Hearing and understanding: Vernacular liturgical reform at Holy Trinity Abbey New Norcia 1963-1970

Christopher Kan
Hearing and Understanding:

Vernacular Liturgical reform at Holy Trinity Abbey New Norcia

1963 – 1970

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Declaration

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Christopher J. Kan

1 July 2019

Ethics:

The research presented and reported in this thesis was conducted in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007, updated 2018). The proposed research study received human research ethics approval from the University Of Notre Dame Australia Human Research Ethics Committee (EC00418), Approval Number: 016152F

Images:

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Abstract

The first fruit of the Second Vatican Council (1962-65) was *Sacrosanctum Concilium* – the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy. Within eight years of its promulgation Roman Catholic worship across the world was transformed, as the language and practice of the rites of the Church underwent significant change. One of the most noticeable changes was the relaxation of the requirement for the Church’s liturgy to be celebrated in Latin and instead be in the local language of the people, the vernacular.

Case studies of the implementation of the post-conciliar reform, as advocated by the Council, are infrequent, especially in the context of monastic communities. Through utilising both historical research method and case study methodologies, alongside a wide-ranging interview and archival work, this project documents how the Benedictine Community of Holy Trinity Abbey, New Norcia responded to this challenge. During this time of liturgical transition, the Abbey administered a number of parishes in addition to the monastic foundation, making it a valuable location for researching how the vernacular reforms were received amongst both monastics and lay-people.

Histories of liturgical adaption, renewal and change in the post Vatican Council period are invaluable as they tell of communities’ journeys into increased understanding and participation. This research provides an example of how the significant liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council were manifested in an isolated monastic community.
# Table of Contents

Declaration ................................................................................................................................. iii  
Abstract ....................................................................................................................................... v  
Table of Contents ........................................................................................................................ vii  
List of Figures ............................................................................................................................. ix  
Abbreviations ................................................................................................................................. x  
Acknowledgements ......................................................................................................................... xi  
Introduction .................................................................................................................................... 1  
Chapter 1  Method .......................................................................................................................... 4  
1.1 Research Questions .................................................................................................................. 4  
1.2 Theoretical Framework ........................................................................................................... 4  
1.3 Research Methodology .......................................................................................................... 5  
1.4 Site or population selection .................................................................................................... 6  
1.5 Data collection methods ........................................................................................................ 6  
1.6 Data analysis .......................................................................................................................... 8  
1.7 Ethical considerations ............................................................................................................ 9  
1.8 Limitations of the study ......................................................................................................... 9  
1.9 Conclusion ............................................................................................................................ 10  
Chapter 2  Definition and Process of Liturgical Reform .......................................................... 11  
2.1 Liturgical Reform .................................................................................................................. 11  
2.2 The Basis and Implementation of the Reform ..................................................................... 11  
2.3 Monastic Reform .................................................................................................................. 14  
2.4 Contextual Research .......................................................................................................... 14  
2.5 Reflective Research ............................................................................................................. 16  
2.6 Conclusion ........................................................................................................................... 17  
Chapter 3  Context ....................................................................................................................... 18  
3.1 Monastic Context .................................................................................................................. 18  
3.2 Liturgical Context ................................................................................................................. 19  
3.2.1 The Liturgical Movement .......................................................................................... 19  
3.2.2 Vatican Documents 1963 – 1969 ................................................................................. 20  
3.2.3 Australia .................................................................................................................... 21  
3.3 New Norcia Context ............................................................................................................. 23  
3.4 Conclusion ........................................................................................................................... 24  
Chapter 4  Case Study 1: Text ..................................................................................................... 25  
4.1 Vatican Instructions ............................................................................................................... 25  
4.1.1 Translation Guidelines: Dynamic Equivalence ............................................................ 26  
4.2 The Oral History ................................................................................................................... 28  
4.3 Recorded History ................................................................................................................ 31  
4.3.1 Fr. Peter Garbayo ...................................................................................................... 32  
4.3.2 Non - Official and Local Texts ................................................................................... 33  
4.3.3 Community prayer book ......................................................................................... 34  
4.3.4 Feast and Solemnity of St Benedict ......................................................................... 34  
4.4 Saint Benedict Hymnal ...................................................................................................... 35  
4.5 Continued Use of Latin ..................................................................................................... 36  
4.6 Conclusion ........................................................................................................................... 36
Chapter 5  Case Study 2: Music ................................................................. 39
  5.1 Vatican Instructions ........................................................................... 39
  5.2 The Oral History .............................................................................. 40
  5.2.1 Fr. Eladio Ros ................................................................................ 40
  5.2.2 Community Singing ...................................................................... 41
  5.3 Recorded History ............................................................................. 44
  5.3.1 Music at New Norcia ...................................................................... 44
  5.3.2 St. Benedict Hymnal ...................................................................... 46
  5.4 Indigenous music ............................................................................. 47
  5.5 Conclusion ....................................................................................... 47

Chapter 6  Case Study 3: Sacred Space ................................................... 49
  6.1 The Lost Cathedral of New Norcia ..................................................... 49
  6.2 Vatican Instructions .......................................................................... 51
  6.3 The Oral history .............................................................................. 52
  6.4 The Recorded history ...................................................................... 54
  6.5 The Visual History .......................................................................... 55
  6.6 Stations of the Cross ........................................................................ 59
  6.7 Conclusion ....................................................................................... 60

Chapter 7  Case Study 4: Formation ......................................................... 62
  7.1 Vatican Instructions .......................................................................... 63
  7.1.1 The importance of formation ....................................................... 63
  7.1.2 The purpose of post-conciliar Formation ...................................... 64
  7.2 Post-conciliar Formation .................................................................. 65
  7.2.1 Monastic and Clerical Formation .................................................. 65
  7.2.2 Lay Formation ............................................................................. 66
  7.3 The Future ....................................................................................... 69
  7.3.1 Preparation ................................................................................... 70
  7.3.2 Participation .................................................................................. 70
  7.3.3 Monks and Laypeople as a Faith Community ............................... 71
  7.4 Conclusion ....................................................................................... 72

Chapter 8  Conclusion ............................................................................... 75
  8.1 The Research Questions .................................................................... 75
  8.2 The post-1970 experience ................................................................ 77
  8.3 Monastic Liturgy, Faith Communities and the Future ...................... 78

Bibliography .......................................................................................... 81
Unauthored Newspaper Articles ............................................................. 84
Appendices ............................................................................................. 85
List of Figures

Figure 1 Nervi Cathedral Design, Exterior ..............................................................51
Figure 2 Nervi Cathedral Design, Interior ...............................................................51
Figure 3 Holy Trinity Cathedral High Altar, 1950's. ..................................................55
Figure 4 Holy Trinity Cathedral Post-Vatican II Altar – Rear view. ......................56
Figure 5 Holy Trinity Cathedral Post-Vatican II Altar - Front View .......................57
Figure 6 Holy Trinity Cathedral early 1970's Altar ....................................................58
Figure 7 Kucik Murals in St. Gertrude’s College Chapel.......................................59
Figure 8 Stations of the Cross, Holy Trinity Cathedral ...........................................59
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Fr Anscar McFee OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BR</td>
<td>Abbot Bernard Rooney OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Fr David Barry OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EM</td>
<td><em>Eucharisticum Mysterium</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ER</td>
<td>Fr Eladio Ros OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GG</td>
<td>Abbot Gregory Gomez OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td><em>Inter Oecumenici</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MS</td>
<td><em>Musicam Sacram</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NN</td>
<td>New Norcia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OSB</td>
<td>Order of St Benedict</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PG</td>
<td>Fr Peter Garbayo OSB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RB</td>
<td><em>Rule of St Benedict</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td><em>Rule of the Master</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td><em>Sacrosanctum Concilium</em></td>
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Acknowledgements

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This work is dedicated to my Dad, Fr. Peter Kan, who taught me to love both liturgy and the God to whom we pray.

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Introduction

The promulgation of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*¹, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy, by Pope Paul VI on December 4, 1963 has become a singularly defining event in the liturgical life of the Roman Catholic Church. The first document decreed, almost unanimously, at the Second Vatican Council its definitive flowering in the release of the 1969 Missal (also known as the *Novus Ordo*), which for the first time universally permitted the use of vernacular language in the celebration of the Liturgy “because the use of the mother tongue in the administration of the sacraments and sacramentals can often be of considerable help to the people” (SC, 3).

The celebration of the Liturgy in the vernacular was not a novelty introduced by the Council Fathers, but rather a topic that had been discussed periodically throughout Church history, from the Council of Trent through to Pope Pius XII’s 1947 approval of substantial use of the vernacular in various sacraments.

Most significantly, this change in the permissible language for the celebration of the Church’s liturgy is partly the result of what has come to be known as “The Liturgical Movement”,² where scholars from the mid-19th Century onwards advocated for increased understanding and participation in the Liturgy by the laity. Benedictine liturgical scholars such as Fr. Godfrey Diekmann and Fr. Bernard Botte played a crucial role in implementing this ideal through the liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council and in the implementation and practice of vernacular liturgy in the post-conciliar period.

This thesis documents examples of liturgical change from Latin into the vernacular (in this case English) within a small monastic community along with the concurrent changes in ritual action and worshipping environment.

By researching the manner in which the Benedictine community enacted liturgical reform in the period between the promulgation of SC and the publication of the 1969


2 The term *Liturgical Movement* in this context refers to the scholarship that has influenced both understanding and liturgical praxis. As with any historical event, there is some legitimate scholarly discussion about its origins.
Missal, this study shows that by documenting both the process of liturgical change, and how this process was received, it is possible to establish recommendations for managing further liturgical change, especially in parishes associated with monastic communities.

The main body of this thesis focuses on the presentation and interpretation of data gathered through interviews and archival research. The collected data is organized into four major themes: Text, Music, Sacred Space and Formation. Inherent in the interpretation of the data is one of the key themes from SC, “full, conscious and active participation” (SC, 14) which Tom Elich describes as being a mindset that involves both action (involvement) and presence (contemplation and prayer) and takes its shape from the worshipping community that represents the ecclesial body of the Church. This implies the importance of not only studying textual reform, but also the way in which the fundamental themes of SC were put into practice within renewed liturgical spaces.

The thesis concludes with a discussion about the nature of liturgical formation. In particular, it examines the manner in which formation in the Liturgy both succeeded and failed at New Norcia. The conclusion will examine the success of answering the Research Questions and the challenges for monastic communities and laypeople in celebrating liturgy together in the future.

The aim of this thesis is therefore to document the nature and process of liturgical change at the Benedictine Community of New Norcia, after the promulgation of SC, by examining the areas of Text, Music, Sacred Space and Formation. In so doing, the thesis will show how liturgical practice, and requisite liturgical formation, is dependent upon a variety of cultural and scholarly influences at the official, local and personal level. This research will have a practical application when applied to liturgical formation and practice, as well as to faith communities seeking to understand their liturgical history.

I came to this work with a three-fold interest. Firstly, growing up in an Anglo-Catholic

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household, the importance of liturgical life was ingrained in me from an early age. This developed into a burgeoning interest in the rites and rituals of not only my Anglican heritage, but of those of the broader Catholic Tradition, both east and west.

Secondly, I write as a convert to Roman Catholicism, the prime cause for that change of religious affiliation occurred as a result of my immersion into the monastic tradition and its emphasis on the daily round of liturgical services celebrated in community. Thirdly, and perhaps most essentially, I write as Benedictine oblate, a formally welcomed lay-associate of the New Norcia.

These connections give me particular love of both the Benedictine tradition and the NN community. I have endeavoured to be even-handed in my presentation of the post-conciliar liturgical journey, and to acknowledge both successes and failures in their attempts at implementation.
Chapter 1  Method

Conducting research into the nature of liturgical reform between 1963 and 1970 at the Benedictine Community of New Norcia serves to both understand the devolution of a movement at the local level and offer insight into the way current practices and understandings have their roots in prior decisions, policies, politics and people.

The purpose of this study is to record, describe, examine and analyse data related to the research questions in order to cohesively describe liturgical life at NN during 1963 - 1970. Using both data from an interview with the three members of the monastic community and primary sources as the foundational material a rich narrative was created. This material is then related to Church instruction, theological practice and scholarship of the time and, where relevant, to the political, social and monastic milieu.

This chapter outlines both the research design and research approach. After a description of the research questions, the framework and methodology of the research is explained, detailing the interview and archival data collection stages. The frameworks that were used to organize and interpret the data are then outlined and the chapter concludes with a brief review of ethical issues and the limitations of the study.

1.1  Research Questions

*How did liturgical worship at Holy Trinity Abbey, New Norcia, in monastic and parish settings, respond to the introduction of the vernacular into the Liturgy as outlined in Sacrosanctum Concilium?*

**Supporting Questions:**

- What Vatican Instructions guided the implementation of the reform?
- What was the nature of the reaction to the implementation of changes in both the local and monastic Catholic communities?
- How was vernacular celebration of the Eucharist introduced and catechised?
- Who were the key figures in the reform process?

1.2  Theoretical Framework

This study adopts a performance-based framework to identify and explore the visible practice of liturgy in NN. “Performance-based” refers to the totality of liturgical
celebration and its holistic context, rather than a purely text-based analysis. This approach focuses the understanding of the research on the idea that “individuals and communities embody meaning in their actions and that performance or praxis reveals and shapes personal and social identity”.

Richard D. McCall highlights the idea that the performance of the Liturgy is foundational for its interpretation, isolating elements of people, spaces, costumes, text, and gesture as analytic categories. This is comparable with Mark Searle’s consideration of the importance of ritual elements (structure, subjects, symbols, time, objects, actions, words, music and relationships) and the liturgical dimensions of Kevin Irwin (word, symbol, euchology and liturgical arts) for observation.

This study identified the dimensions of Text, Space, Music, and Formation as the core areas for documentation and analysis. Justification for these categories is addressed later in this chapter.

1.3 Research Methodology

Utilising the historical research method not only helps to organise the process of data collection but assists in providing links to contemporary issues. For example, the ongoing discussion about the nature, validity and manner of liturgical reform can be explored through an examination of the historical roots of the movement. Given identifies five stages in Historical Research (referred to as historiography as it involves a critical analysis of historical sources and events rather than a solely factual reporting of events, people or ideas):

1. Identifying an area of historical research and reading relevant literature, including contemporary reflection and scholarship on the area, then selecting a focus for the study - a person, place, or idea of the period.

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5 Richard D. McCall, Do This : Liturgy as Performance (Indiana: University of Notre Dame, 2007).
8 Written prayer, especially that in official Missals and Prayer books.
(2) Developing research questions and forming a theoretical perspective to guide both the data collection and interpretation of results.
(3) Exploration of data sources and subsequent collection.
(4) Managing the collected data to ensure accuracy, validity and reliability. Evaluating the data from sources to answer the research questions.
(5) Report writing to provide a summary of the collected data and interpretations that provide evidence in support of conclusions and connections.

1.4 Site or population selection

The prime population for the research are monks who were members of the Benedictine community of New Norcia during the specified period. This was limited to three monks at the time of the writing of this dissertation: Abbot Bernard Rooney and Frs David Barry and Anscar McFee.

1.5 Data collection methods

The data collection stage was completed in three stages. Stage one focused on both the music and community archives in New Norcia. Primary data sources gathered from the community archives included the New Norcia Newsletter Pax, internal Vatican communications from various congregations, Australian prelates and diocesan departments, community documents, a variety of missals and orders of service, liturgical materials from female congregations resident at New Norcia, and personal correspondence.

An important source of historical material was missing, unfortunately, from the data collection process. Usually, monastic houses keep a chronicle, a daily record of the events and issues affecting of their communal life. However, while the NN chronicle is complete up until September 1964, it then remains blank until 1970. The reason for this remains unanswered. In the context of the research, it necessitated using a variety of other sources from the community archives to build a cohesive narrative. The music archives yielded a great deal of information including the internal publication “The History of Music at New Norcia”, and many different booklets, hymnbooks, Mass setting and pamphlets from the period. Additional music resources included Dom Eladio’s notes, correspondence and business invoices.

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The second stage entailed an hour-long interview with Fr. David Barry, Fr. Anscar McFee and Abbot Bernard Rooney, recorded in both video and audio formats. These three monks were part of the community at the time of the liturgical reforms, with both Fr. Barry and Abbot Bernard present in Rome for a period during the sitting of the Council itself. The interview was wide-ranging and covered the areas of liturgical practice and thought in the post-conciliar period. The participant’s present understandings of what makes for “good” liturgy, and the security of the reform in the contemporary liturgical landscape were also explored.

In recording the oral history, the interview provided an opportunity for gaining historical data, and for the monks to recall the manner in which they positioned themselves both at the time of the reform, and, after reflection, in the contemporary era. Given that liturgical history can sometimes be described by looking at documents and councils, the interview helped to provide eyewitness responses, both pastoral and personal.

The consent form for the interview is in Appendix 3. It is important to note that at the researcher’s request, the three monks were identified in the research report, rather than the more usual use of anonymity. Due to the age of the monks involved, as well as the small size of the monastic community, this enabled the researcher to link to their thought and reflection directly. The interviewed monks were fully supportive of this approach.

The third stage consisted of confirming information from stages one and two. All three monks received a follow-up email asking them to check the transcript of the conversation and to add any further comments, clarifications or thoughts. Further archival work in the Benedictine Community and music archives was completed to substantiate and document issues from the interview and previous research.

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1.6 Data analysis

The interview was the centre point of the research, enabling the construction of a narrative from both historical and reflective viewpoints. Data coding occurred in two stages. Post-interview, the transcript was coded, along with primary documents, using a variety of categories to identify all possible themes. The first coding cycle, for interviews, archival text documents and photographic records was completed using colours to identify the related texts to each category. The first categories used were items referring to space (e.g., Altar, lectern, church), names of people, monastic practices, music, lay people, theology, spirituality, Vatican documents, liturgical practices, use of Latin, resources and personal responses.

The categorised themes were formed into larger groups after this initial process, echoing those of McCall and Searle – Text, Space, Music, and Formation. This last category, although not performance based, became essential to the research as the interviewees, and many archival documents, illustrate a concern about formation around the changes being wrought.

A foundational issue in the data analysis is the interrelationship between text and action - liturgical texts are designed to be not merely spoken, but enacted. This intrinsic relationship between text and ritual action means that while the focus of the research was initially on textual change it was inevitable that it was unable to be separated from the implementation of the performance of the post-conciliar ritual as a language-action unified event.

The analysis process then moved to interpreting the accuracy of data by verifying and triangulating examples taken from archival documents, transcripts of the interviews and other artefacts. This triangulation enabled a critical description of the historical evidence to be presented and an evaluation of the significance of liturgical reforms at New Norcia, noting the timeline of events, influential community members and liturgical spaces, creating a “rich” narrative of the vernacular implementation.

Case studies were employed to analyse each of the categories of Text, Sacred Space, Music, and Formation, organizing the collected data to consider the reforms in both as
a whole and in its component dimensions. Case studies provide multiple benefits when paired with the historical research method:12

- The critical strength of case studies is the in-depth study of a captive population. Given the quickly declining opportunity to interview participants in the vernacular reform at New Norcia, case studies are an appropriate method to gather specific information on each component of the reform from a small population.
- Case studies not only provide a useful way in which to describe the changes which occurred but also to explore the agents of change at all levels of implementation (global, national and local) as well as the results of the changes.
- Case studies have the advantage of an internal validity via the use of multiple sources to construct a compelling narrative of the historical events through archival research, interviews and document analysis. This prevents privileged readings of history (such as “official” versions) and presents historical events from multiple perspectives, sometimes contradictory, to reflect the reality and “messiness” that are fundamental in human endeavour.

1.7 Ethical considerations

While this was a low-risk project, consisting primarily of Archival Research alongside a small interview sample, three points are worth noting:

- The planned sample consisted of members of the monastic community of New Norcia who were both involved in the liturgical life of the Church and present in the community at the time. The three monks selected to interview are the only remaining members of the community from that period.
- It is essential for the ongoing conservation of the story of the monastery to retain the names of the monks who participate, as this will be valuable for future monastic archival needs.
- Data has been stored in Dropbox and both the supervisor and the researcher have access. This material is archived electronically and retained indefinitely. Copies of material will also be stored at New Norcia for an indefinite period as an aid to further research and archival needs.

1.8 Limitations of the study

The prime limitation of this research was the transient population of New Norcia in both the monastic community and town. In the period chosen for this research, New Norcia, like many country towns, was in a state of transition, and the monastic community was not dissimilar. The opportunity to interview important community

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12 Given, The Sage Qualitative Research Methods, 68.
members was limited to the three remaining members of the monastic community who were present at the time of the Council.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter described the research design and the process of data collection for this study. Using the historical research method in combination with an interview, follow up emails and case studies; it developed a rich narrative of the period. The methodology used in the research was a multiple case study design with a mixed methods approach that focused on interviews and archival document analysis.

Participants in the study were the three remaining members of the monastic community who were present during the post-conciliar period who participated in a semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth interview, carried out in a group setting. The scope and content of the interview was influenced by the literature reviewed in order to obtain information about monastic practices as well as community participation in the parish. Archival documents were used to supplement the data collected during the research. A comprehensive process of data coding was undertaken for the identification of common themes.

The chapter also examined the ethical issues that arose and were attended to during the research, and concluded with a brief discussion on the limitations of the study.
Chapter 2    Definition and Process of Liturgical Reform

This chapter explores literature concerning the definition and process of liturgical reform, focused on the post-conciliar period. Research that outlines reform histories at monastic, local and national levels is then noted and discussed.

2.1    Liturgical Reform

“Liturgical reform” can be an ambiguous term. Francis Mannion\textsuperscript{13} clarifies the manner in which this term can be defined by considering five different understandings of the reform agenda:

1. \textit{Advancing the official Reform}: advocating for the full implementation of SC and its associated liturgical books and instructions.
2. \textit{Restoring the Pre-conciliar}: a fundamental suspicion of the reforms of SC and therefore advocating a return to Tridentine liturgy and practice.
3. \textit{Reforming the Reform}: advocates a reinterpretation of SC as the reforms were wrongly interpreted and implemented.
4. \textit{Inculturating the Reform}: the reforms of SC are important, but need continuing adaptation to the local culture.
5. \textit{Recatholicising the Reform}: a more conservative view of liturgical change, which emphasises the importance of “pastoral appropriation”, moving from structural changes to what is considered “spiritual depth”.

These broad categories provide a helpful means of categorising paradigms of understanding the reception and implementation of the reforms, and Mannion holds that these positions can exist in many combinations and in varying degrees, in specific communities with both lay and clerical populations. In the immediate period following the promulgation of SC, most communities around the world focused on the first type of reform, \textit{advancing the official reform}, as the implementation documents were released - with a smaller number of communities being a sub-type of stage two, wary of both the nature and rate of change.

2.2    The Basis and Implementation of the Reform

Since the promulgation of SC until the present, there has been continuing disagreement over the foundations of the reform agenda and its subsequent implementation.

Advocates of a conservative reading of SC include Laurence Hemming\textsuperscript{14} and Alcuin Reid\textsuperscript{15}, who believe that the implementation of the reform was actually in direct contrast to the organic process outlined in SC, seeing it as a radical departure from the usual gradual rate of change exhibited through history, (SC, 23). They see the implementation as primarily rationalistic, which leads to a rupture of the tradition: that in striving to make liturgy approachable and more understandable, it lost both its transcendent quality and its ability to form Christians in the traditions of the Church. They therefore argue for rubricly “correct” celebration of the current rites, on-going liturgical formation at all levels of the Church, a re-evaluation of the principle of active participation, and freer use of earlier rites, particularly those in Latin.

Anglican scholar Catherine Pickstock holds an intriguing tension between an unconditional return to the Tridentine rite and an endorsement of the reforms of the Second Vatican Council. Although her critique is primarily from a philosophical/historical viewpoint, her essay “A Short Essay on the Reform of the Liturgy”\textsuperscript{16} outlines her fundamental issue with the reform program as that it failed to challenge how contemporary society is “wholly inimical” to the fostering of liturgical connection to ordinary life. Pickstock advocates more radical change to both language and practice thus restoring the Liturgy to its primacy as the means of connecting word and action to the everyday.

In contrast, liturgical scholars Kevin Irwin\textsuperscript{17} and John F. Baldovin\textsuperscript{18} have written elegant defences of the post-conciliar reforms. Irwin considers the reforms from a pragmatic, rite-based viewpoint and Baldovin from the historical perspective, both emphasising the importance of lay participation and the simplification of rites, especially the Eucharist. Appealing to patristic and other liturgical sources, Baldovin remains open (in contrast to Hemmings and Reid) to the need for critical reappraisal.

\textsuperscript{17} Kevin W. Irwin, \textit{What We Have Done, What We Have Failed to Do: Assessing the Liturgical Reforms of Vatican II} (New York: Paulist Press, 2013).
\textsuperscript{18} John F. Baldovin, \textit{Reforming the Liturgy: A Response to the Critics} (Collegeville, Minn: Liturgical Press, 2008).
Baldovin pays particular emphasis to the manner in which the reforms are to be understood – mainly that they are “not about finding some pristine form of worship but … about understanding how we got to where we are … and the different contexts in which our liturgical forms developed”.19

Irwin’s in-depth study *What We Have Done, What We Have Failed to Do*20 is a rich reflection on the current state of liturgy, and particularly the fact that the post-conciliar reforms have moved the Church from a rubrics-based model of ritual celebration to one which is not only based on text but encompasses gesture and movement, song and symbol.

Further scholarship has investigated more deeply the manner in which the liturgical reforms, in a general sense, were received. Pierre-Marie Gy21, a member of the consultation commission who worked on both SC and the post-conciliar liturgical documents, has reflected on the implementation of the post-conciliar reforms. In a deeply considered work, Gy discusses the psychology of change, with particular regard to the time necessary for understanding and assimilation, in societal, Eucharistic and personal prayer contexts.

Extending and broadening Gy’s work, Clare Johnson has explored, in two papers, the nature of liturgical reform from both neuropsychological22 and process23 perspectives. Firstly, plasticity, as a neuropsychological concept, is the ability of the brain to respond to new information - to assimilate, adapt and adjust. Johnson develops a model of Liturgico-Plasticity, theorising that organic liturgical reform, as advocated in SC 23, can absorb both radical and developmental change, remaining faithful to the inherited tradition as well as effectively responding to the needs of the cultural and intellectual milieu. Johnson’s second more pragmatic work discusses change theory and how this can be applied to the Liturgy, particularly in facilitating pre, inter and post change phases, and managing the grief which all change inevitably brings.

In considering positive and negative critiques of both the interpretation of SC and the

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19 Baldovin, *Reforming the Liturgy*, 173.
20 Irwin, *What we have done*.
manner of its implementation, these articles provide a theoretical basis from which to consider the practical reforms that occurred at New Norcia. They also provide a useful lens for examining the decisions of the monastic community in both historical and contemporary perspectives.

### 2.3 Monastic Reform

Two articles by Nathan Mitchell consider the Benedictine contribution to liturgy in both pre and post-conciliar settings. An interesting observation from these articles includes the idea of monasticism as communities on the margins, whose apophatic and “ordinary” style of liturgy (as opposed to intense and psychologised) assists them in identifying with the poor and marginalised. Furthermore, Mitchell outlines the relationship between RB and liturgy by the use of the five senses, illustrating Benedict’s unique understanding of what it means to be a praying Christian.

Jonveaux and Palmisano discuss contemporary forms of liturgical practice at three monastic houses, two based in France and one in Australia. All of these communities adhere to a different model: the Extraordinary Form (Latin Mass), the post-conciliar Novus Ordo (new rite) and the new rite along with a reformist view of religious life that stresses change and adaption as interpreted through the conciliar documents. The analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each, especially in the light of the general challenges of monastic life in the contemporary world, provides useful contextual data when discussing the adaption of post-conciliar reforms.

### 2.4 Contextual Research

Several case studies consider the implementation of post-conciliar liturgical reform at diocesan and parish levels. Eugene Duffy traces the history of the reforms in Ireland by discussing the way in which the episcopate, local journals and periodicals, liturgical formation for both clergy and lay people, and post-conciliar music, influenced the

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implementation at the local level. His detailed analysis of how these factors both helped and hindered the reform process provide insight into the way in which hierarchal support (or lack thereof) intersects with inculturation in specific groups.

From the Australian context, Good Samaritan Sister Margaret Smith\(^{28}\) traces the implementation of the reforms through each Australian state, with a focus on what occurred in Melbourne and Sydney in the years before the council. In the second part of her article \(^{29}\) she focuses on how the implementation reform agenda was implemented through university courses, diocesan commissions and by specific individuals. This article provides an excellent background for this study, as the New Norcian context, although geographically isolated and without daily reference to what others were doing, could not have been totally unaware of what was occurring at the national or state level. This is further brought out by her considerations of the role of the Australian bishops in the passing of SC - important for this study as the Abbot of New Norcia in the 1960’s, Rt Rev Gregory Gomez, was part of these discussions.

Seth Smith\(^{30}\) provides a model of how a historical report of implementation can be written from a social viewpoint at the parish level. He discusses the way in which the liturgical reforms were implemented in two Southern USA parishes in the mid to late 1960’s, identifying the way in which the process was handled, along with reflection on the nature of the personalities in each parish and how this influenced the process. This intersection between policy and the social milieu gives one of the only ‘human face’ recounts of the process of reform, exploring how parishioners and clergy alike dealt with change at personal, communal and institutional levels.

Lastly, two sources of published primary evidence are worth considering as contextual sources for this study. Dom Eladio Ros, Organist and composer at New Norcia through the 1960’s, compiled an in-house document for the monastic community.\(^{31}\) Although “Music at New Norcia” documents what its title suggests, discussing the


musical history of the Abbey from Salvado’s founding until the early 1970’s, Ros also carefully and accurately describes the use of music for the liturgy in English in relation to the conciliar changes. This work is examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

Furthermore, Amanda Smith has explored the history of this period in the life of the New Norcia community in her article *For the First Time, We Sing in English: the Monastery Chronicle and the diary of Fr Peter Gerbayo, 1962-1974*. She outlines the introduction of the post-conciliar reforms at New Norcia, both liturgically and in the understanding and practice of monastic life, through the diary of a member of the monastic community, Fr. Peter Garbayo OSB, between 1962 - 1974. The social history recorded in this article gives an insight into one monk’s perspectives on the vernacular changes in a variety of contexts including the Easter Vigil, monastic profession and the first experiments with the Liturgy of the Hours.

2.5 Reflective Research

It has been 55 years since the promulgation of SC. During this time, and especially around the 50th anniversary of the document, much has been written about the process of implementation and of whether the reforms have gone too far or not far enough!

An Australian text recently explored this area. *Vatican Council II: Reforming Liturgy* examines the current state of liturgical life in the Australian Church through a detailed examination of both the contemporary practice of rites and the areas of music, design and leadership. It helpfully outlines some of the challenges for the 21st Century, namely evangelisation, creativity and imagination, participation and the focus of the Sunday Eucharist.

Language reform continues to be a topic of discussion, especially concerning the rendering of the English text from the *Editio Typica* (the approved edition of Church texts in Latin). Gerald Collins’ recent text *Lost in Translation: The English Language and the Catholic Mass* is a detailed study of the 2001 Vatican Instruction *Liturgiam Authenticam* which specified Formal, rather than Dynamic equivalence as the

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32 Amanda Smith, *For the First Time We Sing in English.*
33 Pilcher, Orr and Harrington, *Vatican Council II: Reforming Liturgy.*
paradigm for rendering English vernacular text\textsuperscript{35}, the model used in the 2010 (current) Missal translation. Peter Jeffery’s fascinating study\textsuperscript{36} of Latin translation traditions through history maintains that the Church has always had a multitude of translation models in place, and has used the tools at its disposal to create both meaning and the continuance of Tradition in its texts.

\section*{2.6 Conclusion}

This review of literature sought to provide a context for research into post-conciliar liturgical reform. It began by examining the nature, implementation and basis of the reform and then discussed the psychology and process of change management in liturgical communities. Examples of the history of liturgical reform implementation, in international, local and monastic contexts then followed before a discussion of some recent reflection on the post-conciliar reform in the contemporary Church.

The literature review reveals that research based on recounting and examining the history of liturgical reform in monastic communities and local parishes has only been explored, at best, at an introductory level. The opportunity to deeply consider the introduction of the post-conciliar reforms in a monastic community, especially given the centrality of liturgy to Benedictine life, and the history of Benedictine liturgical scholarship and involvement in reform, is the space this research seeks to fill.

\textsuperscript{35} Chapter Five contains a more detailed discussion of this issue.

Chapter 3  Context

Change does not occur without a context, and three settings in particular informed post-conciliar liturgical change at New Norcia: the monastic rule, the emerging liturgical thought and practice of the time, and the way in which the monastic community adapted these influences to their own community. This chapter briefly seeks to describe these three contexts as the basis for interpreting the data gained from interviews and archival research.

3.1 Monastic Context

Written around 530AD, The Rule of St Benedict\(^\text{37}\) (RB) is a guide for living the monastic life. Benedict was a devout Italian Christian who became a monk at the age of 20, wishing to withdraw from the world after visiting Rome and being shocked by the immoral life of the city. He founded his own monastery at Monte Cassino in 529AD.

Simple and straightforward, RB gives priority to a communal life based on a balance of prayer and work. Containing seventy-three chapters, it is comparable in size to the Gospel of Matthew. Benedict based his Rule not only on his own experience but also on the writings of other monastic authors, especially a document known as the Rule of the Master (RM).\(^\text{38}\) Liturgically, Benedict outlines seven periods of prayer based on the Psalms to punctuate each day (three times shorter than the Divine Office in RM). The daily program is designed to allow for periods of silence, prayer, work, and the slow, deep reading of scripture and spiritual texts known as Lectio Divina.

Benedict devoted 13 of his 73 chapters to liturgical and private prayer. These chapters are placed toward the beginning of the Rule, affirming the importance of communal prayer in the monastic life.\(^\text{39}\) The three major elements in RB’s liturgical schema are rooted in tradition: the use of psalms, readings from the Old and New Testament, and

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prayer. To these is added a fourth element: music in the form of responsorial hymns, and versicles.

Benedict was not only concerned with the structure of prayer. He was attentive to those who celebrate the Liturgy and wanted them to be well prepared. Apart from simplifying the prayer pattern of RM, he wanted the monks to be active participants in the Liturgy as opposed to passive spectators – a theme expanded upon in SC.

Relevant to this research is that while the structure and order of the Office in the Rule is important; more important is the principle that underlies this structure. As Benedict so wisely stated in RB: “If anyone finds this arrangement to be displeasing, then, feel free to make a different arrangement.”

3.2 Liturgical Context

3.2.1 The Liturgical Movement

The liturgical reforms of the Second Vatican Council did not occur in isolation. They were the fruit of over a century of thought and practice that is synonymous with the founding of the Abbey of Solesmes in 1833. The Abbey’s focus on the recitation of the Divine Office and the centrality of the Eucharist began the process of encouraging both an understanding of, and participation in, the rites and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. This emphasis on liturgical practice as the centre of monastic life soon spread to other Benedictine communities, especially in France, Belgium and Germany.

The scholarship of three Benedictine monks was essential to the Liturgical Movement’s beginnings. Lambert Beauduin (1873-1960) focused on liturgical renewal, based on the active participation of all Christian people in the Eucharist by understanding and following the rites and texts. Virgil Michel (1890-1938) studied with Beauduin and strove to enact his vision of liturgical participation and the

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41 RB,18.
43 Pecklers, Liturgical Movement, 670.
comprehensibility of the Mass through educating the laity. Odo Casel (1886 – 1948) was a monk of Maria Laach Abbey in Germany. His influence is seen in the stress given to the term “Paschal Mystery” (the suffering, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ) when discussing the practice and theology of the Liturgy, in addition to the emphasis given to the seasons of the Liturgical year, particularly Easter and Christmas/Epiphany. These are themes that were later picked up in the reform process that led to the formulation of SC.

Although the Liturgical Movement was not taken up as strongly in Spanish based communities as in those of Northern Europe44 (despite the Abbey of Montserrat being the base for the movement in Spain), the Benedictine community of New Norcia certainly was influenced by its ideals. For example, The Pax journal of March 196245 carried an image and reflection on the “social character of Christian life and worship”, one of the Movement’s themes. The brief article emphasises that both RB and the Liturgy of the Church reveal that salvation is found in both shared community life and worship, not only the purely individualistic experience.

3.2.2 Vatican Documents 1963 – 1969

Promulgated on 4 December 1963, SC outlines a clear vision for liturgical renewal and reform following the twin themes of the council, Aggiornamento (a bringing up to date) and Ressourcement (to return to the sources of faith, especially those of the early Church). The foundation of the reforms was “full, conscious and active participation” (SC, 14.), which Tom Elich describes as being a mindset that involves both action (involvement) and presence (contemplation and prayer) and takes its shape from the worshipping community that represents the ecclesial body of the Church.46 Thus, SC called for simplified rites, extended use of vernacular language in worship, liturgical formation for clergy and laity, and a critical and liturgical engagement with Scripture.

45 “St Benedict and the Liturgical Movement,” Pax, March 1962: 4. The Pax journal was the monthly New Norcia newsletter, which ran until 1968. It did not attribute authorship to articles.
46 Tom Elich, “Full, Conscious and Active Participation” in Pilcher, Orr and Harrington, Vatican Council II: Reforming Liturgy, 83.
After SC was declared, the ensuing years saw a rapid succession of documents released to assist in the implementation of the Liturgical reform\(^{47}\) (See Appendix A). These documents covered areas of liturgical importance, often stressing the theme of formation and education of both clergy and lay people. Other documents stressed the process of language reform and the correct authorisation procedure for new translations (an on-going and much-debated topic). Lastly, these documents also covered the implementation of SC in the areas of music, the Eucharist, Sacred Space, and later, the Divine Office.

### 3.2.3 Australia

The Second Vatican Council’s agenda affected Australian dioceses and parishes in ways similar to those around the world – a re-orientation of their liturgical and spiritual lives as a reflection of the more outward looking approach the council promoted. For Australians this was move away from the Churches previous focus on politics and society, and went hand in hand with a renewed emphasis on ecumenism, Churches working together towards a common Christian agenda. Often driven by lay people rather than the clergy, and not without tension, these initiatives were seen as signs of energy and of hope.\(^{48}\)

The Liturgical Movement, as outlined above, was not unknown in Australia in the period before the Council. While the general focus of congregations and many clergy tended to be on individual experience, there was a growing movement towards emphasising the link between worship and everyday life.\(^{49}\) Two “Liturgical weeks”, held in 1955 (Melbourne) and 1958 (Sydney), where the theology and practice of increased lay participation was discussed, exemplify this interest in liturgical reform.\(^{50}\)

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\(^{47}\) Alcuin Reid’s analysis of the post-SC history of Vatican documents has been very helpful to this part of the research. See Anscar Chupungo, “The implementation of Sacrosanctum Concilium” in T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy, ed. Alcuin Reid (London, United Kingdom: Bloomsbury Publishing PLC, 2015): 279-296.


However, there is some indication that the movement, despite its increasing popularity, remained mostly unknown. As late as 1958, at a Liturgical conference held in Perth, the featured presenter, Fr. Clifford Howell S.J., gave a talk entitled “What is the Liturgical Movement?” describing the general Catholic parish as been “uninvolved and uninformed”!

After the Council, Australian dioceses sent individuals for advanced studies in liturgy at seminaries and universities across the world. Liturgy training programs were also run in seminaries and theological colleges across Australia, and Diocesan Liturgical Commissions were established.

Locally, the recently installed Bishop of Bunbury, later (1968) to become Archbishop of Perth, Launcelot Goody, was enthusiastic about liturgical reform. He was a close friend of Guilford Young, who was the Archbishop of Hobart and a member of the Sacred Congregation for Divine Worship as well as a founding member and of the International Commission for English in the Liturgy (ICEL). A sign of Goody's enthusiasm was his arranging for the broadcast of the first mass in English in the Bunbury diocese, in Albany, to be broadcast on the ABC network. He took advantage of the work occurring in other states to access qualified presenters to assist in formation on liturgical practice and thought.

Importantly, a young priest from the Bunbury diocese, Fr. Russell Hardiman, completed advanced training in liturgy, firstly at Pontifical Liturgical Institute of Sant’Anselmo in Rome where he became the first Australian to complete a doctorate in Liturgical Studies, followed by post-graduate studies at the University of Notre Dame, Indiana. On his return to Australia, he was a member of both state and national liturgical commissions, taught liturgical studies and produced an array of scholarly articles and journals, most significantly *Pastoral Liturgy* (1970 onwards), which

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51 Massam, *Sacred Threads*, 81.
52 Material from this section has been substantially drawn from Sr. Marg Smith’s excellent article on the implementation of SC in Australia. See Smith, "Sacrosanctum Concilium: The Australian Way Part 2: Implementation."
provided education and assistance in implementing the post-conciliar liturgy.\textsuperscript{55}

3.3 New Norcia Context

Spanish Missionaries Frs Rosendo Salvado and Joseph Serra founded the Benedictine community of New Norcia, 132 Km north east of Perth, Western Australia, in 1846. This geographic isolation is important for this study, as it provided the Benedictine community with both the physical and scholarly space to develop its own forms of expression (within reason) with little intervention from Australian Church prelates.

New Norcia continued the Benedictine association with the Liturgical Movement before it’s founding. Before arriving in Western Australia, Dom Salvado visited Solesmes in 1845,\textsuperscript{56} and continued to correspond with them via letter. This exposure to the centrality of the liturgical life of the monastic would have no doubt influenced him. Later, Dom Ros was sent by Abbot Gomez to Solesmes to study Gregorian chant.

The liturgical life of the Monastery in the pre-conciliar period was consistent with that throughout Australia at the time. Mass was celebrated in Latin, with the Dialogue Mass form been used occasionally, and Benediction (generally held right after Sunday Mass, as people would only come to the Church from their farms once on a Sunday), was well attended. The breviary (Liturgy of the hours) was celebrated in Latin. Lay participation was minimal.\textsuperscript{57}

Monks of the Benedictine community were present at sessions of the Council, or studying in Rome during the conciliar period. Abbot Gregory Gomez attended all sessions of the council;\textsuperscript{58} Fr. David Barry studied theology at Sant’Anselmo, Rome between 1963 - 65 and Fr. Bernard Rooney (later Abbot), also studied at Sant’Anselmo from 1965 - 68, gaining a Masters degree in Sacred Liturgy.\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{55} Hardiman \textit{From East to West}, 412.
\textsuperscript{56} George Russo, \textit{Lord Abbot of the Wilderness} (Melbourne: Polding Press, 1980).
\textsuperscript{57} See the interview transcript, p. 94, for examples of these changes. Issues are dealt with in detail in the following chapters.
\textsuperscript{58} http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bgomezg.html
\textsuperscript{59} http://www.newnorcia.wa.edu.au/education-research/institute/deans-committee/
3.4 Conclusion

This chapter outlines the context in which the liturgical reforms of SC took place in the New Norcia monastic community. By considering the liturgical foci of RB, the history of Liturgical reform, the Australian response to SC and the individual members of the New Norcia community who had a deeper involvement with the conciliar program, this chapter has shown the milieu in which the reforms took place.
Chapter 4  Case Study 1: Text

Change in liturgical text was the primary area of concern after the promulgation of SC. Text, when used in this context, is not limited to the actual words said, but instead refers to the both the spoken text and the associated ritual action, which were revised to fulfil the demand of SC that

the rites should be distinguished by a noble simplicity…short, clear, and unencumbered by useless repetitions . . . within the people's powers of comprehension (SC, 34.)

The translations of texts from the Latin into contemporary English, and the creation of new texts, were to reflect the theological understandings present in SC as well as the broader conciliar corpus. An example of the text reform is the removal of the 25 signs of the cross made during the Roman Canon in the Tridentine rite versus the single sign of the cross made in Eucharistic Prayer I from the 1970 Missal, or the recitation of the “Last Gospel” at the conclusion of the Tridentine Mass, which was omitted entirely from the new Missal.

This chapter documents the way in which text was introduced, adapted and sourced for use in the celebration of the Eucharist and the Divine Office, in both the monastic community and the wider religious population of New Norcia as appropriate.

4.1  Vatican Instructions

The Sacred Congregation of Rites governed the way in which reform was managed. The First Instruction on the orderly carrying out of the Constitution on the Liturgy, Inter Oecumenici\(^{60}\) began the textual reform process by omitting from the 1962 rite Psalm 42 (said at the foot of the altar at beginning of Mass), the last gospel (John 1:1–14, read as part of the concluding rites) and the Leonine prayers\(^{61}\) (48). It also specified the parts of the Mass in which the vernacular could be used (57), which included both

\(^{60}\) Austin Flannery, *Vatican Council II: The Conciliar and Post Conciliar Documents*, vol. 1 (Dublin: Dominican, 1992), Chapter 3. Henceforth referred to in text as IO, followed by paragraph number.

\(^{61}\) The Leonine Prayers, named after Pope Leo X who introduced them, were prayers for both priests and people said kneeling after Low Mass.
the proper and ordinary of the Mass,\textsuperscript{62} the Epistle and Gospel, Prayer of the Faithful, acclamations, greetings and Lord’s Prayer.

\textit{Tres Abhinc Annos}, the “Second Instruction for the Right Application of the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy of the Second Vatican Council”\textsuperscript{63} issued by the Sacred Congregation of Rites on May 4, 1967, continued the text - ritual reform by simplifying ceremonial actions and gestures including the number of genuflections, signs of the cross, and kisses of the altar. It also began the process of simplifying the vesture of celebrants, making the use of the Maniple (a piece of fabric which hangs over the left arm during the celebration of the Tridentine Mass) optional and allowing the priest to wear a chasuble rather than cope for the aspersges (water sprinkling rite) before Mass and on several other occasions.

As can be seen from these summaries of the instructions, concurrent with changes in texts was the revision of ritual actions, responding to SC’s fundamental assertion of the conscious, active participation of the entire assembly. This was to be through participation in “acclamations, responses, psalmody, antiphons and songs, as well as by actions, gestures, and bodily attitudes” (SC, 34), in order for the celebration of an accessible rite in which the signs and symbols of the Liturgy could be communicated in their fullness.

4.1.1 Translation Guidelines: Dynamic Equivalence

It is worth a brief diversion from the historical narrative to examine the theory behind the translation of texts from the \textit{Editio typica} (the approved edition of Church texts in Latin) into vernacular languages. From the beginning of the implementation process, Vatican documents maintained that Latin was the basis of the liturgical text (IO, 40a), and that the translation process needed to draw on an extensive body of experts from

\textsuperscript{62} The \textit{Ordinary} are those parts of the Mass that do not generally change from week to week, whilst the \textit{Proper} refers to those parts of the mass that reflect the season of the liturgical year and/or specific celebration.

the laity, in Scripture, liturgy, the biblical languages, Latin, the vernacular, and music” (IO, 40b) achieving the most satisfactory translation possible.

Dom Placide Bruylants, a monk of the Abbey of Mont-César and an expert on liturgical translation, identified the problem that is central to the vernacularisation of liturgy: is it possible to change the language of liturgical texts while retaining their substance?64 Substance is referring to the meaning of the text in both linguistic and contextual modes. The process chosen to manage language change, which was approved by the Vatican for the 1970 Missal, is known as Dynamic Equivalence. This approach is from the work of Eugene A. Nida, who defines it as being a translation that seeks to make the same impact on the receptor without regard to the form of the original language.65

The 1969 document Comme Le Prévoir66 gave further official approval for Dynamic Equivalence:

To achieve this end, it is not sufficient that a liturgical translation merely reproduce the expressions and ideas of the original text. Rather it must faithfully communicate to a given people, and in their own language, that which the Church by means of this given text originally intended to communicate to another people in another time. (6)

The Dynamic Equivalence approach fell out of official favour in the period following the release of the 1970 Missal, and the 2011 Missal is based on a more literal translation method known as Formal Equivalence.67

Ongoing issues with translation are to be expected, however, as liturgical texts remain only pointers to the divine, expressed in the limitations of human language with its associated idiom and historical context.68

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64 Reid, T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy, 384.
68 Irwin, What We Have Done, What We Have Failed to Do, 20.
understanding of the paschal mystery, the means of expressing the reality of dying and rising both individually and communally will require new language and imagination.

4.2 The Oral History

The interview of three monks undertaken for this thesis is a rich historical source of the adaptation of English language liturgy at New Norcia. DB recalls that when he arrived, they were using the St Andrew’s Daily Missal, a Latin/English Tridentine Missal that contained the Holy Week Reforms of Pius XII from 1955. AM notes that the Dialogue Mass was in use at New Norcia at this time - an order of the Eucharist in which the congregation makes those responses which had traditionally been the sole domain of the Altar Server. However, DB recalls that:

DB: They had been in use for a number of years, called the dialogue mass, but we always had our sung mass here. We were in a different situation from the average parish.

The Sung mass DB refers to is either a Solemn Mass, which is celebrated with Deacon and Sub-deacon, or a Missa Cantata, which was celebrated by a single celebrant. In both cases the celebrant sings the Proper of the Mass, generally accompanied by a choir to sing the Ordinary. This would not have been unusual for a monastic foundation.

When the reading of the Epistle and Gospel were allowed in the vernacular, after 1958, there were varying reactions:

BR: Wasn’t it the case that the readings were allowed could be in English, the Epistle and Gospel could be in English?

DB: Yes, that was one of the first.

69 In 1955, Pius XII promulgated new liturgies for Holy Week, which included making the Easter Vigil permanent and new rites for Palm Sunday, Holy Thursday and Good Friday.

70 Interview 36.

71 Interview 39 - 41. These numbers refer to the interview lines. See Appendix D. As interview material is quoted verbatim there will be repetitions and similar conversational material.

72 Interview 235 - 243.
BR: Some of us thought, “Oh, this is the beginning of the end you know”, replacing Latin with English (laughter).

DB: This is the thin end of the wedge! (More laughter.)

Later in the interview AM expands on the actual practice, recalling that “the priest was doing it, and he’d read the Gospel in Latin and then he’d read it in English, and give a sermon on it and they’d (the people) listen”. This is consistent with *De Musica Sacra*\(^{73}\), the 1958 Instruction on Sacred Music and the Liturgy, which stated that it was “desirable for a lector to read the Epistle and Gospel in the vernacular at Low Mass.”\(^{74}\)

Ros\(^{75}\) notes that after 1964 most of the Liturgy was in English, and this is borne out by the experience of the interviewed monks.\(^{76}\)

BR: I was away until ’68. Yes, and I forget now, just trying to think when the English liturgy came in, I’m not too sure of that . . .

DB Well, it came in in stages, and some of it was already in vogue before you left. It was already; we had some in English when I came back. The Australian Bishops . . .

CK So when did you come back?

DB September ‘65, but it was reported that the Australian bishops jumped the gun with the introduction of English; they got a bit ahead of themselves.

AM: See I was ordained in ’64, and my ordination mass was mostly in English except for the form.

DB The form, yes.

AM: So, the Bishop Geraldton said the form in Latin.

CK: In Latin, but the Mass itself was in English?

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\(^{74}\) Reid, *T&T Clark Companion to Liturgy*, 347. Low Mass is a Eucharistic liturgy without music.

\(^{75}\) Ros, *Music at New Norcia*, 217.

\(^{76}\) Interview 11-32.
AM: Yeah.

AM’s recollections of his Ordination rite are consistent with a report issued by Bishop Guildford Young in the *Concilium* journal of 1966. He outlines that all the Sacraments in Australia are celebrated in English, other than the Ordination rite in which “the sacramental formulae remained in Latin”.

In this period, official texts were quickly being developed and the New Norcian community seems to have used whatever resources they could gather in managing the transition. DB notes that on his return from studying in Rome they were using the “Glenstal Missal” (less a Missal than an English translation of the Collects and other parts of the Proper of the Mass), and later the Canadian edition of the St Joseph’s Missal, which contains the 1965 English translation of the Mass. It is also probable that the community used the 1964 Benziger Brothers *Roman Missal* that contained the English text of the 1960 Roman Missal of Pope John XXIII, Latin rubrics and a special supplement for Australia. The publication of the Missal in 1970 (the “Paul VI”) marked an end to this period of quickly changing texts.

In most dioceses, parish priests, and in this case the monastic community, were at the forefront of managing these changes, especially its implementation. At New Norcia, this seems to have created no difficulties, as DB notes

> by and large people were happy for the introduction of English – by and large there were people who would’ve preferred to be allowed to continue their particular devotional style. The priest is up there doing his thing, and I’m down here doing my thing.

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78 Interview 50 - 54.


80 Interview 415 - 418.
Adapting to the Liturgical changes was one thing – fostering a renewed understanding of the importance and practice of liturgical participation was something altogether different, a theme that will be explored in Chapter 8: Formation.

The final word belongs to DB who seems to summarise this period concisely in saying that “It was a fluid period and things were done piecemeal. That’s the best way I could describe it, things were done piecemeal”. 81 This is not surprising given New Norcia’s location in rural Western Australia in a time before instant mass communication.

4.3 Recorded History

As a territorial abbey 82, New Norcia was able to adjust and select its texts based on material supplied through the Sacred Congregation of Rites, as well as through material and experiences sourced by members of the monastic community via their studies and attendance at liturgical events, both within Australia and overseas. GG was present at all sessions of the council and BR and DB were both studying at the Benedictine House, Sant’Anselmo, in Rome, giving all three experiences of conciliar liturgical thought and practice.

Echoing DB’s comment 83 that the Australian Bishops “jumped the gun” on vernacular reform, the New Norcia Magazine Pax recorded that in January 1965, the perpetual profession of Sr. Pius, a Benedictine Missionary Sister, was a liturgy celebrated by Abbot Gomez entirely in English, and she was offered communion under both kinds. 84 This was a very progressive action by Abbot Gomez, as it reflects the themes of SC before the instructions on implementation had been formalized. The article reports that “This newly introduced practice . . . has been authorised by the Pope and the current ecumenical council” and “It is hoped it will be extended to the bridal couple at the Marriage ceremony”. 85

81 Interview 111 - 112.
82 A territorial abbey refers to the area surrounding a monastery in which the Abbot acts as a Bishop, and may administer parishes within the area.
83 Interview 20 - 21.
85 Pax, March 1965, 1.
Gomez is not the only Abbot or Bishop to have been so obviously encouraged by the premise outlined in SC, as was noted above. AM recalls that at his ordination, in 1964, the entire Mass was in English, with the exception of the ordination rite itself, which remained in the Latin.86

The official use of English at the Sunday Mass began on Palm Sunday 1965,87 with the blessing of palms celebrated outside the church in English. This was earlier than the time officially mandated by the Australian Bishops - Holy Thursday 1965 (four days later). The Mass of Holy Thursday was a concelebrated rite, with all the brothers receiving communion under both kinds and later *Pax* reported on the “Impressive Easter Rites”88, recalling the use of English for the blessing of palms on Palm Sunday, Good Friday ceremony and the Easter Vigil. Fr. Eliado Ros had written English Antiphons, intercessions and the Easter Exultet. This entire process would appear to be a very enthusiastic, ambitious and well-rounded attempt to implement the post-conciliar reforms.

The Community began praying the Liturgy of the Hours (the Divine office) in English on Ash Wednesday 1968, once again earlier than the officially sanctioned timeline.89 Only a few months later, *Pax* was able to report, “the boys at St. Benedict’s and the girls at St Gertrude’s have been reintroduced to the recitation of the Church’s night prayer – Compline”.90 The article continues that a different psalm was being used each night (different to the pre-conciliar and current monastic office which uses the same each night) in echo of the “experimental” rite being used at the Monastery.

4.3.1 Fr. Peter Garbayo

Amanda Smith’s article91 tells a narrative of this time from the perspective of Fr. Peter Garbayo (henceforth PG), monk and assistant organist and choirmaster of New Norcia from 1925 – 1971. His recorded diary entries provide a unique view of some of the important moments in the liturgical reform, especially that on 6 August 1965 “We

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86 Interview 23 - 37.
87 Amanda Smith, *For the First Time We Sing in English*: 71.
88 Ibid.
89 “Monks Have Office in English” *Pax*, April 1968: 3.
91 Amanda Smith, *For the First Time We Sing in English*. 
practice in the church the mass in English” getting ready for the new Missal translation to be used.  

PG is not always positive in his recollections of the reform implementation. He describes reciting an English passion text as “the most undevotional thing in this world”, and writes of a member of the schola (choir) getting so angry at the use of English that he walks out! A most telling line from his diary comes sometime after Easter, when the liturgical life of the monastery had returned to its regular rhythm, yet “We do not know where we are – every Sunday or every day – new liturgy in the timetable – or Office or ceremonies …”  

However, he praises the English hymns of ER, and on another occasion recalls a “beautiful Mass concelebration.” These diary entries are a privileged insight into a community member’s reactions and add a personal dimension to the evaluation of the reform process. A personal focus helps us to remember that the reforms were designed to aid those who speak, sing and worship enter more deeply into the paschal mystery – it was not a reform of dry texts and unused sacred space.

4.3.2 Non-Official and Local Texts

While the Congregation of Rites was working quickly and diligently to release texts and guidelines for the implementation of SC, at the local level texts sometimes were created to serve particular needs. SC 36 states, “it is for the competent territorial ecclesiastical authority . . . to decide whether, and to what extent, the vernacular language is to be used”. In the case of New Norcia as an Abbey Nullius, in which the Abbot had most of the authority and ecclesial powers of a bishop, Gomez was able to authorise prayers and rites to be in English, informed by his attendance at the Council and discussions with other bishops and members of the monastic community.

92 Diary, 6 August 1965.
93 Diary, 11 April 1965.
94 Diary, 17 April 1965.
95 Diary, 30 May 1965.
96 Diary, 15 April, 1965.
Archive Box 04558 - 1966 (2) contains a variety of textual material dated 1966. Of interest are the two items that follow, as these liturgical resources were created relatively quickly after the release of both SC and IO.

4.3.3 Community prayer book

Created by the Benedictine Sisters, dated “New Norcia, Jan. 15, 1966”, this small, typed rather than printed, prayer book contains prayers in English for before and after meals, along with the ritual for the blessing and safe return of a sister going on a journey. Interestingly, it also contains the Regina Caeli (Rejoice, O Queen of Heaven). This is an antiphon often used at Night prayer (Vespers or Compline), or instead of the Angelus, during the Easter Season.

One of the provisions of IO (86 - 89) was for the vernacular translation of the Divine Office, stating, “The faculty to . . . allow use of the vernacular is extended also to the major superiors of non-exempt, clerical religious institutes and of societies of common life.” (IO, 86). The translation of the Regina Caeli into English would seem to be an example of the Community superior (referred to in the booklet as “Mother”) using the provision of IO to create English texts for her community.

4.3.4 Feast and Solemnity of St Benedict

The archive contains resources from 1966 for both the old liturgical calendar celebrations of the Feast (of his death; 21 March) and Solemnity (translation of his relics; 11 July) of St Benedict.97

Both resources contain the Propers for each day. The texts are marked with chant marks, implying that the norm would be for them to be sung. All these texts are in contemporary English, with no use of thee, thou or thy evident. Included, also is the Sequence98 for each day, again in a modern idiom although more poetic in nature.

97 In the post -1969 calendar there is a sole feast day for St Benedict, 11 July.
98 A Sequence is a chant or hymn sung before the proclamation of the Gospel. It has dropped from general use except at Pentecost.
4.4 Saint Benedict Hymnal

The musical merit of the New Norcia Press publication, *St Benedict Hymnal*, will be discussed in Chapter 6, but it is also an important document in the history of post-conciliar music at the Abbey, introducing non-Latin hymns and songs into the Liturgy. The hymnal’s foreword notes that it contains “some quite new hymns for special occasions such as . . . Ordination, Confirmation, Marriages … Saints, Requiems, Funerals etc.”

ER contributes more than twenty hymn texts and tunes. Texts for hymns to St Joseph and two for St Benedict were contributed by members of the monastic community, along with a number of devotional hymns.

As a text document there are some interesting observations to make. Primarily, there are problems with adopting a particular style of language, be it a Book of Common Prayer inspired Elizabethan English with “thee” and “thou”, or language in a more contemporary idiom – and this sometimes occurs within the same text!

These are some examples of this linguistic confusion:

*Hymn 2 “Praise to the Father”*
Text written by ER, the third person of the Trinity is referred to both as “Spirit” as well as “Holy Ghost”. The antiphon is: “Praise to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Spirit, Three in One”, followed by a verse that begins with “Come Holy Ghost, with God and Son”!!

*Hymn 5 “See us Lord, about thine Altar”*
A melody written by ER to a John Greely SJ text, this hymn contains the phrases “around thine altar” and “Christ thy Son” in what is otherwise a relatively contemporary English setting, for example in phrases such as “Many souls by love united” or “Hear him speak of love and worship”.

*Hymn 3 “Praise to the Lord”*

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100 E Ros, *Saint Benedict Hymnal*, Foreword.
The traditional hymn text is adapted so that “thy” is replaced by “your”, “ye” to “you” and “transgressions” to “sins”.

The Missal of 1965, an interim document that contained a translation of the Mass in English and included some of the earliest ritual reforms, is written in a contemporary idiom, with no use of Elizabethan “thee”, “thou” or the like. The reason for ER publishing texts in 1968 that retained these anachronisms in some instances, and modernised them in others, is unknown. It is possible that in the liturgical whirlwind of the mid to late 1960’s ER decided a more conservative approach befit both his personal needs and those of the monastic community.

4.5 **Continued Use of Latin**

Whilst the focus of this chapter is on the changing of texts from Latin to English, Latin continued to be used in some parts of the Liturgy, as it does today. Despite a focus of SC on the allowance of texts moving to the vernacular, it maintains the primacy of the Latin text, stating, “the use of the Latin language is to be preserved in the Latin rites”(SC, 36).

Archive 04558 - 1966 (1) contains a Latin document from 1966: “Prayers for after Vespers and Compline”. The fact they are printed as a separate booklet suggests that they were not part of the regular liturgical texts.

The current monastic community has maintained the use of Latin at Vespers in the opening antiphon and Magnificat, and in the singing of the Marian Anthem at the conclusion of Vespers.

4.6 **Conclusion**

*Sacrosanctum Concilium* outlined a vision for liturgy in the post-conciliar era, and fundamental to its implementation was the reform of the texts used for the celebration of the Church’s rites, along with the ritual actions inherent in richly symbolic worship. These reforms were to increase the participation and understanding of laity attending liturgy, and reduce the embellishments that had entered the rite through the Church’s history. While SC did not outline a great deal about implementation, the post-conciliar
documents *Inter Oecumemici* and *Tres Abhinc Annos* gave both process and structure to the language reforms that eventually resulted in the 1970 Missal. This process was continued, with some modifications, resulting in the Missal of 2011.

Textual reform for liturgy required the translation of texts from the Latin as well of the creation of new texts. To meet SC’s demand for texts that were easily understandable, the use of the Dynamic Equivalence theory, in which the original text is rendered in as poetic and understandable a form as possible, was used. This theory has come under some debate, especially in the 2011 missal, which directly rendered the Latin text into English idiom that is sometimes confusing.

The Benedictine Community of New Norcia quickly adapted to the official requirement for change at both the textual and symbolic level, as shown by both the oral and recorded history. They used whatever resources were available, and at times created their own, particularly for the celebration of the Divine Office and rites of profession, before official texts were released. The language changes were generally accepted by both the monastic and lay communities, with the usually expected levels of disagreement, however assisting the laity in adapting to the renewed focus of participation at both a personal and communal level was a more difficult process.

There is evidence to show that Abbot Gomez, similar to other Australian bishops, moved faster with English implementation than was officially sanctioned. This is easily explained by his attendance at the Council and his previous show of enthusiasm for the reform of the Liturgy - for example, in the pre-conciliar period, sending Dom Ros to study Gregorian chant at the Solesmes Community to improve the monastic choir’s chanting and moving towards a sung Vespers that included more congregational singing.

There is an intimate relationship between music and text, as there is between text and action, and contemporary Church music can often bear little resemblance to that of the pre-conciliar period as music, both textually and stylistically, was to be reformed in line with of SC’s overarching desire for simplicity, comprehension and nobility. The next chapter will consider the manner in which SC and the post-conciliar instructions
affected both the selection and presentation of liturgical music at New Norcia during this period.
Chapter 5 Case Study 2: Music

The strong association between the New Norcian community and music came about primarily through the work of Dom Stephen Moreno, organist and composer from 1908 until his death in 1953. Moreno was well known in both Australia and overseas for his sacred and secular music as well as his Mass settings and other choral works. Moreno’s role was taken over by Dom Eliado Ros who continued the work of organist but also published some Mass settings through the Abbey press that became popular in the post-conciliar period.

This chapter outlines the key people, musical changes and musical texts and scores of the post-conciliar period as well as the ways in which the monastic musical tradition was maintained.

5.1 Vatican Instructions

SC outlines in detail the nature of music desired in the future:

- The rich heritage of sacred music is to be preserved (114)
- Gregorian chant is especially suited to the Roman liturgy: . . . it should be given pride of place in liturgical services (116)
- Religious singing by the people is to be intelligently fostered (118)
- Music from indigenous cultures is to be used and fostered, especially in missionary activity (119)
- The pipe organ is to be valued as the traditional musical instrument (120)

Underlying these guidelines is the fundamental assertion of SC of full, active participation in the liturgical action. Music is to be participatory and accessible.

Neither IO nor TAA explore post-conciliar music in any detail, but the 1967 document Musicam Sacram101 expands the paragraphs from SC, outlining general norms for the

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implementation of the conciliar vision. MS outlined both the importance of congregational singing and the role of priest and choir in liturgical song. It discusses the prime place of Gregorian chant in liturgy and the continued use of the rich heritage of Church music.\(^\text{102}\)

5.2 The Oral History

Music formed a vibrant part of the interviewee’s discussion. The three monks discussed the monastic community members who were active in music, the process of musical change, and the reality of congregational singing.

5.2.1 Fr. Eladio Ros

Fr. Eladio Ros was the community organist, and a composer, at the time of the Council, and was responsible for much of the implementation of the reform as DB recalls:\(^\text{103}\)

DB: I think a number of people would have had their hand in it, including Fr Eladio – especially with the music – that would have been his concern. Fr Peter (Garbayo) with the organ.

In agreement with SC’s demand that new music in the vernacular be written, Ros composed a number of Mass settings in English that became popular within Australia (See Appendix 2). Although these sold well, it appears they were not welcomed in all quarters:\(^\text{104}\)

AM: And actually, Father – the violinist in Applecross
BR: Fr Lynch.
AM: Fr Lynch took me aside one day and said “Fr Eladio has to be stopped!” He said, “He’s producing masses that are not according to the tone and the approach that we want to take”. He said, “His music is just not with it!”
CK: In that it was too conservative or . . .?
AM: Yes, everything about it was not even conservative, but it was just out of . . . it was too simple. You know it went up to Kalumburu, they were all singing

\(^\text{103}\) Interview 200 - 202.
\(^\text{104}\) Interview 211 - 223.
Fr. Albert Lynch was a well-respected Perth musician and priest who had studied for ordination at Propaganda Fide in Rome and on his return to Perth had founded a male-only choir at St Mary’s Cathedral in Perth. Although it is known that Lynch had collaborated with both Moreno and Ros, AM’s recollection may be that relationships with ER were not always harmonious!

5.2.2 Community Singing

The nature of congregational singing at liturgical celebration has been something of a cause célèbre since the Council. A recollection from a pre-conciliar American parish sets a similar scene to that taking place at New Norcia:

Very few Catholics sang hymns at Mass. This did not seem so odd at Masses in which the choir sang, but choirs attended only one Mass each Sunday in most parishes, and so all other Masses had no singing. Part of this reluctance came from the hymns themselves, which were often in Latin, but much of it owed to Catholic behaviour at Mass. The laity, long excluded from meaningful participation, had developed practices that ran parallel to but apart from the central action that was taking place in the sanctuary. They often prayed the rosary, for example. Some had begun to read a missal that contained the Latin Mass and an English translation on facing pages. But few knew Latin well enough actually to participate in the responses. The laity, by practice and training, remained quiet throughout the Mass. After all, one could not say the rosary and sing at the same time.105

The interview supports this historical recollection - that this was probably a very regular pattern for a Catholic congregation’s musical participation:106

DB: There was hardly any singing! There was very little singing. You wouldn’t hear singing at a Sunday mass in an out-centre.

CK: But they would sing here? You’d have a choir I suppose?

DB: Well the two masses before the high mass - the high mass was sung by the


106 Interview 442 - 448.
choir, by the monks or the school children. But there was no congregational singing.

The pattern of not singing at an out-centre – at this point NN administered a number of parishes in the surrounding towns - is not unusual as the resources would not have been available. Low mass would have been the only possible solution, with the dialogue mass been used when it became approved.

When the congregation did sing, it was often not in the most convincing of classical Latin. AM recalls that\textsuperscript{107}

They all had a smidgeon of Latin- even though they said strange things \textit{(Sings)} “adoro te devote . . .” They’d sing anything thinking it was Latin you see! It happened to me when I went to Beagle Bay - all the old classical characters came out for the centenary of Beagle Bay and they were singing in the most appalling Latin. I was laughing – it wasn’t Latin at all! It was just what they thought was Latin.

DB: They knew parts of “Judica me, Deus”, from the prayers at the foot of the Altar, and from the prayer at the offertory, what the priest said when he was washing his hands.\textsuperscript{108}

Benediction, the worship and adoration of the presence of Christ in the consecrated host (Eucharistic bread), was a regular Sunday ritual for Catholics in the period around the Council. DB recalls that any singing that did occur at liturgy happened at Benediction:

DB: Rosary and Benediction were the traditional Sunday evening devotions, Sunday evening before television. But in the [country] parishes Benediction was often tacked onto the end of Sunday Mass, because the people wouldn’t have the opportunity to come together in the way in city parishes, so Benediction following Mass was standard in country parishes, country centres.\textsuperscript{109}

\textsuperscript{107} Interview 452 - 457.
\textsuperscript{108} Interview 501 - 503.
\textsuperscript{109} Interview 462 - 466.
CK: So they would sing in Latin at Benediction?\textsuperscript{110}

DB: Yes. The standard thing was “O Salutaris Hostia”, “Tantum Ergo” and “Adoremus” - that was the concluding one.

CK: And they would sing that most weeks?

DB: And they would sometimes sing, sometimes sing, Fr. Moreno had done an English setting of the divine praises. That could be sung in English. But the rest was in Latin.

CK: The rest was in Latin.

DB: So two verses of “O Salutaris Hostia” (O Saving Victim), two verses of “Tantum Ergo” (Therefore so great a Sacrament) and the “Adoremus” had a verse, an antiphon, “Adoremus in aeternum”\textsuperscript{111} then a psalm - Catholics knew one full psalm, and that was the shortest psalm in the Psalter because it was part of Adoremus. “Laudate Dominum omnes gentes, Laudate Dominum et populi ” – praise the Lord all ye nations, praise the Lord all ye peoples”.

The limited range of both texts that Catholics sang, and their ability to sing and understand the Church’s liturgical language, were factors that influenced both the “active participation” focus of SC, as well as its subsequent implementation. Nor can these accounts be dismissed as the memories of a country monastic foundation far from urban Church life. The American Benedictine liturgical publication \textit{Orate Fratres} (now called \textit{Worship}) recalls that while singing hymns at Benediction or a novena was a possibility, the singing of anything else was highly unusual. Music was the domain of the choir and organist.\textsuperscript{112}

\textsuperscript{110} Interview 482 - 503.

\textsuperscript{111} English translation: Let us worship forever the most holy Sacrament.

5.3 Recorded History

5.3.1 Music at New Norcia

The primary written recollection of this period comes from ER’s work Music at New Norcia\textsuperscript{113} in which he outlines the musical life of the monastic community and town from the time of Salvado until his own experiences in the implementation of the conciliar reforms. In an email to the researcher,\textsuperscript{114} musicologist Michael Noone, who has studied this document in detail, notes that there are six versions: four manuscripts in English, one in Spanish and English and an officially published Spanish version La música en Nueva Nursia.\textsuperscript{115} The document draws on Dom Moreno’s correspondence, musical manuscripts by Abbey composers, newspaper reports, and the Abbey’s archival and historical records to tell the narrative. None of these are cited either by the author or in the published Spanish translation, and Noone has begun to locate them to provide accurate citations.

Focusing on the musical changes in the light of SC, the Sunday Times of 10 May 1970\textsuperscript{116} discusses ER and his work:

Lately he has begun to compose the simple unworldly music of the Roman Catholic hymnals and masses. He has had to. The Benedictine community of aboriginals, monks, nuns, brothers and students needed simple, easy, clear music when the mass changed from Latin to English.

Later in the article it refers to his style as “Simple and old fashioned, but it is clear, catchy, and does the job required.” This has echoes of SC 121 when it states that composers should “not be confining themselves to works which can be sung only by large choirs, but providing also for the needs of small choirs and for the active participation of the entire assembly of the faithful.”

Ros’ first significant post-reform work was the Holy Trinity Mass named after Holy Trinity Abbey, New Norcia, which was his home. ER recalls that in December of 1964 he visited the Benedictine Mission in Kalumburu and taught this Mass setting to the

\textsuperscript{113} Ros, Music at New Norcia.
\textsuperscript{114} 15 October 2018.
\textsuperscript{115} Eladio Ros, La Musica En Nueva Nursia (La Abadía Española De Nueva Nursia En Australia Occidental) (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, 1992).
\textsuperscript{116} James Pemberthy, "In the Steps of His Master," Sunday Times, 10 May 1970.
children. The significance was that to his mind it was the first time an English mass had been sung in Western Australia, possibly Australia, “in the most isolated Mission in Australia and by the full-blood aborigine.”

Despite AM’s recollections of Albert Lynch’s reservations about ER’s music, there seems to have been a positive reaction to this setting. ER collected thank you letters that variably state it was “a fine work”, “simplicity with melodic charm”, and “something really worthwhile” ER continued to produce Mass settings until the mid to late 1960’s (see Appendix B).

The Monstrance: Australia’s Eucharistic Monthly, a journal from the Blessed Sacrament Fathers in Melbourne, contains an interesting article written by ER - a reflection on the music of the 1968 Eucharistic Congress. He writes

> The folk-mass towards the end of the Convention proved an enjoyable experience to me. I think the guitar, the castanets, the recorders, the mandolin, piano-accordion etc., could be used to great advantage, not so much in the Ordinary or Proper of the mass as in its trimming, i.e., hymns. Motets and so on.

There is evidence of American Cistercian Abbeys incorporating other instruments, especially the acoustic guitar, into both the Liturgy of the Hours and the Eucharist. It would have been wonderful to find some examples of ER beginning to use expanded instrumentation in the liturgical life of the Abbey, but unfortunately, no evidence of guitars or anything else, was forthcoming.

One further incident illustrates the seriousness with which the monastic community were taking the reform of music and liturgy at the Abbey. PG records in his diary of November 1965 that:

> Fr. Prior and Sister from the convent take a tape recording of the Mass - we hear the community dragging all the time and too slow from the Congregation.

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117 Ros, Music at New Norcia, 221.
118 Ros, Music at New Norcia, 224.
121 Diary, 2 November 1965.
The use of technology to record the community’s singing, showing that their chanting was affecting congregational singing, is very encouraging. This is not a pre-conciliar concern, where the congregation were generally passive, but show reflection and action in wanting to enable a participatory rite.

5.3.2 St. Benedict Hymnal

Published in 1968, the foreword to the St. Benedict Hymnal\textsuperscript{122} notes that whilst The Living Parish Hymnal and The Hymnal of Pius X are very popular across Australia, the New Norcian volume contains music for the Sacraments, Feasts, Requiems and Funerals, as well as a lot of material for ordinary Church life. Reviewed by Melbourne Catholic paper The Advocate,\textsuperscript{123} it praised the Hymnal as containing “Dignity and character”, “depth and inspiration”, “Simple, tuneful compositions” and “Instant appeal”.\textsuperscript{123}

The hymnal is divided into music appropriate for each section of the Mass – pre, offertory, communion and post, before offering a selection of music for the liturgical year. The book ends with a section devoted to the Sacraments and to Requiem/funeral rites.

The music within is a combination of new music from ER, arrangements of Stephen Moreno’s music, traditional hymns and other material selected by ER. None of the tunes are more than three verses in length, and each hymn is manageably short – they fit on a single page.

Although rooted in the life of a monastic community, musically the book has been sensitively handled for use in ordinary parishes. The range of most hymns is from middle C to the D one octave and a tone higher – a very reasonable range for singers in the late 1960s. With a couple of exceptions, there are no more difficult keys than three sharps or flats, a fact for which many a parish organist would have given thanks! Most are metrical hymns, in 3/4 or 4/4 time, with the occasional chant rendered into standard notation but maintaining the Gregorian free timing.

\textsuperscript{122}Ros, Saint Benedict Hymnal.
\textsuperscript{123}“St. Benedict Hymnal,” The Advocate, 19 September 1968.
5.4 Indigenous music

Both SC (119) and MS outline the desirability of incorporating indigenous music in the celebration of the Eucharist, especially in what they refer to as “mission lands”. The aim is to adapt the music of the local peoples for worship so that there is a “blending a sense of the sacred with the spirit, traditions, and expressions proper to the genius of those peoples.” (MS, 68). Both documents are specific about the importance of this incorporation being genuinely musical and appropriate and enabled by competent musicians.

Neither AM nor DB recalled (in follow up emails) any use of indigenous music in the community’s liturgies during this period. This remains an area of interest as liturgical scholars consider how to include not only indigenous music, but also other elements from Aboriginal culture in liturgy. In *Vatican Council II: Reforming Liturgy*, a number of authors explored the possibility of using water, colour and fire in Eucharistic celebrations in both Aboriginal and mixed-ethnicity communities.

5.5 Conclusion

Music plays a significant role in many, if not all, monastic communities, especially in the central practice of chanting the Divine Office and Eucharist. New Norcia is no exception, with a rich heritage of music beginning with Salvado’s fundraising activities at the Abbey’s founding, to the internationally recognized compositions of Stephen Moreno and the Brass bands and choirs of the town’s Colleges and orphanages.

This chapter has briefly outlined the way in which the musical life of the Abbey responded to the post-conciliar reform. SC outlines both the importance of Church’s musical heritage, especially Gregorian chant, but also the significance of music that fosters the participation of the congregation, which is so desired by SC. While music has no mention in either IO or TTS, MS outlines the importance of congregational singing and the role of priest and choir in liturgical song.

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124 Pilcher, Orr and Harrington, *Vatican Council II: Reforming Liturgy.*
125 In 1846, with the New Norcia mission on the verge of collapse, Salvado, a talented pianist, played a one-man concert in Perth. He charged each of the 70 audience members £1 each for attending, thus ensuring the mission’s immediate future.
Congregations during this period were not remembered for their singing at masses! This was not an unusual recollection, as in most parishes the choir led the music, leaving the people free to focus on their devotional activities such as the Rosary. The music that was well known and sung was a small selection of Latin Hymns and chants that were used at devotional services such Benediction or the Stations of the Cross.

Dom Eladio Ros, the organist and choirmaster at this time, attempted to address this situation by composing a variety of English language music for liturgy, most popularly the *Holy Trinity Mass* setting and the *Saint Benedict Hymnal*. Ros’ music was generally considered to be staid in its style, but singable and approachable for parishes. The fact the music sold well is a testament to the space his compositions appear to have filled.

The Abbey church holds a musical treasure in its grand German Moser organ, the only one of its kind in Western Australia. Prior to Vatican II it was not seen, as it is located at the rear of the Cathedral and obscured by an ornately decorated Altar and Sanctuary. By 1965, along with Dom Salvado’s tomb, it was freely viewed by the congregation. The change in the post-conciliar understanding of Sacred Space, and the manner in which this was implemented in New Norcia, is the subject of the next chapter.

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126 The *Cathedral* of New Norcia is what is now referred to as the Abbey Church. It was a Cathedral during the time that New Norcia was a territorial abbey.
Chapter 6  Case Study 3: Sacred Space

The importance of the layout of church buildings, as well as the type, quality and importance of visual art was considered from the beginning of the reform. Two paragraphs from SC summarise the scope of this area of the reform:

When churches are to be built, let great care be taken that they be suitable for the celebration of liturgical services and for the active participation of the faithful (SC, 24).

And:

There is to be an early revision of the canons and ecclesiastical statutes... especially to the worthy and well planned construction of sacred buildings, the shape and construction of altars, the nobility, placing, and safety of the Eucharistic tabernacle, the dignity and suitability of the baptistery, the proper ordering of sacred images, embellishments, and vestments (SC, 128).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine, in text and photographs, the manner in which the Benedictine community reordered sacred spaces and liturgical visual art in alignment with the principles of SC and subsequent instructions issued from the Vatican.

6.1 The Lost Cathedral of New Norcia

The implementation of these guidelines, however, may not have been as fraught for the Benedictine Community as it was in other places, especially given their recent foray into the possible construction of a new worship space. In 1951, large crowds assembled at New Norcia to see the world-travelling statue of Our Lady of Fatima.127 Later that year Gregory Gomez OSB was elected Abbot of New Norcia and the celebration of his enthronement attracted such a large crowd that it required the construction of an outdoor altar. Happily concerned that New Norcia was about to become a popular place of pilgrimage, GG sought to have a new cathedral and monastery designed for New Norcia.

Consequently, in 1957, Gomez contacted the International Institute for Liturgical Art (Istituto Internazionale di Arte Liturgica) in Rome. The organisation recommended

architect Pier Luigi Nervi, an Italian engineer and architect who specialised in reinforced concrete. Nervi was subsequently commissioned to design both a Cathedral and Monastery.

Nervi’s cathedral was to seat 820 people and provide standing room for about 1000 people, in total room for over 1800.\(^{128}\) The design consisting of three arches on top of a triangle (See Figure 1), symbolises the Holy Trinity, with glass panels depicting God as Creator, Redeemer and Comforter, as well an altar in the centre (See Figure 2).\(^ {129}\)

An article in *Pax* states, “the priest would be made the centre of the congregation and Mass would be said facing the people . . . this arrangement suits the monastic liturgy very well.”\(^ {130}\) Interpreting this process from the view of the post-conciliar documents, this sacred space is faithful to much of what SC, IE, and EM demand – liturgical spaces that allow visual access to the actions of the Liturgy and create the opportunity for participation.\(^ {131}\)

In the end, the project failed to materialise, probably because the Benedictine Community lacked the funds to bring the project to completion. However, the process of consultation and design doubtlessly implies a thoughtful approach to the importance of both liturgy and the participation of laity (exemplified by the easy viewing of the sanctuary and altar in the Nervi design), and the creation of a space in which the demands of both could be met.


\(^{129}\) The images of the Nervi cathedral are taken from the “Unbuilt Perth” exhibition, a project of Architecture students at the University of Western Australia in 2012. This project used digital animation and augmented reality tools to create virtual “walkthrough” versions of important unbuilt architecture. See Rhianna King “WA’s lost designs brought to life in Virtual reality.” *Domain*, 7 Mar 2012, Accessed 8 June 2019. https://www.domain.com.au/news/was-lost-designs-brought-to-life-in-virtual-reality-20120307-1uk21/.


6.2 Vatican Instructions

Extending the principles outlined in SC, IO gave specific architectural and artistic instructions in Chapter Five: *Designing Churches and Altars to Facilitate Active Participation of the Faithful*. This document contains the statement that recommends “the main altar should preferably be freestanding, to permit walking around it and celebration facing the people.” (IO, 91). Issued in March 1965, this instruction began the process of implementation of SC with clear guidelines about the nature of space and the way in which new spaces were to reflect the themes of SC.
The 1967 instruction, *Eucharisticum Mysterium*, reinforced these guidelines in regards to the setting out of Sacred Space, reminding pastors of the importance that it plays in fostering the participation of the people (EM 24).

This section further recommends that the tabernacle be placed in a separate chapel, or at a side Altar (EM, 53). This was a controversial recommendation, not least, as it touches on the Church’s belief in the real presence of Christ in the consecrated host, which has led to a variety of liturgical and devotional practices. EM advised clergy to place the tabernacle in a chapel away from the main altar. If retained in the sanctuary, the tabernacle now required a special arrangement apart from the altar. In some senses, this document created uncertainty and unease over the apparent demotion of the Blessed Sacrament from its position of prominence, and as Proctor notes, architects and clergy often remained cautious of making too drastic a change. New Norcia relocated the tabernacle to a chapel to the right of the sanctuary, where it remains to this day.

It is evident that while these documents give some guidelines on the conception of sacred space, they do not provide specific instructions on layouts or architectural forms. Pre-conciliar spaces represented hierarchical structure and separation, while the post-conciliar emphasis was on community, connection and worship as a united gathering.

6.3 The Oral history

Excerpts from the interview tell the narrative of some of the liturgical changes and some of the incidents and people involved. An excellent opening example is that of the candlesticks:

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133 Robert Proctor and Dr Eamonn Canniffe, *Building the Modern Church: Roman Catholic Church Architecture in Britain, 1955 to 1975* (Farnham, United Kingdom: Routledge, 2014), 199.

134 Interview 164 - 184.
DB: Well, I was not here, but things had moved by the time I came back from Rome, the Altar was gone, the new Altar was in, the candle sticks had been reduced, by Fr. Wilfred, remember that?

BR: They were cut down to size.

DB: The parts were taken out.

AM: They were joined up.

CK: So the stand …

DB: You’ve got the stand, you’ve got a pipe going into it, a knob, another pipe going in – and they could be removed, and the rod holding them, they were all kept in the sacristy and found their way into collections, but we’ve since reinstated a few of them.

BR: Yes, the result of that, I remember artistically, it was very poor – there was a huge base and little candles on top of the base – it wasn’t meant to be like that, it was very inartistic the whole thing - but it was kept like that for a few years.

This thought-provoking anecdote provides some insight into the manner in which Sacred Space was reordered in the post-conciliar period. DB returned to New Norcia from Rome in September 1965 so the move to a free-standing altar and the reduction in the size of the candlesticks (presumably to create better viewing) are consistent with a quick adaption of the recommendations in IO.

Interesting as well is BR’s comment that “it was very inartistic, the whole thing - but it was kept like that for a few years”. This picks up the themes of SC 128, in which the discussion about the importance of church fittings, uses words such as worthy, nobility and dignity - presumably BR felt the candlesticks issue was not in alignment with this!

BR shared a further anecdote about sacred space. The tabernacle in the pre-conciliar
arrangement was in the middle of the altar. For Benediction, the consecrated host needs to be seen during the ritual. He recalls that:

Seeing the host was the important thing, to see the host. In the church here we had the monstrance with the host in it all the time, wasn’t it? And there was a sliding door in front of it. And there was a brother and his job was to wind the handle, and door came down miraculously and you’d see the host appearing - it was very much show and tell.  

The removal of the tabernacle to a side chapel ensured that the practice of simply opening a door to reveal the consecrated host for veneration would not be continued. Instead, the exposition (display) of the Blessed Sacrament followed the more usual pattern of placing the monstrance on the altar for the Benediction rite and removing returning it to the tabernacle when finished.

BR’s phrase “It was very much show and tell” summarises much about pre-conciliar liturgical understanding. The miraculous revelation of the host can be seen as symbolic of the clerical leaders revealing only parts of what was happening to the congregation. The post-conciliar rite, with its emphasis on understanding and participating, places the visual experience on par with the textual, requiring spaces which provide visibility and openness, emphasising the unity of all those gathered in the celebration.

6.4 The Recorded history

Adapting sacred spaces to reflect the post-conciliar liturgical vision could be a fraught issue in traditionally shaped churches, particularly when the building itself has been laid out to support the pre-conciliar liturgy, its actions and gestures. The New Norcia Cathedral is a traditionally shaped Latin cross building, with a long nave and cross transept containing the side Altars. The unique feature of the building is that the High Altar did not sit at the East end of the nave (the congregation faces West in this building, thus the celebration was technically *ad occidentem* rather than the traditional

135 Interview, 476 - 480.
ad orientem), but rather a little over midway through the building. Behind the façade
where the sanctuary and Altar were placed (see figure 3) were Abbot Salvado’s tomb,
the choir and organ.

This arrangement of liturgical space created the opportunity for a smoother transition
to the new liturgical requirements than in other buildings. Pax\textsuperscript{137} reported that a new
altar, consisting of “a simple marble slab resting on two pilons (\textit{sic}) ornamented with
glazed tiles”, was consecrated on Sunday 21 March 1965, according to the “new rite
approved by the late Pope John XXIII”. The article emphasised how the placing of the
new altar was in line with “the liturgical requirements established by the Second
Vatican Council” allowing for the celebration of Mass facing the people, increasing
the participation of those attending the Liturgy. AM was the first priest to celebrate
High Mass the next day, facing the people.

6.5 The Visual History

There are many excellent photos in the community archives which reveal both the pre
and post Altar arrangements in the Cathedral. Figure 3, the Abbey Cathedral’s pre-
reform arrangement, has a number of features worth identifying:

\textbf{Figure 3 Holy Trinity Cathedral High Altar, 1950's.}

(1) Altar for the celebration of Mass set up in Tridentine style \textit{Ad Orientem}, in
which the celebrant faces the Altar rather than the people when celebrating
much of the Liturgy, especially the Eucharistic prayer

(2) On the extreme left is the Bishop’s Throne. This would not have been the
norm in most Parish churches, but as a Cathedral where the Abbot of New
Norcia held similar status to a bishop until the mid-1970s, this was entirely

appropriate
(3) Altar Rails for kneeling for the reception of Holy Communion
(4) The Altar is adorned with six candles
(5) The Tabernacle in the middle of the Altar
(6) Extreme Baroque ornamentation
(7) Organ and choir hidden behind the screen at the rear
(8) This photo shows no Lectern or Ambo for the reading of Scripture

In contrast, this undated picture, figure 4, was taken after the Vatican reforms, presumably from the mid to late 1960s:

**Figure 4 Holy Trinity Cathedral Post-Vatican II Altar – Rear view.**
Figure 5 Holy Trinity Cathedral Post-Vatican II Altar - Front View

(1) Bishops throne has been removed to the right side (facing Altar) and is much simpler in style and size
(2) No Altar Rails
(3) Altar for the celebration of Mass set up in *Ad populum* in which the celebrant faces the people for the Liturgy
(4) On the Altar are two simple candles
(5) The Tabernacle has been removed from the centre of the Altar to the side chapel
(6) Lectern for proclaiming the scriptures on the left-hand side front of the Sanctuary
(7) Viewing of the Altar, Organ and Salvado’s tomb is now unencumbered

However, the arrangement seen in figure 5 was not static, and after 1970, the community experimented with other arrangements, primarily by bringing the altar closer to the people. This is the current position of the Altar in the Abbey church, although the free-standing stone altar has been removed.
The arrangement shown in figure 6 is fundamentally the same as the initial post-reform setting, however worth noting is the raised platform for the altar, a further reduction in the adornment of the Bishop’s throne and the introduction of the simple wooden statues of St Joseph with a child Jesus (left side) and St Benedict with the rule (book) and raven (right side).

The reforms of the sacred space of the Abbey Cathedral are consistent with the post-conciliar guidelines. It is easy to identify the specific reforms that were made but the process is critical here. On-going consideration of the best manner in which to foster active participation guided the community in utilising their space in as practical a manner as possible, adapting and altering the arrangement as necessary.
6.6 Stations of the Cross

Figure 7 Kucík Murals in St. Gertrude’s College Chapel

Figure 8 Stations of the Cross, Holy Trinity Cathedral

In the 1960s, the monastic community was faced with the problem of crumbling plaster on the interior walls of the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity. Fortunately, artist Josef Kucík\textsuperscript{138} had just completed murals depicting episodes from the life of St Gertrude in

St Gertrude’s College chapel, (the Girl’s boarding College in NN), where his murals had been used to replace earlier frescoes that had deteriorated beyond hope of restoration (See figure 7). Kucik used the sgraffito method, which involves scratching through the surface of plaster or stucco on walls to reveal a lower layer of a contrasting colour.

As they were familiar with the artist’s work, the Benedictine community decided that sgraffito murals would not only solve the need to replaster the interior walls in the Abbey church but would also assist in adding a further artistic dimension to the church, desperately needed after the removal of the baroque High Altar and its fittings.139

The sgraffito depicts a large scale Stations of the Cross (See figure 8). The content of this devotion on Jesus’ journey through his death and passion are unique as they depict the modern world as well as the Passion text. The walls contain images of spacemen, an indigenous nativity, members of the global community in traditional dress, Benedictine saints, and Abbot Gomez himself!

This rendering of the stations captures something of the immediate post-conciliar period, where attempts to create a link between contemporary culture and the Tradition of the Church were often attempted - with varying measures of success. Whilst it may not be to current taste, it is a significant reminder that in this period it was important to clergy that the Stations of the Cross should contain images that ordinary parishioners could use as devotional aids, and so the events of the Passion had to take a recognisable form, inspiring meditation on the sufferings of Christ.140

6.7 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the way in which the monastic community reordered, and in one case decorated, their Sacred Space in harmony with the conciliar reform agenda. The pervasive theme of active participation is integral to the renewed importance of space as an element in formation for worship – the priest and congregation being one

139 Rosario, Josef Kucik’s Sgraffito Murals, 75.
140 Proctor and Canniffe, Building the Modern Church, 223.
‘people’ rather than a hierarchy in which the clerical class is overly emphasised. This encouraged the community to both quickly and firmly adopt the reform agenda.

This understanding is reflected in numerous ways. In the Abbey Cathedral, the removal of the High Altar, its facade and associated Communion rails decreased the separation between celebrant and people, but also fortunately provided access to viewing more of the liturgical “action”, the choir, organ and Salvado’s tomb. This was further emphasised by bringing forward and slightly raising the altar in the early 1970’s. Changing the position of the Bishop’s throne, along with its reduction in size and adornment, is further evidence of the desire to decrease clericalism and hierarchy in liturgical celebrations.

In the new arrangement the lectern, as the table of God’s word, is brought to the very front of the sanctuary, illustrating SC’s theology of the equal importance of word and sacrament. The statuary is simple. St. Joseph with the child Jesus and St. Benedict in simply carved wooden representations. The most striking feature of the Cathedral is the sgraffito Stations of the Cross etched into the walls of the nave of the building. These are non-traditional images that reflect the times in which the congregation is living – a multicultural society, rooted in the Benedictine abbey and the leadership of Abbot Gomez, looking forward to the future in the image of a Spaceman.

Text, Music and Sacred Space are the settings in which liturgy occurs. The arrangement of the space, as the means of an encounter with God, communicates a great deal about relationships, priorities and the focus of the celebration becoming a formative tool in the growth of our understanding of the Liturgy and its intersection with daily life. The drawing out of these themes is the work of liturgical formation, which is last of the case studies on the reform of the Liturgy at New Norcia.
The issue of liturgical formation is the central outcome of this research. The term formation has come to mean many things when used in relation to Liturgy. Mark Earey provides a threefold delineation\textsuperscript{141} on what “liturgical formation” (catechesis) can mean:

1) Formation is an educative process - a deepening understanding of the \textit{why}, \textit{what} and \textit{where} of liturgy.
2) Formation is for leaders - the \textit{how} of liturgy.
3) Formation is about what liturgy \textit{does} to the participant.

Earey goes on to say that these areas do and should overlap, as a cognitive understanding deepens the participant’s experience. Over time, the understanding of what liturgical formation involves has developed, but liturgical formation in the immediate post-conciliar period was often concerned with an understanding of the structure of the rite, and particularly of an interpretation of the symbolic elements. Occasionally ongoing introduction to the scriptures used in the celebration, to locate them in the historical and liturgical context would occur.

This chapter describes the nature of liturgical formation, in both monastic and lay communities, in its historical context. It then considers what is currently needed for liturgical appreciation and experience in the monastic locale in the light of 55 years of post-conciliar thought and practice. Whilst still drawing on the interview as primary data, it will not look specifically at this area through oral and written histories, but rather will consider the lessons learned from this period and how the interviewees now understand the importance of on-going formation in the Christian life.

\textsuperscript{141} P. Gibson, \textit{Worship Shaped Life: Liturgical Formation and the People of God} (Church Publishing Incorporated, 2010), 43.
7.1 Vatican Instructions

7.1.1 The importance of formation

Vatican documents from SC onwards emphasise the importance of formation, particularly for clerics, but also the laity, once again stressing the theme of full, conscious and active participation.

SC chapters 14 - 29 concentrate on formation, noting that

this full and active participation by all the people is the aim to be considered, before all else...therefore pastors of souls must zealously strive to achieve it, by means of the necessary instruction, in all their pastoral work (SC, 19).

This formative work begins with the clerics’ own liturgical formation, especially in their understanding of the nature of the rites, the manner of celebration and the laws surrounding liturgy.

IO explores the themes of SC 16, further developing the importance of clerical formation by stating that Liturgical studies is to be a foundational part of seminary and theological college curriculums, with dedicated specialists to teach liturgy in its theological, historical, spiritual, pastoral, and canon law contexts (IO, 11). It also emphasises the importance of communal celebration in liturgical formation, specifying frequent celebration of the Eucharistic and recitation of the Liturgy of the Hours being vital.

Linking with SC n.19, IO has a compelling paragraph on the formation of the laity:

Pastors shall strive diligently and patiently to carry out the mandate of the Constitution on the liturgical formation of the faithful and on their active participation, both inward and outward, "in keeping with their age and condition, their way of life, and stage of religious development" (IO, 19)
The purpose of post-conciliar Formation

The *raison d'être* of liturgical formation is to assist the faithful, ordained and lay, to view the whole of life through a liturgical lens, to “let these practices become the mode through which they understand culture, education, domestic life, friendship, and virtue—everything that makes us human”. Liturgical formation seeks to not only give us a vision of the kingdom of God which is to come (SC, 8), but to enable us to see it truly present in the world as it currently is, with its successes, failures and possibilities, harmonising the words of ritual texts with the reality of life as it is lived.

SC draws out this point when it states that in this restoration, both texts and rites should be drawn up so that they express more clearly the holy things which they signify; the Christian people, so far as possible, should be enabled to understand them with ease and to take part in them fully, actively, and as befits a community (SC, 21).

Participation is more than an external observance. Liturgical rites are to draw both clerical and lay into a worshipping community, where the old hierarchies are levelled out in an experience of being the People of God. In this new or restored paradigm, the previous devotional and pious practices become less critical than the communal celebration.

The focus from the Vatican documents remains clear. Formation is a wide-ranging process that relies heavily on the formation of the cleric so that they, in turn, are able to impart not only knowledge about the Liturgy, but also, more importantly, the true “Spirit of the liturgy” to the laity.

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144 In certain circles, “The Spirit of the Liturgy” has become a much-criticized term. However, it is the title of liturgical scholar Romano Guardini’s text from 1918 in which he explores “the essential nature of liturgy, of the communal effect of liturgical worship, and of the transcendent faith that unites every believer to each other and to Christ” – themes which became embedded in SC, and were influential in the liturgical understanding of Pope Benedict XVI, especially his book of the same name. See The Spirit of the Liturgy – what will Pope Francis Do? https://adoremus.org/2013/05/15/The-Spirit-of-the-Liturgy-What-Will-Pope-Francis-Do/ Accessed 25 September 2018.
7.2 Post-conciliar Formation

7.2.1 Monastic and Clerical Formation

As can be seen from the discussion on Vatican instructions, clerical formation is seen as the foundation for all liturgical formation. It has been previously noted GG was present at all Council sessions, and that both BR and DB had been studying at San Anslemo’s Rome in this period, thus having an “up close” view of the conciliar vision which they brought back to NN. New Norcia was fortunate that GG, as Abbot, was in favour of the liturgical reform, and as noted before, was ahead of the official timelines in their implementation and in the reintroduction of Gregorian chant.145

The interview discussed the nature of liturgical understanding in the monastic community in the post-conciliar period, as it began a transformation from a rubric-based interpretation (slavishly following the specifics of celebration detailed in the Missal regardless of context) to a more liturgical understanding:

One of the things to remember is that in that period, through the 1950s and the early 1960s, people didn’t distinguish between liturgy and rubrics . . . There is much more to liturgy than rubrics as we know. So, it was the spirituality and the theology of liturgy, as well as the history, that got our attention, and because Bernard (BR) did specific studies in liturgy. I had very good examples of the movement from one to the other at Sant’Anselmo, with wonderful celebrations and models of celebration.146

Despite the monastic community having human resources in the Monks who had had carefully studied and participated in immediate post-conciliar liturgy and liturgical thought, and therefore brought with them materials, Missals and the like, DB recalls that more generally

The bishops were at a high-level in-service course. But they didn’t bring that intensity to share with the diocese at home. They listened to top level liturgists, theologians, scripture scholars and so on, and they shared at a very high level among themselves, but not too many of them were able to impart that when they came home. So often the level of awareness and enthusiasm fell to . . . “what’s going on here”, and sometimes it was a sense of defeatism – I can’t move them. Or the clergy wouldn’t move. If the clergy won’t move lots of things won’t happen.147

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145 For example the "Profession of Sr Pius," Pax, March 1965: 1, in which Gomez anticipates the post-conciliar use of English and communion under both kinds.
146 DB, Interview 291 - 298.
147 Interview 569 - 576.
From these extended quotes, it would appear that the formation process for the monastic community echoed DB’s statement that “things were done piecemeal”. They made the very best of what materials and experiences they could access, but these were rare.

Additionally, the New Norcia Chronicle and the Letters of PG reveal more about how the monastic community were helped to adopt the liturgical reform. PG notes in his journal practicing to receive communion under both kinds and practising for the first Mass in English.148 Although these practical formation activities would have no doubt been welcome, there is little to suggest an ongoing program, in the Abbot’s conferences or otherwise, on the spiritual or intellectual basis of the reform.

7.2.2 Lay Formation

The experience of lay people at NN resonated with the monastic experience - the piecemeal approach to formation evident in AM’s statement that clergy “did things and the people were just ‘What’s going to happen today?‘”149 There may have been certain ambivalence among Mass attendees, however, or at best a tolerance for what the clergy were doing. DB’s statement, “By and large people were happy for the introduction of English . . . there were people who would’ve preferred to be allowed to continue their particular devotional style. The priest is up there doing his thing, and I’m down here doing my thing,”150 reflects both a lack of formation and interest amidst lay people, as the clergy struggled to interpret the demand of SC and the ensuing instructions themselves.

The New Norcia Pax newsletter, issued monthly up until 1968, was an important source of formation material.151 During the Council and the immediate post-conciliar period, items relevant to lay people generally, as well as issues affecting a monastic parish, were published. Topics included such areas as church altars, concelebration, concelebration,

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148 Fr Peter Garbayo, "Diary 1964-1965."
149 Interview 561 - 562.
150 Interview 415 - 418.
the use of English for the Liturgy, the tabernacle, worship of the Eucharist (when EM was released), changes in the monastic timetable, and the manner in which Vatican II teachings were affecting the liturgical practice of the town’s Secondary Colleges. Each of these areas has been unpacked in the relevant chapter, but listed here they help provide an insight into how they were considered important enough by the editors to warrant sharing with the wider New Norcian community.

As an example, it is worth considering the article “Why Concelebrate?” It begins by acknowledging that people may be confused by all the recent changes to Mass practice, and that “this is something completely new to me; where on earth did they get that idea from?” was a common question. It continues by explaining the link between ordination and concelebration, outlining both the theological aspects and the importance in a Benedictine community with a number of priests. The article concludes with comments about the ecumenical implications for relationships with both Eastern Orthodox and other Christian communities. This type of formation was a great way forward for the community to express what, how and why they were adapting the conciliar reforms.

There are some very positive memories of the monastic community striving to embody the new liturgical understanding, engaging the laity in the preparation and celebration of the Liturgy. AM recalls that they had liturgy committee meetings to prepare for Sunday Mass, creating notes on the readings to be read aloud at Mass “so the people would know what to look for” - although he also adds sometimes it felt like there were four sermons!

DB too recounts one very positive experience of lay formation:

> We have an outstanding class of girls from St Gertrude’s 1966 who still form; they meet annually, regularly among themselves, to share their faith journey and their appreciation of their time here. But I think that was a bit exceptional. They were in the right place at the right time, and we were at the best position to impart something of the meaning of these changes and the benefit that can come from them.

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152 "Why Concelebrate?," *Pax*, December 1965: 3.
153 Interview 638 - 645.
154 Interview 596 - 604.
DB’s reflections that this group, and the monastic community, all coincided in perfect conditions which allowed them to have an ongoing source of formation and growth is very encouraging, and evidently remains a source of inspiration for him. However, it does beg the question of how this experience could have been translated to others at the time (religious apathy aside) and can be enacted in today’s Church.

The interviewees reflected on this in detail. BR recalled that the newness of what was occurring, the change in both language and ritual, demanded a slow and considered approach, as it was in a sense a “move against the current - you were bringing something very new to people”.  

Furthermore, it was not only the laity who felt confused in the process. Inadequate formation for presiders and pastors meant that “sometimes, that some priests were so lost in it all . . . they would say to the people ‘alright we have to have this in English today’ - a sort of a half-hearted application”. There is little doubt that this approach would not have aided an appreciation of the renewed emphasis on participation and understanding.

DB is more forgiving though when he reflects, “Who would have had the foresight and the knowledge and the understanding and appreciation of human psychology – all those factors feed into how these changes are introduced.” The shift from a rubrics based observance to a liturgical understanding which allowed the rites to not only have an internal meaning but one which can speak to the whole of the human existence – the Liturgy of Life – is a profound shift, and one which could barely be taught, internalised and lived in the few short years from SC’s promulgation.

Johnson maintains that as a rule the Church has not been particularly effective at managing liturgical change, primarily due to its historical use of the “command and control” model, in which obedience is demanded, thus creating a need for a minutia of detail and instruction in order to perform “correctly”. This may account for the fact

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155 Interview 520 - 521.
156 AM, Interview, 606 - 608.
157 Interview 523 - 525.
158 Johnson, Managing Liturgical Change, 66.
that while both SC and IO provided strong encouragement for lay formation, via that of the clerics, as a general rule the experience for lay people was less than satisfactory. The Vatican instructions do not lay out a systematic program of formation, leaving this to the responsibility of the individual pastor to decide in what manner this would occur, under the guidance of the local Bishop. As Abbot, GG would have had the ultimate responsibility for the formation of the monastic community. This responsibility is carefully laid out in SC 17, where religious houses were to ensure liturgical formation in order to both understand and celebrate the rites of the Church.

In contrast, contemporary change thinkers generally work on the theory of “don’t do it to me, do it with me” in which those who are going to be affected by the change are part of the process itself rather than being passive receivers. This theory may well account for the positive memories of both DB and AM when recalling their interactions of working with lay people in liturgical reflection and implementation.

To examine the formation of liturgical communities and not consider a negative response would be disingenuous. PG’s objections and occasional negative memories have been previously outlined, but further to this AM recalls that inadequate formation affected some laity’s faith and practice:

Gradually the Rosary died, because the Rosary was the layman’s contact with all the mysteries. But now we were told to look to the Liturgy to find the inspiration for our life. But a lot of people began to become a bit starry about all that – maybe yes, maybe no. So they lost one thing that worked at that time, and that’s why it gradually came back in again, because people were finding they weren’t plucking from the Liturgy what they should have been plucking from it. And they formed Latin Mass societies.\textsuperscript{159}

\section*{7.3 The Future}

A key outcome of this research is how the history of the monastic community’s engagement with the post-conciliar reforms can assist contemporary liturgical communities in their quest for both improved liturgical practice, including deepening the understanding of all who celebrate. The final part of the interview asked this question directly.

\textsuperscript{159} Interview 535 - 544.
7.3.1 Preparation

All three interviewees described the importance of preparation for liturgy as the key to engagement – for both the presider and the congregation. This requires space and time, taking the Liturgy seriously enough to prepare both spiritually and physically (giving oneself enough time to slow down and be present) so that one can “absorb, get the gist of what it’s all about, and the fruits which are flowing from it.”

The nature of formation as part of the rite (i.e. the presider or commentator giving reflection and/or insights on the liturgical action), was seen as fraught by the possibility of a too verbose liturgy where the presider is consistently speaking. This is where on-going formation for clergy was seen as vital, as good liturgy comes out of the clerics own education, prayer and reflection and helps laity then enter into the liturgical experience. DB saw this occurring on two fronts: Immediate Preparation, getting ready for the specific liturgy to be celebrated, and Remote Preparation, which is the on-going educative process of deepening knowledge and experience of the Liturgy. Quality Missals and Mass books, for all members of the Church community, lay and clerical alike, were seen as vital in the preparation process as they help to lead to a greater participation and engagement in liturgical celebration.

7.3.2 Participation

The overarching theme of SC – full, active participation, was picked up by BR.

BR: It’s liturgy you can participate in. That’s the main thing is to be able to participate, because we went through a period where . . . we said Psalms for years. You were saying the Psalms every day and you didn’t even know what you were saying! It was incredible to live through it actually, amazing.

DB: I’d say that the first chapter on the Constitution on the Liturgy with the nature and purpose of the Liturgy is fundamental to an appreciation of all that follows.

This reaffirmation of the fundamental importance of active participation is encouraging. DB’s reference to SC 5 - 13, in which the Liturgy is famously identified

\footnotesize{160 AM, Interview 625 - 626.  
161 Interview, 630 - 636.  
162 Interview 654 - 660.  
163 Interview 674 - 676.}
as the summit (10) of the Church’s life, also affirms the need that all who participate must be able to understand and be engaged and enriched by the celebration. This underlying philosophy pervades the interviewee’s thoughts about liturgy, in the need for preparation for all, the uses of language and music, and the move from exact rites to the celebration of liturgy.

7.3.3 Monks and Laypeople as a Faith Community

While the Church has an officially sanctioned and authorised liturgy, in practice liturgy is also specific to the physical, cultural, social, linguistic, political, and economic setting in which it is celebrated. This local context is essential, as it influences the kind of knowledge and experience gained from ritual engagement. This is a possible source of tension in monastic communities who not only welcome laypeople to their liturgical observances, but who also administer parishes. Although the common link between the monastic life and that of lay people, as expressed in text-ritual, is the desire for a deeper engagement in the paschal mystery, the complex network of relationships and traditions of the monastic life is not always easily accessible to the laity. The manner in which this is reflected in the liturgical life of the monastery parish becomes important so that celebrated rites manifest the universal themes of liturgical celebration as the foundational work of all the baptised (not only the work of the monastic community), whilst as the same time maintaining its unique monastic character.

Contemporary monastics have considered this issue is some detail. A recent article by a Benedictine Abbot considers it an imperative that “monasteries . . . share with the laity . . . the same listening faith and building of an ecclesial community which have firm consequences for their personal life and that of the whole Church.” This listening and community building are at the heart of both monastic and liturgical life, leading the faithful, monastic and lay, into the possibility of an ever-deepening relationship with each other and God.

The intersection of monastic charism and liturgical celebration can be a profound contribution to the spiritual lives of lay people, as it is built on the premise that “the

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ordinary can reveal the sacred”. In a society that is increasingly dominated by consumerism, individualism, noise and speed, it is the monastic liturgy, with its associated values of silence, peace, humility community and ordinariness, that can offer a great deal to lay people.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has considered the way in which formation in the post-conciliar liturgical reform was implemented in both the monastic and lay communities of New Norcia. Vatican documents from SC onwards, especially IO, stressed the importance of clerical formation so that they were able to impart both knowledge and the spirit of the Liturgy. To this end, liturgical studies were to be part of seminary and theological college courses, taught by experts in the field.

The Benedictine community was informed by monastics who attended the Council and studied liturgy at the Benedictine College in Rome, alongside gathering information during overseas travel and obtaining materials, such as missals, as they became available. PG recounts examples of rehearsing for the new liturgies such as celebrating the Mass in English and receiving communion under both kinds. Members of the Holy Trinity Parish were generally supportive of the liturgical changes, although some would have preferred instead to continue with things the way they were – the priest celebrating the Eucharists while they continued with their private devotions such as the Rosary. The Clergy responsible for the parish involved lay people in the planning of liturgy, to assist them with being able to enter more deeply into the scriptural texts, and provided opportunities for in-depth sharing and making liturgy – life connections.

The interviewees recall the process of formation in the reformed rites as being the best it could be under the circumstances, especially when considering the psychology of change needed in moving from a “rubrically correct” rite to a liturgy of the senses and whole person. Aiding participants to enter more fully into this liturgical experience was seen as based in preparation by both the celebrant and congregation, but also through rites that allow the maximum of participation, both spiritually and physically.

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166 Mitchell, Monks and the Future of Worship, 17.
This chapter concluded with a discussion about the manner in which a monastic community can assist lay people to enter into liturgy while still maintaining the monastic character of their rites. The importance of lay people as “carriers of the flame” of monastic spirituality and liturgy was discussed, especially in the light of diminishing vocations to the Benedictine life. This is an excellent way to conclude the four case studies of liturgical reform: The reforms of Vatican II have enabled a liturgy which is no longer the province of clerical experts but of all the baptised. The monastic tradition is a productive environment in which this understanding of liturgy can be both fostered and appreciated by monks and lay people alike.
Chapter 8 Conclusion

This thesis described how the Benedictine Community of New Norcia responded to the reform of the Liturgy outlined in the Second Vatican Council document Sacrosanctum Concilium and the subsequent Vatican instructions that were issued for its implementation during the period 1963 – 1969. These changes included the text of the Liturgy being translated into English, and change in ritual action, music, and the layout of Sacred Spaces. The reform was not only in outward ritual forms but also required formation for both the laity and clerical classes in understanding the “spirit” of the Liturgy and the renewed conciliar focus of full, conscious and active participation.

8.1 The Research Questions

In exploring the researching questions, the overall finding is that the Benedictine Community generally responded in a positive way to the liturgical reform. Led by Abbot Gomez, who attended all sessions of the Council, the community embraced the changes quickly and with a minimum of fuss. At a parish level, people’s reactions reflected the general experience of change – some were ambivalent about the reform, some enthusiastic and others would have preferred for the previous liturgical forms and practices to be retained. Abbot Gregory’s enthusiasm for the conciliar reforms was reflected by his embracing of vernacular liturgy earlier than the officially timetabled agenda, the encouragement of Dom Eladio Ros’ English Mass settings, the quickly reordered sanctuary arrangement as well as the reoccurring articles on the Council and its outcomes in the community’s monthly newspaper, Pax.

Text-Ritual reform happened in line with Vatican documentation, with the community drawing on international and local resources as they became available. This was typical of the period and caused no difficulties. There are some examples of local texts being created ahead of official schedules, which remains consistent with the overall experience. Unfortunately, as the community dealt with the implementation of English in the Liturgy, there is no recorded usage of Aboriginal language or song in the immediate post-conciliar liturgical life. The manner in which they may have occurred in the following years is an area that warrants further investigation.
Music was an area that was addressed through Eladio Ros’ *St Benedict Hymnal* and various Mass settings, although there was some friendly debate about its musical quality. Abbot Gregory’s encouragement of Gregorian Chant through Sunday Vespers iterated the conciliar focus of Gregorian chant as the foundational musical form of the Liturgy.

The monastic community had an interest in liturgical space that had begun with the planning of the radical Nervi building design in the late 1950s. After the conciliar instructions were issued, Holy Trinity Cathedral was quickly reordered. A new Altar that allowed the Celebrant to face the people during the Mass, the relocation of the Tabernacle to a side chapel and the sgraffito Stations of the Cross are evidence of this reordering. Other buildings also reflected the conciliar vision, significantly the original sgraffito murals in St Gertrude’s chapel.

The liturgical reform was rooted in the idea of “full, conscious and active participation” – which implies not only physical participation, a “doing”, but also a spiritual and intellectual participation that is rooted in both understanding and prayer. *Sacrosanctum Concilium* and the subsequent liturgy documents emphasise formation of both clerics and laypeople, the implementation of which, like in many places, was of varied success. There are some excellent examples of collaborative, innovative practice but it remained difficult, with the quickly changing nature of the Church’s requirements, to enter deeply into what was required at all levels of need.

The monastic community was like any other Parish in the turbulent but exciting times after the Council - there were both successes and failures in implementation, but there was also goodwill, energy and an embracing of the necessity for change. What is evident from the research is that the reforms required change across the liturgical area. It cannot have been easy to negotiate language change, new rites, new spaces, and a renewed focus on the role of the laity all within the space of seven short years, primarily as Roman Catholic liturgical practice had remained fundamentally stable for the previous 400 years since the Council of Trent. The fact that the interviewed monks, even with the passing of time, had overwhelmingly happy memories of this period is a testament to the way in which the process was handled both officially and at the pastoral level.
The key unanswered issue from the research questions is that of how the reforms were received by lay people connected either with the monastery or parishes administered by them. Given the very transitory nature of rural communities, a feature of both historical and contemporary New Norcia, interviewing, or even contacting lay people of the time proved impossible – the two longest residing New Norcia area residents able to be contacted had arrived in the early 1980’s, a significant time after the liturgical changes. Sadly, the monastery archives also revealed no material in this regard. This remains an area for research in the future.

There are a number of other areas in which this research could be expanded. As an overview of the reform, there has not been the opportunity to explore in detail the recollections of lay people, nor those of the other religious communities in New Norcia during the period. Furthermore, one of the foundations of the first wave of the Liturgical movement was a concern for Justice, expressed through the concept of the Mystical Body of Christ, the Liturgy expressing that all of humanity are connected as one, leading to a deep concern for other’s welfare. How this was expressed at New Norcia, especially in relation to its mission with the local indigenous people, warrants further investigation.

Other areas of monastic life at New Norcia, which warrant further investigation, include an analysis in the change of vesture in the light of the reforms, parish community life, and the attitudes of young people. New Norcia’s unique position as a territorial Abbey with a number of parishes lends itself to this type of inquiry, especially when used as a basis for comparison with urban parishes and other monastic foundations.

8.2 The post-1970 experience

The reforms to liturgical life did not stop in 1970, of course. As with all areas of Church life, changes to liturgy have continued in the 56 years since the Council first sat.

Three noticeable elements of further reform are worth noting:
A new oratory was built on top of a wing of the guesthouse in 1980. This oratory provides easier access for guests to attend the Liturgy of the hours, especially women, as the old oratory had to be entered through the monastery itself – a further sign of the community’s continuing commitment to lay participation. It is a simply adorned space, with natural light and wood furnishings, and used for both the daily office and personal prayer.

While the community’s celebration of the Liturgy of the Hours reflects the standard practice of the Church, the monastic community have continued the use Latin in the celebration of Vespers (evening prayer) and Compline (night prayer). At Vespers, the entrance rite, as well as the Magnificat, and at Compline, the Marian anthem (for most of the liturgical year Salve Regina – Hail Holy Queen) are all sung in Latin. For the community, this is a tangible way of connecting with the practice of their monastic forebears without creating barriers for the laity.

Lastly, liturgy, both in preparation and participation, has ceased to be the domain of the community alone. The appointment of several lay liturgy coordinators and organists who have worked with the community, the presence of lay cantors and choirs on a regular basis as well as the incorporation of the work of local artists, are testament to the liturgical life of the community being both supported and enriched by those who are connected to the monastic foundation or charism in some way.

8.3 Monastic Liturgy, Faith Communities and the Future

The two final questions of the interview were “What makes for good liturgy?” and “Do you think the liturgical reform of Vatican II is secure?” These questions were asked in order to elicit from the three participants, who were part of the initial liturgical reform, a monastic perspective on the manner in which post-conciliar Liturgy can be appropriated and lived in the contemporary context.

Monasteries have become places of pilgrimage and solace for many seekers in contemporary society. The liturgical practice of the monastic tradition is no doubt part of the attraction - Benedictine values of listening, silence, peace and community are reflected in ritual celebration. Monastic liturgy can provide genuine spiritual experience through sensory deprivation, in which simple, unadorned rites, with
chanting and extended periods of silence, can lead worshippers into a transcendent experience.  

Bryon Anderson reminds us that

Liturgical practices, as ritual practices, offer ways by which to narrate who we are and where we belong, orient persons and communities in relation to one another, orchestrate passages through human existence, and integrate the human and cosmic, biological, and social orders. But liturgical practices also construct an argument for a way of being and for knowing ourselves in the world. They locate this argument in body and mind.  

To enable liturgical celebrations that embody the issues raised by Anderson, both monastics and lay people require preparation of both an immediate and ongoing nature. Immediate in the sense of providing ourselves with the opportunity to slow down and be fully present physically, mentally and spiritually when celebrating, and ongoing in the sense of growing into the rites, ever deepening our understanding and connection.  

The liturgical future, to the mind of the interviewees, seemed assured, with the reform agenda having more to give in both monastic and wider-liturgical contexts. With the decline in religious vocations, it is lay people who are now beginning to carry the flame of monastic spirituality and liturgical practice. Liturgical formation remains vital in this sphere, in the broader post-conciliar sense as well as in the specifics of how liturgy can be celebrated in a way that reflects monastic spirituality and values.  

Change is never without difficulties in implementation, and this is often reflected in the reactions of those whom the change affects. The post-conciliar reforms are no exception as evidenced by the on-going critique that has persisted for the period of more than fifty years since the promulgation of Sacrosanctum Concilium. The Benedictine Community of New Norcia, essentially a monastic community who administered a few parishes, adapted to these changes with integrity and to the best of their ability given the resources available. The life-giving manner in which many were

lay people were aided in their growth by the monks’ way of life, reflected in their
liturgical celebrations, is a cause for celebration and prayers of gratitude.
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**Unauthored Newspaper Articles**


"A New Monastery and Cathederal for New Norcia." *Pax*, April 1960

"St Benedict and the Liturgical Movement." *Pax*, March 1962

"Profession of Sr Pius." *Pax*, March 1965

"Abbot Consecrates New High Altar." *Pax*, April 1965

"Impressive Easter Rites." *Pax*, May 1965

"Why Concelebrate?". *Pax*, December 1965

"Compline in the Colleges." *Pax*, May 1968

Appendix A  List of Post SC Liturgy Instructions referred to in the text

1964  Sacram Liturgiam:
On putting into effect some prescriptions of the Constitution on the Liturgy
A Motu Proprio establishing the Congregation for Divine Worship (CDW) to work in collaboration with the Consilium to implement the changes flowing from the principles of the Vatican Council’s Constitution. Liturgical changes included dropping Prime (9am prayer) from the Divine office and permitting Marriage and Confirmation rites to be celebrated within Mass.

1964  First Instruction Inter Oecumeni:
Specified limited use of Vernacular to begin on 7/3/1965. Step by step catechesis about the pastoral and spiritual necessity of the liturgical reform. Covers reforms in the rites of the Eucharist, Sacraments, the Divine Office and the building of new churches.

1967  Musicam Sacram:
Instruction on Sacred Music in the Liturgy – primacy of Chant, but allowance of music considered being appropriate to the Liturgy. Music in the Divine Office.

1967  Second Instruction Tres Abhinc Annos:
Simplification of rites and liturgical actions, especially the order of Mass.

1967  Eucharisticum Mysterium:
Instruction on Worship and Catechesis of the Eucharistic Mystery, especially in regard to the celebration of the Eucharist and the worship of the Blessed Sacrament outside of Mass.

1969  Comme le prévoit:
Guidelines for translation, based on the theory of dynamic equivalence.
Appendix B  Post-Conciliar Music Publishing at New Norcia

      New Norcia: Benedictine Community.

1965  Ros, E. *Holy Trinity Congregational Mass*.
      New Norcia: Benedictine Community.

1966  Moreno. *Te Deum Laudamus (with English Text) for Soprano and Contralto*.
      New Norcia: Benedictine Community.

1966  Ros, E. *Congregational Requiem Mass*. New Norcia: Benedictine
      Community.

      New Norcia: Benedictine Community.


Appendix C  Monastic Interview Consent Form

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET


Dear Father

You are invited to participate in the research project described below.

What is the project about?
The aim of this study is to investigate the change in liturgical language from Latin to English in the period immediately following the passing of the liturgy document Sacrosanctum Concilium at the Second Vatican Council in 1963.

Who is undertaking the project?
This research is being conducted by Christopher Kan, and it will form the basis for the degree of Master of Philosophy at The University of Notre Dame Australia, under the supervision of Dr Angela McCarthy.

What will I be asked to do?
Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to contribute in following way: I will ask you to participate in an interview (of no more than one hour) to discuss your opinion and recollections of this period in the Church’s history, with particular reference to how these changes were implemented and received in New Norcia. With your permission, the interview would be digitally recorded so that I can ensure that I can make an accurate record of what you say. When the digital recording has been transcribed, you will be provided with a copy of the transcript, so that you can verify that the information is correct and/or request deletions.

Are there any risks associated with participating in this project?
There are no specific risks anticipated with participation in this study. However, if you find that you are becoming distressed you will be advised to receive support through Abbot John. Alternatively, we will arrange for you to see a medical professional at no expense to you.

What are the benefits of the research project?
Whilst there are no immediate personal benefits from your participation in this research, it is hoped that by looking at the way in which liturgical change was managed
in this period, it will contribute to ongoing discussion about best practice models of liturgical reform within specific communities.

What if I change my mind?

Participation in this study is completely voluntary. Even if you agree to participate, you can withdraw from the study at any time without discrimination or prejudice. If you withdraw, all information you have provided will be erased.

Will anyone else know the results of the project?

Information gathered about you will be held in strict confidence. This confidence will only be broken if required by law. In this type of project it is normal to give the names of people who have contributed information. I would like to seek your permission to use your name in the final thesis. If for any reason you choose not to be named:

- you would be referred to by a pseudonym
- any contextual details that might reveal your identity would be removed

If you would prefer some comments to be made off the record:

- you could indicate this during the interview
- or when you review the transcript of the interview you can indicate this requirement

I will protect your anonymity to the fullest possible extent within the limits of the law; your name and contact details would be kept in a locked cabinet separate from the data you supply. You should note, however, that since the number of potential interviewees is small, it might still be possible for someone to identify you.

Once the study is completed, the data collected from you, both digital and hard copy, will be and stored securely in the School of Philosophy and Theology at The University of Notre Dame Australia for at least a period of five years. The results of the study will be published as a thesis.

Will I be able to find out the results of the project?

Once I have analysed the information from this study I will present a summary of my findings to participants and the Monastic Community. You can expect to receive this feedback in 2018.

Who do I contact if I have questions about the project?

If you have any questions about this project please feel free to contact me (chris.kan1@my.nd.edu.au) or my supervisor, Dr Angela McCarthy (angela.mccarthy@nd.edu.au). My supervisor and I are happy to discuss with you any concerns you may have about this study.

What if I have a concern or complaint?

The study has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at The University of Notre Dame Australia (approval number 016152F). If you have any complaint regarding the manner in which a research project is conducted, it should be directed to the Executive Officer of the Human Research Ethics Committee, Research
How do I sign up to participate?

If you would like to participate, please indicate that you have read and understood this information by signing the accompanying consent form and returning it in the envelope provided. I will then contact you to arrange a mutually convenient time for you to complete the interview.

Thank you for your time. This sheet is for you to keep.

Yours sincerely,

Christopher (Chris) Kan
Interview by Chris Kan  
Abbot Bernard Rooney, Fr David Barry and Fr Anscar McFee  
Holy Trinity Abbey  
10 September 2017  

BR: I think I went to Rome in 1965, October 1965, would that be right David?  

DB: Yes.  

BR: Yes and I was away until ’68. Yes, and I forget now, just trying to think when  
the English Liturgy came in, I’m not too sure of that.  

DB: Well, it came in in stages, and some of it was already in vogue before you  
left. It was already, we had some in English when I came back. The  
Australian Bishops.  

CK: So when did you come back?  

DB: September ’65, but it was reported that the Australian bishops jumped the gun  
with the introduction of English, they got a bit ahead of themselves.  

AM: See I was ordained in ’64, and my Ordination Mass was mostly in English  
extcept for the form.  

CK: The form, yes.  

AM: So, the Bishop Geraldton said the form in Latin.  

CK: In Latin, but the Mass itself was in English?  

AM: Yeah.  

CK: And that was in ’64?
AM: Yeah. And before that we were introduced to some changes when the Vatican Council had got moving by having dialogue masses.

DB: They had been in use for a number of years called the dialogue Mass, but we always had our sung Mass here, we were in a different situation from the average parish.

AR: The Newman Society had dialogue Masses in Sydney at University when I was staying there.

DB: Missa Dialogata!

CK: What years would have the dialogue Masses been happening?

DB: I’ll go and get my other book! This is the St Andrews Daily missal, which is the forerunner of the Glenstal Missal, but it has, you know I got it just before I came here in 1965, and things were changing then, the Liturgy was moving forwards and it includes Dialogue Mass, the new form of the Easter Liturgy as well. (Fr David leaves)

AM: Now when I was Ordained on the 16th of July 1964, I went over to Melbourne, I was ordained to say One Mass you see, as long as I could get through the ceremony and say one Mass the Bishop agreed to ordain me. I was dying at the time with Lupus, systemic Lupus. Anyway, now I went over to Melbourne and I was saying Mass frequently at home for my parents, very old, and I was saying it in English.

CK: And what year would have this been?

AM: ’64. And I said to them “The Lord be with you” and my very saintly mother said (Very slowly) “and also with you Father”.

CK: So, you’ve only ever celebrated Mass in English? You never celebrated Mass in Latin?
AM: Oh no I celebrated many masses in Latin. Up at the Parish church because it was, that was a part of the whole movement that things, (Father David returns) you gradually got leave to say Mass at home – and it had to be in particular, you couldn’t say it in the room of a sick person, it had to be, my father was very ill, dying, and I had to say Mass in the passage way.

DB: Not in the bedroom.

AM: Not in the bedroom you see.

CK: You weren’t allowed to say Mass in the bedroom?

AM: No. So later on, I ended up saying Mass up at the mission in caves and all manner of extraordinary places, on hillsides, in front of huge rock art galleries, overlooking the Drysdale river. But that was later.

CK: So, things really moved as time went on?

AM: Yes, yes.

CK: What about you Abbot Bernard, did you ever say mass in Latin, or only ever in English?

BR: We had Mass in Latin, didn’t we? We said Mass in Latin?

CK: With the Novus Order mass?

DB: No that didn’t come until the early 1970’s. So, right above us is the Canadian Missal that was in use when I came back, which was renowned for the translation of the Gloria which included the words “You who, You who, You who”.

AM: Oh yes, I see what you mean!
So, you know, it was one of those faults in translation, but they were going through it for the first time, the Canadians, they were more advanced than the Australians in regard to getting things going in English. So that is right above us here, that missal, which then, when the Novus Ordo came in, that was introduced before the new Missal was available, so we had a book with the Eucharistic prayers, prefaces but we used to use the Missal for the Collect and for the other parts, that weren’t in this monogram. So, it was a fluid period and things were done inter. That’s the best way I could describe it, things were done piecemeal.

I was in Rome when the Constitution was promulgated, and one of the first things was the “Instruction for the application of the Conciliar constitution on the Liturgy” – and it was in Italian, before a Latin version came out.

CK: Wow!

So, I got this in December ’64.

CK: OK. So that was out before the Latin version . . .

DB: Before the Latin version of this instruction. So, it was dated September ’64. So, the Constitution had been promulgated.

CK: In ’63 wasn’t it?

DB: In ’63, then lots of different people had to be involved in “How do we get this thing going?” How do we begin applying what the Constitution is, because that wasn’t their remit –they weren’t authorized to do that. So, it depended on, there was a special ando locaro, a special Council for the implementation, not under the Congregation for Divine worship. What did it used to be called?

CK: Rites?
DB: Yes, the Congregation of Rites. So, this was a special thing which was later subsumed back into the, so they were independent of the congregation. This was something fairly new for Rome, and of course it didn’t sit well with the Curia. Here we have this sort of independent Body and we don’t know what they’re going to do!

CK: And they couldn’t control them obviously. They were just doing their thing.

DB: So, some of the people from the congregation were in the council for the implementation, but it was given a high degree of independence. And Lercaro – he was the Archbishop of Bologna, he was the President of the Council for the application of the Constitution. And then the prefect of the Congregation of Rites, Larraona, had to sign it, but he (Lercaro) is in charge!

CK: Right. Interesting! So, the tensions began early then obviously.

DB: Oh yes of course! You just have to read Bugnini.

CK: Yeah, I’ve read bits of that and . . . wow! So, I’m imagining Abbot Gregory would have gone to Rome for the Council.

DB: He was there for all sessions.

CK: So, he would’ve been there when the Liturgy was promulgated, and so when he came back to New Norcia was he pretty keen on getting things started quickly – do you remember?

DB: Well, I was not here, but things had moved by the time I came back from Rome, the Altar was gone, the new Altar was in, the candle sticks had been reduced, by Fr. Wilfred, remember that?

BR: They were cut down to size

DB: The parts were taken out.
AM: They were joined up.

CK: So the stand ….

DB: You’ve got the stand, you’ve got a pipe going into it, a knob, another pipe going in – and they could be removed, and the rod holding them, they were all kept in the sacristy and found their way into collections, but we’ve since reinstated a few of them.

BR: Yes, the result of that, I remember artistically, it was very poor – there was a huge base and little candles on top of the base – it wasn’t meant to be like that, it was very inartistic the whole thing, but it was kept like that for a few years.

CK: So, who drove the changes – was there a monk in charge of Liturgy? I’m thinking of that ’63, ’64, ’65 period. Was there someone in charge of implementing the changes? David, you’ve said it was fairly piece meal what you were doing . . .

BR: Well I don’t remember...

AM: I don’t remember anyone been in charge – things just happened!

DB: Well while he was here, Thomas had been MC I think for a while, you know Thomas Lucas, Brian Lucas.

BR: Thomas Lucas.

DB: But he was gone not long after I came back. I think a number of people would have had their hand in it, including Fr Eliado – especially with the music – that would have been his concern. Fr Peter with the organ. I don’t know if you’ve caught up with Mandy Smith’s article? She gave a paper at New Norcia Studies day some years ago using Fr Peter’s.
CK: The letters?

DB: Well, diary notes. You know they were written on scraps of paper. He has a very unenthusiastic account of the first English Mass.

AM: And actually, Father – the violinist in Applecross –

BR: Fr Lynch

AM: Fr Lynch took me aside one day and said “Fr Eliadio has to be stopped! He said, “He’s producing masses that are not according to the tone and the approach that we want to take”. He said, “His music is just not with it!”

CK: In that it was too conservative or . . .?

AM: Yes, everything about it was not even conservative, but it was just out of . . . it was too simple. You know it went up to Kalumburu, they were all singing it up at Kalumburu. It’s a point worth mentioning that not everything we did was according to strict guidelines.

DB: Well, yes. People interpreted the guidelines according to their own particular mindset I suppose.

CK: So, there was some experimenting going on.

DB and AM: Yes, there was yes.

CK: Some more successful than others by the sound of it?

BR: **** it the case that the readings were allowed could be in English, the Epistle and Gospel could be in English?

DB: Yes, that was one of the first.
BR: Some of us thought oh this is the beginning of the end you know, replacing Latin with English (laughter).

DB: This is the thin end of the wedge! (More laughter)

BR: We were frightened of that you know, for hundreds of years the church had had Latin – you know in the Reformation you died because of the Latin – it was considered vital.

CK: Which was one of the questions I was going to ask, were there any of the community who were really against the changes and just didn’t like the idea of English coming in?

DB: I think it went through reasonably peacefully here. I don’t think there were major ructions.

AM: No, the Spanish Monks I think were thinking of the future, for the Australians

DB: It was surprising how calmly they took it, even if they didn’t like it, but they accepted.

AM: And they had a wonderful knowledge of Latin you know, a lot of those old priests.

CK: So was there some catechesis, some teaching, about why the changes were happening?

DB: Again, spasmodic, piecemeal. That’s all that was available.

CK: Whatever came through . . .

DB: Yes, some were better read in liturgy, Fr Eugene had written a couple of little booklets on the Spirit of the Liturgy, because, and this is my take on Father
Eugene, once the community became interested in liturgy as distinct from rubrics, then he moved on. He moved on to the study of History. Especially New Norcia history.

CK: Because he had done his job or . . . ?

DB: Well, yes. He liked to be a little bit on the outer limits . . .

BR: He wanted to be at the forefront I think of whatever was happening.

AM: They used to call him Mr . . .

BR: Smarty alec! Yeah Mr Smart alec.

AM: But it was just his style you know. He wasn’t really that way. He just had that style. He just always seemed to know better than everybody else.

DB: Well he had been heavily involved in art, he did the course in Melbourne and had all sorts of contacts in Melbourne. One of the things to remember is that in that period, through the 1950s and the early 1960s, people didn’t distinguish between liturgy and rubrics. They thought if you were interested in liturgy it was in rubrics. There is much more to liturgy than rubrics as we know. So, it was the spirituality and the theology of liturgy, as well as the history, that got our attention, and because Bernard did specific studies in liturgy. I had very good examples of the movement from one to the other at Sant’ Anselmo, with wonderful celebrations and models of celebration. But I was doing theology, not liturgy.

AM: And we used to quote St Theresa of Avila who said she would give her life for a rubric.

DB: And we’d think, how terrible.
CK: So thinking of moving from that idea of “Say the black, do the red” and then going into liturgy as opposed to doing the rubrics, can you think of how that happened here? How things became more liturgical rather than more rubricised? Adapting I guess to the community you’ve got?

DB: Yes, look the community, we were at all sorts of different levels. Some people had got far beyond concern for rubrics, they observed the rubrics but that wasn’t the main thing. It was the prayer, the public prayer – they were well aware of, what’s Pius XII’s … Mystici Corporis and the Mediator Dei, the ground breaking liturgy document of Pius XII, and they knew that the Gregorian had been reformed, and Abbot Gregory really introduced Gregorian in a big way - see, they didn’t have regular sung Vespers until he came. And daily sung Mass – that was his. Not Abbot Catalans. Because he had spent time in Maria Laach, when he was studying in Rome in the 1920’s, so he had caught something of the …

CK: The spirit?

DB: The spirit and the sense of the movement of the Liturgy.

BR: Con-celebration. See I was in Rome in ’65 and this con-celebration came in. I was fairly conservative I suppose looking back on it and I didn’t concelebrate – that was considered for the avant-garde! We didn’t concelebrate, Gerard Velocho I think – he used to continue saying his private mass for a long time, but the whole thing came into con-celebration, those wanting con-celebration would move down and have it in the crypt. All the other conservative students, we had our masses at the private altars, we were all having masses at the private Altars in the Crypt, these rather dubious conservatives, we used to…

DB: The avant-garde.
BR: We used to look at each other and we were going to the con-celebration, and the private mass people would just look at us! They wouldn’t say anything but it was just…

AM: The thing was getting around that some smart alec’s would say, if I said the words quickly, before the others, the species was consecrated before the they could do it you see. And of course, this was rubbish.

BR: If a person said “hoc est” before he said “hoc est”, you wouldn’t be saying Mass, because the “hoc est enim Corpus meum”.

CK: Has been done.

BR: Has been done you see. There was no moral unity in anything at all

CK: No, that’s rubricism isn’t it?

BR: Yes, rubricism.

CK: So, when did they start concelebrating the Masses here then, as a sort of default way of having mass?

DB: Well, they had it only on special occasions, from 1964 on. But then it became the daily conventual mass, that’s not till ’67, ’68, somewhere around then.

CK: So you would all still celebrate a private mass?

DB: Well, we had convents to look after, so not many of us would have had private masses, because we had to look after St Gertrude’s, St Ildephnosus’.

AM: St Mary’s.

BR: Different Altars.
and then there was a public mass in the church, we didn’t really have much
opportunity for private, it’s an oxymoron . . .

So, it’s not seminary style with eight priests all lined up in a row all saying
their masses . . .

Well that a bit . . .

Well. There were four Altars in the church, the two side altars, the main altar,
and an altar behind there in the choir. And there could be Mass, you know
not by the time we came along, but in the years just ahead of us, there
would’ve been four priests saying mass, two altars up here (gestures to the
monastery) and – see, we went to Mass twice every day, because you see
(smiling) oddities keep on cropping up! One of the oddities was we didn’t
receive communion at Conventual Mass. We went to a Mass earlier. Then we
had breakfast, then we came to Conventual Mass. The celebrant of the
Conventual Mass was still fasting! And no one went to communion at high
Mass. They went at an earlier mass, or they arranged to go after the Mass.

Communion wasn’t received at High Mass even in the Parish setting, people
didn’t go to communion.

So you were there just to . . . say Mass literally.

Now I remember saying Mass with a priest on the other side, saying Mass at
the same time, and I would be thinking to myself “Why doesn’t he keep his
voice down he’s mixing me up!” So I was saying Mass in those days, because
I went through the whole thing, without going away anywhere, and I
remember the least! I took it all as it came you know!

Whatever happened you were just “Ok!”

I just went along with it all.
CK: Just wanting to think now about the parish. You had the parish here and the liturgy changes were happening – how did that go with the people in New Norcia who came on a Sunday for Mass? How did they respond?

AM: We had a diocese you see. Right out to Southern Cross.

CK: So, thinking about the parishes as those liturgy changes happened, can you remember how people responded to that?

DB: Well by and large people were happy for the introduction of English – by and large there were people who would’ve preferred to be allowed to continue their particular devotional style. The priest is up there doing his thing, and I’m down here doing my thing.

BR: One of the seminarians, Brian McBride said will we have the readings now in English – the epistle and Gospel in English? We’d never had that before and I thought that seems a bit too much, but we had that.

DB: So that goes back to that time?

BR: Yes. The changes to the readings - English could be used to the Epistle and the Gospel.

AM: Well the people had got used to, around the parishes, they got use to saying their Rosary’s and things like that, knowing that something wonderful was happening on the Altar. The priest was doing it, and he’d read the Gospel in Latin and then he’d read it in English, and give a sermon on it and they’d listen and so it was very much as long as the people were allowed to have their devotions. That’s how they’d survived through the centuries, recent centuries. Especially in Ireland and Scotland and those places where you had to have Mass on Mass rocks.
CK: And so before the introduction of the Council document, when the Masses were in Latin, would people sing the Hymns in English? Or would they only sing hymns in Latin?

DB: There was hardly any singing! There was very little singing. You wouldn’t hear singing at a Sunday Mass in an out-center.

CK: But they would sing here? You’d have a choir I suppose?

DB: Well the two Masses before the High Mass - the High Mass was sung by the choir, by the monks or the school children. But there was no congregational singing. That took place at Benediction. That’s when people could really participate, even if it was in Latin.

AM: They all had a smidgeon of Latin- even though they said strange things. (Sings) “adoro te devote . . .” They’d sing anything thinking it was Latin you see! It happened to me when I went to Beagle Bay - all the old classical characters came out for the centenary of Beagle Bay and they were singing in the most appalling Latin. I was laughing – it wasn’t Latin at all! It was just what they thought was Latin.

CK: Just sounded like it seemed to fit! (To Fr David) Can you tell me more about Benediction – you said that is where people would really sing?

DB: Rosary and Benediction were the traditional Sunday evening devotions, Sunday evening before television. But in the parishes Benediction was often tacked onto the end of Sunday Mass, because the people wouldn’t have the opportunity to come together in the way in city parishes, so Benediction following Mass was standard in country parishes, country centers.

AM: And also Stations of the Cross during Lent, you know. They’d be singing that one.

DM: Stabat Mater.
AM: Stabat Mater, we all sang that in the Church walking around from station to station – that’s why there were so many verses!

BR: Seeing the host was the important thing, to see the host. In the church here was had the monstrance with the host in it all the time wasn’t it? And there was a sliding door in front of it. And there was a brother and his job was to wind the handle, and door came down miraculously and you’d see the host appearing – it was very much show and tell.

CK: A magical moment for people. So they would sing in Latin at Benediction?

DB: Yes. The standard thing was “O Salutaris Hostia”, “Tantum Ergo” and “Adoremus” - that was the concluding one.

CK: And they would sing that most weeks?

DB: And they would sometimes sing, sometimes sing, Fr Moreno had done an English setting of the divine praises. That could be sung in English. But the rest was in Latin.

CK: The rest was in Latin.

DB: So two verses of “O Salutaris Hostia”, two verses of “Tantum Ergo” and the “Adoremus” had a verse, an antiphon, “Adoremus in aeternum then a psalm - Catholics new one full psalm, and that was the shortest psalm in the Psalter because it was part of Adoremus. “Laudate Dominine omnes gentes, Laudate Dominum et popili ” – praise the Lord all ye nations, praise the Lord all ye peoples”. So it was a complete psalm – Catholics knew one complete Psalm at least, even if they didn’t know any others. They knew parts of “Judica me, Deus” - from the prayers at the foot of the Altar, and from the prayer at the offertory, what the priest said when he was washing his hands.
CK: They knew those prayers.

DB: Yes, yes.

AM: Now also my memories of society days like the Holy Name Society, or the Sacred Heart society, in the parish churches, I don’t know around our diocese, but my memories in Melbourne, there would be a lot of singing at the Mass, all the men, the Holy Name Society.

CK: We are nearly coming to the end – so thankyou. Do you think that when you began that process of moving from Latin into English that process could have been handed better than it was – looking back now?

DB: Hindsight is always better than foresight!

BR: We had to move against the current you see. You were bringing something very new to people. You couldn’t rush it.

DB: I don’t think you could. Who would have had the foresight and the knowledge and the understanding and appreciation of human psychology – all those factors feed into how these changes are introduced.

BR: One of the seminarians was studying to be a priest at the time said “very soon we were going to have the epistle and gospel in English – and I said “oh no that’ll never happen” - I thought it’d never happen.

DB: I certainly never thought the Eucharistic prayer would be in anything other than Latin - even when I went to Rome. But within two years – the Council document.

AM: There was another thing whereby liturgy, we were taught, that the Liturgy was to become the prayer of the faithful. We were to reflect on the readings, you’d hear them in English, reflect on the prayers and gradually the Rosary died. Because the Rosary was the layman’s contact with all the mysteries. But
now we were told to look to the Liturgy to find the inspiration for our life. But a lot of people began to become a bit starry about all that – maybe yes, maybe no. So they lost one thing that worked at that time, and that’s why it gradually came back in again, because people were finding they weren’t plucking from the Liturgy what they should have been plucking from it. And they formed Latin Mass societies – I knew the president in Sydney -Mrs McKerris.

CK: That’s good because it leads me into my next questions which is thinking about – you know I am a recipient of the Vatican Two heritage, you know I’ve been to Latin Mass but it doesn’t mean anything to me it’s very difficult from me to connect – do you thinking that the Vatican Two liturgical heritage, or what it’s asking about Liturgy, has been fully grown, its bloomed?

DB: No I think it has more to give – a lot depends on clergy, but it depends on how well formed the laity are.

BR: That was the trouble. There was never enough formation for the laity. They were lagging behind because clergy weren’t really with it themselves and so they weren’t able to...

AM: They just did things and the people were just “What’s going to happen today?”

CK: So there was a real lack of helping people understand what was going on?

BR: The clergy were not formed in that.

DB: You know there were outstanding exceptions. But by and ... one way of understanding it ... the bishops were at a high level in-service course. But they didn’t bring that intensity to share with the diocese at home. They listened to top level liturgists, theologians, scripture scholars and so on, and they shared at a very high level among themselves, but not too many of them
were able to impart that when they came home. So often the level of awareness and enthusiasm fell to conform to “what’s going on here”, and sometimes it was a sense of defeatism – I can’t move them. Or the clergy wouldn’t move. If the clergy won’t move lots of things won’t happen.

AM: And so you had people saying “I don’t go to Mass anymore, I don’t recognize anything”.

BR: Oh yes, my uncle said things like that.

AM: So they weren’t led into it you know.

CK: Do you think that applied to the monastic community as well?

DB: No.

CK: You were better formed?

DB: Oh yes of course. We had the resources.

CK: And so were sharing that obviously with each other, but also with the parishes you were working with.

DB: As best we could. And the same with the schools. Those who were senior students in the late 1960s probably caught more it than people earlier or later. They were ready for it and it was well received. So we have an outstanding class of girls from St Gertrude’s 1966 who still form a, they meet annually, regularly among themselves, to share their faith journey and their appreciation of their time here. But I think that was a bit exceptional. They were in the right place at the right time, and we were at the best position to impart something of the meaning of these changes and the benefit that can come from them.
And I think it happened sometimes that some priests were so lost in it all, out in the diocese, that they would say to the people “Alright we have to have this in English today” as a sort of a half-hearted application.

And often parish resources for Mass sheets and things to help the celebrants, to help the people, only came on stream slowly – in Australia. They were miles ahead in some parts of the United States than we were.

Well thank you all very much. I’d like to ask you one more question if that’s alright which is not about Vatican Two but a question about what you think makes for good liturgy. So when were celebrating public prayer, or public rituals, what do you think makes for good liturgy?

If I could answer first I’d say straight away preparation. I think if people rush straight in, into Mass, and sit down, all flustered, it’s going to go straight over their heads.

So the people who prepare are people who are going to absorb, who will get the gist of what it’s all about, and the fruits which are flowing from it.

So by preparation . . . sorry go on Fr David.

There’s preparation on the part of those leading the celebration, and preparation on the part of those who are taking part in it. And that’s where good missals, good Mass books, designed to help the laity understand are so important. Priests have to keep on educating themselves, and it has to come out of your appreciation and your prayer. There is remote preparation which is going on all the time, and there is immediate or proximal preparation which is very important.

Now I’ve just thought of something else we did here. We decided at a liturgical meeting that at every Sunday Mass, if we were going to have a
reading from Ezekiel, somebody would prepare to give a few notes before the
reading came up, so the people would know what to look for. It’s not about
the bits and pieces which were also there, but the key point which is adding to
the tone of the day, the theme of the day. The trouble was as time went on
you’d end up with about four sermons! And the people were sick of it! Get
off our back!

DB: So people had to learn the art of succinctness. You’re not delivering a
sermon. You’re not delivering a whole commentary – you’re picking a point
and helping people to catch that. Not the whole lot . . .

CK: Just that one focus. Abbot Bernard, did you want to say anything about what
good liturgy is for you?

BR: It’s liturgy you can participate in. That’s the main thing is to be able to
participate, because we went through a period where . . . we said psalms for
years. We came to be Monks and the psalmody was the center of our prayer
life and we didn’t . . . I did Latin at school, I was in a good position, but some
of them couldn’t follow anything! You were saying the Psalms every day and
you didn’t even know what you were saying! It was incredible to live through
it actually, amazing.

AM: We used to be told, you mightn’t understand but God understands all
languages.

BR: Yes, that’s right (laughs).

CK: That sounds like a bit of a – I don’t know – cop out maybe?

DB: Well it could be interpreted that way.

AM: With my poor knowledge of Latin I had an old book and I write in English
words under the Latin so I’d know what I was actually saying.
DB: I’d say that the first chapter on the Constitution on the Liturgy with the nature and purpose of the Liturgy is fundamental to an appreciation of all that follows.

BR: It was the best prepared of all the Council documents.

DB: The nature of the Sacred Liturgy and its importance in the Church’s life is a wonderful presentation of the meaning of the Liturgy and what it can be, what it’s meant to be, in the life of the church.

CK: Thank you all very much for a very interesting discussion.