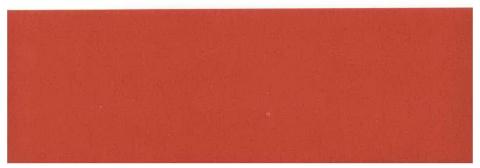
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## CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM



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#### Acta

#### CANONIZATIONES

Die 18 aprilis 1999, in area quae respicit Basilicam Sancti Petri in Vaticano:

Sanctus Marcellinus Ioseph Benedictus Champagnat, presbyter Sanctus Ioannes Calabria, presbyter Sancta Augustina Livia Pietrantoni, virgo

Die 16 iunii 1999 in civitate Stary Sacz (Polonia): Sancta Kinga, *religiosa* 

Die 21 novembris 1999 in Basilica Vaticana Sancti Cyrillus Bertràn et socii, *religiosi et martyres* Sanctus Innocentius ab Immaculata, *presbyter et martyr* Sanctus Benedictus Menni, *presbyter* Sanctus Thoma de Cora, *presbyter* 

#### BEATIFICATIONES

Die 7 martii 1999 in Basilica Vaticana Beati Vincentius Soler, *presbyter*, et socii, *religiosi, martyres* Beatus Manuel Martinus Sierra, *presbyter et martyr* Beatus Nicolaus Barré, *presbyter* Beata Anna Schäffer, *virgo*  Die 2 maii 1999 in area quae respicit Basilicam Sancti Petri in Vaticano:

Beatus Pius de Pietrelcina, presbyter

Die 7 iunii 1999 in civitate Torunensi (Polonia) Beatus Vincentius Frelichowski, *presbyter et martyr* 

Die 13 iunii 1999 Varsaviae Beata Regina Protmann, *virgo* Beati Antonius Iulianus Nowowiejski, Ladislaus Goral et socii, *martyres* Beatus Edmundus Bojanowski

Die 19 septembris 1999 in civitate Mariborensi (Slovenia) Beatus Antonius Martinus Slomsek, *episcopus* 

Die 3 octobris in area quae respicit Basilicam Sancti Petri in Vaticano:

Beatus Ferdinandus Maria Baccilieri, presbyter Beatus Eduardus Ioannes Maria Poppe, presbyter Beatus Archangelus Tadini, presbyter Beatus Marianus de Roccacasale, religiosus Beatus Didacus Oddi, religiosus Beatus Nicolaus de Gesturi, religiosus

#### POST-SYNODAL APOSTOLIC EXHORTATION «ECCLESIA IN ASIA»\*

[...]

THE CHALLENGE OF INCULTURATION

21. Culture is the vital space within which the human person comes face to face with the Gospel. Just as a culture is the result of the life and activity of a human group, so the persons belonging to that group are shaped to a large extent by the culture in which they live. As persons and societies change, so too does the culture change with them. As a culture is transformed, so too are persons and societies transformed by it. From this perspective, it becomes clearer why evangelization and inculturation are naturally and intimately related to each other. The Gospel and evangelization are certainly not identical with culture; they are independent of it. Yet the Kingdom of God comes to people who are profoundly linked to a culture, and the building of the Kingdom cannot avoid borrowing elements from human cultures. Thus Paul VI called the split between the Gospel and culture the drama of our time, with a profound impact upon both evangelization and culture.<sup>1</sup>

In the process of encountering the world's different cultures, the Church not only transmits her truths and values and renews cultures from within, but she also takes from the various cultures the positive elements already found in them. This is the obligatory path for evangelizers in presenting the Christian faith and making it part of a peo-

<sup>\*</sup> Ex opuscolo: JOHN PAUL II, Post-Synodal Apostolic Exhortation « Ecclesia in Asia », Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Cf. PAUL VI, Apostolic Exhortation *Evangelii Nuntiandi* (8 December 1975), 20: AAS 68 (1976), 18f.

ple's cultural heritage. Conversely, the various cultures, when refined and renewed in the light of the Gospel, can become true expressions of the one Christian faith. «Through inculturation the Church, for her part, becomes a more intelligible sign of what she is, and a more effective instrument of mission ».<sup>2</sup> This engagement with cultures has always been part of the Church's pilgrimage through history. But it has a special urgency today in the multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural situation of Asia, where Christianity is still too often seen as foreign.

It is good to remember at this point what was said repeatedly during the Synod: that the Holy Spirit is the prime agent of the inculturation of the Christian faith in Asia.<sup>3</sup> The same Holy Spirit who leads us into the whole truth makes possible a fruitful dialogue with the cultural and religious values of different peoples, among whom he is present in some measure, giving men and women with a sincere heart the strength to overcome evil and the deceit of the Evil One, and indeed offering everyone the possibility of sharing in the Paschal Mystery in a manner known to God.<sup>4</sup>

The Spirit's presence ensures that the dialogue unfolds in truth, honesty, humility and respect.<sup>5</sup> «In offering to others the Good News of the Redemption, the Church strives to understand their culture. She seeks to know the minds and hearts of her hearers, their values and customs, their problems and difficulties, their hopes and dreams. Once she knows and understands these various aspects of culture, then she can begin the dialogue of salvation; she can offer, respectfully but with clarity and conviction, the

<sup>2</sup> JOHN PAUL II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), 52: AAS 83 (1991), 300.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Special Assembly for Asia of the Synod of Bishops, *Relatio post dicepta*tionem, 9.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. SECOND VATICAN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World *Gaudium et Spes*, 22; JOHN PAUL II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), 28: AAS 83 (1991), 273f.

<sup>5</sup> JOHN PAUL II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), 56: AAS 83 (1991), 304.

Good News of the Redemption to all who freely wish to listen and to respond ».<sup>6</sup> Therefore the people of Asia who, as Asians, wish to make the Christian faith their own, can rest assured that their hopes, expectations, anxieties and sufferings are not only embraced by Jesus, but become the very point at which the gift of faith and the power of the Spirit enter the innermost core of their lives.

It is the task of the Pastors, in virtue of their charism, to guide this dialogue with discernment. Likewise, experts in sacred and secular disciplines have important roles to play in the process of inculturation. But the process must involve the entire People of God, since the life of the Church as a whole must show forth the faith which is being proclaimed and appropriated. To ensure that this is done soundly, the Synod Fathers identified certain areas for particular attention – theological reflection, liturgy, the formation of priests and religious, catechesis and spirituality.<sup>7</sup>

#### Key Areas of Inculturation

22. The Synod expressed encouragement to theologians in their delicate work of developing an inculturated theology, especially in the area of Christology.<sup>8</sup> They noted that «this theologizing is to be carried out with courage, in faithfulness to the Scriptures and to the Church's Tradition, in sincere adherence to the Magisterium and with an awareness of pastoral realities ».<sup>9</sup> I too urge theologians to work in a spirit of union with the Pastors and the people, who – in union with one another and never separated from one another – «reflect the authentic *sensus fidei* which must never be lost sight of ».<sup>10</sup> Theological

<sup>6</sup> JOHN PAUL II, Homily at the Mass for the Catholics of West Bengal, Calcutta (4 February 1986), 3: Insegnamenti IX, 1 (1986), 314.

<sup>10</sup> JOHN PAUL II, Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), 54: AAS 83 (1991), 302.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Propositio 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cf. Propositio 7.

<sup>°</sup> Ibid.

work must always be guided by respect for the sensibilities of Christians, so that by a gradual growth into inculturated forms of expressing the faith people are neither confused nor scandalized. In every case inculturation must be guided by compatibility with the Gospel and communion with the faith of the universal Church, in full compliance with the Church's Tradition and with a view to strengthening people's faith.<sup>11</sup> The test of true inculturation is whether people become more committed to their Christian faith because they perceive it more clearly with the eyes of their own culture.

The Liturgy is the source and summit of all Christian life and mission.<sup>12</sup> It is a decisive means of evangelization, especially in Asia, where the followers of different religions are so drawn to worship, religious festivals and popular devotions.<sup>13</sup> The liturgy of the Oriental Churches has for the most part been successfully inculturated through centuries of interaction with the surrounding culture, but the more recently established Churches need to ensure that the liturgy becomes an ever greater source of nourishment for their peoples through a wise and effective use of elements drawn from the local cultures. Yet liturgical inculturation requires more than a focus upon traditional cultural values, symbols and rituals. There is also a need to take account of the shifts in consciousness and attitudes caused by the emerging secularist and consumer cultures which are affecting the Asian sense of worship and prayer. Nor can the specific needs of the poor, migrants, refugees, youth and women be overlooked in any genuine liturgical inculturation in Asia.

The national and regional Bishops' Conferences need to work more closely with the Congregation for Divine Worship and the Discipline of the Sacraments in the search for effective ways of fostering

<sup>13</sup> SPECIAL ASSEMBLY FOR ASIA OF THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS, Relatio post disceptationem, 14; Propositio 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Cf. ibid.: loc. cit., 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Cf. SECOND VATICAN ECUMENICAL COUNCIL, Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy Sacrosanctum Concilium, 10; SPECIAL ASSEMBLY FOR ASIA OF THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS, Relatio post disceptationem, 14.

appropriate forms of worship in the Asian context.<sup>14</sup> Such cooperation is essential because the Sacred Liturgy expresses and celebrates the one faith professed by all and, being the heritage of the whole Church, cannot be determined by local Churches in isolation from the universal Church.

The Synod Fathers stressed particularly the importance of the biblical word in passing on the message of salvation to the peoples of Asia, where the transmitted word is so important in preserving and communicating religious experience.<sup>15</sup> It follows that an effective biblical apostolate needs to be developed in order to ensure that the sacred text may be more widely diffused and more intensively and prayerfully used among the members of the Church in Asia. The Synod Fathers urged that it be made the basis for all missionary proclamation, catechesis, preaching and styles of spirituality.<sup>16</sup> Efforts to translate the Bible into local languages need to be encouraged and supported. Biblical formation should be considered an important means of educating people in the faith and equipping them for the task of proclamation. Pastorally oriented courses on the Bible, with due emphasis on applying its teachings to the complex realities of Asian life, ought to be incorporated into formation programmes for the clergy, for consecrated persons and for the laity.<sup>17</sup> The Sacred Scriptures should also be made known among the followers of other religions; the word of God has an inherent power to touch the hearts of people, for through the Scriptures the Holy Spirit reveals God's plan of salvation for the world. Moreover, the narrative styles found in many books of the Bible has an affinity with the religious texts typical of Asia.<sup>18</sup>

Another key aspect of inculturation upon which the future of the process in large part depends is the formation of evangelizers. In the past, formation often followed the style, methods and programmes

- <sup>16</sup> Cf. Propositio 17.
- 17 Cf. Propositio 18.
- 18 Cf. Propositio 17.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Propositio 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> SPECIAL ASSEMBLY FOR ASIA OF THE SYNOD OF BISHOPS, Relatio post disceptationem, 13.

imported from the West, and while appreciating the service rendered by that mode of formation, the Synod Fathers recognized as a positive development the efforts made in recent times to adapt the formation of evangelizers to the cultural contexts of Asia. As well as a solid grounding in biblical and patristic studies, seminarians should acquire a detailed and firm grasp of the Church's theological and philosophical patrimony, as I urged in my Encyclical Letter Fides et Ratio.<sup>19</sup> On the basis of this preparation, they will then benefit from contact with Asian philosophical and religious traditions.<sup>20</sup> The Synod Fathers also encouraged seminary professors and staff to seek a profound understanding of the elements of spirituality and prayer akin to the Asian soul, and to involve themselves more deeply in the Asian peoples' search for a fuller life.<sup>21</sup> To this end, emphasis was placed on the need to ensure the proper formation of seminary staff.<sup>22</sup> The Synod also expressed concern for the formation of men and women in the consecrated life, making it dear that the spirituality and lifestyle of consecrated persons needs to be sensitive to the religious and cultural heritage of the people among whom they live and whom they serve, always presupposing the necessary discernment of what conforms to the Gospel and what does not.23 Moreover, since the inculturation of the Gospel involves the entire People of God, the role of the laity is of paramount importance. It is they above all who are called to transform society, in collaboration with the Bishops, clergy and religious, by infusing the «mind of Christ» into the mentality customs, laws and structures of the secular world in which they live.<sup>24</sup> A wider inculturation of the Gospel at every level of society in Asia will depend greatly on the appropriate formation which the local Churches succeed in giving to the laity.

- <sup>19</sup> Nos. 60; 62; 105: AAS 91 (1999), 52f.; 54; 85f.
- 20 Cf. Propositio 24.
- <sup>21</sup> Cf. Propositio 25.
- <sup>22</sup> Cf. *ibid*.
- <sup>23</sup> Cf. Propositio 27.
- 24 Cf. Propositio 29.

#### CHRISTIAN LIFE AS PROCLAMATION

23. The more the Christian community is rooted in the experience of God which flows from a living faith, the more credibly it will be able to proclaim to others the fulfilment of God's Kingdom in Jesus Christ. This will result from faithfully listening to the word of God, from prayer and contemplation, from celebrating the mystery of Jesus in the sacraments, above all in the Eucharist, and from giving example of true communion of life and integrity of love. The heart of the particular Church must be set on the contemplation of Jesus Christ, God-made-Man, and strive constantly for a more intimate union with him whose mission she continues. Mission is contemplative action and active contemplation. Therefore, a missionary who has no deep experience of God in prayer and contemplation will have little spiritual influence or missionary success. This is an insight drawn from my own priestly ministry and, as I have written elsewhere, my contact with representatives of the non-Christian spiritual traditions, particularly those of Asia, has confirmed me in the view that the future of mission depends to a great extent on contemplation.<sup>25</sup> In Asia, home to great religions where individuals and entire peoples are thirsting for the divine, the Church is called to be a praying Church, deeply spiritual even as she engages in immediate human and social concerns. All Christians need a true missionary spirituality of prayer and contemplation.

A genuinely religious person readily wins respect and a following in Asia. Prayer, fasting and various forms of asceticism are held in high regard. Renunciation, detachment, humility, simplicity and silence are considered great values by the followers of all religions. Lest prayer be divorced from human promotion, the Synod Fathers insisted that «the work of justice, charity and compassion is interrelated with a genuine life of prayer and contemplation, and indeed it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cf. Encyclical Letter *Redemptoris Missio* (7 December 1990), 91: AAS 83 (1991), 338.

is this same spirituality that will be the wellspring of all our evangelizing work».<sup>26</sup> Fully convinced of the importance of authentic witnesses in the evangelization of Asia, the Synod Fathers stated: «The Good News of Jesus Christ can only be proclaimed by those who are taken up and inspired by the love of the Father for his children, manifested in the person of Jesus Christ. This proclamation is a mission needing holy men and women who will make the Saviour known and loved through their lives. A fire can only be lit by something that is itself on fire. So, too, successful proclamation in Asia of the Good News of salvation can only take place if Bishops, clergy, those in the consecrated life and the laity are themselves on fire with the love of Christ and burning with zeal to make him known more widely, loved more deeply and followed more closely».<sup>27</sup> Christians who speak of Christ must embody in their lives the message that they proclaim.

In this regard, however, a particular circumstance in the Asian context demands attention. The Church realizes that the silent witness of life still remains the only way of proclaiming God's Kingdom in many places in Asia where explicit proclamation is forbidden and religious freedom is denied or systematically restricted. The Church consciously lives this type of witness, seeing it as the «taking up of her cross » (cf. Lk 9:23), all the while calling upon and urging governments to recognize religious freedom as a fundamental human right. The words of the Second Vatican Council are worth repeating here: «the human person has a right to religious freedom. Such freedom consists in this, that all should have such immunity from coercion by individuals, or by social groups, or by any human power, that no one should be forced to act against his conscience in religious matters, nor prevented from acting according to his conscience, whether in private or in public, whether alone or in association with others, within due limits ».<sup>28</sup> In some Asian countries, this statement still has to be acknowledged and put into effect.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Propositio 19.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Propositio 8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Declaration on Religious Freedom Dignitatis Humanae, 2.

Clearly, then, the proclamation of Jesus Christ in Asia presents many complex aspects, both in content and in method. The Synod Fathers were keenly aware of the legitimate variety of approaches to the proclamation of Jesus, provided that the faith itself is respected in all its integrity in the process of appropriating and sharing it. The Synod noted that «evangelization today is a reality that is both rich and dynamic. It has various aspects and elements: witness, dialogue, proclamation, catechesis, conversion, baptism, insertion into the ecclesial community, the implantation of the Church, inculturation and integral human promotion. Some of these elements proceed together, while some others are successive steps or phases of the entire process of evangelization ».<sup>29</sup> In all evangelizing work, however, it is the complete truth of Jesus Christ which must be proclaimed. Emphasizing certain aspects of the inexhaustible mystery of Jesus is both legitimate and necessary in gradually introducing Christ to a person, but this cannot be allowed to compromise the integrity of the faith. In the end, a person's acceptance of the faith must be grounded on a sure understanding of the person of Jesus Christ, as presented by the Church in every time and place, the Lord of all who is «the same yesterday, today and for ever» (Heb 13:8).

#### EXHORTATION APOSTOLIQUE POST-SYNODALE « ECCLESIA IN ASIA »\*

· [...]

#### LE DÉFI DE L'INCULTURATION

21. La culture est l'espace vital dans lequel la personne humaine se trouve face à face avec l'Évangile. De même qu'une culture est le résultat de la vie et de l'activité d'un groupe humain, de même les personnes qui appartiennent à ce groupe sont façonnées dans une large mesure par la culture dans laquelle elles vivent. De même que les personnes et les sociétés changent, de même la culture change avec elles. Et quand une culture est transformée, les personnes et les sociétés le sont aussi par elle. De ce point de vue, on voit plus clairement pourquoi l'évangélisation et l'inculturation sont naturellement et intimement en relation l'une avec l'autre. L'Évangile et l'évangélisation ne s'identifient certes pas à la culture, et en sont même indépendants. Et pourtant le Règne de Dieu atteint des personnes profondément liées à une culture, et la construction du Royaume ne peut éviter d'emprunter des éléments de cultures humaines. C'est pourquoi Paul VI a affirmé que la rupture entre l'Évangile et culture était le drame de notre époque, qui a un impact profond sur l'évangélisation comme sur les cultures.<sup>84</sup>

Dans le processus de rencontre entre les diverses cultures du monde, l'Église non seulement transmet ses vérités et ses valeurs, et renouvelle les cultures de l'intérieur, mais elle prend aussi en elles les éléments positifs qui y sont déjà présents. C'est là le chemin obligé

<sup>\*</sup> Ex opuscolo: JEAN-PAUL II, *Exhortation Apostolique post-synodale « Ecclesia in Asia*», Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1999.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> PAUL VI, Exhort. Apost. Evangelii nuntiandi (8 décembre 1975), n. 20: AAS 68 (1976), pp. 18-19; La Documentation catholique 73 (1976), pp. 4-5.

des évangélisateurs pour présenter la foi chrétienne et la rendre partie intégrante de l'héritage culturel des peuples. À leur tour, quand les différentes cultures sont perfectionnées et renouvelées à la lumière de l'Évangile, elles peuvent devenir des expressions véritables de l'unique foi chrétienne. «L'Église, par l'inculturation, devient un signe plus compréhensible de ce qu'elle est et un instrument plus adapté à sa mission ».<sup>85</sup> Ce lien avec les cultures a toujours fait partie du pèlerinage de l'Église dans l'histoire, mais il revêt une urgence particulière aujourd'hui, dans la situation pluri-ethnique, pluri-religieuse et pluriculturelle de l'Asie, où le christianisme est encore trop souvent vu comme étranger.

Ici, il est bon de rappeler ce qui a été dit à maintes reprises au cours du Synode, à savoir que l'Esprit Saint est l'agent premier de l'inculturation de la foi chrétienne en Asie.<sup>86</sup> L'Esprit lui-même, qui nous conduit à la vérité tout entière, rend possible un dialogue fructueux avec les valeurs culturelles et religieuses de différents peuples, parmi lesquels, dans une certaine mesure, il est présent, donnant aux hommes et aux femmes qui ont un cœur sincère la force de combattre le mal et les embûches du Malin, et offrant véritablement à chacun a possibilité de partager le mystère pascal d'une manière connue de Dieu seul.<sup>87</sup> La présence de l'Esprit fait que le dialogue se déroule dans la vérité, l'honnêteté, l'humilité et le respect.<sup>88</sup> « En offrant aux autres la Bonne Nouvelle de la Rédemption, l'Église s'efforce de comprendre leur culture. Elle cherche à connaître les esprits et les cœurs de ses auditeurs, leurs valeurs et leurs coutumes, leurs

<sup>85</sup> JEAN PAUL II, Encycl. Redemptoris missio (7 décembre 1990), n. 52: AAS 83 (1991), p. 300; La Documentation catholique 88 (1991), p. 172.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Assemblée Spéciale pour l'Asie du Synode des Évêque, Rapport après la discussion, n. 9.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. CONC. OECUM. VAT. II, Const. past. Gaudium et spes, n. 22; JEAN PAUL II, Encycl. Redemptoris missio (7 décembre 1990), n. 28: AAS 83 (1991), pp. 273-274; La Documentation catholique 88 (1991), p. 162.

<sup>88</sup> JEAN PAUL II, Encycl. Redemptoris missio (7 décembre 1990), n. 56: AAS 83 (1991), p. 304; La Documentation catholique 88 (1991), pp. 173-174.

problèmes et leurs difficultés, leurs espoirs et leurs rêves. Une fois qu'elle connaît et comprend ces divers aspects de la culture, elle peut alors commencer le dialogue de salut; elle peut offrir, avec respect mais avec clarté et conviction, la Bonne Nouvelle de la Rédemption à tous ceux qui, librement, veulent l'écouter et lui répondre ».<sup>89</sup> Cependant, les peuples de l'Asie qui, en tant qu'asiatiques, désirent s'approprier la foi chrétienne peuvent être sûrs que leurs espoirs, leurs attentes, leurs soucis et leurs souffrances non seulement sont assumées par Jésus, mais deviennent le véritable point de passage par lequel le don de la foi et la puissance de l'Esprit entrent dans les profondeurs de leur vie.

C'est la tâche des Pasteurs, en vertu de leur charisme, de mener ce dialogue avec discernement. De même, les experts en disciplines sacrées ou profanes ont un rôle important à jouer dans le processus d'inculturation. Mais ce processus doit impliquer le peuple de Dieu tout entier, car la vie de l'Église dans son ensemble doit rendre visible la foi qu'elle proclame et qu'elle adopte. Pour être sûrs que cela se réalise en profondeur, les Pères synodaux ont précisé certains domaines qui exigent une attention particulière: la réflexion théologique, la liturgie, la formation des prêtres et des religieux, la catéchèse et la spiritualité.<sup>90</sup>

Domaines clés de l'inculturation

22. Le Synode a exprimé ses encouragements aux théologiens dans leur tâche délicate qui consiste à développer une théologie inculturée, spécialement dans le domaine de la christologie.<sup>91</sup> Il a souligné que «cette manière de faire de la théologie doit être poursuive avec

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> JEAN PAUL II, Homélie lors de la Messe à Calcutta, 4 février 1986, n. 3: Insegnamenti IX, 1 (1986), p. 314; La Documentation catholique 83 (1986), p. 295.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Cf. Proposition 43.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Cf. Proposition 7.

courage dans la fidélité à l'Écriture et à la Tradition de l'Église, en adhésion sincère au Magistère et avec une connaissance des situations pastorales ».92 Moi aussi, j'invite les théologiens à travailler en esprit d'union avec les Pasteurs et avec le peuple qui – dans l'unité et jamais séparés les uns des autres - « reflètent l'authentique sensus fidei qu'il ne faut jamais perdre de vue».93 Le travail théologique doit toujours être guidé par le respect de la sensibilité des chrétiens, de manière que, par une croissance progressive vers des formes inculturées de l'expression de la foi, les personnes ne soient ni portées à la confusion ni scandalisées. L'inculturation doit toujours être guidée par la compatibilité avec l'Évangile et par la communion avec la foi de l'Église universelle, en plein accord avec la Tradition de l'Église, en ayant en vue l'affermissement de la foi du peuple.<sup>94</sup> On aura la preuve d'une bonne inculturation si le peuple devient plus engagé dans la foi chrétienne parce qu'il la perçoit plus clairement avec les yeux de sa culture.

La liturgie est la source et le sommet de toute vie et de toute mission chrétiennes;<sup>95</sup> c'est un moyen fondamental d'évangélisation, spécialement en Asie où les adeptes de diverses religions sont si attirés par le culte, par les festivités religieuses et par des dévotions populaires.<sup>96</sup> La liturgie des Églises orientales a été dans la plupart des cas inculturée avec succès au cours de siècles d'interaction avec la culture ambiante, tandis que les Églises fondées plus récemment ont besoin de faire en sorte que la liturgie devienne une source encore plus intense de nourriture pour leurs fidèles grâce à un usage sage et effi-

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> JEAN PAUL II, Encycl. Redemptoris missio (7 décembre 1990), n. 54: AAS 83 (1991), p. 302; La Documentation catholique 88 (1991), pp. 173.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. ibid.: AAS, l.c., p. 301; La Documentation catholique, l.c., p. 173.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. CONC. ŒCUM. VAT. II, Const. Sur la sainte Liturgie Sacrosanctum Concilium, n. 10; ASSEMBLÉE SPÉCIALE POUR L'ASIE DU SYNODE DES ÉVEQUES, Rapport après la discussion, n. 14.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Assemblée spéciale pour l'Asie du Synode des Évêques, Rapport après la discussion, n. 14; Proposition 43.

cace d'éléments pris dans les cultures locales. Mais l'inculturation liturgique demande plus que de se concentrer sur des valeurs culturelles traditionnelles, sur des symboles et des rites. Il faut aussi tenir compte des changements dans la conscience et dans les comportements suscités par l'apparition de cultures de sécularisme et de consumérisme qui influent sur le sens asiatique du culte et de la prière. Pour une inculturation authentique de la liturgie en Asie, on ne peut pas oublier non plus les besoins spécifiques des pauvres, des migrants, des réfugiés, des jeunes et des femmes.

Les Conférences épiscopales nationales et régionales doivent œuvrer en contact plus étroit avec la Congrégation pour le Culte divin et la Discipline des Sacrements pour chercher des voies efficaces afin de promouvoir des formes appropriées de culte dans le contexte de l'Asie.<sup>97</sup> Une telle collaboration est essentielle parce que la sainte Liturgie exprime et célèbre la foi unique professée par tous et, étant l'héritage de toute l'Église, elle ne peut pas être déterminée par les Églises locales isolément, sans référence à l'Église universelle.

Les Pères synodaux ont particulièrement insisté sur l'importance de la Parole biblique dans la transmission du message de salut aux peuples de l'Asie, où la Parole à transmettre a un grand rôle dans la préservation et la communication de l'expérience religieuse.<sup>98</sup> Il s'ensuit qu'il faut développer un apostolat biblique efficace afin de pouvoir s'assurer que le texte sacré est plus largement diffusé et plus intensément utilisé en esprit de prière parmi les membres de l'Église en Asie. Les Pères synodaux ont souligné qu'il était urgent de la prendre comme base de toute annonce, catéchèse, prédication et forme de spiritualité missionnaires.<sup>99</sup> Il faut également encourager et soutenir les efforts pour traduire la Bible dans les langues locales. La formation biblique devrait être considérée comme un moyen important d'éduquer les personnes à la foi et de les préparer à la tâche de la

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Assemblée spéciale pour l'Asie du Synode des Évéques, Rapport après la discussion, n. 13.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Proposition 17.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Proposition 43.

proclamation. On devra inclure des cours sur l'Écriture orientés vers la pastorale, en mettant l'accent sur l'application de ses enseignements aux réalités complexes de la vie en Asie dans les programmes de formation pour le clergé, pour les personnes consacrées et pour les laïcs.<sup>100</sup> On devrait aussi faire connaître l'Écriture sainte parmi les adeptes d'autres religions; la Parole de Dieu a le pouvoir intrinsèque de toucher le cœur des personnes, car, à travers elle, l'Esprit de Dieu révèle le plan divin du salut pour le monde. En outre, le style narratif que l'on peut remarquer dans beaucoup de livres de la Bible a des affinités avec les textes religieux typiques de l'Asie.<sup>101</sup>

Un autre aspect clé de l'inculturation, dont l'avenir dépend pour une large part, est la formation des missionnaires de l'Évangile. Dans le passé, la formation a souvent suivi le style, les méthodes et les programmes importés de l'Occident, et, tout en reconnaissant le service rendu par ce type de formation, les Pères synodaux ont noté, comme un développement positif, que des efforts ont été faits récemment pour adapter la formation des missionnaires de l'Évangile aux contextes culturels de l'Asie. En plus d'un solide bagage biblique et patristique, les séminaristes devraient acquérir une connaissance détaillée et assurée du patrimoine théologique et philosophique de l'Église, comme je l'ai rappelé dans mon encyclique Fides et ratio.<sup>102</sup> Sur la base de cette préparation, ils tireront alors profit de leurs contacts avec les traditions philosophiques et religieuses de l'Asie.<sup>103</sup> Les Pères synodaux ont également encouragé les professeurs de séminaire et leurs collaborateurs à chercher à comprendre en profondeur les éléments de spiritualité et de prière inhérents à l'âme asiatique, et à se laisser entraîner plus intensément dans la recherche à laquelle se livrent les peuples de l'Asie en vue d'une vie plus pleine.<sup>104</sup> À cette fin,

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Proposition 18.

101 Cf. Proposition 17.

<sup>102</sup> Nn. 60, 62, 105: AAS 91 (1999), pp. 52-53, 54, 85-86; La Documentation catholique 95 (1998), pp. 922-923, 938.

103 Cf. Proposition 24.

104 Cf. Proposition 25.

ils ont suggéré la création d'un nouvel Institut central en Asie, consacré à la formation du corps enseignant des séminaires.<sup>105</sup> Le Synode a exprimé aussi sa préoccupation pour la formation des hommes et des femmes consacrés, déclarant clairement que leur spiritualité et leur style de vie doivent faire preuve de sensibilité à l'égard du patrimoine religieux et culturel des personnes au milieu desquelles ils vivent et qu'ils servent, présupposant toujours qu'est effectué le discernement nécessaire de ce qui est conforme à l'Évangile et de ce qui ne l'est pas.<sup>106</sup> En outre, puisque l'inculturation de l'Évangile concerne tout le peuple de Dieu, le rôle du laïcat est d'une importance fondamentale. Plus que tous les autres, les laïcs sont appelés à transformer la société, en collaboration avec les évêques, le clergé et les religieux, en faisant pénétrer «l'esprit du Christ» dans la mentalité, les mœurs, les lois et les structures du monde séculier dans lequel ils vivent.<sup>107</sup> Une plus large inculturation de l'Évangile à tous les niveaux de la société en Asie dépendra considérablement de la formation appropriée que les Églises locales sauront donner au laïcat.

#### LA VIE CHRÉTIENNE COMME ANNONCE

23. Plus la communauté chrétienne est enracinée dans l'expérience de Dieu qui provient d'une foi vive, plus elle pourra proclama aux autres de manière crédible l'accomplissement du Royaume de Dieu en Jésus Christ. Cela se réalisera grâce à une écoute fidèle de la Parole de Dieu, à la prière et à la contemplation, à la célébration du mystère de Jésus dans les sacrements, par-dessus tout dans l'Eucharistie, et en donnant l'exemple d'une vraie communion de vie et d'un amour intègre. Le cœur de l'Église particulière doit être centré sur la contemplation de Jésus Christ, Dieu fait homme, et elle doit tendre

<sup>105</sup> Cf. *ibid*.
<sup>106</sup> Cf. Proposition 27.
<sup>107</sup> Cf. Proposition 29.

constamment à une union plus intime avec lui, dont elle continue la mission. La mission est une action contemplative et une contemplation active. Cependant un missionnaire qui n'a pas une profonde expérience de Dieu dans la prière et dans la contemplation aura peu d'influence spirituelle ou de succès missionnaire. Il s'agit là d'une réflexion que je tire de ma propre expérience sacerdotale, et, comme je l'ai écrit ailleurs, mes contacts avec des représentants des traditions spirituelles non chrétiennes, particulièrement les traditions asiatiques, m'ont confirmé dans la conviction que l'avenir de la mission dépend d'une grande diffusion de la contemplation.<sup>108</sup> En Asie, siège de grandes religions, où les personnes et des peuples entiers ont soif du divin, l'Église est appelée à être une Église de prière, profondément spirituelle bien qu'elle soit engagée dans des préoccupations humaines et sociales immédiates. Tout chrétien a besoin d'une authentique spiritualité missionnaire de prière et de contemplation.

Une personne vraiment religieuse est très facilement respectée et suivie en Asie. La prière, le jeûne et les diverses formes d'ascétisme sont tenus en haute estime. Le renoncement, le détachement, l'humilité, la simplicité et le silence sont considérés comme de grandes valeurs par les adeptes de toutes les religions. Pour que la prière ne soit pas détachée de la promotion humaine, les Pères synodaux ont souligné que «l'œuvre de justice, de charité et de compassion est étroitement liée à une vie authentique de prière et de contemplation, et en outre cette même spiritualité sera la source de toute notre œuvre d'évangélisation ».<sup>109</sup> Pleinement convaincus de l'importance du témoignage authentique dans l'évangélisation de l'Asie, les Pères du synode ont affirmé: «La Bonne Nouvelle de Jésus Christ ne peut être annoncée que par ceux qui sont pris et inspirés par l'amour du Père pour ses enfants, manifesté dans la personne de Jésus Christ. Cette annonce est une mission qui a besoin de saints hommes et de saintes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> Cf. Encycl. *Redemptoris missio* (7 décembre 1990), n. 91: AAS 83 (1991), p. 338; La Documentation catholique 88 (1991), p. 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>109</sup> Proposition 19.

femmes qui feront connaître et aimer le Sauveur par leurs vies. Un feu ne peut être allumé que par quelque chose qui est lui-même enflammé. Ainsi, une annonce réussie de la Bonne Nouvelle du Salut en Asie ne peut être mise en place que si les évêques, les prêtres, les religieux et les laïcs sont eux-mêmes embrasés par l'amour du Christ et brûlants de zèle pour le faire connaître plus largement, le faire aimer plus intensément et le faire suivre de plus près».<sup>110</sup> Les chrétiens qui parlent du Christ doivent incarner dans leur vie le message qu'ils annoncent.

À cet égard toutefois, une circonstance particulière dans le contexte asiatique requiert notre attention. L'Église sait que le témoignage silencieux de la vie reste aujourd'hui encore l'unique moyen de proclamer le Règne de Dieu en beaucoup d'endroits en Asie où l'annonce explicite est interdite et où la liberté religieuse est refusée ou du moins systématiquement réduite. L'Église vit ce type de témoignage de manière consciente, y voyant le moyen de «prendre sa croix» (cf. Le 9, 23), bien qu'elle ne se lasse pas d'attirer l'attention des gouvernements et de réclamer d'eux la reconnaissance de la liberté religieuse comme un droit humain fondamental. Il est bon de rappeler ici ce que disait le Concile Vatican II: «La personne humaine a droit à la liberté religieuse. Cette liberté consiste en ce que tous les hommes doivent être exempts de toute contrainte de la part soit d'individus, soit de groupes sociaux et de quelque pouvoir humain que ce soit, de telle sorte qu'en matière religieuse nul ne soit forcé d'agir contre sa conscience ni empêché d'agir, dans de justes limites, selon sa conscience, en privé comme en public, seul ou en association avec d'autres ».<sup>111</sup> Dans certains pays asiatiques, ce principe doit encore être reconnu et mis en œuvre.

Il est donc clair que l'annonce de Jésus Christ en Asie présente des aspects complexes du point de vue du contenu comme de la méthode. Les Pères synodaux avaient hautement conscience de la

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>110</sup> Proposition 8.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Déclar. sur la liberté religieuse Dignitas humana, n. 2.

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légitime variété d'approches de l'annonce de Jésus, à condition toutefois que la foi soit intégralement respectée dans le processus d'appropriation et de partage de la foi. Le Synode a souligné que « l'évangélisation est aujourd'hui une réalité riche et dynamique. Elle a des aspects et des éléments variés: le témoignage, le dialogue, l'annonce, la catéchèse, la conversion, le baptême, l'insertion dans la communauté ecclésiale, l'implantation de l'Église, l'inculturation et le développement intégral de l'homme. Certains de ces éléments sont liés alors que d'autres sont des étapes successives du processus global d'évangélisation ».112 Toutefois, dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre évangélisatrice, ce qui dot être annoncé, c'est la vérité complète de Jésus Christ. Souligner certains aspects du mystère insondable de Jésus est légitime autant que nécessaire pour introduire progressivement le Christ auprès d'une personne, mais aucune compromission ne peut être admise quant à l'intégrité de la foi. En fin de compte, l'acceptation de la foi de la part d'une personne doit être fondée sur une compréhension certaine de la personne de Jésus Christ, le Seigneur de tous qui «est le même hier, aujourd'hui et à jamais» (He 13, 8), comme l'a enseigné l'Église en tout temps et en tout lieu.

[...]

#### Allocutiones

#### LA RICONCILIAZIONE SACRAMENTALE CON DIO\*

Il cammino verso il Padre, proposto alla speciale riflessione di quest'anno di preparazione al Grande Giubileo, implica anche la riscoperta del sacramento della Penitenza nel suo significato profondo d'incontro con Lui che perdona mediante Cristo nello Spirito (cf. TMA, 50).

Diversi sono i motivi per cui urge nella Chiesa una seria riflessione su questo sacramento. Lo richiede innanzitutto l'annuncio dell'amore del Padre, come fondamento del vivere e dell'agire cristiano, nel contesto dell'attuale società dove spesso risulta offuscata la visione etica dell'esistenza umana. Se molti hanno perso la dimensione del bene e del male, è perché hanno smarrito il senso di Dio, interpretando la colpa solo secondo prospettive psicologiche o sociologiche. In secondo luogo la pastorale deve dare nuovo impulso ad un itinerario di crescita nella fede che sottolinei il valore dello spirito e della pratica penitenziale in tutto l'arco, della vita cristiana.

Il messaggio biblico presenta tale dimensione « penitenziale » come impegno permanente di conversione. Fare opere di penitenza suppone una trasformazione della coscienza che è frutto della grazia di Dio. Soprattutto nel Nuovo Testamento la conversione è chiesta come scelta fondamentale a coloro a cui è rivolta la predicazione del regno di Dio: « Convertitevi e credete al Vangelo » (Mc 1, 15; cf. Mt4, 17). Con queste parole Gesù inizia il suo ministero, annunzia il compimento dei tempi e l'imminenza del regno. Il « convertitevi » (in

<sup>\*</sup> Allocutio die 15 septembris 1999 habita durante audentia generali in area quae respicit basilicam Sancti Petri in Vaticano christifidelibus concessa (cf. L'Osservatore. Romano, 16 settembre 1999).

greco: metanoéite) è un appello a cambiare modo di pensare e di comportarsi.

Questo invito alla conversione costituisce la conclusione vitale dell'annunzio fatto dagli Apostoli dopo la Pentecoste. In esso l'oggetto dell'annunzio viene pienamente esplicitato: non è più genericamente il « regno », bensì l'opera stessa di Gesù, inserita nel piano divino predetto dai profeti. All'annuncio di quanto è avvenuto in Gesù Cristo morto, risorto e vivente nella gloria del Padre, segue l'invito pressante alla « conversione », cui è legato anche il perdono dei peccati. Tutto questo emerge chiaramente nel discorso che Pietro tiene nel portico di Salomone: « Dio ha adempiuto ciò che aveva annunziato per bocca di tutti i profeti, che cioè il suo Cristo sarebbe morto. Pentitevi dunque e cambiate vita, perché siano cancellati i vostri peccati » (At 3, 18-19).

Questo perdono dei peccati, nell'Antico Testamento è promesso da Dio nel contesto della «nuova alleanza», che Egli stabilirà con il suo popolo (cf. *Ger* 31, 31-34). Dio scriverà la legge nel cuore. In tale prospettiva la conversione è un requisito della definitiva alleanza con Dio e insieme un atteggiamento permanente di colui che, accogliendo le parole dell'annunzio evangelico, entra a far parte del regno di Dio nel Suo dinamismo storico ed escatologico.

Il sacramento della Riconciliazione veicola e visibilizza mistericamente questi valori fondamentali annunciati dalla Parola di Dio. Esso reinserisce l'uomo nel contesto salvifico dell'alleanza e lo riapre alla vita trinitaria, che è dialogo di grazia, circolazione di amore, dono e accoglienza dello Spirito Santo.

Una rilettura accurata dell'*Ordo Paenitentiae* aiuterà non poco ad approfondire, in occasione del Giubileo, le dimensioni essenziali di questo sacramento. La maturità della vita ecclesiale dipende in gran parte dalla sua riscoperta. Il sacramento della Riconciliazione, infatti, non si risolve nel momento liturgico-celebrativo, ma conduce a vivere l'atteggiamento penitenziale in quanto dimensione permanente dell'esperienza cristiana. Esso è «un avvicinamento alla santità di Dio, un ritrovare la propria verità interiore, turbata e sconvolta dal peccato, un liberarsi nel più profondo di se stessi e, per questo, un riacquistare la gioia perduta, la gioia di essere salvati, che la maggiranza degli uomini del nostro tempo non sa più gustare» (*Reconciliatio et paenitentiae*, 31, III).

Per i contenuti dottrinali di questo sacramento rinvio all'Esortazione Apostolica Reconciliatio et paenitentia (cf. nn. 28-34) e al Catechismo della Chiesa Cattolica (cf. nn. 1420-1484), nonché agli altri interventi del Magistero ecclesiale. Qui desidero richiamare l'importanza della cura pastorale necessaria per la valorizzazione di questo sacramento nel popolo di Dio, perché l'annuncio della riconciliazione, il cammino di conversione e la stessa celebrazione del sacramento possano maggiormente toccare i cuori degli uomini e delle donne del nostro tempo.

In particolare, desidero ricordare ai pastori che si è buoni confessori se si è autentici penitenti. I sacerdoti sanno di essere depositari di una potestà che viene dall'alto: infatti il perdono da loro trasmesso «è il segno efficace dell'intervento del Padre» (RP, 31, III) che fa risorgere dalla morte spirituale. Per questo, vivendo con umiltà e semplicità evangelica una dimensione così essenziale del loro ministero, i confessori non trascurino il proprio perfezionamento e aggiornamento, perché non vengano mai a mancare di quelle qualità umane e spirituali che sono tanto necessarie per il rapporto con le coscienze.

Ma insieme con i pastori, è l'intera comunità cristiana che deve essere coinvolta nel rinnovamento pastorale della Riconciliazione. Lo impone l'« ecclesialità » propria del sacramento. La comunità ecclesiale è il grembo che accoglie il peccatore pentito e perdonato e, prima ancora, crea l'ambiente adatto per un cammino di ritorno al Padre. In una comunità riconciliata e riconciliante i peccatori possono ritrovare la strada smarrita e l'aiuto dei fratelli. E da ultimo attraverso la comunità cristiana può essere ridisegnato un solido cammino di carità, che visibilizzi attraverso opere di bene il perdono ritrovato, il male riparato, la speranza di poter incontrare ancora le braccia misericordiose del Padre.

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### CONGREGATIO DE CULTU DIVINO ET DISCIPLINA SACRAMENTORUM

#### LITTERAE CONGREGATIONIS

Parentes puellae cuiusdam adulescentis nuper apud Congregationem de Cultu Divino et Disciplina Sacramentorum recursum fecerunt petentes, ut filiam ob maturitatem suam et profectum fidei, ad sacramentum confirmationis contra orientamenta dioecesis domicilii admitttur. Dicasterium id opportunum duxerit litteras Episcopo Dioecesano exhibere, quae ob peculiare momentum etiam publici iuris fiunt.

Prot. N. 2607/98/L

December 18, 1999

Your Excellency:

This Congregation for Divine Worship expresses its appreciation for your kind reply concerning the request of a child of 11 years resident in your Diocese along with her parents, for reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation in anticipation of the local policy of conferring the Sacrament no sooner than the sophomore year of high school.

In light of Your Excellency's considered response, this Dicastery considers it necessary to respond in some detail to the considerations you raise, and so the case was submitted to a renewed and attentive examination. The Congregation was anxious to communicate the results of this study as soon as possible asking you to note the authoritative nature of the conclusions contained therein. At the same time this Dicastery has considered it important to respond to the considerations raised by Your Excellency in declining to dispense the girl from the Diocesan Policy in order that she might anticipate her reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation. This Congregation wishes, however, to preface its further comments with the observation that Your Excellency's refusal to grant this dispensation must be seen as having the juridic value of an administrative act denying an anticipated conferral of the Sacrament. Among the responsibilities entrusted to this Dicastery is the authoritative examination of appeals against such administrative actions (cf. Apostolic Constitution, *Pastor Bonus*, arts. 19, 1, 63).

In reply to this Congregation's decision that appropriate steps be taken to provide for the girl's confirmation in the near future, Your Excellency had proposed essentially two arguments:

1. Though willingly admitting that the girl is well instructed and that her parents are very good Catholics, you point out that "instruction is not the sole criterion for recognizing the opportune time for confirmation ... The evaluation is a pastoral one which involves much more than just being instructed".

2. Your Excellency indicates that the Diocesan Policy establishing that conferral of the Sacrament is to be no earlier than the sophomore year of high school is within the right inherent in the law in light of the legislation complementary to can. 891 for the Conference of Bishops to which you belong.

With respect to Your Excellency's first point, it is no doubt true that there is a pastoral judgment to be made in such cases, provided that by "pastoral judgment" one is speaking of the obligation of the Sacred Pastors to determine whether those elements required by the revised *Code of Canon Law* are indeed present, namely, that the person be baptized, have the use of reason, be suitably instructed, and be properly disposed and able to renew the baptismal promises (cf. cann. 843, 1; 889, 2). This Dicastery notes from the testimony submitted by the family, as well as that provided by Your Excellency, that it is clear this young girl has satisfied each of the canonical requisites for reception of the Sacrament.

In regard to Your Excellency's second point, while it is clear that the Diocesan Policy is within the right inherent in the law in light of the complementary legislation for the Conference of Bishops to which you belong for can. 891, it is also clear that any such complementary legislation must always be interpreted in accord with the general norm of law. As has been stated before, the *Code* of Canon Law legislates that Sacred Ministers may not deny the Sacraments to those who opportunely ask for them, are properly disposed and are not prohibited by law from receiving them (cf. can. 843 §1). Since it has been demonstrated that the girl possesses these requisite qualities, any other considerations, even those contained in the Diocesan Policy, need to be understood in subordination to the general norms governing the reception of the Sacraments.

The Congregation considers it useful to point out that it is the role of the parents as the primary educators of their children and then of the Sacred Pastors to see that candidates for the reception of the Sacrament of Confirmation are properly instructed to receive the Sacrament and come to it at the opportune time (cf. can. 890). Consequently, when a member of the faithful wishes to receive this Sacrament, even though not satisfying one or more elements of the local legislation (e.g., being younger than the designated age for administration of the Sacrament), those elements must give way to the fundamental right of the faithful to receive the Sacraments. Indeed, the longer the conferral of the Sacrament is delayed after the age of reason, the greater will be the number of candidates who are prepared for its reception but are deprived of its grace for a considerable period of time.

In conclusion, this Congregation for Divine Worship must insist, given the concrete circumstances of the case under consideration, that the opportunity to receive the Sacrament of Confirmation be extended to the girl as soon as is conveniently possible. In order to complete our documentation concerning this question, this Dicastery would be grateful to Your Excellency to receive notice of the agreement you will have reached with the family for the administration of the Sacrament.

With every good wish and kind regard, I remain

Sincerely yours in Christ,

Jorge A. Card. MEDINA ESTÉVEZ Prefect

> ✤ Francesco Pio TAMBURRINO Archbishop Secretary

#### ST GIUSEPPE MARIA TOMASI, LITURGIST (1649-1713)

On 12 September 1649, now 350 years ago, at Licata in Sicily a child first saw the light of day whose life and works still merit a careful reconsideration within the history of the development of critical liturgical studies and the struggle for the renewal of the life of the Church in his day and ours.

The child was Giuseppe Tomasi,<sup>1</sup> member of a family of nobles that hailed from Siena and had settled in Sicily in the late 16th century from Capua at a time when the island and annexed territories were under the rule of a Viceroy of the King of Spain. The Tomasi family had found a place for themselves in this world of public service and their contribution had been duly encouraged and rewarded with advancements and titles, supplemented vigorously by intermarriage with the local nobility. At times the government was good and responsive to social needs, at times concerned more with the interests of the exchequer and of ambitious individuals, at times devastated by natural disaster or clouded by the threat from the Ottoman Empire. Yet notwithstanding problems of one kind or another, in particular great economic and social contrasts, there was also in various ways a sort of frontier atmosphere, open to new settlements and to new and enterprising spirits. Moreover, there was no

<sup>1</sup> The Saint signed his name habitually with a single "m", as did the rest of the family. On the one occasion he signed as a scholastic with double "m", his priest-uncle made fun of it as a "florentinism" and it became a family joke, cf. Francesco ANDREU, *Pellegrino alle sorgenti: San Giuseppe Maria Tomasi, La vita, il pensiero, le opere,* Curia Generalizia dei Chierici Regolari, Roma, 1987, p. 103. Unless other specified, we are indebted to this work for the general lines of the Saint's life. Cf. also Antonio Francesco VEZZOSI, *I scrittori de' Cherici Regolari detti Teatini*, Stamperia della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma, 1780, vol. II, pp. 360-432. doubt a homogeneity of religious culture that was not lacking even in aesthetic appreciation.

While the religious atmosphere in the family hardly needed any encouragement, as we shall see, the boy had a point of reference in an uncle, Carlo Tomasi, a member of the Theatines or Order of Clerks Regular.<sup>2</sup> This Order had been founded in St Peter's Rome on 14 September 1524 by St Cajetan of Thiene (1480-1547) and by Gian Pietro Caraffa (1476-1559), then Bishop of Chieti (1504-1524) and later to be appointed Cardinal Archbishop of Naples (1536) and become Pope Paul IV (1555-1559). Among the points of principle adopted by the new community had been the renunciation of any benefices, the refusal of ownership of goods, even in common, an austere ministry of charity among the poor and sick, and the promotion of a deeper liturgical and sacramental life among people and clergy, first by an insistence on frequent sacramental Communion and secondly by an involvement in the correction of the Roman liturgical books.

The Theatines received encouragement on this latter point from the outset by Briefs of Clement VIII dated 24 June 1524 and 21 January 1529 and through personalities such as Cardinal Bernardino Scotti, Bishop of Trani (+1568), Bishop Thomas Goldwell (1501/1515-1585), and Frs Geremia Isachino, Antonio Agelli (1532-1608), and Vincenzo Masso, were to play a role in the revision of the Roman Breviary, the Vulgate, the Septuagint, and the Roman Martyrology.<sup>3</sup>

From its beginnings in Rome, and its first establishments in Venice, Verona and Naples, the Order was entrusted with S. Silvestro al Quirinale in 1555 and thereafter knew a notable expansion throughout Italy, opening some fifty houses, and it later continued its

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Antonio Francesco VEZZOSI, *I scrittori de' Cherici Regolari detti Teatini*, Stamperia della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma, 1780, vol. II, pp. 349-359.

<sup>3</sup> Suitbert BAUMER, *Histoire du Bréviaire*, Letouzey & Ané, Paris, 1905, t. 2, pp. 129-159; Pierre BATIFFOL, *Histoire du Bréviaire romain*, Picard / Gabalda, Paris, 3me édition 1911, pp. 268-339.

growth in Spain, France, Portugal, Bavaria, Bohemia, Poland and Austria, not to speak of considerable missionary initiatives among the Georgians and Armenians, and in India, Sumatra and the Philippines. Already the history of the Order was marked by the example of holy men such as St. Andrew Avellino (1521-1608), Bl. John Marinoni (1490-1562), and Bl. Paul Burali (1511-1578). When at the tender age of 16, in November 1664, Giuseppe Maria entered the Theatine novitiate at Palermo, a house founded in 1602, his tutor cum master of novices was Fr Francesco Maria Maggio (1612-1686), who was a former missionary and among other qualities was an expert in Georgian, Turkish and Arabic, which set the tone for the blend of piety and learning which was to mark the life of his novice.

Even though he was the eldest surviving son, the young boy's entry into religious life met with no substantial opposition from a family that was profoundly religious. His father Don Giulio, Duke of Palma di Montechiaro, and from 1667 Prince of Lampedusa, was a man of publicly acknowledged sanctity, while his sisters Francesca, Isabella, Antonia and Alipia became Benedictine nuns in a residence converted into a monastery for them, and where even before his father's death in 1669 they were joined in 1661 by his mother, Donna Rosalia Traina. Don Giulio himself had succeeded to the dukedom after his elder twin Carlo renounced it to be ordained a priest and later become a Theatine, and the future liturgist Giuseppe Maria was to do exactly the same in favour of his brother Ferdinando to enter the same Theatine Order. Ferdinando himself, having been widowed, fled and became a Capuchin lay-brother for the last months of his life. The Tomasi household had a number of constants such as daily Mass, and private recitation of the Hours, with devotional practices appropriate to the season, while pilgrims and poor men and women were regular invited to the Duke's table and left laden with clothes and alms. At meals the Martyrology was read in Tuscan Italian, even if the Duke himself was well versed in Latin. The Duke undertook no serious business without advice from his spiritual director, and was no stranger to the use of the discipline. For the local population he provided churches and insistently promoted Marian devotion, and for the children provided free schooling and books. With this went hospital provision, dowries for poor girls, assistance to fallen women, a *Monte di Pietà*, land reclamation, and other measures.

Having left such a home to enter the Theatine novitiate, and having proceeded regularly to religious profession, Giuseppe Maria (as he was henceforth known), notwithstanding fragile health, began the study of philosophy in Messina, and it continued in Rome, Ferrara, Modena and Bologna and then from 1670 began theology at Rome. The level of studies was high. In Messina, there was an interchange of professors between on the one hand the University, where Bessarion and Constantine Lascaris were among the first masters, and on the other hand the seminary, under the direction of the Theatines, and the Theatines' own house of studies, established in 1607. Tomasi himself needed little encouragement in this sense and there soon appeared signs of his later liturgical interests, as for example the fact that in transferring to Ferrara the young religious carried with him a new personal copy of the Pontificale Romanum, and that with the encouragement of his uncle Carlo he made use of the vacation of 1668 to make an excursion to Venice in search of a Greek Bible and a breviary. While in the early years he received warnings not to go to excess in book buying and that the time would come later for assembling a worthy library, his eye was always open to publications of interest and he was far from frivolous in his use of them.

Lest it be thought, however, that Tomasi's was a lugubrious or dust-filled obsession with times past, it may be as well to recall something of the exhilaration and sense of dynamism that surrounded his Order in those years. Not only was this a growing, esteemed and productive group of men well inserted into the fabric of a Church in the course of revitalization, but there was a special interest in the splendour of divine worship that was evident everywhere in the Order established itself. The young Tomasi had a strong personal experience of this on the evening of 12 April 1671, the day of the canonization of the Order's founder St Cajetan of Thiene, when in the solemn ceremonial procession to bring the standard of the new Saint from St Peter's to Sant'Andrea della Valle, the 21-year-old subdeacon struggled proudly with the fatigue of carrying the heavy processional cross.

Nor was this just one passing experience. The uplifting solemnity of worship was to be seen in the very churches that the Order built, with recourse to known artists and architects of the day, but also to architects from within its own ranks. Wherever the young Tomasi arrived in a house of the Order, he was more than likely to find a recently constructed or refurnished church marked by the exuberance of the Baroque style. This was the case from his beginnings at the church of S. Giuseppe in Palermo, and likewise, for example at Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome, the work of the Theatine Francesco Grimaldi and of Carlo Maderno, finished and consecrated as recently as 1650, or indeed at the now mutilated San Silvestro al Quirinale, the object of careful development in those years, which had come to the Order by grant from Pope Paul IV Caraffa in 1555. Such buildings were emblematic of the real context or mental atmosphere that surrounded Tomasi's own thoughts of returning to the life-sap of the liturgical practice and devotion of the early Church, and however sober was Tomasi's personal style throughout his life, there was a thrust and dynamism in the general context which made his interests far from an aimless or gloomy antiquarian pursuit. They were seen by him, and appreciated by others, as part of a movement of reform.

Tomasi was ordained deacon at the Lateran on 19 December 1671 and after a brief visit to his home region in 1672 on account of the death of his sister-in-law and then of his brother (which left his two-year-old nephew as family heir), he completed his studies at Palermo. There he received as encouragement a copy of Giovanni Bona's *De rebus liturgicis*, published at Rome in 1671. He pursued his course to the priesthood, and was ordained on 23 December 1673, celebrating his First Mass on Christmas night in his community. By then he was resident at San Silvestro al Quirinale, where he was to spend almost the rest of his life.

Tomasi was well equipped to begin a life of study by tempera-

ment and motivation, but also by his intellectual gifts and preparation. Apart from Greek he had also learned Hebrew, and apparently also Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic, and with this formation set about a campaign of research in the manuscripts of the Roman libraries.

By the time of his ordination to the priesthood, he knew personally a certain number of people who were well placed to facilitate his interests. Contacts had been made initially through his uncle Carlo over the years of his studies and more generally he was known through his family. The contacts once made then gradually extended themselves. One important contact in this period, especially after the death of his uncle Carlo in on New Year's Day 1675, was Bishop Joseph Marie Suarès (1599-1677), former Bishop of Vaison (1633-1666) in the papal enclave of Avignon, where he was born, and at this period in charge of the Vatican Library. He came to Rome as a young man to be librarian to Cardinal Francesco Barberini senior (1597-1679), and from there was made Bishop by Urban VIII. Having resigned his see, he returned to finish his days at the Vatican Library. The Bishop formed an affectionate friendship with Tomasi following first contacts by letter during Tomasi's time as a student in Palermo and through Bishop Suarès Tomasi had contact with various personages in the field of studies in Rome, including archaeology, and in general a certain contact with the interests and movements of the moment, up to the Bishop's death in December 1677. Apart from Suarès, there were then numerous other scholarly contacts, in a world that all things considered was a restricted one, in a Rome whose population at the period did not exceed some 130,000 and had few distractions from the circle of the papal court.

Learned friends and acquaintances made over the years included Cardinal Giovanni Battista Bona (1609-1678), former Abbot General of the Cistercians, and Cardinal from 1669, of whom he came to know at the time of his first Roman sojourn in 1670, not least through his writings, and with whom he was bound by a common interest in the Gelasian Sacramentary which Tomasi published in 1680. In the earlier period there was also Cardinal Michelangelo Ricci (1619-1682), a considerable mathematician, and pupil of Evangelista Torricelli (1608-1647), and in general a man who in the midst of a busy life in the Roman Curia, encouraged studies, and in particular acquaintance with original source texts. There was also Cardinal Francesco Barberini senior (1597-1679), creator of the famous Barberini library now substantially incorporated in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Cardinal Librarian of Holy Roman Church, Archpriest of St Peter's, and dean of the Sacred College, whose influence allowed Tomasi to study even at San Silvestro manuscripts from various Roman libraries, and at whose death Tomasi was present.

A significant contact for Tomasi was his acquaintance with the Spanish Benedictine Cardinal José Saenz de Aguirre (1630-1699), former professor at Salamanca, where he had established a chair of biblical studies. He shared Tomasi's views on the need for a revision of the theological curriculum that took account both of biblical and patristic studies and it was only natural that Tomasi dedicate to Saenz his Psalterium cum Canticis, versibus prisco more distinctum of 1697.<sup>4</sup> Yet another important acquaintance was with Cardinal Girolamo Casanate (1620-1700), a Dominican who had just been made a cardinal when Tomasi settled in Rome in 1673 and from initial contacts at the Vatican Library, facilitated initially by Bishop Suarès, they came to meet for a time on a weekly basis at the Cardinal's palace. It was to Casanate, who in his turn also became Cardinal Librarian of Holy Roman Church, that in 1686 Tomasi dedicated his Responsorialia et Antiphonaria Romanae Ecclesiae. Yet it was typical of Tomasi that when he heard of rumours - somewhat absurd for an abdicated Duke - that his contacts with the Cardinal Librarian were seen by

<sup>4</sup> The works of Tomasi were gathered after his death by the Theatine Antonio Francesco VEZZOSI, Venerabilis Viri Iosephi Mariae Thomasii S.R.E. Cardinalis Opera Omnia ad Mss. codices recensuit notisque auxit Antonius Franciscus Vezzosi Clericus Regularis. Ex typographia Palladis, excudebant Nicolaus et Marcus Palearini, [Roma, 1747-1754], 11 vols; other minor works and extracts are found in A.F. VEZZOSI, I scrittori de' Cherici Regolari detti Teatini, vol. II, pp. 409-427, and in Giovanni MERCATI (ed.), Opuscoli inediti del Beato Card. Giuseppe Tommasi, Tipografia Vaticana, Roma, 1905 (= Studi e Testi 15). some as an attempt to advance a career, he was taken aback and declared that not only was it not true but that, as he quaintly put it, "Godo molto che sia data a persone tali, che hanno bisogno di qualche sollievo".<sup>5</sup> In the event, the post in question, that of vice-prefect of the Vatican Library, went to Lorenzo Zaccagni, a friend of Tomasi. Yet another influential friend was Cardinal Leandro Colloredo (1639-1707), the former Oratorian librarian of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana, created Cardinal in 1686, to whom in 1688 Tomasi dedicated his work *Sacrorum Bibliorum ... Veteres Tituli*.

Still further scholarly friends included his later biographer Archbishop Giusto Fontanini (1666-1736), and Giovanni Giusto Ciampini (1633-1698), promotor of two new academies, that of the "Sperimentabili» for Physics and Mathematics, and the «Accademia dei Concili", which among other matters was interested in ancient doctrinal questions, liturgical sources and ecclesiastical discipline. In his will he attempted to found an athenaeum, academy or college for young Italians or foreigners wishing to study in Rome, but the project did not see the light of day. One of the points on which Ciampini repeatedly consulted Tomasi and obtained learned opinions was the ancient Roman practice of the *fermentum*, by which the Pope sent fragments of the Eucharistic bread each Sunday to the presbyteral tituli and annually for Easter to the suburbican sees.<sup>6</sup> The two friends exchanged the homage of book dedications, Tomasi dedicating his Antiqui libri Missarum Romanae Ecclesiae to Ciampini in 1691.

Academies such as those of Ciampini, with still others and with various salons, constituted at one and the same time part of the social world of papal Rome and a network of overlapping circles for academic and cultural interests. Tomasi himself was apparently inscribed in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, p. 235.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. Ildebrando SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa e gli inizi della scienza liturgica, Studia Anselmiana, Roma, 1981 (= Studia Anselmiana 82), pp. 94-96.

the Arcadia, and his researches and publications were reported not rarely in lionizing fashion orally and in writing in publications such as the *Giornale dei Letterati d'Italia*, even if Tomasi himself does not seem to have contributed formally papers or talks.<sup>7</sup>

In Tomasi's world there was a constant circulation of scripts and over the four decades of his Roman existence he was involved in one way or other – as advisor, encourager, censor – with many publications and practical issues, such as the edition of the *Liber Pontificalis* of Ravenna by Agnellus of Ravenna, edited by the Benedictine Benedetto Bianchini after Tomasi had given a positive report to the Curia. He also had epistolary contacts with such as Lodovico Antonio Muratori, from 1698, at which time Muratori was librarian at the Ambrosian Library in Milan and interested in retracing research on the *Quicunque vult*. He later put to Tomasi questions about the Gelasian Sacramentary and the Ember Days.

The Maurist Dom Jean-Baptiste Mabillon (1638-1707) was also known personally to Tomasi from his visit to Rome, as was Dom Bernard de Montfaucon (1655-1741), who had for several years been procurator of the Maurists in Rome. The Maurists bore witness to the readiness of Tomasi to make available the transcriptions of texts in his possession, and Tomasi for his part seems to have hoped that the Maurist machine would succeed in carrying forward a programme of patristic editions and studies that was beyond him.

Among the libraries which Tomasi frequented were that of the Vatican, the Vallicelliana, opened in 1581, the Angelica, opened in 1614, the Alessandrina, inaugurated in 1666, the Casanatense opened in 1690, not to mention that of Queen Christina of Sweden.

The curious story of Queen Christina of Sweden (1626-1689) is too involved to recount even in summary here. A generation older than Tomasi, the only surviving offspring of King Gustavus Adolphus, she succeeded as a minor to the throne in 1632. The recipient of a very enlightened education in ancient and modern languages,

philosophy and politics, she invited distinguished thinkers and scholars such as René Descartes (1596-1650), the Dutch Protestant jurist and theologian Hugo Grotius (1583-1654) and his friend and compatriot the humanist and theologian Gerhard Jan Voss (1577-1649), the German historian and philosopher of law Samuel Pufendorf (1632-1694), and the Bohemian educationalist Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670) to her court, along with artists and litterati. In general her foreign and domestic policies were prudent and enlightened, at least at first, but gradually her wilfulness and her intolerance of the pressure of her Council led to constitutional tension and in 1654 she abdicated. She had already displayed a certain independence in her religious interests and now in the course of a long and meandering journey through Europe with her court in exile she was received into the Catholic Church at Innsbruck in November 1655 by an emissary of the Holy See in the person of Lucas Holste or Holstenius, Prefect of the Vatican Library. She headed for Rome, where she resided first in the Palazzo Farnese and then from 1668 in the Palazzo Riario.

This extraordinary woman, of great intellectual gifts, was an uncomfortable guest whether in papal Rome or in other countries, arrogating to herself a personal sovereignty and intriguing turn and turn about to resume the Swedish crown, or to accede to that of Naples, or of Poland. With the aim of staving off once again the boredom that had been a factor in her abdication, she patronized in Rome various intellectual and cultural circles, out of which there crystallized the Arcadia Academy.<sup>8</sup>

It should be said that the Queen had amassed in Sweden a library of some 8,000 manuscripts, of which perhaps 2,000 accompanied her when she arrived in Rome in 1658. Many of these came ultimately from churches and monasteries of France. At Christina's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Useful, with some caution, is the recent work Susanna AKERMAN, Queen Christina of Sweden and her Circle: The Transformation of a Seventeenth-Century Philosophical Libertine, E.J. Brill, Leiden, 1991 (= Brill's Studies in Intellectual History 21).

death in 1689 all the manuscripts were inherited by Cardinal Decio Azzolini, and at his own death some months later by his nephew, Pompeo Azzolini, who sold 2111 of them to Pope Alexander VIII Ottoboni. The greatest part went directly to the Vatican Library, but 240 were assigned to the Pope's private collection, and passed thence by inheritance to his family, being repurchased in 1740 with the rest of the Ottoboni collection from Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni the younger by Pope Benedict XIV. Before 1740 the Reginensis collection, as it had become known, was augmented by general acquisitions to the Vatican Library, so that not all the 2121 Latin manuscripts assigned to this *fond* were in fact owned by Christina. Curiously, however, it happened that among the non-Christina acquisitions to the Reginensia were manuscripts bought from the Theatine communities in Rome at Sant'Andrea della Valle and at San Silvestro al Quirinale.9 It was in the Queen's library that Tomasi made what were perhaps his most significant discoveries, the Missale Gelasianum, the Missale Gothicum, and the Missale Francorum.

The self-possessed Tomasi's was from the start, however, an existence that bore the stamp of prayer (his morning exercises, in addition to Matins, Lauds and Mass, lasted at least two hours). He usually omitted to celebrate Mass one day a week, replacing it with an intensive preparation for confession. It would seem that at least in early years he suffered from scruples. He scarcely ever missed choir, but otherwise had a fairly solitary existence. His daily routine included a long afternoon walk in prayerful silence with his laybrother companion, while every week he visited seven altars in St Peter's Basilica, and every year on Good Friday he climbed on his knees the Scala Santa. He fled any kind of privilege or distinction and his final vain attempt to resist the cardinalate was based both on his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For the catalogue see André WILMART, Codices Reginenses Latini [...] recensuit Andreas Wilmart, presbyter et monachus Ordinis S. Benedicti, Biblioteca Vaticana, Roma, 1937-1945, 2 vol.

own established habits of a lifetime and upon the example of more than one scholarly cardinal of his acquaintance.

There was also pastoral work, such as visiting the sick at the hospital of San Giovanni in Laterano, assigned to the Theatines by the Cardinal Vicar, and where Tomasi went on the 29th of every month for several years from 29 February 1676. Other pastoral duties were not lacking, including occasional tours of preaching and the catechism and spiritual care of the laybrothers of the Theatine community. In general all his numerous contacts with merchants and printers, copyists were part, too, of a pastoral outlet. Tomasi treated all with nobility and consideration and harvested in return lasting respect. Some of the same tradesmen were eventually to testify to his manner and to his way of life at the cause for beatification, and in their testimonies we have some vivid pictures of his everyday routines. The accounts of him conjure up a very ascetic figure, little given to hilarity, always courteous, always modest, ever kind to others, and occasionally a little gauche - he managed on one occasion to break an arm chasing away a fly.

Tomasi's letters to his sisters at home in the Palma he never again visited have a curious atmosphere to them. On the one hand the straightforwardness of what he has to say shows the extent to which all of them had overcome the burden of their origins. The letters are not larded with heavy ceremonial phrasing nor are they sentimental. Giuseppe Maria's chatter is pious but dignified, and he comments with sincerity upon the events of his time, especially the vicissitudes of the papacy, and intersperses the whole with modest references to his own enterprises and to his hopes for their fruitful outcome. He is his own man in the face of his sisters' sometimes intemperate ideas over the years (they started early with their plans for him), that he should be a great missionary or preacher, or that he should be the protagonist of great doings in the Church.

Notwithstanding the discretion with which he habitually operated, it is also known that Tomasi followed with interest the progress of various missions, of both the Theatines and others, and likewise efforts undertaken at the reform of religious orders and congregations. As regards the missions, we have already seen that as early as the novitiate Tomasi had had some contact with that vast world and in his years at San Silvestro al Ouirinale he had often encountered Theatine missionaries who had come to Rome to treat with Propaganda Fide. The fact that the Theatines had been assigned to work with the Armenians and the Georgians and that part of this work took place in Poland lent also an important ecumenical dimensions to their undertakings. However, Tomasi's contact with the missions was not limited to the Theatines, for he followed with friendship and interest the missionary enterprises, among others, of the Reformed Franciscans and the new groups of diocesan priests that had arisen in particular in France. As to the progress of other religious congregations and Orders, Tomasi perforce had a special interest in so far as, in harmony with his Theatine heritage, all his personal energy and desires were aimed at the restoration in modern times of the life of the Apostolic Church, the permanent model for every reform of the common life. Tomasi even put some thoughts on the subject to paper under the title Riflessioni sopra la rigorosa Vita de' Religiosi, dealing especially with the causes of decadence, and proposing a return to ancient discipline, a far more rigorous selection of candidates and a thorough formation, which should last until such time as the candidates had achieved the necessary spiritual maturity and balance. Apart from his sisters, Benedictine nuns, and his friend Dom Erasmo Gattola, librarian and then Abbot of Montecassino, he had contacts over many years with the Trappists, the Dominicans, the Trinitarians, the Oratorians, and the Jesuits (linked through their General Fr Gian Paolo Oliva even with his family), while a particular contact was with the Carmelite friars, among whom he counselled and facilitated the formation of a reformed community.

The erudition and lack of self-interest so evident in Tomasi led in addition to his being consulted on not a few affairs of some importance, as for example the episode of the *Régale*. The Holy See resisted the pretensions of the French crown to the revenues of vacant sees and the stalemate to the point that so that by the beginning resolution of the conflict in 1692 an alarming number of sees were vacant. Tomasi was involved in personal contacts in Rome with Frenchmen exiled because of their support of the Holy See in this matter, he read the works produced by both sides and formulated a clear position.

This, then, was the context of Tomasi's scholarly interests: a life of austere asceticism, somewhat solitary as a routine, but in reality well integrated into the struggles of his day, in touch with the great currents of life, from the futile and wilful jousting of the European powers, to the expanding frontiers of the Gospel, and the radical efforts being made to renew the pastoral response of the Church to the problems of the age and to bring back the personal life of clergy and religious to the fervour of the Early Church.

Tomasi's first substantial published work appeared in 1679 under the ample title:

Divi Aurelii Augustini Episcopi Hipponensis Speculum. Ut in eo quam obediens Deo, inobediensque sit, facilius quisque agnoscant, ac minori forma primo editum. Accessit eiusdem sancti Doctoris Psalterium quod Matri suae composuit, Romae, ex Typographia Josephi Vannacci, 1679.

In this quarto volume of 414 pages<sup>10</sup> we find the young Tomasi occupied with themes that interested him passionately all his days: the opening up of the Fathers of the Church to serve as an influence for the instruction and renewal of the Church of today. In this case it was to be by the reproduction, with a new learned introduction, of the edition of the *Speculum* "*Quis ignorat*" of St Augustine, prepared at Louvain and published at Antwerp in 1577.<sup>11</sup> We also note his interest in the question of the Psalter.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Some discussion in Ildebrando SCICOLONE, *Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa e gli inizi della scienza liturgica*, Studia Anselmiana, Roma, 1981 (= Studia Anselmiana 82), pp. 60-62; cf. F. ANDREU, *Pellegrino alle sorgenti*, p. 494.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> PL 34: 887-1040; cf. Eligius DEKKERS, *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, Brepols, Turnhout /In Abbatia S. Petri, Steenbrugis, tertia editio aucta et emendata 1995, n. 272.

It is in 1680, however, that we find in print one of Tomasi's most significant and greatest works, entitled:

Codices sacramentorum nongentis annis vetustiores quorum primus est Ecclesiae Romanae, reliqui Gallicanae. Nunc optimum prodeunt cura et studio Joseph Mariae Thomasii Congregationis Clericorum Regularium Presbyteri, Romae, typis Angeli Bernabò, 1680.

This 512-page quarto volume<sup>12</sup> consisted in an edition of four manuscripts named by Tomasi as the *Missale Gelasianum* (pp. 1-262),<sup>13</sup> the *Missale Gothicum* (pp. 263-397),<sup>14</sup> the *Missale Francorum* (pp. 398-431),<sup>15</sup> the *Missale Gallicanum Vetus* (pp. 439-

<sup>12</sup> Some discussion in I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 69-78; cf. F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, pp. 494-495.

<sup>13</sup> Later re-edited by, among others, L.A. MURATORI in 1748 (whence PL 74: 1055-1244); and also Henry Austen WILSON (ed.), *The Gelasian Sacramentary: Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Ecclesiae*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1894; Leo Cunibert MOHLBERG, & Leo EIZENHÖFER & Petrus SIFFRIN (edd.), *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae ordinis anni circuli (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 316 / Paris Bibl. Nat. 7193, 41/56) (Sacramentarium Gelasianum)*, Casa Editrice Herder, Roma, 3. Auflage 1981 (= Rerum Ecclesiasticarum *Documenta, Series maior, Fontes* 4); cf. Klaus GAMBER, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, Universitätsverlag Freiburg, Schweiz, secunda editio aucta 1968 (= Spicilegii Friburgensis Subsidia 1), n. 610.

<sup>14</sup> Later re-edited by Jean MABILLON, De Liturgia Gallicana libri III, in quibus veteris Missae quae ante annos mille apud Gallos in usu erat forma ritusque eruuntur ex antiquis monumentis, lectionario Gallicano hactenus inedito et tribus missalibus Thomasianis quae integre referuntur, Martin et Boudot, Paris 1685 (whence PL 72: 225-318; and numerous others until recently Henry Martiott BANNISTER (ed.), Missale Gothicum: A Gallican Sacramentary, Ms. Vatican Reg. Lat. 317, Henry Bradshaw Society, London, 1917 & 1919 (= Publications of the Henry Bradshaw Society 52, 54); Cunibert MOHLBERG (ed.), Missale Gothicum: Das gallikanische Sakramentar Cod. Vatican. Regin. Lat. 317 des VII.-VIII. Jahrhunderts, Filser, Augsburg, 1929, 2 vol. (= Codices liturgici ex Vaticanis praesertim delecti phototypice expressi 1); Leo Cunibert MOHLBERG (ed.), Missale Gothicum (Vat. Reg. lat. 317), Casa Editrice Herder, Roma, 1961 (= Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes 5); cf. K. GAMBER, Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores, n. 210.

<sup>15</sup> Later re-edited by Jean MABILLON (whence PL 72: 317-340); and by Leo Cunibert MOHLBERG (ed.), *Missale Francorum (Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 257)*, Casa Editrice Herder, Roma 1957 (= Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes 2); cf. K. GAMBER, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, n. 410. 492).<sup>16</sup> The first three manuscripts were among the Fleury manuscripts<sup>17</sup> which Tomasi found in the collection of the volatile Queen Christina of Sweden, while the final manuscript was already in the Vatican Library (*Palat. lat.* 493), in the collection that had belonged to the Elector Palatine and been presented to the Holy See by Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria, where it was to be joined by the others (classed as *Reginensis lat.* 316, 317, 257) after the Queen's death in 1689.

A further notable work of Tomasi appeared in 1683:

Psalterium juxta duplicem Editionem quam Romanam dicunt et Gallicanam una cum Canticis ex duplici item Editione. Et Hymnarium atque Orationale, Editio ad veteram ecclesiasticam formam de antiquis Mss. Exemplaribus digesta per J. Carum presbyterum, Romae, typis Tinassii, 1683.

Another substantial quarto volume, this deals once more with the Psalms in their liturgical usage, reproducing the two versions resulting from the work of St Jerome, and adding a variety of useful materials: some introductory and explanatory texts drawn especially from the Greek and Latin Fathers, a summary of the contents of the individual Psalms and a list of their distribution in the ancient Roman office.<sup>18</sup> Among the manuscripts employed was the one later classed as Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 11, from the second half of the 8th century,<sup>19</sup> while the content of the *orationale*, of mixed devotional and scholarly intent, to which the title refers, was drawn from a variety of sources

<sup>16</sup> Later re-edited by Jean MABILLON (whence PL 72: 340-382); and by Leo Cunibert MOHLBERG (ed.), Missale Gallicanum Vetus (Cod. Vat. Palat. lat. 493), Herder, Roma, 1958 (= Rerum Ecclesiasticarum Documenta, Series maior, Fontes 3); cf. K. GAMBER, Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores, nn. 212-214.

<sup>17</sup> L.C. MOHLBERG (et alii, edd.), *Liber Sacramentorum Romanae Aeclesiae*, pp. XXVII-XXVIII.

<sup>18</sup> Some discussion in I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 44-50; cf. F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, pp. 495-496.

<sup>19</sup> André WILMART, "Le psautier de la Reine", in *Revue bénédictine* 28 (1911) 346-376; cf. K. GAMBER, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, n. 1617. including the *Gelasianum Vetus* (Vat. Reg. lat. 316), and the *Gregorianum* (Vat. Reg. lat. 337, Vat. Ottob. 313), and hence drew in part on the earlier publication of 1680.

Three years were to pass before the appearance in 1686 of a further volume moving in the same territory and dealing in some 561 pages with a wealth of liturgical manuscript material:

Responsorialia et Antiphonaria Romanae Ecclesiae a S. Gregorio Magno disposita. Accedit appendix varia continens Monumenta vetera ad Antiphonas, Responsoria, Ecclesiasticosque Cursus pertinentia. Ex Mss. codicibus nunc primum prodeunt scholiisque explicantur. Opera et studio Josephii M. Cari presbyteri theologi, Romae, Typis Josephi Vannacci, 1686.

This volume was based principally on the manuscripts Rome, S. Pietro B 79, and Sankt Gallen, nn. 390-391,<sup>20</sup> which Tomasi knew from a transcription provided by Dom Hermann Shenk, the abbey's librarian.<sup>21</sup>

Two years later, in 1688, Tomasi returned more centrally to the biblical field with a work in two parts for a total of over 300 pages:

Sacrorum Bibliorum juxta Editionem seu LXX Interpretum seu B. Hieronymi Veteres Tituli sive Capitula Lectiones et Stichometriae ex maiore parte ante annos mille in Occidente usitata una cum antiquiis prologis, argumentis etc. a Mss. codicibus prompta, nuncque primum edita studio curaque Jos. M. Cari presbyteri theologi; Pars Prior Vetus Testamentum complectens: ubi etiam Libri Esther et Baruch secundum Veterem Latinam Graeci Textus interpretationem ex Ms. Codice exhibentur, Romae, ex typographia Haeredd. Corbelletti, 1688.

– Pars altera, Novum Testamentum complectens, ubi etiam Epistola Eusebii Episcopi Caesariensis ad Carpianum de Evangelorum

<sup>20</sup> Cf. K. GAMBER, Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores, n. 1308.

<sup>21</sup> Some discussion in I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 80-84; cf. F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, pp. 497-498.

Canonibus ex veteri Latina interpretatione, et Canones Concordiae et Epistolarum B. Pauli e Ms. codicibus exhibentur, Romae, ex typographia Haeredd. Corbelletti, 1688.

The work was based upon the use of quite a range of manuscripts from the Roman libraries, including the Vatican, that of Queen Christina, of St Paul's outside the Walls, the Vallicelliana, and the Chapter of St Peter's, and it aimed at making available a number of titles, resumés or summaries which facilitated access to the content of the text.<sup>22</sup>

In 1691 the balance of interest shifted again to the more strictly liturgical field with another substantial publication in some 548 pages of quarto format:

Antiqui Libri Missarum Romanae Ecclesiae, id est Antiphonarium S. Gregorii Comes ab Albino ex Caroli Magni Imperatoris praecepto emendatus una cum Lectionariis et Capitulare Evangeliorum ex Mss. codd. sive primum edita sive emendata studio curaque Jos. M. Cari presbyteri theologi, Romae, ex Typographia Josephi Vannacci, 1691.

As is evident from various of his writings, Tomasi had a clear view of how the Roman Missal of his day was the result of the fusion of a variety of pre-existing liturgical books.<sup>23</sup> This volume is an extensive compendium that investigates some of this material, in the first place relating to the chants of the Mass, in which the author drew upon numerous manuscripts, some of which he knew at first hand from the Roman libraries he frequented, including that of Queen Christina, and other texts transmitted instead in transcription by his faithful friend Dom Shenk or found in earlier publications.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. Some discussion in I. SCICOLONE, *Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi*, pp. 50-53; cf. F. ANDREU, *Pellegrino alle sorgenti*, pp. 499-500.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cf. Giuseppe Maria TOMASI, "Della Riforma del Breviario e Missale Romano", in Giovanni MERCATI (ed.), Opuscoli inediti del Beato Card. Giuseppe Tommasi, Tipografia Vaticana, Roma, 1905 (= Studi e Testi 15), pp. 25-41, here p. 38.

To the question of chants, Tomasi adds then that of the biblical lectionary. Well aware of the efforts of Pamelius, Balutius and Fronto before him, Tomasi published on his own behalf an abundance of material. Among the pieces were the *Comes* of Alcuin, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 9452,<sup>24</sup> and also a collation of various other manuscripts, most of them then present in Rome. Finally, Tomasi adds a further extensive collation of numerous manuscripts which serve, though relatively late (10th-15th century), to pinpoint the form of the Roman Evangeliary.<sup>25</sup>

By this stage Tomasi had been publishing for over a decade and a half, dealing principally with Western liturgical sources and with biblical questions. It is therefore a slight surprise to see that in the following year, 1695, Tomasi moved into the field of the Byzantine liturgy with a brief work in small format (in-octavo, 125 pp.) that made accessible the Good Friday Office of the Byzantine Rite:

Officium dominicae Passionis Feria sexta Parasceve Maioris Hebdomadae secundum Ritum Graecorum, nunc primum latine editum cura et studio J.M.C. presbyteri, Romae, Typis Josephi Vannacci, 1695.

A further two years were to go by before the appearance in 1697 of another very sizeable publication, in some 816 pages of quarto format, once more beating the trail of the Psalter:

Psalterium cum Canticis versibus prisco more distinctum argumentis et orationibus vetustis, novaque litterali explanatione brevissima dilucidatum, studio curaque Josephi Mariae Thomasii, etc., Romae, Typis Josephi Vannacci, 1697.

<sup>25</sup> Some discussion of the entire work in I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 86-93; cf. F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, pp. 502-503.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cf. K. GAMBER, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, n. 1040; for a more recent edition see André WILMART, "Le lectionnaire d'Alcuin", in *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 51 (1937) 136-197.

This work took up once again the text of the Gallican Psalter but added material to serve as an explanation of the text and reproduced a systematic subdivision of the Psalm according to the ancient principles "per cola et commata". The aim of the whole work was in so far as possible once again to draw upon traditional materials, in particular from the Fathers, but also upon some modern writers, and it did not neglect a direct reference to the Septuagint text, all with the aim of facilitating access to the Psalter. On this occasion, however, Tomasi, has recourse to the composition of new summaries of his own, given that he found the commentaries discoverable in the Fathers often too diffuse.<sup>26</sup> Once again he took up the notion of Psalm orations, republishing those in the volume of 1683 and adding others from a Hispanic manuscript.<sup>27</sup> It would seem that even after the publication of the volume, Tomasi continued to gather material, including elements drawn from Syriac and Arabic texts, some of which were found after Tomasi's death by Antonio Francesco Vezzosi, and incorporated into his edition of Tomasi's works.<sup>28</sup> To the Psalms, then, in his work of 1697, Tomasi adds numerous other elements, including biblical canticles not used then in the Roman Rite, and material such as the Gloria Patri, the Te Deum, and the various Creeds.

At this point the rhythm of publication that Tomasi had maintained since the conclusion of his own studies slows somewhat. Presumably he was more involved in the other affairs on which he was consulted in both official and unofficial terms. There is also certainly

<sup>26</sup> Some discussion of the entire work in I. SCICOLONE, *Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi*, pp. 53-59; cf. F. ANDREU, *Pellegrino alle sorgenti*, pp. 505-506.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Jerónimo CLAVERAS & José VIVES (edd.), Oracional visigótico, Instituto P. Enrique Florez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona, 1946 (= Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra 1); cf. Jordi PINELL 1 PONS, (ed.), Liber Orationum Psalmographicus: Colectas de Salmos del Antiguo Rito Hispánico, Consejo Superiór de Investigaciones Científicas, Barcelona / Instituto Enrique Flórez, Madrid, 1972 (= Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra, Serie Litúrgica 9). Tomasi's manuscript is Verona, Biblioteca capitolare, n. 89.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, p. 57.

reason to think that, like others such as Edmund Bishop in later centuries,<sup>29</sup> many of his energies went into helping unselfishly the efforts of others.

A new departure, isolated for some years to come, was taken when in 1701 Tomasi published the fruit of his reflections and reading on the ever-present idea of renewing theological studies by a closer reference to the Fathers, an ardent concern of Tomasi from the time of his own studies, on account of the aridity from which he himself had suffered. The work was entitled.

Indiculus Institutionum theologicarum veterum Patrum quae aperte et breviter exponunt Theologiam sive theoreticam vulgo speculativa, sive practicam, Romae, Typis haeredum Corbelletti, 1701.

It was little more than a leaflet – 16 pages of quarto format – but the intentions of Tomasi were serious and insistent. In these few pages Tomasi gave a list of syntheses of theology by the Fathers and proposed that these be made available and provided with commentaries on the more difficult passages, just as in the Middle Ages the text of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard had been the object of explanatory commentary. The texts proposed are drawn from texts attributed to SS. Cyprian, Basil the Great, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Augustine, Vincent of Lerins, to Theodoret of Cyr and Gennadius of Marseilles, to SS. Fulgentius of Ruspe, Isidore of Seville and John Damascene.<sup>30</sup>

As has been pointed out, Tomasi's text is of especial interest in that it is not the fruit of a naive enthusiasm, but is accompanied by mature reflections on the necessary criteria to be borne in mind when approaching the Fathers. These include the fact that in the course of the centuries and even within the lifetime of a given Father of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Nigel ABERCROMBIE, The Life and Work of Edmund Bishop, Longmans, London, 1959, passim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Some discussion in I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 62-65; cf. F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, p. 507.

Church, there is a refinement of thought and a clarification of theological issues, that it is important to bear in mind the underlying currents of Platonic or neo-Platonic philosophy that inform the thinking of the Fathers, and that in order to appreciate their freshness it is necessary to set aside any attempt to align their teaching in an anachronistic way with more modern theological schools.<sup>31</sup>

It was in this same line that the publications of Tomasi were henceforth to go, when after a further long gap of years he once more went into print. Leaving, in fact, the strictly liturgical field, he put out in 1709, 1710 and 1712, in three quarto volumes a partial realization of a project so close to his heart:

Institutiones theologicae antiquorum Patrum qui aperto sermone exponunt breviter theologiam sive theoreticam sive practicam. Tomus primus, complectens secundum ordinem temporum Opuscula latina tum graeca, quae aditum januamque patefaciunt ad Ecclesiastica Dogmata, Romae, ex Typographia Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fidei, 1709.

Institutiones theologicae antiquorum Patrum qui aperto sermone exponunt breviter theologiam sive theoreticam sive practicam. Tomus secundus, complectens nonnulla Opuscula tum latina tum

graeca tertii et quarti saeculi a Christo, maxima ex parte pratica ex Verbo Dei scripto, Romae, ex Typographia Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fidei, 1710.

Institutiones theologicae antiquorum Patrum qui aperto sermone exponunt breviter theologiam sive theoreticam sive practicam. Tomus tertius, complectens nonnulla Opuscula tum latine tum graece quarti saeculi a Christo de Ecclesiae Dogmatibus et Haeresibus, Romae, ex Typographia Sac. Congreg. de Propaganda Fidei, 1712.

In these volumes, not without some practical difficulties caused among other things by the difficulty of getting typographical com-

<sup>31</sup> Cf. I. SCICOLONE, Il Cardinale Giuseppe Tomasi, pp. 63-64.

positors for the Greek, Tomasi expended the energies of the closing years of his life in trying to make available succinct works from the Fathers capable of re-informing and reinvigorating the study of theology.<sup>32</sup> The exact plan of the early *Indiculus* was not followed slavishly and it was left to Fr Vezzosi, who became in effect his literary executor, to complete the work.

An interesting phenomenon should be noted in Tomasi's various publications of texts. While some of these he himself discovered, transcribed and prepared for publication, others were based upon the work of others. The notion of literary property was certain not very distinct in those times and so in general authors tended to act with a freedom which would bring difficulties today. On the other hand, we can see in Tomasi's use of the texts previously edited by others – almost always with his own corrections and annotations – and in their use of his, as a sort of dialogue of scholarship whereby gradually progress was made towards improved editions.

To cite only a brief example, we can note that St Augustine's *Speculum* was reproduced by Tomasi from the Louvain-Antwerp edition of 1577, his *Psalterium Romanum* of 1683 came from the edition stemming from Lucas Holstenius in 1663. In some of these cases Tomasi had access to manuscript materials of the previous editor, as indeed for the Holstenius Psalter. In general, there would have been little point in launching new investigations in a terrain where some issues were gradually being consolidated, and generally Tomasi took some care to ensure that his presentation of materials rendered clearer the comparison of texts, so that in his, too, there was progress over any earlier edition.

Tomasi's publications are of quality. They display a considerable linguistic ability, critical and historical acumen, a deep familiarity with less obvious aspects of the tradition. In their seriousness and fidelity they have rarely been bettered, even though the techniques of the critical edition and the discovery and systematic cataloguing of a far vaster range of manuscripts have lead to notable technical progress. As to the hypotheses which Tomasi formulated regarding the manuscripts he discovered and examined, it should be said that they have been generally improved but not superseded, a sign that Tomasi had the independence of judgement and the freshness of mind to see clearly beyond the page in front of him to the broader picture of the development of the liturgical books.

Yet of at least equal importance in Tomasi's efforts is the intention that lies behind them, the seriousness of faith which distanced all he did by a thousand leagues from a barren antiquarianism and imbued it with the passion of an unremitting search for the vitality and authenticity of the life of the early Church.

Tomasi's last year is an interesting *retractatio* of his life, in which we see the determined efforts of a somewhat solitary man to do all in his power to live according to the Gospel and to leave nothing untried in the promotion of pastoral renewal.

During the conclave that followed the death of Innocent XII, Cardinal Francesco Albani of Urbino, emerged as candidate for election. The candidate had known Tomasi from his youth, they were virtually contemporaries. When his father, Prince Carlo Albani, had visited Fr Carlo Tomasi, Giuseppe Maria's uncle, the young Francesco Albani had been distracted by the somewhat more interesting thought of having at least news from a man of his own age. Whatever their contacts in the course of the years, they remained known to each other and it was no surprise when in his moment of crisis and indecision Cardinal Albani, elected to the papacy but distrusting his own merits, asked to consult with four theologians, including the Theatine Tomasi, known to him as an austere scholar resident at the Theatine community of San Silvestro al Quirinale. Having received the positive and insistent encouragement of Tomasi, on 23 November 1700 Albani accepted the unanimous vote of the conclave and assumed the papacy under the name Clement XI.

Cardinal Albani had already recommended to Innocent XII that Tomasi be appointed Consultor of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, but the General of the Theatines advised that Tomasi would never accept and the idea was dropped. However, once elected Pope, Albani revived his earlier idea. For his part Tomasi was enthusiastic for the pontificate of Clement XI, in whom he saw a man of seriousness of Christian life. We sense a particular emotion when he recounted to his sisters how on the morning of the solemnity of SS. Peter and Paul the Pope celebrated Pontifical Mass in St Peter's Basilica and against the custom of recent times "fece una bellissima et elegantissima predica in lingua latina, e che riusci molto divota",<sup>33</sup> while on Palm Sunday 1701 he witnessed to his joy how Pope Clement settled into one of the confessionals to hear confessions for more than two hours.<sup>34</sup>

It was this Pope who, knowing well Tomasi, his merits and his reticence, decided that he would not take no for an answer and appointed him Consultor of the Rites, of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, and "qualificatore" of the Holy Office, theologian of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences and that of the Discipline of Regulars. In the tense international political situation Tomasi was also appointed to the General Council of the Theatines by the Pope in 1704, given that it was impossible to hold the usual elections. From this post alone he succeeded in these years in resigning.

There was also from early days in the pontificate a rumour that while it waxed and waned, nevertheless spoke consistently of Tomasi's being made a cardinal by Clement XI. In particular, it was expected that Tomasi would be among the 20 cardinals created in 1706, but nothing happened. It was in fact not until 1712 that Tomasi was one of a further 18 new cardinals. When the news came around midday on 18 May Tomasi took it incredulously at first and then announced to the numerous group that had began to gather

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Quoted by F. ANDREU, Pellegrino alle sorgenti, p. 316.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem, p. 316.

that he would write to the Pope. Poor Tomasi suffered the rest of the day, without a minute's respite from those who want to congratulate him and cajole him into abandoning any resistance. After praying for a long time alone in the church late that evening, he sat down after midnight to plea to be let off, citing in particular the vote enjoined on Theatines by their general chapter of 1662 not to accept ecclesiastical dignities. The letter was read to the resident cardinals, but the determined Pope issued a precept under obedience and Tomasi then accepted in silence. The ceremonial was hastened in view of the canonization to be celebrated on Sunday 22 May, of the Theatine St Andrew Avellino along with Pope St Pius V, St Felix of Cantalice and St Catherine of Bologna. On the Sunday evening Tomasi presided at a rite in Sant'Andrea della Valle for the reception of the standard of the new Saint, brought in procession from St Peter's. It was over forty-one years since the evening when as a tired 21-year-old Tomasi himself had carried to the same church the standard of St Cajetan of Thiene.

To be a cardinal in those times was not a light undertaking. The prevailing custom required that a cardinal keep a formal household and have a residence where he could receive dignitaries. As a religious, Tomasi had no monies amassed and he gratefully accepted a gift from the Pope and from his great-nephew Duke Ferdinand II. The many other gifts, apart from the odd basket of fruit, he quietly refused. Otherwise he took the situation in hand, acquired a residence in Via Panisperna, appointed his staff and fixed regulations for their dress and conduct. Among the priests in his service dress was to be modest and absolutely excluded the wigs then in fashion. In appointing the servants "below stairs", Tomasi tried to fend off sharks and loafers while giving a helping hand to the poor and those with disabilities. It is amazing to us, and was a burden to the conscience of Cardinal Tomasi, that the total of people employed by him ran to no less than 24. Like any person of rank, he was constantly besieged by the poor, many of whom he provided with help. Yet in the midst of this, he changed nothing in his personal lifestyle, continuing day after day with the same poor meals he had always had, served on pot dishes, tackled with wooden cutlery procured from a Trappist monastery, and accompanied by the reading of the Annales of Baronius. The Cardinal's own quarters were spartan and decorated largely with a few cheap prints. The household was run like a religious community, with morning and evening prayers in common. The Cardinal himself rose long before the others, at 4 a.m., and spent several hours in prayer before launching into his day, which involved receiving people on business at his home or going in person to Piazza di Spagna or to San Callisto in Trastevere. After lunch at home he continued his walk habits, though now he could not escape going in the poor carriage he had bought secondhand and had had stripped of its more elegant fittings. The Hours he recited at the correct liturgical times. Evening prayer was at 7 p.m., followed by supper and at 8 the doors of the house were locked and the keys brought to the Cardinal for the night. After further prayer and study he retired at 9. The whole household was run on a shoestring in that of the benefices assigned to him for his livelihood as a cardinal, Tomasi took little, having enquired about the pastoral and social conditions there and seen to it that most of the money was turned over to the local bishop to be used for good works locally.

The titular assigned to Tomasi was the *diaconia* of SS. Silvestro e Martino ai Monti, a house of the Carmelites. When the prior came to congratulate him, he announced "Sono stato [...] designato servo di questo titolo [...] e insieme scoperemo la chiesa e appiccieremo le lampade".<sup>35</sup> Tomasi went to the church every Sunday morning and evening, with all his household, joining the community in choir for the Hours and Mass, never missing the customary processions. He insisted in so far as possible on Gregorian chant and banished brass and string instruments. In the afternoon Tomasi himself took charge of catechism classes, divided into various groups, and encouraged with small prizes provided by him. After the recitation of prayers by some of the children in Italian, the cardinal vested for vespers, after which he gave his blessing, left alms with the prior and set off for a visit to Saint Mary Major.

The Cardinal concerned himself with various questions, including the authenticity of relics in the church, the planning of the sermon cycles, the provision of a new and worthier baptismal font and surrounding area, the donation of new vestments and sacred vessels, of new confessionals, the reordering of the smaller chapels.

Leaving his church on the afternoon of 21 December after the vespers of St Thomas the Apostle, he went for a brief stroll, caught a chill, and and a fever set in. This became worse when having gone to first Vespers of Christmas at St Peter's and wanting neither to take part in a festive supper nor return home, he hung around in the nearby seminary waiting for midnight Mass, to which he then came on foot. After a short night, and having said the usual Masses, he then went to St Peter's for the solemn morning Mass. On his return home, his condition worsened until he died in a Christian fashion at 6.15 on a misty morning of New Year's Day 1713 at his home in a via Panisperna half blocked by recent snowfalls, the same day as his uncle Carlo 38 years before. On the evening of the following day he was buried in the crypt of his titular church. The beatification followed on 29 September 1803 by Pope Pius VII and the canonization on 12 October 1986 by Pope John Paul II.<sup>36</sup>

Saint Giuseppe Maria Tomasi is a fascinating character, a man who knew how to set about renewal and reform by the seriousness of a life of prayer and Christian virtue, by an unremitting use of his intellectual gifts, informed always by faith and by a love for the Church, a man who when events took a turn he had never desired, at an age when there was little time left to him, did what he could to apply all the means at his disposal to pursue the same renewal of the Church in pastoral vein.

Anthony WARD, S.M.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Acta Apostolicae Sedis 84 (1992) 105-107.

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