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THE GOOD FRIDAY ORATION AD INTRA ECCLESIAM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POST-CONCILIAR LITURGICAL REFORMS

1. INTRODUCTION

The Good Friday oration is one of the most important Church prayers and has a universal character (Czaputa, 1931, 101; Gay, 1878, 502; Martini, 1837, 468; Mazzinelli, 1870, 366; Pleszczyński, 1908, 50; *Wielki Tydzien*, 1746, 166; *Wielki i święty tydzień*, 1843, 375). In this oration, the Church prays for her members and those outside her community (Krukowski, 1869, 579; Wachowski, 1931, 26). Until the 1950s, this oration was undisputable. But beginning with *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus*, all the prayers of the Good Friday oration were changed. The greatest modifications are seen in the prayers for non-Catholics, Jews, and non-Christians; however, the changes are also noticeable in the so-called orations *ad intra ecclesiam*, and these should be analysed.

The main aim of this paper will be to juxtapose the differences between the different Good Friday orations *ad intra ecclesiam* and discover the theological character of the modifications through an analysis of the prayers. The sources will be the following: Benedict XV's Roman Missal, *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae,* and two typical editions of the reformed Roman Missals of 1970 and 2002.¹ The paper will be divided into three parts. In the first, the orations from the collection *ad intra ecclesiam* will be outlined. Then, the changes of the orations will be presented. The last part will focus on the influence on the theological character of the orations.

2. THE GOOD FRIDAY ORATIONS AD INTRA AND AD EXTRA ECCLESIAM

One way to structure the Good Friday orations is to divide them into those relating to the Catholic Church's relationship to herself (ad intra ecclesiam) and those relating to the Church's relationship to the world (ad extra ecclesiam) (Czerwik, 2001, 100-101; Czerwik, 2013, 94). The criterion of this division is membership in the Catholic Church. Considering the prayers that belong to the first and second collections, it should be noticed that there is a different structure to the Good Friday orations in the traditional liturgical books and Paul VI's Roman Missal. Before the Second Vatican Council, the structure of the orations was as follows: (1) for the Church, (2) for the Pope, (3) for the Clergy and Laity of the Church, (4) for the Emperor, (5) for Those Preparing for Baptism, (6), for Those in Special Need (7), for non-Catholics, (8) for the Jews, and (9) for non-Christians (Blachnicki, 1965, 91; Lijka, 2012, 112; Stryjakowski, 1888, 13). In the reformed Roman Missal, the structure of the oration is: (1) for the Church, (2) for the Pope, (3) for the Clergy and Laity of the Church, (4) for Those Preparing for Baptism, (5) for non-Catholics (6), for the Jews, (7) for non-Christians, (8) for Those Who Do Not Believe in God (Ryan, 2003, 89), (9) for All in Public Office, and (10) for Those in Special Need.²

Two important observations emerge from these juxtapositions. Firstly, in the traditional structure of the Good Friday oration, there are six prayers *ad intra ecclesiam* (the border of the division is the oration for non-Catholics, which opens a new collection).³ Secondly, in the reformed structure, there are at least five prayers *ad intra ecclesiam*, and their precise number depends on the qualification of the oration for non-Catholics.⁴ The prayers for Those in Special Need and for All in Public

¹ These are the following sources: *Missale Romanum*, 1970; *Missale romanum*, 2002; *Missale romanum*, 2004; *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae*, 1955; *Variationes*, 1965.

² This number is not constant because the rubrics make it possible to add a special intention. See Adaszek, Araszczuk, 1998, 30.

³ This interpretation can be proved by the structure of orations – in the last place, pagans, heretics, and schismatics were mentioned after the prayers for the Emperor and the Oppressed. Apart from that, in 1955, the oration was titled "pro fidelium necessitatibus," which shows that the reformers considered that prayer an oration *ad intra ecclesiam*.

⁴ Some scholars divide the Good Friday oration into 5 + 5. See Krakowiak, 2017, 56-57.

Office (formerly for the Emperor) were transferred to the oration *ad extra ecclesiam*. Referring to the second, it should be noticed that the prayer has not been proclaimed since the beginning of the 19th century when the empire fell, and the emperor abdicated (Berger, 1976, 126).⁵ That is why the older textbooks stated that there were eight Good Friday prayers (*Wielki Tydzień*, 1937, 78.). Although this oration was not proclaimed, it did not mean that it was removed from the missals. It was printed in the subsequent missals, including the one promulgated by Benedict XV.⁶

Thus, taking up the issue of the Good Friday oration *ad intra ecclesiam*, the following prayers should be considered: for the Church, for the Pope, for the Clergy and Laity of the Church, for the Emperor, for Those Preparing for Baptism, and for Those in Special Need. Considering the practical (not theoretical) absence of the prayer for the Emperor (for All in Public Office) in the traditional Catholic liturgy and due to the detailed analysis of this oration prayer in another paper, the oration for the Emperor (for All in Public Office) will be omitted here (Mielnik, 2019, 115-125).

3. CHANGES IN THE PARTICULAR ORATIONS AD INTRA ECCLESIAM

The analysis will be carried out in the following order. First, the modifications in the oration for the Church will be presented. Second, the changes in the prayer for the Pope will be shown. Third, the modifications in the oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church will be discussed. Fourth are the changes in the prayer for Those Preparing for Baptism, and finally, there are the modifications of the oration for Those in Special Need.⁷

a. Oration for the Church

In Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, no change in the content of the oration was made. The only modification was connected with the title of the oration. Every prayer had a title, and the first oration was called "pro sancta ecclesia" (for the holy Church). In Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducen-

⁵ Another reason for not praying this oration was because it was outside the Austrian domination. See Baggs, 1839, 75; Guéranger, 1857, 534.

⁶ Some textbooks even had the information that this prayer should be omitted, as long as the bishops made decisions concerning that issue. See Laciak, 1928, 17.

⁷ This succession is justified by the structure of the prayers in Benedict XV's Roman Missal. The reason for excluding the analysis of the oration for the Emperor was given earlier. Due to their desire for baptism, catechumens are already joined to the Church in a spiritual way, and thus the oration for Those Preparing for Baptism should be understood as an *ad intra ecclesiam* prayer. See Nowowiejski, 2001, 445.

dae, a small but noticeable change was introduced. In the intention of the prayer, the phrase "subíciens ei principátus et potestátes" (subordinating authorities and dominions to him), which was between "custodíre dignétur toto orbe terrárum" and "detque nobis, quiétam et tranquillam vitam degéntibus," was removed. In the typical edition of the reformed Roman Missal, the variant from *Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae* was kept, but the end of the oration was modified. The phrase "Per eúndem Dóminum nostrum" was changed to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum." This modification is also present in the third typical edition of the 2002 Roman Missal.

b. Oration for the Pope

The form of the oration was not changed in Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus. Only a title was added – "pro summo pontifice" (for the supreme pontiff). In Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae, there was no modification (this document did not include the oration for Pope). Some minor changes appeared in the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal. First, the oration had a new title – "pro papa" (for the Pope). The phrase "ut christiána plebs, quæ te gubernátur auctóre, sub tanto Pontífice, credulitátis suæ méritis augeátur" was changed to "ut christiána plebs, quæ te gubernátur auctóre, sub ipso Pontífice, fidei suæ méritis augeátur." Only two words were different – "tanto" was changed to "ipso" and "credulitátis" to "fidei." The end of the oration was also modified. The phrase "Per Dóminum nostrum" was changed to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum." The third typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal has kept these modifications and did not introduce any new ones.

c. Oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church

In Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, the only modification was in the title of the oration – "pro omnibus ordinibus gradibusque fidelium" (for all offices and states of the faithful). One should note the manner of the notation of the particular offices and states. In Benedict XV's Roman Missal, they were written with capital letters (for example, Episcopis, Virginibus), while in Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, they were written with small letters (episcopis, virginibus). No modifications were introduced in Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae (this document did not include the oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church). Very important changes appeared in the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal. The intention was practically built ex nihilo. The phrase "Orémus et pro ómnibus Epíscopis, Presbýteris, Diacónibus, Subdiacónibus, Acólythis, Exorcístis, Lectóribus, Ostiáriis, Confessóribus, Virgínibus, Víduis: et pro omni pópulo sancto

Dei" was changed to "Orémus et pro Epíscopo nostro N., pro ómnibus epíscopis, presbýteris, diacónis et pro ómnibus ordínibus Ecclésiae, et univérsa plebe fidélium." Smaller modifications were made in the second part of the oration. The phrase "ab ómnibus tibi grádibus fidéliter serviátur" was changed to "ab ómnibus tibi fidéliter serviátur," which means that the word "grádibus" was removed. The last element "Per Dóminum nostrum" was changed to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum."

Slight modifications were introduced in the third typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal. The changes are related to two elements. First, besides the letter "N" indicating the variable part of the oration, a footnote informed the reader about the possibility of mentioning another bishop than the bishop of the place.⁸ Secondly, the phrase "et pro ómnibus ordínibus" was removed. Due to this modification, the phrase "Orémus et pro [...] diacónis et pro ómnibus ordínibus Ecclésiae" was changed to "Orémus et pro [...] diacónis Ecclésiae." In the second part of the oration, the phrase "exáudi nos pro univérsis ordínibus supplicántes" was changed to "exáudi nos pro minístris tuis supplicántes," changing the expression from "univérsis ordínibus" to "minístris tuis."

d. Oration for Those Preparing for Baptism

In Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, the content of prayer was not changed. The only modification is related to the introduction of a title – "pro catechumenis" (for catechumens). Two changes were introduced in the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal. Firstly, the pronoun "nostris" was bracketed, which suggested the possibility of omitting this word when proclaiming the oration. Secondly, at the end of the oration, the phrase "Per Dóminum" was changed to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum." The third typical edition of Paul's Roman Missal has no changes.

e. Oration for Those in Special Need

In Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, the only modification was the addition of a title – "pro fidelium necessitatibus" (in needs of the faithful). Several noticeable changes were made in the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal. First, the title of the oration was altered – "pro tribulatis" (for the oppressed). Second, the intercession was moved to the end of the Good Friday oration. Third, some modifications in the content of the prayer were introduced. The phrase "víncula dissólvat" was changed to "víncula solvat." The request "viatóribus securitátem" was added between the phrases "víncula solvat" and "peregrinántibus réditum." Chang-

8 Here, the rubrics refer to point 149 of the General Instruction to the Roman Missal.

es are also evident at the end of the prayer. The phrase "infirmántibus sanitátem: navigántibus portum salútis indúlgeat" was changed to "infirmántibus sanitátem atque moriéntibus salutem indúlgeat." The invocation "Per Dóminum nostrum" was changed to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum." No changes were introduced in the third typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal.

4. THEOLOGICAL CHARACTER OF THE CHANGES

Before explaining the modifications in individual prayers, it is important to note the reappearing alteration at the end of the orations: the change of "Per Dóminum nostrum" to "Per Christum Dóminum nostrum" (Czerwik, 2001, 100; *Uffizio*, 1859, 348). This change may seem unimportant, but it makes a big difference – it removes the Trinitarian formula that appears at the end of each oration. Through the presence of such a formula, the participation of the Holy Trinity in the requests was underlined. This modification harmonises with changes in the reformed Holy Mass, which also weakened the Trinitarian meaning of the Catholic liturgy.⁹

At this point, the analyses will be carried out according to the order set in the earlier part of the paper. Thus, the following orations will be discussed: oration for the Church, for the Pope, for the Clergy and Laity of the Church, for Those Preparing for Baptism, and for Those in Special Need.

f. Oration for the Church

As already noted, the biggest modification of this prayer was made in *Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae*. Contrary to appearances, this is a very important shift. In 1965, the only modification in the Good Friday oration concerned several prayers. In addition to the oration for the Church and the oration for non-Catholics, the intercessions for the Jews and non-Christians were significantly changed, i.e., all the prayers *ad extra ecclesiam*.¹⁰ As the *ad intra ecclesiam* prayer was changed, there must have been important reasons for that.

The excised phrase had an adverbial participle that introduces a subordinate clause in this context. The presence of the participle forces one to find the main clause and the verb to which this participle is related. This verb is "dignétur" introduces the subsequent verbs "pacificáre, adunáre, et custodíre." Here, the

⁹ Significant changes in the oration can be noted: *Deus, qui humanae substantiae, Libera nos,* and *Perceptio Corporis* and the removal of such prayers as *Suscipe, sancta Trinitas,* and *Placeat tibi.* The Trinitarian character of Holy Mass was also weakened by narrowing down the use of the preface of the Holy Trinity.

¹⁰ The prayer for Those Who Do Not Believe in God was introduced in 1970 in the reformed Roman Missal.

phrase "subiciens ei principátus et potestátes" was added. It should be understood as an extension of the manner in which God is to give his Church peace, unity, and salvation. According to the meaning of the traditional oration, the way to ensure peace to the Church is to subordinate authorities and dominions to her, i.e., temporal powers that may hinder her salvific mission.

The removal of this fragment changes the theological character of the prayer in a very interesting way. This omission suggests that God can grant peace to the Church without having to influence the temporal powers acting against the Church. Moreover, it seems to imply the Church's resignation from imperial aspirations, manifested in her will to subjugate successive earthly powers. Theoretically, the spiritual character of the Church has been emphasised to a greater extent.

g. Oration for the Pope

Firstly, one should note the slight, yet significant, modification in the title of the oration. Introduced in *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus*, the title "pro summo pontifice" underlined the special character of the pope as the supreme head of the Church. The change of the title in the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal (pro papa) weakened the special character of the pope. It would have seemed that it could not be so since the title "pope" is the normal title commonly used for the Holy Father. In fact, this title in itself is not as strong as the term "the highest pontiff" because the superlative distinguishes the Holy Father more strongly from others. On the other hand, it is worth realising that the change of the title could have resulted from such an obvious issue as the adaptation of the title to the content of the prayer. Since the very beginning, the oration had read "Orémus et pro beatíssimo Papa nostro" not "Orémus et pro summo pontifice," which would additionally be confirmed by similar modifications in the other prayers (for All in Public Office, for Jews, for Those Who Do Not Believe in Christ, for Those Who Do Not Believe in God).

The next two modifications are cosmetic and are limited to exchanging two words for other words, but one may wonder even more why the reformers wanted to make such minimal changes. "Tantus" in Latin means "so much, so great," while "ipse" is a demonstrative pronoun, meaning "this." Considering these linguistic nuances, we can claim that the change of "sub tanto Pontífice" to "sub ipso Pontífice" weakened the special character of the Holy Father. The modified oration simply indicates to whom the content of the prayer refers, and in the traditional prayer, the emphasis is his importance to the Church.

The explanation of the second change ("credulitátis" to "fidei") is a little more difficult. Both words are related to faith in Latin and can be translated as "faith." However, it seems that the term "credulitas" has a clearer connection with such words as "gullibility" or "credulity." Perhaps, having that in mind, the reformers wanted to underline that Christians should grow in a faith that is not reckless but strong, sincere, and thoughtful.

h. Oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church

Out of the Good Friday orations analysed in this study, the intercession for the Clergy and Laity of the Church underwent the greatest changes. The intention was completely reworked, leaving no obvious link to the traditional variant. The basic difference concerns the number of offices and states of the Church. In the traditional oration, twelve were mentioned (bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, acolytes, exorcists, lectors, ostiaries, confessors, virgins, widows, layman). In the renewed prayer, there are three offices (bishops, presbyters, deacons), laypeople, and all the offices of the Church in general.¹¹ What is more, the office of the ordinary is underlined, and his name is mentioned in the prayer like that of the pope, and since 2002, this has also been true of auxiliary bishops.

Theoretically, the explanation for this modification is relatively simple – after the Second Vatican Council, it was decided to remove the subdiaconate and minor orders, so it was no longer necessary to mention them in the Good Friday oration. This explanation is only convincing on the surface. The *motu proprio* "Ministeria quaedam," by which Paul VI removed the aforementioned orders in the Roman Catholic Church, was not published until 15 August 1972, relatively long after the publication of the first edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal.¹² This kind of change should have been done in the second typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal, i.e., in 1975, rather than five years earlier.

Yet, another theoretical explanation could be offered. Paul VI might have planned to remove the subdiaconate and minor orders in 1970, and the new version of the prayer anticipated those actions. This interpretation is not convincing, either. Why did such preparations concern the Good Friday oration and not the whole Missal if that were the case? In the first typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal, the ministry of the subdeacon is clearly written.¹³ Had Paul VI actually planned to remove the subdiaconate and minor orders in 1970, it would have been useless to write out the rubrics to maintain the role of the subdeacon, especially since five years later, in the second typical edition of Paul VI's Roman Missal, these rubrics were removed.

12 By motu proprio "Ministeria quaedam." See Paulus VI, 1972, 529-534.

¹¹ On the basis of the juxtaposition with the traditional version, confessors, virgins, widows can be present.

¹³ The analysis of the subdeacon in Paul VI's Roman Missal is presented in Mielnik, 2017, 38-50.

In the context of these modifications, it is worth noting a certain symbolic aspect that was removed through the changes made. In the traditional oration, a total of twelve states of the Church were mentioned, which evidently referred to the twelve tribes of Israel and the twelve apostles. Thus, it is shown that the prayer is offered for the whole Church without exception. In the new version of the intercession, this symbolism does not appear due to a significant reduction of the states.

It is not easy to explain why the phrase "pro ómnibus ordínibus" was omitted in the third typical edition of the Roman Missal. In a sense, this omission specifies for whom the Church prays in this oration. In this context, the modified version of the prayer refers to the idea present in the traditional formula, where there were no indefinite references, either, and all the particular states of the Church were mentioned by name.

Further, the change of the phrase "omni pópulo sancto Dei" to "univérsa plebe fidélium" is difficult to explain. The traditional oration firmly underlined the sanctity of laypeople (the noun "sanctus"), while the new oration stresses their faithfulness (the nominalised adjective "fidelis"). Why was the term "omnis" replaced with the term "universus"? Both terms appear in the oration, so the argument from the linguistic harmonisation cannot be used in this case. The omission of the term "grádibus" does not seem to change much in the theological meaning, either. Theoretically, the universal character of the prayer was strengthened, but practically, this universality is still present in the word "omnibus." Replacing the phrase "pro univérsis ordínibus" with "pro minístris tuis" modifies a little more because it weakens the more official nomenclature of the ecclesial offices, thus laying a stronger emphasis on the different ministries, not only the official ones.¹⁴

i. Oration for Those Preparing for Baptism

As for the oration for Those Preparing for Baptism, there is only one modification – the inclusion of the possessive pronoun "noster," referring to catechumens, in brackets. The omission of this pronoun might have been dictated by the desire to better fit the situation of the particular Churches. If there were catechumens in a given community, adding this pronoun would show the connection between the catechumens and that community. If a given Church had no people preparing for baptism, the omission of the pronoun was to indicate all catechumens in the world. In the traditional oration, in which the pronoun "noster" was always mentioned when referring to catechumens, the fact that catechumens have a connection with every community was more strongly emphasised, even if they were not preparing

¹⁴ The term "ordo" is used to describe the holy orders.

for baptism in one particular Church, and the prayer itself suggests the spiritual unity of the whole Church.

j. Oration for Those in Special Need

The modification of the title of the oration was most probably connected with the change of the structure of the Good Friday oration and the change of the place of the oration for Those in Special Need. At first, this prayer was placed within the oration *ad intra ecclesiam*, so the title ("pro fidelium necessitatibus") was adequate. After it was moved to the collection of the *ad extra ecclesiam* prayers, the term "fidelis" ceased to be adequate for obvious reasons, which resulted in a change of its name. It must also be stressed that, because of this change, the character of the oration itself was dramatically altered – now, the beneficiaries of the oration are no longer (only) Catholics in need but also religious dissenters and atheists.

As for the content itself, it is difficult to state whether replacing the verb "dissólvat" with "solvat" introduces any important theological modification. Adding the phrase "viatóribus securitátem" does not seem to introduce any new theological character, either. Placing this phrase before "peregrinántibus réditum" is intuitive because then, two groups of people are juxtaposed. So, there is a thematic convergence. Further modifications are more noticeable. The traditional phrase "navigántibus portum salútis indúlgeat" could be understood metaphorically as the achievement of salvation by Catholics. The new phrase ("moriéntibus salútem indúlgeat") also expresses a similar sense, but it should still be remembered that the new place of the prayer gives new meaning – Catholics pray not only for the salvation of their fellow believers but for all dying people. It is worth emphasising that, according to the content of this prayer, salvation is no longer achieved by belonging to the Catholic Church, as in the traditional oration,¹⁵ but is possible outside the Church.

5. CONCLUSION

The paper's main aim was to juxtapose the differences between the different versions of the Good Friday orations *ad intra ecclesiam* and establish the theological meaning of the modifications introduced in the orations through the analysis of the prayers. The source materials were Benedict XV's Roman Missal, *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae*, and two typical editions of the reformed Roman Missals from 1970 and 2002. The study was divided into three parts. The orations from the collection and

intra ecclesiam were outlined in the first. In the second, the changes to the particular orations were presented, and finally, the influence on the theological character of the orations was shown.

In the light of the analyses, it is difficult to indicate any specific criterion that would explain the modifications made in the orations in the *ad intra ecclesiam* collection. Sometimes, the criterion of adapting to the new organisation of the Church (oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church), the state of a person (oration for Those Preparing for Baptism), or a new understanding of the role of the Church in the world (oration for the Church) was used. In other cases, some of the modifications are difficult to explain unequivocally (oration for the Pope, oration for Those in Special Need). Regardless, it should be noted that none of the Good Friday orations remained intact, and the introduction of the 1955, 1965, 1970, and 2002 modifications, though the Solemn Intercessions were not changed for many being centuries, clearly shows that once launched, the machine for reform cannot be stopped. Therefore, it should be expected that in adapting to modern times and circumstances, the present contents of the Solemn Intercessions at the Good Friday celebration will change to some degree.

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THE GOOD FRIDAY ORATION AD INTRA ECCLESIAM IN THE CONTEXT OF THE POST-CONCILIAR LITURGICAL REFORMS

SUMMARY

This paper aims to juxtapose the differences between the versions of the Good Friday oration *ad intra ecclesiam* and unveil the theological character behind these modifications by analysing the prayers. The source materials were Benedict XV's Roman Missal, *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus, Variationes in ordinem Hebdomadae Sanctae inducendae,* and two typical editions of the reformed Roman Missals from 1970 and 2002. The paper is divided into three parts. In the first, the orations from the *ad intra ecclesiam* collection are explained. In the second, the changes to the orations are analysed. Finally, the influence on the theological character of the orations is presented. The analyses lead to the conclusion that it is difficult to specify a single criterion for the modifications in the *ad intra ecclesiam* collection. Sometimes, the changes resulted in a new organisation of the Church (e.g., oration for the Clergy and Laity of the Church), a shift in a person's present state (oration for Those Preparing for Baptism), or a new understanding of the role of the Church in the world (oration for the Church). Some modifications are difficult to explain (oration for the Pope, for Those in Special Need).

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