of affairs has been marked by the following statements.⁴

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- 2 Vojtěch Novotný, *Teologie ve stínu: Prolegomena k dějinám české katolické teologie druhé poloviny 20. století* (Praha: Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2007), 15–24.
- 3 Second Vatican Council, *Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 10 (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 823). (<<https://www.vatican.va/>>.) Cf. *Codex Iuris Canonici*/1983, can. 897 (*Codex Iuris Canonici auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP. II promulgates* (Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1983) – *Code of Canon Law: Latin-English edition*, Fourth Edition (Washington, D.C.: Canon Law Society of America, 1995), 336–337): “The Eucharistic sacrifice, the memorial of the death and resurrection of the Lord, in which the sacrifice of the cross is perpetuated through the ages, is the summit and source of all worship and Christian life. It both signifies and effects the unity of the People of God and brings about the building up of the body of Christ. All the other sacraments and all the rest of the life and work of the Church flow from the Most Holy Eucharist and are ordered to it.”
- 4 Mario Righetti, *Storia liturgica*, vol. 1, *Introduzione generale*, 3rd ed. (Milano: Ancora, 1964), 60–64, 75–92; Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, “Liturgiewissenschaft/Liturgik,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. 21 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 383–401; id., “Begriff, Geschichte und Stand der Forschung,” in *Handbuch der Liturgik: Liturgiewissenschaft in Theologie und Praxis der Kirche*, eds. Hans-Christoph Schmidt-Lauber, Michael Meyer-Blanck, and Karl-Heinrich Bieritz, 3rd ed. (Leipzig-Göttingen: VendenhoecketRuprecht, 1995), 17–41; Benedikt Kranemann, “Liturgiewissenschaft, Liturgik,” in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, ed. Walter Kasper, vol. 6 (Freiburg, Basel, Rom, Wien: Herder, 1997), 989–992; id., “Liturgiewissenschaft angesichts der ‘Zeitenwende’: Die Entwicklung der theologischen Disziplin zwischen den beiden Vatikanischen Konzilien,” in *Die katholisch-theologischen Disziplinen in Deutschland*

In the West, the word λειτουργία – *liturgia* appeared thanks to the humanists of the 16th and 17th centuries who became familiar with Byzantine texts. It was a sign of erudition and was perceived as Greek; it was finally Latinized in the 17th century. The term *liturgica* also appeared in the 16th century. Both words referred to ancient liturgical sources of the Eastern and Western rites, which were then published in book form thanks to the printing press. It was in this time period that the first systematic treatises appeared. Within these texts, the word liturgy was used exclusively to mean the Mass (the word *missa* became established in the West from the middle of the 5th century as an *Analogiebegriff* of λειτουργία). This was true until the end of the 17th century, when the whole cult of the Catholic Church, even the contemporary one, began to be referred to in this way.⁵

The origins of liturgics can be traced back to the patristic and medieval periods. The latter was characterized by an allegorical interpretation of the liturgy that was not sensitive to the genesis of the rites and often went beyond their natural symbolism and theological meaning. Excessive allegorization, the decline of reflection on the liturgy in the 14th and 15th centuries, and the Protestant Reformation at the beginning of the 16th century provoked a “scientific reaction (*la reazione scientifica*)”: Catholic scholars suffered a “shock” and “began for the first time to deal seriously with liturgical questions, abandoning the allegorical field and standing resolutely on the ground of history.” This encouraged the “revival of liturgical studies” that resulted in the “classical period of liturgical literature” in the 17th–18th centuries.⁶

1870–1962: *Ihre Geschichte, ihr Zeitbezug*, ed. Hubert Wolf (Paderborn [u. a.]: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1999), 351–375; id., “Liturgiewissenschaftliche Forschung ‘zwischen Tradition und Innovation’,” in *Theologie zwischen Tradition und Innovation: interdisziplinäre Gespräche*, eds. François-Xavier Amherdt and Salvatore Loiero (Basel: Schwabe Verlag, 2019), 85–115; id., “Geschichte, Stand und Aufgaben der Liturgiewissenschaft,” in *Wissenschaft der Liturgie*, vol. 1, *Begriff, Geschichte, Konzepte*, eds. Martin Klöckener and Reinhard Meßner (Regensburg: Pustet, 2022), 277–468.

- 5 Friedrich Kalb, I. “Christliche Liturgie,” in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. Gerhard Müller, vol. 21 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), 361; Josef Andreas Jungmann, *Missarum sollemnia: Eine genetische Erklärung der römischen Messe*, vol. 1 (Wien: Herder, 1949), 217–224; E. Raitz von Frentz, “Der Weg des Wortes ‘Liturgie’ in der Geschichte,” *Ephemerides liturgicae* 55 (1941): 74–80; Hermann Schmidt, *Introductio in liturgiam occidentalem* (Romae: Herder, 1960), 45; Aimé Georges Martimort, *L’Église en prière: Introduction à la Liturgie* (Paris: Desclée, 1961), 3; Salvatore Marsili, “Liturgia,” in *Nuovo dizionario di liturgia*, eds. Domenico Sartore and Achille M. Tricca, Edizioni Paoline, (Roma, 1994), 727.
- 6 Righetti, *Storia liturgica*, vol. 1, 63, 86–87.

The immediate impetus for the birth of liturgics therefore came with the controversies between Catholics and Protestants and with the editions of new liturgical books after the Council of Trent. The controversies drew attention back to the origins of Christian Western and Eastern liturgy and to its patristic and medieval interpretations. Thus, the apologetic need was intertwined with the historical concerns of 16th–18th century humanism. This resulted in editions and critical commentaries on liturgical and patristic sources. These are no longer interpreted allegorically but with an emphasis on the genesis of texts, rites, and forms, and on the description and interpretation of liturgical rubrics. After the establishment of the institution of the “professor of the rite” at theological faculties in 1752 and after the reform of theological studies of 1774, of which the author was Franz Stephan Rautenstrauch OSB (1734–1785), liturgics was confined within the boundaries of pastoral theology. Then, during the period of Late Enlightenment, between 1770 and 1815, an independent discipline was born, which began to deal with the theory of worship, all the more so the further the Enlightenment and its rationalism advanced. It almost renounced the higher, supernatural rationality and action of God, and thus liturgy became primarily the action of the person alone, the cleric: a compulsory public worship to educate the people to moral integrity and lead them to happiness within an orderly society.⁷ Franz Xaver Schmid (1800–1871) coined the term “liturgics” for this discipline in the 1830s.⁸ The early 19th century should therefore be the time when liturgics as an autonomous discipline was born – although it was not until the early 1920s that the term *Liturgiewissenschaft* came into use with Romano Guardini (1885–1968) and his circle.

The presented standardized picture of the beginnings of liturgics was outlined as early as the 19th century and it forms, with partial modifications, a part of field syntheses and teaching texts to this day.⁹

7 Valentin Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, vol. 1. (Freiburg im Br.: Herder, 1883), 108–109; Benedikt Kranemann, “Die Liturgie der Aufklärung zwischen Verehrung Gottes und sittlicher Besserung des Menschen,” in *Gott handhaben: Religiöses Wissen im Konflikt um Mythisierung und Rationalisierung*, eds. Steffen Patzold and Florian Bock (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 365–385.

8 Franz Xaver Schmid, *Liturgik der christkatholischen Religion*, vol. 1 (Passau: Ambrosius Ambrosi, 1832), V. Cf. Adolf Adam and Winfried Haunerland, *Grundriss Liturgie*, 10th ed, 2nd corrected edition of the new edition 2012 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2014), 86. Together with the quoted authors, they claim that Schmid “wohl als Erster betont, dass Liturgik als selbständige Wissenschaft (*scientia liturgica*) zu betrachten sei.“

9 Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, vol. 1, 81–117; Jo Hermans, “L’étude de la liturgie comme discipline théologique: Problèmes et méthodes,” *Revue théologique de Louvain* 3 (1987):

It is undoubtedly correct in its main features. There have been efforts to supplement it, the best being the 1996 collective monograph on German-language liturgy in the first half of the 19th century, with overlaps into earlier periods.¹⁰ Of these – and only these are of interest to us here – that which follows is said.

The term “liturgics” was found in Martin Gerbert OSB’s (1720–1793) *Principia Theologiae Liturgicae* from 1759. The term *Liturgiewissenschaft* was first used by Carl Anton Baumstark (1872–1948) in 1919 and became established in the 1920s. This terminological development mirrors the birth of liturgics, which is linked to the *Verwissenschaftlichungsprozess* that emerged in the late 18th century in the context of the Enlightenment and Josephinism. Gregor Köhler OSB (1751–1823) is probably the first Catholic author to pursue liturgics as an independent scientific discipline, and his *Principia Theologiae Liturgicae* is probably the earliest Catholic liturgical treatise ever written. The first German Catholic textbook on the subject, *Liturgik der Christkatholischen Religion*, was published in 1832 by the aforementioned Franz Xaver Schmid. The earliest Protestant monograph is *Liturgia vetus et nova sive Collatio rituum liturgicorum Ecclesiae Christianae praescae et hodiernae* (1704), written by Johannes Friderici (1654–1726).

As a university discipline, liturgics was born out of practical exercises in seminaries and, above all, out of reforms in theological studies influenced by the Enlightenment. The reform of 1752 led to the emergence of *professor s. rituum* at theological faculties and the reform proposed and enforced in 1777 by Franz Stephan Rautenstrauch OSB (1734–1785) introduced a compulsory course in pastoral theology, of which liturgics

337–360; Anscar J. Chupungco and Keith F. Pecklers, “Storia della liturgia romana,” in *Scientia liturgica: Manuale di Liturgia*, ed. Anscar J. Chupungco, vol. 1, *Introduzione alla liturgia* (Casale Monferrato: Piemme, 1999), 176–181; Albert Gerhards and Benedikt Kranemann, *Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft*, Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 3rd ed. (Darmstadt, 2013), 32–35; Reinhard Meßner, *Einführung in die Liturgiewissenschaft*, 2nd revised ed. (Paderborn, München, Wien, Zürich: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2009), 19–20; Michael Kunzler, *La liturgia della Chiesa*, 2nd expanded ed. (Milano: Jaca Book, 2003), 152–156; Giovanni Zaccaria and José Luis Gutiérrez-Martín, *Liturgia: Un'introduzione* (Roma: ESC, 2016), 58–59.

10 Franz Kohlschein, “Zur Geschichte der Liturgiewissenschaft im katholischen deutschsprachigen Bereich,” in *Liturgiewissenschaft – Studien zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, eds. Franz Kohlschein and Peter Wünsche (Münster: Aschendorff, 1996), 1–72. For the details on this summary, see: *ibid.*, Hermann Reifenberg, “Liturgiewissenschaft als eigenes Fachgebiet an der Universität Mainz,” 73–87; Manfred Probst, “Ansätze zur Bestimmung von Liturgie und Liturgik bei Johann Michael Sailer (1751–1832),” 88–97; Andreas Heinz, “Die Anfänge der „Pastoraliturgik“ in Trier im Kontext der dortigen Seminar- und Studienreform,” 98–119; Peter Wünsche, “Franz Xaver Schmid (1800–1871) als Verfasser des ersten katholischen Lehrbuchs der ‘Liturgik’ in deutscher Sprache,” 188–233.

was a part. “Thus, an imperial decree, without the consent of the ecclesiastical authorities, began a development that was not completed until almost a hundred [two hundred] years later by the Second Vatican Council with the establishment of liturgics as a theological subject.”¹¹

Despite the above claims about the birth of liturgics from curricular reforms in the territory of the Habsburg monarchy, Kohlschein adds that “the first department of liturgics in the Catholic Church was probably established at the Collegium Romanum between 1748 and 1772,” occupied by Manuel de Azevedo (1711–1796), and followed by the department at Coimbra in 1758.¹² Kranemann then makes a more balanced point: “the popular thesis that Catholic liturgical scholarship is a child of the early nineteenth-century Enlightenment is decidedly mistaken” because it unfairly ignores all the earlier treatises and editions that attest to a scholarly interest in the liturgy and the fact that Benedict XIV founded three institutions to pursue the subject: The Academy of Liturgics (1740) and the Schola Sacrorum Rituum (1748) in Rome and the Academy of Liturgics in Coimbra (1758).¹³

Franz Kohlschein then goes on to say that “the first department of liturgics north of the Alps was probably founded at the University of Prague in 1754.”¹⁴ Similarly, Michal Sklenář states: “The third oldest department of liturgics in the world existed at the philosophical and then theological faculty of the University of Prague between 1752 and 1776, so there has been continuity in the teaching of this subject from the mid-18th century until now.”¹⁵

This statement was the immediate impetus for the present study, which is devoted to the question of how the institutionalization of liturgics actually proceeded – and indirectly also to the role of the Prague theological faculty in this context. We start from a thorough heuristic of contemporary texts since only this can advance knowledge by strengthening the factual foundations on which the history of liturgics

11 Kohlschein, “Zur Geschichte der Liturgiewissenschaft,” 10. Cf. Ulrich Lehner, “Catholic Theology and the Enlightenment (1670–1815),” in *The Oxford Handbook of Catholic Theology*, eds. Lewis Ayres and Medi-Ann Volpe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 605: “The rise of Catholic Biblicism, the improvement of patristic theology, and eighteenth century utilitarianism also engendered liturgical studies as a new theological discipline.”

12 Kohlschein, “Zur Geschichte der Liturgiewissenschaft,” 65.

13 Kranemann, “Liturgiewissenschaft angesichts der ‘Zeitenwende’,” 352, note. 2.

14 Kohlschein, “Zur Geschichte der Liturgiewissenschaft,” 65.

15 Michal Sklenář, *Vývoj a proměny české katolické liturgiky v české liturgické literatuře (1752–1780–1962 a (1616) 1841–1962*, dissertation defended at the Catholic Theological Faculty of Charles University, Prague 2016, 61.

is based. Therefore, we document our findings carefully and comprehensively (using *digital humanities*); longer quotations are moved to the appendices. We proceed in a six-step process. The first step clarifies the background on which the study of liturgics in the early modern period was based. The second is devoted to the terminology by which liturgical research was referred to. The third presents the evidence of teaching about ritual and liturgy in forms that preceded the institutionalization of this science. The fourth focuses on the first academies and departments of liturgics and the way the discipline was conceived there. The fifth step studies the emergence of liturgical departments in the Habsburg monarchy, and the sixth examines how liturgics in Central Europe was temporarily and partially subsumed into pastoral theology.

1 Prolegomena

Before proceeding to a deeper study of our subject, it is necessary to state a few facts without which the following exposition would not be intelligible.

1.1 Thomas Aquinas

In his *Summa Theologiae*, Thomas Aquinas OP (1225–1274) deals with liturgy in the context of 1) moral theology, when he discusses the normative principles of moral action (*de legibus*: I-II,99,3; I-II,101–103; I-II,108,2–3) and the virtue of piety (*de religione*: II-II,81–100), and 2) dogmatic theology, when he discussed the sacraments in general and in particular (*de sacramentis*: III,60–90).¹⁶

He stated that giving reverence to God is a manifestation of the created human nature and of the natural moral law (*ex naturali ratione; de lege naturae*), or more precisely, of the virtue of religion (*religio*). Primarily, these are spiritual, inner acts, which are a matter of intellect, will and affect. However, since a person is both a spiritual and a physical being, it is proper to manifest inner spiritual attitudes toward God through

16 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, <www.corpusthomicum.org/>: cf. Supplement 1. Cf. the titles listed in the final bibliography of this study. Among the more recent ones: Antolín González Fuente, “La teología nella liturgia e la liturgia nella teologia in san Tommaso d’Aquino,” *Angelicum* 3 (1997): 359–417, 4 (1997) 551–601; David Berger, *Thomas von Aquin und die Liturgie* (Köln: Ed. Thomisticae, 2000); Leo J. Elders, “Tomás de Aquino y la liturgia,” in *La liturgia en la vida de la Iglesia: Culto y celebración*, eds. José Luis Gutiérrez-Martín, Félix María Arocena and Pablo Blanco (Navarra: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 2007), 135–147.

external bodily acts set apart from ordinary everyday life. The external bodily worship of God takes place in a symbolic act, a ceremony in its own sense. The concrete form of these signs is determined by people according to the possibilities God has placed in their humanity and according to the knowledge they have acquired in the course of the history of Revelation. Thus the ceremonial precepts (*praecepta caeremonialia*) of the Old Testament were imposed. But these only foreshadowed the truth that came with Christ. With him, the Old Testament ceremonies ceased to be binding on Christians.

For in the New Testament, it is only Jesus Christ and the grace of God that matters. It perfects and elevates what is proper to human nature and its condition – hence the essentially symbolic character of external divine worship is preserved so that the sacraments are the only essential core of the Christian liturgy; these are realized through the interaction of the Church and Christ, the incarnate Word. God has chosen to give himself to people precisely through these visible signs appropriate to them (*Deus dat hominibus gratiam secundum modum eis convenientem*); in these signs, the human bodily action takes on a spiritual meaning (*quodammodo est spiritualis, scilicet per significativam et causalitatem*). The Church, then, in the sacraments and the ceremonies connected with them, performs divine worship, while, in them, God bestows salvation on people by granting them a share in the effects of Christ's passion and leading them to future eternal glory.

It can thus be said that, at the heart of the liturgy, there are the sacraments, in which Jesus Christ himself acts. Through them, He transfers to people the gracious effect of His Passion and makes of them the Church (*per sacramenta dicitur esse fabricata Ecclesia Christi: STh III,64,2 ad 3*). For this reason, the priesthood of Christ is the source of the Christian rite (*totus autem ritus Christianae religionis derivatur a sacerdotio Christi*).¹⁷ At the same time, however, the rites by which the Church celebrates the sacraments with Christ have been left to the consideration of the faithful. It is essentially the liturgy of the Church of Christ (*ordinationes Ecclesiae; ritus quos Ecclesia observat; modus divina auctoritate ab Ecclesia constitutus et in Ecclesia consuetus*). Priests personify this reality since they act both *in persona Christi* and *in persona Ecclesiae*.

17 Or rather, of the rites in their multiplicity, for *sustinet Ecclesia diversos ritus colendi Deum, especially at the Eucharistic service: sunt diversae Ecclesiarum consuetudines in Missarum celebratione (STh II-II,93,1 arg. 3)*.

Hence St. Thomas' inquiry as to through which signs (words, matter, rites) the sacraments are to be effected if they are to be given and received with the intention of doing what Christ and the Church do (*quod facit Christus et Ecclesia*). The decisive factor is the action of Jesus Christ, which belongs to the sacrament necessarily (*de necessitate sacramenti*). External liturgical forms do not have such weight. They are, however, appropriate as something which by its symbolic character and solemnity is helpful to the spiritual reception of sacramental grace, to the interior worship and instruction of the faithful. They are here *ad bene esse sacramenti*, or *ad solemnitatem sacramenti*. This purpose is fostered by the Church's choice of liturgical forms. In doing so, it is guided by the wisdom of Christ and the Holy Spirit. This is why its rites are proper and binding on the faithful. It is *the usus Ecclesiae, quae a Spiritu Sancto gubernatur* (*STh* III,72,12 s.c.).

What is crucial about this brief summary of Thomas' teaching for our study is the context in which he addresses the liturgy. Therein lay his major influence on the liturgy of the following centuries. We find it, therefore, in systematic theology and theological education, primarily in the context of treatises on the sacraments, laws, and virtue of piety. Later, as will be shown, other contexts were added.

The second essential fact is that the core of the liturgy, according to Thomas, is the action of Christ, the incarnate Son of God, through the sacraments. The ritual interaction of the Church with the action of the Crucified is secondary. Therefore, Aquinas' theocentric reflection on the liturgy has its centre of gravity in the theology of the sacraments. For him, the *rito sacramentalis* is the key (*STh* III,38,1 arg. 1). This presupposition was shared by Thomas' followers in the times we are about to trace.¹⁸

18 For example, Tommaso De Vio Caetano OP (1469–1534) and Francisco de Vitoria OP (c.1483–1546) place little emphasis on the liturgy in sacramental theology: Thomas de Vio Caietanus, *De sacrificio Missae, De Communionem, De Confessione, De Satisfactione, De Sanctorum invocatione adversus luteranos iuxta scripturam Tractatus* (Parisiis: in aedibus Petri Regnault, 1531); Franciscus a Vitoria, *Summa sacramentorum Ecclesiae* (Romae: Apud Iulium Accoltum, 1567). Domingo de Soto OP (1494–1560) treats it also only marginally even though it – in his view – belongs to the very definition of the sacrament: Dominicus Soto, *Commentariorum [...] in quartum Sententiarum*, vol. 1 (Salamanticae: Excudebat Ioannes à Canova, 1557), 18 (d. 1, q. 1, a. 2): “sunt enim [sacramenta] medicinae et remedia, quibus nostris Deus peccatis medetur, tum etiam ceremoniae religionis Christianae, quibus nos ipsum vicissim colimus”; 79 (d. I, q. 4, a. 1): “sacramenta [...] praeterquam quod sunt medicinae, quibus Deus nostram nobis confert salutem, sunt et ceremoniae et officia, quibus ipsum colimus.” Only marginally: id., *De iustitia et iure libri decem* (Salmanticae: Excudebat Andreas à Portonariis, 1553), 95–99 (l. II, q. 2, a. 2), 150–167 (l. II, q. 5: De praeceptis caeremonialibus).

The third point to highlight is Thomas' emphasis on the fact that God the Father, in Christ's words, desires to be worshipped "in Spirit and truth" (John 4:23–24). He calls for an "inward cult." However, simple spiritualism would be contrary to faith in God, who is the Creator of soul and body.¹⁹ And it is proper for people to express their inner disposition also in the form of a symbolic "external cult" that corresponds to their social and physical constitution. Both forms of devotion are thus necessary.²⁰ Of course, with the emphasis that *cultus interior, qui consistit in fide, spe et caritate, est melior quam cultus exterior*. Therefore, the external manifestations of the relationship between God and man are to truly mirror and, at the same time, shape the internal, spiritual attitudes: *exterior autem cultus proportionari debet interiori cultui, qui consistit in fide, spe et caritate*. Thus the very phrase *cultus Dei exterior*, which the Church of the modern age has adopted, is a constant appeal to the necessary bond between revelation, faith and liturgy and to the primacy of liturgical spirituality over simple ritual ceremony.

1.2 Melchior Cano

Let us add that Thomas regarded the liturgy as having the weight of doctrinal authority on which theological reflection can rest. He did not, however, formulate this position explicitly. For his disciples in the early modern period, the matter remains obscure. None of them explicitly identified it as the *locus theologicus*.²¹ Melchior Cano OP (1509–1560) linked it to the authority of the Apostolic Tradition, which contains

19 Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. 3, cap. 119, n. 5, <www.corpusthomicum.org/>: "... non est mirum si haeretici qui corporis nostri Deum esse auctorem negant, huiusmodi corporalia obsequia Deo exhibita reprehendunt."

20 Thomas Aquinas, *Contra Gentiles*, lib. 3, cap. 119, n. 4: "Exercentur etiam ab hominibus quaedam sensibilia opera, non quibus Deum excitet, sed quibus seipsum provocet in divina: sicut prostrationes, genuflexiones, vocales clamores, et cantus. Quae non fiunt quasi Deus his indigeat, qui omnia novit, et cuius voluntas est immutabilis, et affectum mentis, non motum corporis propter se acceptat: sed ea propter nos facimus, ut per haec sensibilia opera intentio nostra dirigatur in Deum, et affectio accendatur. Simul etiam per haec Deum profitemur animae et corporis nostri auctorem, cui et spiritualia et corporalia obsequia exhibemus." Ibid., lib. 3, cap. 119, n. 6: "In his autem corporalibus Deo exhibendis cultus Dei consistere dicitur. [...] Et quia per interiores actus directe in Deum tendimus, ideo interioribus actibus proprie Deum colimus. Sed tamen et exteriores actus ad cultum Dei pertinent, in quantum per huiusmodi actus mens nostra elevatur in Deum, ut dictum est."

21 Cipriano Vagaggini, *Il senso teologico della liturgia: saggio di liturgia teologica generale*, 4th edition significantly revised and updated (Roma: Edizioni Paoline, 1965), 486.

Revelation, and to the authority of the Roman Apostolic See, which interprets Revelation.²² At its heart are the sacraments instituted by God, which can be said to be the liturgy itself: *sacramenta proprie dicta sacrae sunt religionis caeremoniae*.²³ It is protected by the divine law, the concrete expression of which is the binding force of the papal decrees by which the liturgical regulations were issued. For all these reasons, it cannot be arbitrarily changed.²⁴ Besides this, the liturgy has an additional authority that derives from the authority of scholastic theologians or canon lawyers as the interpreters of Revelation. Hence the practical conclusion: it is necessary for the theologian to study canon law and to know also those of its provisions (*ecclesiasticas regulas*) which relate to liturgy and bind both clerics and laity. This is done both in order to acquire the fullness of knowledge and for the sake of the care of souls which is entrusted to theologians.²⁵ Cano specifically refers to the *decretalia* – a collection of papal legal norms that also contains various regulations concerning the sacraments and the liturgy (celebration of the Mass, the praying of the hours, the consecration of the church and the altar).²⁶

1.3 Reformation

The first Protestant authors – represented here by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) – used Thomas’s distinctions in the passage *de legibus* and reflected on the *caeremoniales leges* of the Old Testament. This became an opportunity for them to oppose the liturgy of the Roman Catholics as superstitiously pompous. They opted for a more moderate liturgy centred on the worship of the Word and the celebration of the sacraments in the sense that the Reformation had adopted. The external rites are

22 Melchior Cano, *De locis Theologicis libri duodecim* (Salamanticae: Excudebat Mathias Gastius, 1563), 113 (l. III, c. 6); 283–284 (l. VIII, c. 6).

23 Cano, *De locis Theologicis libri duodecim*, 277 (l. VIII, c. 5). Cf. Melchior Cano, *Selectio de Sacramentis in genere habita in Academia salmanticensi anno 1547* (Salamanticae: Excudebat Andreas de Portonariis, 1550), 5: “sacramenta esse sacras quasdam caeremonias ad Dei cultum videlicet pertinentes”; 34: “sacramenta quae [...] caeremoniae sunt sacrae, quibus Deo exterius nos subiiicimus, ut in nobis salutem interius operetur.”

24 Cano, *De locis Theologicis libri duodecim*, 67 (l. I, c. 6); 113 (l. III, c. 6).

25 Cano, *De locis Theologicis libri duodecim*, 282 (l. VIII, c. 6): Supplement 2.

26 *Decretalium collectiones: Decretales Gregorii P. IX., Liber sextus decretalium Bonifacii P. VIII., Clementis P. V. Constitutiones, Extravagantes tum viginti Ioannis P. XXII. tum communes*, ed. Aemilius Friedberg (Leipzig: Akademische Duck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1881).

meant to commemorate the promises of God (*memoria verbi, memoria promissionis*).²⁷

Similarly, Jean Calvin (1509–1564) defined a sacrament as a rite (*caeremonia*) that is instituted by God and indicates his promise. It is the rite that is the external sign around which the Church gathers and through which God strengthens it in faith.²⁸ Nevertheless, he very firmly rejected five of the seven sacraments as something that, unlike Baptism and the Lord’s Supper, is not of God and along with it rejected also the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.²⁹ He did not accept the argument of antiquity – or origin from Tradition – because he did not regard it as evidence affirming the origin from God.³⁰ And he declared that the time had come to abolish the various rites – even those that were not bad in themselves but distracted from the purity of the faith.³¹ Thus, decades later, Lutherans set *Caeremoniae Lutheranae* against the *Calvinische Caeremonienstürmer*.³²

From a liturgical point of view, the Anglican Church developed differently.³³

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- 27 Philippus Melancthon, “Loci communes rerum theologicarum seu hypotyposes theologicae, 1521,” in *Philippi Melanthonis opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. Karl Gottlieb Bretschneider and Heinrich Ernst Bindseil, vol. 21 (= *Corpus reformatorum* 21) (Brunsvigae: Apud C. A. Schwetschke et filium, 1854), 127–129, 134–135, 196–197; id., “Loci communes,” 1535–1541, *ibid.*, 394–395, 466–467; id., “Loci communes,” 1543, *ibid.*, 1016, 1020, 1024.
- 28 Jean Calvin, “Christianae religionis institutio. 1536,” in *Ioannis Calvini opera quae supersunt omnia*, eds. G. Baum, E. Cunitz, and E. Reuss, vol. 1 (= *Corpus reformatorum* 29) (Brunsvigae: Apud C. A. Schwetschke et filium, 1863), 108 (lib. IV, cap. 4): “Sunt autem [sacramenta] non in signis tantum, sed in caeremoniis posita; aut, si mavis, signa quae hic dantur, caeremoniae sunt. Ut definire possis sacramenta huiusmodi: caeremonias esse, quibus exerceri et confirmari vult Dominus populi sui fidem.” *Ibid.*, 179 a 193 (lib. IV, cap. 5): “Duo ista in sacramento exigimus, ut caeremonia sit a Deo instituta, ut Dei promissionem habeat [...] Id enim non tantum in sacramento quaeritur ut Dei sit opus, sed ut sit caeremonia exterior a Deo posita, ad confirmandam promissionem.”
- 29 Jean Calvin, “Christianae religionis institutio. 1536,” 139 (lib. IV, cap. 4): “Et tamen videmus, quantum a germana sua puritate degenerarint sacramenta, ut hodie quidem tractantur. Plus satis ubique pomparum, caeremoniarum, gesticulationum, at verbi Dei interim nulla neque ratio, neque mentio, sine quo sacramenta etiam ipsa sacramenta non sunt.”
- 30 Jean Calvin, “Institutio christianae religionis. 1539–1554,” *ibid.*, 1074.
- 31 Jean Calvin, “Christianae religionis institutio. 1536,” 227–228 (lib. IV, cap. 11): “Hoc enim ferre temporum rationem, ut ritus quosdam, non impios alioqui nec indecoros, pro rei opportunitate abrogari conveniat, praesenti experimento est haec aetas.”
- 32 Philippus Arnoldi, *Caeremoniae Lutheranae, Das ist/ Ein Christlicher/ Gründlicher Unterricht von allen fürnembsten Caeremonien, so in den Lutherischen Preussischen Kirchen/ in verrichtung des Gottesdienstes/ adhibirt werden, als/ Von Hostien/ Brodtbrechen/ Consecriren. Caseln/ Altharen/ Bildern/ brennenden Liechten/ Kniebeugen/ Hut abnehmen/ Musica, Orgeln/ Exorcismo, Festagen/ und andern Kirchensachen mehr; Den Calvinischen Caeremonienstürmern entgegen gesetzt* (Königsbert: Johann Schmid, 1616).
- 33 Geoffrey J. Cuming, *A History of Anglican Liturgy*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave, 1982).

1.4 Counter-Reformation

On the opposite side of the contemporary controversy stood authors presenting an apologia for the Roman Catholic faith. Among them was the bishop Martín Pérez de Ayala (1504–1566), who in 1548–1549 argued that the Early Church did not preserve Revelation *sola Scriptura*, but *sola Traditione*, from which the New Testament emerged as a crucial but partial record of God’s action. This is preserved in the Church not only in the form of words but also in the form of facts, including – from the times of the New Testament onward – even those that are the result of the creativity of Jesus’ disciples, carried by the light of faith and the work of the Spirit. Indeed, it is the Church that recognizes the presence of Divine Revelation in certain written texts that she has included in the biblical canon because of their obvious “full conformity with the Tradition of Jesus Christ and the Apostles.” In the same way, if we want to judge what belongs to the true faith today, we must take into account what is present in the Church (*quae vidimus in Ecclesia*) and, with the help of the Spirit, Scripture, and the Church Fathers, judge whether it conforms with Tradition. In this agency, the Church interprets Scripture because it is not self-evident or subject to the private interpretation of one person. Whoever denies this authority denies the *Spiritus Sancti publicum magisterium in Traditionibus apostolicis et sensu Ecclesiae contentum*. And the *ritus et caeremoniae*, or rather the *ritus et formae* of the sacraments and of the non-sacramental liturgy, belong precisely to the sphere of what is indicated in Scripture, preserved in Tradition, and interpreted with the help of the Spirit. Some topics the author discusses in more detail (baptism, confirmation, auricular confession, priestly ordination, the Eucharist, the Mass, the last rites, veneration of saints, relics, images, exorcism).³⁴

The controversies of the Reformers with the Roman Church and with each other over the number and nature of the sacraments and the rites that accompany them constituted a major impetus for the development of liturgics.³⁵ In particular, let us mention the controversies over the

34 Martinus Peresius Aiala, *De Divinis, apostolicis, atque Ecclesiasticis Traditionibus, deque autoritate ac vi earum sacrosancta, adsertione ceu libri decem: In quibus fere universa Ecclesiae antiquitas, circa dogmata Apostolica, orthodoxe elucidator* (Coloniae: per Gasparem Genneporum, 1549).

35 Lee Palmer Wandel, ed., *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Reformation* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013); Mickey L. Mattox, “Sacraments in the Lutheran Reformation,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Sacramental Theology*, eds. Hans Boersma and Matthew Levering (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 269–282; Michael Allen, “Sacraments in the Reformed and Anglican

Eucharist – especially the sacrificial character of the Mass, the real presence of Jesus Christ, Communion under both kinds, the validity of the sacraments *ex opere operato*, and the funeral and private Masses, and further, e.g., on liturgical language, religious art, extra-liturgical rites, etc., thus, the reform proposals concerning the rites, including that of the Mass.³⁶ It was to be said of the last, “For when the Mass is truly reformed, it will no longer be the Mass, but the Supper of Jesus Christ.”³⁷

1.5 Magisterium

The fierce dispute over the sacraments fundamentally foreshadowed the perspective in which the subject of the liturgy was raised. The participants of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) – driven by the aspiration to reform, discipline and unify the Church – were also primarily concerned with the doctrine of the sacraments and, through this prism, with the question of liturgy. The key for them was the doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice, which takes place during the Mass and in which the same High Priest, Jesus Christ, who offered Himself once for all in a bloody manner to the Father on the cross for the salvation of the world, is contained and offered in a bloodless manner.

To this dogma, the Council Fathers then linked the following principle: “it besemeth, that holy things be administered in a holy manner (*sancta sancte administrari conveniat*).” Thus they presented a defence of the Mass canon and the Mass rites (*ritus*) as something the Church had established, “whereas such is the nature of man, that, without external

Reformation,” *ibid.*, 283–297; John D. Rempel, “Sacraments in the Radical Reformation,” *ibid.*, 298–312; Peter Walter, “Sacraments in the Council of Trent and Sixteenth-Century Catholic Theology,” *ibid.*, 313–328; Geoffrey Wainwright and Karen B. Westerfield Tucker, eds., *The Oxford History of Christian Worship* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005) and other titles mentioned in the final bibliography of this study.

36 Sus Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London and New York: Routledge, 1997). It must explicitly refer to Martin Luther (1483–1546): Wolfgang Simon, *Die Messopfertheologie Martin Luthers: Voraussetzungen, Genese, Gestalt und Rezeption* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2003); Michele Cassese, *Martin Lutero e la sua riforma liturgica* (Venezia: ISE San Bernardino, 2017); Reinhard Meßner, *Die Meßreform Martin Luthers und die Eucharistie der Alten Kirche: ein Beitrag zu einer systematischen Liturgiewissenschaft* (Innsbruck: Tyrolia-Verl., 1989) and other titles mentioned in the final bibliography of this study.

37 Pierre Viret, *Des actes des vrais successeurs de Jesus Christ et de ses Apostres, et des apostats de l’eglise Papale: contenant la difference et conference de la sainte Cene de nostre Seigneur, et de la Messe. Item, la naissance, le bastiment et la consommation de la Messe, et de la Papauté, et du mystere de l’Antechrist* (Genève: chez Jean Gerard, 1554), 54.

helps, he cannot be easily upraised to the meditation of divine things.” In the same way, they justified the existence of Mass ceremonies (*caeremonias*) and liturgical objects, “whereby both the majesty of so great a sacrifice might be recommended, and the minds of the faithful be excited, by these visible signs of religion and piety (*visibilia religionis et pietatis signa*), to the contemplation of those most sublime things which lie hidden in this sacrifice.”

The liturgy, with the exception of the sacramental core, was created by the action of the Church as something that is “derived from an apostolical discipline and tradition (*ex apostolica disciplina et traditione*).” This is why the Council condemned those who would see in liturgical acts “incentives to impiety, rather than offices of piety (*officia pietatis*),” and stated “that all industry and diligence is to be applied to this end, that it be performed with the greatest possible inward cleanness and purity of heart, and outward show of devotion and piety.” Likewise, the Council condemned those who would refuse or arbitrarily change the liturgical practices so that “the received and approved rites of the Catholic Church, will not to be used in the solemn administration of the sacraments (*receptos et approbatos Ecclesiae catholicae ritus in solemnibus sacramentorum administratione adhiberi consuetos*).”³⁸ These words passed into the so-called Tridentine Creed.³⁹

Along with the defense and praise of sacramental ceremonies, the Council postulated their reform.⁴⁰ The reform itself was implemented only later, especially through the binding liturgical books

38 Council of Trent, *Doctrina et canones de sanctissimo Missae sacrificio*, cap. IV–V a can. VII (sessio XXII on 17 September 1562); *Decretum de observandis et vitandis in celebratione Missarum* (sessio XXII on 17 September 1562); *Canones de sacramentis in genere*, can. XIII (sessio VII on 3 March 1547) (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 685, 734, 736; translation *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent* (London: George Routledge and Co., 1851), 53, 143–145, 146, 147).

39 Pius IV., Bull *Iniunctum nobis* (November 13, 1564), in *Enchiridion symbolorum definitionum et declarationum de rebus fidei et morum / Kompendium der Glaubensbekenntnisse und kirchlichen Lehrentscheidungen*, eds. Heinrich Denzinger and Peter Hünermann, 42th ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2009, 1564) (*1864): “Receptos quoque et approbatos Ecclesiae catholicae ritus in supradictorum omnium sacramentorum solemnibus administratione recipio et admitto.”

40 Helmut Hoping, *Mein Leib für euch gegeben: Geschichte und Theologie der Eucharistie*, 3rd updated edition (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 2022), 235–288; Joris Geldhof, “Did the Council of Trent produce a liturgical reform? The case of the Roman Missal,” *Questions liturgiques* 3–4 (2012): 171–195; Winfried Haunerland, “Einheitlichkeit als Weg der Erneuerung: Das Konzil von Trient und die nachtridentinische Reform der Liturgie,” in *Liturgiereformen: historische Studien zu einem bleibenden Grundzug des christlichen Gottesdienstes*, Part 1, eds. Martin Klöckener and Benedict Kranemann (Münster: Aschendorff, 2002), 436–465, and other titles mentioned in the final bibliography of this study.

(*Breviarium Romanum* 1568, *Missale Romanum* 1570, *Martyrologium Romanum* 1584, *Pontificale Romanum* 1596, *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* 1600, *Rituale Romanum* 1614).

These books were edited, as Pius V (1566–1572) said of the *Missale Romanum*, on the basis of source heuristics and with the intention of bringing the Missal and the Rite “to its original state according to the ancient norm of the Holy Fathers.”⁴¹ In this, the Holy See followed the processes initiated by the interests of humanism and confessional polemics, which emphasized the conformity of contemporary forms of faith to Scripture and Tradition. These interactions resulted in editions of liturgical texts and various treatises on the history of the liturgy aimed at proving the ancient origin and legitimacy of the Latin Mass.⁴² At least let us mention the names of Johann Cochlaeus (1479–1552) or Melchior Hittrop (c. 1525–1584).⁴³

1.6 Catechisms

The Council of Trent also gave impetus to the reform of the liturgical education and formation of clergy by stipulating that priestly seminaries should be established and that seminarians should also learn the forms of administering the sacraments and the celebration of rites and ceremonies.⁴⁴ The popes of the 17th and 18th centuries repeated and enforced

41 Pius V., Bull *Quo primum* (14 July 1570), in *Magnum Bullarium Romanum a Beato Leone Magno usque ad S.D.N. Benedictum XIII.*, new edition, vol. 2, *A Pio IV. ad Innocentium IX.* (Luxemburgi: Sumptibus Andreae Chevalier, 1727), 333: “eruditis delectis viris [...] qui [...] ad pristinam Missale ipsum sanctorum Patrum normam ac ritum restituerunt.”

42 Cf. Vagaggini, *Il senso teologico della liturgia*, 517: “Cominciava così a nascere la scienza liturgica storica moderna che ebbe magnifico sviluppo nel secolo XVII e XVIII con una serie di eruditi di primissima grandezza...” Cf. Thalhofer, *Handbuch der katholischen Liturgik*, 1. vol, 81–103.

43 Johannes Cochlaeus, *Speculum antiquae devotionis circa Missam et omnem alium cultum Dei ex antiquis et antea nunquam evulgatis per Typographos Autoribus, officina Francisci Behem, Moguntiae 1549*; Melchior Hittropius, *De divinis catholicae Ecclesiae officii ac ministerii varii veterum aliquot Ecclesiae Patrum ac Scriptorum libri [...] quibus Ordinem Romanum antiquum de Ecclesiasticis officii, cui illi quasi quidam sunt commentarii, praemisimus: ad religionis Christianae incrementum, et haeresum nostri temporis, divinae Catholicae Ecclesiae officia et ministeria impie calumniantium solidam confutationem, ex antiquissimis manuscriptis exemplaribus bona fide partim nunc primum editi, partim a ineditis repurgati* (Coloniae: Apud Gervinum Calenium et haeredes Iohannis Quentel, 1568).

44 Council of Trent, *Decretum de reformatione*, can. 18 (sessio XXIII on 15 July 1563): “sacramentorum tradendorum [...] et rituum, ac ceremoniarum formas ediscent” (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum Decreta*, 751). Similarly, *Decretum de reformatione*, can. 7 (sessio XXIV on 11 November 1563) stipulated that bishops and priests should explain to the faithful in their native language the effect and usefulness of sacramental rites (*Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*

Vážení čtenáři, právě jste dočetli ukázkou z knihy ***Institutionalization of Liturgics in the Early Modern Period***.

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