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THE GOOD FRIDAY PRAYER FOR THE JEWS IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

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From the General Introduction

These papers, commissioned by the International Federation *Una Voce*, are offered to stimulate and inform debate about the 1962 Missal among Catholics 'attached to the ancient Latin liturgical tradition', and others interested in the liturgical renewal of the Church. They are not to be taken to imply personal or moral criticism of those today or in the past who have adopted practices or advocated reforms which are subjected to criticism. In composing these papers we adopt the working assumption that our fellow Catholics act in good will, but that nevertheless a vigorous and well-informed debate is absolutely necessary if those who act in good will are to do so in light of a proper understanding of the issues.

The authors of the papers are not named, as the papers are not the product of any one person, and also because we prefer them to be judged on the basis of their content, not their authorship.

The International Federation *Una Voce* humbly submits the opinions contained in these papers to the judgement of the Church.

The Good Friday Prayer for the Jews in the Extraordinary Form: Abstract

In 2008, Pope Benedict XVI composed a new prayer 'Pro Conversione Iudæorum', to be used in celebrations of the Good Friday Liturgy in the Extraordinary Form. The prayer's petition for the conversion of the Jews should be understood in the eschatological context offered by Pauline and Patristic, as well as more recent, theology, which foresees the corporate conversion of the Jews taking place in the final stage of history. It is in this way that the most recent official documents reconcile the Church's universal missionary mandate with the circumstances of today, in the shadow of the Shoah, in which a targeted mission to the Jewish people is not envisaged.

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FIUV POSITION PAPER 28: THE GOOD FRIDAY PRAYER FOR THE JEWS IN THE EXTRAORDINARY FORM

1. The Prayer 'Pro conversione Iudæorum', one of the *Orationes sollemnes* in the Solemn Liturgy of Good Friday, has caused controversy for many years, and the appropriateness of the wording used in the Extraordinary Form today is again under discussion. This Position Paper aims to set the prayer into its historical and theological context, and to defend its appropriateness in light of its correct understanding.

The Development of the Prayer up to 2008

2. The nine *Orationes sollemnes* of the Good Friday service date from the oldest stratum of Roman liturgical texts, perhaps from the third century.[1] The scholar Bl. Ildefonso Schuster remarks of the series:

> In reciting a prayer of such venerable antiquity, we seem to enter into a closer spiritual relationship with those early generations of martyrs and confessors for the faith, who used the self-same words before us, and thus obtained the graces needful to enable them to correspond to their high vocation of witnessing to this faith with their own blood.[2]

3. The series forms a coherent whole, in intention and tone, covering the different 'orders' within the Church, and different categories of those outside the Church.[3] The prayer for the Jews differed from the other intercessions in not including a genuflection, until the reform of Holy Week in 1956.

4. The prayers remained unchanged until very recent times.[4] The pre-1956 version of the Prayer for the Jews and its rubrics are discussed in Appendix C; its modern history is given in detail in Appendix A.

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[1] Josef Jungmann *The Mass of the Roman Rite* (New York: Benzinger Brothers, 1955: English Edition, trans Francis Brunner C.SS.R.) Volume I pp481-2: Jungmann remarks that in these Prayers, 'whose echo goes back to the first century, we have the general prayer of the Church in the exact wording in which it was performed … since the third century.' The footnotes explain the phrase 'echo of the first century' with a quotation from St Clement of Rome *Ad Corinth.,* (c59-61), whose list of petitions strikingly anticipates the *Orationes sollemnes.* Jungmann explains that these prayers were originally said throughout the year. Cf. the discussion by Philip Goddard *Festa Paschalia* pp174f. The Anglican scholar G.G. Willis observed that the collects employ the rhythmical prose called the 'cursus', a style in use from the 4th to the 7th centuries, though the bidding prayers, for the most part, do not, and speculated accordingly that the bidding prayers might have been composed before the 4th century: "The Solemn Prayers of Good Friday" in his *Essays in Early Roman Liturgy* (London, SPCK: 1964) pp1-48, at pp45-47.

[2] Bl. Ildefonso Schuster *The Sacramentary (Liber Sacramentorum): Historical and Liturgical Notes on the Roman Missal* (English translation: London: Burns Oats, 1925) trans Arthur Levelis-Marke Vol II p211.

[3] Specifically, the prayers are: for Holy Church ['pro Sancta Ecclesia'], for the Pope ['pro Summo Pontifice'], for Every Grade of the Faithful ['pro Omnibus ordinibus gradibusque fidelium'], for Rulers ['pro respublicas moderantibus'], for Catechumens ['pro catechumenis'], for the Necessities of the Faithful ['pro fidelium necessitatibus'], for the Unity of the Church, i.e. for heretics and schismatics ['pro unitate Ecclesiae'], for the Conversion of the Jews ['pro conversione Iudæorum'], and for the Conversion of the Pagans ['pro conversione infidelium'].

[4] The ancient Prayer for the Emperor was adapted to apply to rulers in general in 1956. It had over the centuries been applied to the Holy Roman Emperor, and then the Habsburg Emperor. It was not said after 1918. The revised prayer ('Pro respublicas moderantibus') used phrasing from the Prayer for the Emperor and another collect, from

5. Pope Benedict XVI replaced the ancient text of the Prayer for the Jews with a new composition in 2008. Criticisms made of the Benedictine composition also apply to the text it replaced. The meaning of the texts must be considered in light of the theology of the Fathers of the Church, which was current at the time of the original prayer's composition, as well as the most recent magisterial documents. As this is a large topic, the treatment here will necessarily be summary.

The Fathers and the Middle Ages

6. The central question is the meaning of the petition, in the ancient and the 2008 prayer, for the conversion of the Jews. The theological context is given by the Patristic consensus on the topic, itself based on St Paul,[5] of which Pope St Gregory the Great gives a typical example:

> a day will come when he [*sc.* Christ] will make himself known to the Synagogue as well. This will doubtless be at the end of the world.[6]

The eschatological focus of the Prayer for the Jews is underlined by its reference to the Jews as a corporate body, 'that people' ('illius populi').[7]

7. Another element of the Patristic view is particularly associated with St Augustine of Hippo, who attributed great significance to the continuing existence of the Jewish community, in their fidelity to the Law of Moses:

> The unbelief of the Jews has been made of signal benefit to us, so that those who do not receive these truths in their heart for their own good nevertheless carry in their hands, for our benefit, the writings in which these truths are contained.[8]

8. Thus, the Jews' failure to accept the Gospel is not a matter of indifference, but rather, on the one hand, their conversion is something devoutly to be desired, presaging the Second Coming, and on the other, that their unbelief in the meantime makes more credible the prophecies of Christ, which they preserve in their Scriptures. This formed the theological underpinning for a practical policy of toleration and charity towards the Jews, despite the harsh language sometimes employed by the Fathers in relation to Jewish lack of belief.

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the Leonine Sacramentary, 'Auxiliare, domine temporibus nostris' (Mohlberg *Sacramentarium Veronense* (1966) p. 64, no 480).

[5] Throughout the history of the theological discussion, the words of St Paul in Romans (11:25-29) have been central: '…blindness in part has happened in Israel, until the fullness of the Gentiles should come in. And so all Israel should be saved, as it is written: There shall come out of Sion, he that shall deliver and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob. And this is to them my covenant: when I shall take away their sins. As concerning the gospel, indeed, they are enemies for your sake: but as touching the election, they are most dear for the sake of the fathers. For the gifts and the calling of God are without repentance.'

[6] St Gregory the Great *Moralia in Iob*. See also St Augustine, *Questions on the Gospels of Matthew and Luke*, bk 2 q. 33, talking about the parable of the prodigal son: 'He [the elder brother] is angry even now also, and still is unwilling to enter. When then the fullness of the Gentiles shall have come in, his father will go out at the fit time that all Israel also may be saved.' St John Damascene *On the Orthodox Faith*, book 4, 26: 'But Enoch and Elias the Thesbite shall be sent and shall turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, that is, the synagogue to our Lord Jesus Christ and the preaching of the apostles.' This understanding also lies behind St Bede's commentary on the Book of Tobit.

[7] This is not the case in the otherwise parallel prayers for heretics and schismatics, and for pagans.

[8] Quoted in Steven Boguslawski OP *Thomas Aquinas on the Jews* (New York, NY: Paulist Press, 2008) p68

9. Pope St Gregory the Great himself affirmed such a policy,[9] and it was reiterated, in the face of violence against the Jews occurring in the context of the Crusading movement,[10] in Pope Callixtus II's 1120 Bull *Sicut Iudeis.*[11] This threatened excommunication to any who stole Jews' property, interfered with their religious services, or compelled their baptism. In 1146 St Bernard of Clairvaux, 'the last of the Fathers', echoed St Augustine in condemning attacks on the Jews, calling them 'the living words of Scripture' and 'living witnesses of our redemption'.[12]

10. This official theological resistance to anti-Semitic violence was itself challenged, however, in the 13th century. Notably, in 1238 Nicholas Donin[13] attacked the Talmud as leading the Jews into error and blasphemy, undermining the notion of the Jews as bearing witness to the truth.[14] In the following centuries Jewish religious writings were seized for examination or destruction, sometimes by Papal mandate; synagogue services were disrupted and aggressive proselytization attempted by members of religious orders; mass expulsions were carried out from many European countries; and theological justification was sought even for forcible baptism.[15]

11. It must be underlined that this tragic phase in the Church's history cannot be blamed on the theology of the Fathers, from which the Prayer for the Jews derived, but precisely from the rejection of that theology. Throughout the period attempts were made to defend the Patristic view, notably by St Thomas Aquinas, and to refute Donin's claims about the Talmud,[16] a refutation definitively accepted following the Council of Trent,[17] in contrast to the views of

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[9] St Gregory approved of the conversion of Jews provided it was not done under compulsion. He ordered that they must be left free to celebrate their festivals without interference, and he also forbade the demolition of synagogues in order to build churches, prescribing that where this had already happened the Jewish community must be compensated for their loss of their property and, if their holy books had been confiscated, they must be returned to them (See R.A. Markus *Gregory the Great and His World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997) pp.76-80).

[10] Other factors in the wave of anti-Semitic violence included legislation obliging Jews to earn their living from banking and usury, which contributed to their unpopularity.

[11] The Bull is also known as the 'Constitution of the Jews'.

[12] Letter of St Bernard to the English, quoted by Boguslawski *op. cit.* p22

[13] Nicholas Donon of La Rochelle was a Jewish convert to Christianity and a Franciscan friar.

[14] Another Jewish convert, a Dominican friar, Paul Christian, pursued a complementary line of theological attack on the former consensus, by accusing the Jews of Deicide (in 1269 or 1270), inferring that 'They deserve to be killed, and woe to those creatures that tolerate them'. This claim was effectively demolished by St Thomas Aquinas in his commentary on 1 Corinthians 2:8. See David Decosimo *Ethics as a Work of Charity* (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2014) p25.

[15] The claim that, notwithstanding the anti-Semitic violence of the previous century, the 13th century saw a marked deterioration of conditions for European Jews, in connection with these critiques of the previous consensus of the role of the Jews in salvation history, is the thesis of the influential study by Jeremy Cohen *The Friars and the Jews: A study in the development of medieval anti-Semitism* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 1982). His implication of St Thomas Aquinas in this development has been overtaken by more recent scholarship, notably Boguslawski *op. cit.* and Decosimo *op. cit.*. The defence of forcible baptism was made by Duns Scotus, who made only a symbolic concession to the Patristic view of the importance of the conversion of the Jews before the Second Coming, suggesting that a group of Jews be allowed to exist on an island, in complete isolation from the Christian community. See Henry A. Krop 'Duns Scotus and the Jews: Scholastic theology and forced conversion in the 13th century' *Netherlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 69 (1989) pp161-175.

[16] Notably by Raymond Martin's *Pugio Fidei,* published c.1270.

[17] The Congregation for the Index asked only that a very small number of verses referring to Our Lord be removed. Their ruling meant that the Talmud could be freely printed and distributed, as far as the Church was concerned.

Martin Luther.[18] It is the Patristic, Thomistic, and Tridentine position which, with the later Magisterium to be considered in the next section, constitutes the perennial teaching of the Church, which is the proper context for the interpretation of the Prayer for the Jews on both historical and theological grounds, and which is definitive for Catholics attached to the Extraordinary Form.

Vatican II and after

12. In *Lumen gentium* 16 and *Nostra aetate* 4, the Second Vatican Council addressed relations with the Jews in continuity with the teaching of the Fathers. *Nostra aetate* expressed the eschatological hope for the conversion of the Jews:

> In company with the Prophets and the same Apostle, the Church awaits that day, known to God alone, on which all peoples will address the Lord in a single voice and "serve him shoulder to shoulder" (Soph. 3:9).[19]

At the same time, *Lumen gentium* reaffirmed the Church's mission:

> Wherefore to promote the glory of God and procure the salvation of all of these, and mindful of the command of the Lord, "Preach the Gospel to every creature," (Mark 16:15) the Church fosters the missions with care and attention.[20]

13. The language of *Lumen gentium* is reflected in the new *Code of Canon Law* (1983), which affirms (Canon 211):

> All the Christian faithful have the duty and right to work so that the divine message of salvation more and more reaches all people in every age and in every land.[21]

See John Lamont "Why the Jews are Not the Enemies of the Church" *Homiletic and Pastoral Review,* published online 6th March 2014 at http://www.hprweb.com/2014/03/why-the-jews-are-not-the-enemies-of-the-church/

[18] Martin Luther's mature views on the Jews are set out in his 1543 German tract *On the Jews and their Lies* (*Von den Jüden und iren Lügen*). As well as attacks on the integrity of Jews and of their religion, Luther proposes the destruction of their synagogues, their expulsion, and even their murder. In 1998 the Lutheran Church of Bavaria issued a statement dissociating itself from Luther's views: 'It is imperative for the Lutheran Church, which knows itself to be indebted to the work and tradition of Martin Luther, to take seriously also his anti-Jewish utterances, to acknowledge their theological function, and to reflect on their consequences. It has to distance itself from every [expression of] anti-Judaism in Lutheran theology.' (*Christians and Jews: A Declaration of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria*, November 24, 1998)

[19] Declaration on the Relation of the Church with Non-Christian Religions, *Nostra aetate*: 'Una cum Prophetis eodemque Apostolo Ecclesia diem Deo soli notum expectat, quo populi omnes una voce Dominum invocabunt et "servient ei humero uno" (Soph 3,9)'

[20] The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church, *Lumen gentium*: 'Qua propter ad gloriam Dei et salutem istorum omnium promovendam, Ecclesia, memor mandati Domini dicentis: "Praedicate evangelium omni creaturae" (Mc 16,15), missiones fovere sedulo curat.'

[21] 'Omnes christifideles officium habent et ius allaborandi ut divinum salutis nuntium ad universos homines omnium temporum ac totius orbis magis magisque perveniat.' Cf Canon 225 §1: 'Since, like all the Christian faithful, lay persons are designated by God for the apostolate through baptism and confirmation, they are bound by the general obligation and possess the right as individuals, or joined in associations, to work so that the divine message of salvation is made known and accepted by all persons everywhere in the world. This obligation is even more compelling in those circumstances in which only through them can people hear the gospel and know Christ.' ('Laici, quippe qui uti omnes christifideles ad apostolatum a Deo per baptismum et confirmationem deputentur, generali obligatione tenentur et iure gaudent, sive singuli sive in consociationibus coniuncti, allaborandi ut divinum salutis nuntium ab universis hominibus ubique terrarum cognoscatur et accipiatur; quae obligatio eo vel magis urget iis in adiunctis, in quibus nonnisi per ipsos Evangelium audire et Christum cognoscere homines possunt.')

14. The Ordinary Form Good Friday 'Prayer for the Jews' calls for them to come to 'the fullness of redemption'. The lack of specification as to the means of their salvation[22] has caused controversy, with some contending that the Old Covenant is a means of salvation for the Jews today. Other prayers of the Ordinary Form are clear, however. The Vespers of Easter Sunday includes the prayer 'Let Israel recognize in you [sc. Christ] the Messiah it has longed for'; other examples are given in Appendix B.[23] The Patristic view outlined above (6-8) is illustrated in many passages given in the Ordinary Form Office of Readings.

15. Nor are such prayers surprising, reflecting as they do God's desire for the salvation of all,[24] and Christians' desire for the return of the Lord in glory.[25] In the Aleinu prayer, used daily by Orthodox Jews, the petition is made for the abandonment of idolatry and the recognition of the one God. Rabbi Jacob Neusner, responding to criticisms of the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, pointed out the parallel, remarking:

> The Catholic prayer manifests the same altruistic spirit that characterizes the faith of Judaism.[26]

16. It has been found necessary, in official documents of the Holy See, repeatedly to condemn the view that the Jews could be saved other than through the life, death, and resurrection of Jesus Christ.[27] The recent statement of the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews expressed itself emphatically:

> The theory that there may be two different paths to salvation, the Jewish path without Christ and the path with the Christ, whom Christians believe is Jesus of Nazareth, would in fact endanger the foundations of Christian faith. Confessing the universal and

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[22] The Bidding of the 1970 prayer is almost identical to the version promulgated as a stop-gap reform in 1965, but the Collect has been changed: the 1965 version petitioned that the Jews 'may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord as the Redeemer of all' (see Appendix A).

[23] See also Acts 4.5-12: St. Peter, a Jew addressing Jews (the chief priests and their families), tells them that 'of all the names in the world given to men, this [the name of Jesus Christ] is the only one by which we can be saved' ('Et non est in alio aliquo salus nec enim nomen aliud est sub caelo datum hominibus in quo oportet nos salvos fieri.')

[24] For example, 1 Tim. 2:4: 'God will have all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth' (qui omnes homines vult salvos fieri, et ad agnitionem veritatis venire.') *Cf.* Ezech. 23:11; Mat. 18:14; 2 Pet. 3:9.

[25] For example, this is called for in the Lord's Prayer in the petition 'Thy kingdom come' ('Adveniat regnum tuum'), (Matthew 6:10; Luke 11:2), and also by the acclamation 'Maranà tha': 'Come, Lord Jesus, come soon' (1 Corinthians 16:22; Revelation 22:20; Didachè 10:6).

[26] *Die Tagespost*, 23rd Feb 2008 The full text of the article can be seen in English here: http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/193041?eng=y

[27] Thus the Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews: *Notes on the correct way to present the Jews and Judaism in preaching and catechesis in the Roman Catholic Church* (1985) 7. 'In virtue of her divine mission, the Church, which is to be "the all-embracing means of salvation" in which alone "the fullness of the means of salvation can be obtained" (*Unit. Red.*3); "must of her nature proclaim Jesus Christ to the world" (cf. *Guidelines and Suggestions*, I). Indeed, we believe that it is through him that we go to the Father (cf. Jn. 14:6) "and this is eternal life, that they know thee the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent" (Jn17:33).

'Jesus affirms (*ibid.* 10:16) that "there shall be one flock and one shepherd". Church and Judaism cannot then be seen as two parallel ways of salvation and the Church must witness to Christ as the Redeemer for all, "while maintaining the strictest respect for religious liberty in line with the teaching of the Second Vatican Council (Declaration *Dignitatis Humanae*)" (*Guidelines and Suggestions*, I).'

See also the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith Declaration *Dominus Iesus* (2000) 13: 'It was in the awareness of the one universal gift of salvation offered by the Father through Jesus Christ in the Spirit (cf. *Eph* 1:3-14), that the first Christians encountered the Jewish people, showing them the fulfilment of salvation that went beyond the Law'

therefore also exclusive mediation of salvation through Jesus Christ belongs to the core of Christian faith.[28]

Criticisms of the 2008 Prayer

17. Criticisms of the 2008 Prayer for the Jews refer to three different aspects of the prayer.[29] First, a criticism is made of the use of the language of 'enlightenment', suggesting as it does that the Jews are currently in a state of darkness. It is difficult to sustain such criticism, however, given that the phrase reflects the language of St Paul (2 Corinthians 4:3-6).[30] St Paul's use of vivid and even harsh language itself continues the tradition of the Prophets of the Old Testament and of Our Lord.

18. Second, some critics of the prayer do not appear to accept that all salvation is through Christ.[31] As noted, the Church can never allow the validity of such criticism, which strikes at the heart of the Christian faith.

19. Third, there is the question of mission to the Jews. Here, historical context is of special significance. The renewed debate on relations with the Jews which was sparked by the Second Vatican Council took place under the shadow of the Shoah, in which the survival of the Jewish people had been brought into question as never before in history. The rapid assimilation of some Jewish communities since the Second World War may seem to raise the same question through non-violent means. A systematic attempt to convert Jews to Christianity, if successful, would seem a similar threat.[32]

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[28] Commission for Religious Relations with the Jews: *The Gifts and the Calling of God are Irrevocable* (Rom 11:29): *A reflection on theological questions pertaining to Catholic–Jewish relations on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of* Nostra aetate *(no.4*) (2015) 35.

[29] Criticisms began following the publication of the Motu Proprio *Summorum Pontificum* in 2007, of the 1962 version of the prayer. These came from groups outside the Church, notably the Anti-Defamation League of the USA, as well as from inside. The publication of the Benedictine prayer in 2008 took place shortly before the start of the 2008 German Katholikentag which took place in Osnabrück, an important biennial gathering of German-speaking Catholics. A number of Jewish collaborators withdrew from the event in protest, and many criticisms of the prayer were articulated at the gathering, which were then reported in the German press. See Hans Hermann Henrix "The Controversy Surrounding the 2008 Good Friday Prayer in Europe: The Discussion and its Theological Implications' *Studies in Christian-Jewish Relations* Vol. 3 (2009). More recently, the Bishops' Conference of England and Wales approved a statement critical of the Benedictine prayer, which included this passage: 'The 1970 Prayer, which is now used throughout the Church, is basically a prayer that the Jewish people would continue to grow in the love of God's name and in faithfulness of his Covenant, a Covenant which—as St John Paul II made clear in 1980—has not been revoked. By contrast the Prayer produced in 2008 for use in the Extraordinary Form of the liturgy reverted to being a prayer for the conversion of Jews to Christianity.' (Bishops' Conference of England and Wales, *Resolution on the Good Friday Prayer for the Jews*, published 24th November 2015).

[30] 'And if our gospel be also hid, it is hid to them that are lost, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of unbelievers, that the light of the gospel of the glory of Christ, who is the image of God, should not shine unto them.' ('Quod si etiam opertum est evangelium nostrum in his qui pereunt est opertum, in quibus deus huius saeculi excaecavit mentes infidelium ut non fulgeat illis illuminatio evangelii gloriae Christi qui est imago Dei.')

[31] For example, the 'Jews and Christians' discussion group of the Central Committee of German Catholics affirmed, in response to the controversy caused by the 2008 prayer, that 'there is salvation for Jewish people who do not believe in Jesus as the Christ because of God's covenant with them'. This formulation was criticised by Cardinal Kasper as suggesting the possibility of 'salvation *extra Christum'*. See Henrix *op. cit.*.

[32] *Cf.* Dr Yoram Hazony "What the Vatican Didn't Say-and what It Did", on the blog *Torah Musings:* 'It is telling that this sentence [*sc.* of 'The Gifts and the Calling are Irrevocable'] refers to Christian missionizing as a threat to

20. In light of the teaching of the Fathers on the role of the Jews in salvation history, there is no justification for the view that the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, or its predecessors in earlier Missals of the Roman Rite, implies a commitment to a systematic project to make Judaism disappear. The Fathers, with St Paul before them and Aquinas after, expected a non-Christian Jewish community to continue in existence until the last days, and attribute an important symbolic role to this community up to then, and also during that final phase of history. Equally to be emphasised is the compatibility of this expectation with the universal missionary imperative, with the conversion of individual Jews to Christianity, and with the desire for the complete conversion of the Jews, connected as it is with the desire for the return of Christ in glory.

21. The Church must acknowledge the sensitivities of the current era, following the Shoah. She must also remain true to the mission entrusted to her by Christ, her Head. As a matter of logic, commitment to 'targeted proselytism' does not follow from the Church's universal missionary vocation, since it is not possible for the Church to target every group at once, and it is reasonable to take account of historical, political, and cultural factors in choosing where missionary efforts should be focused. The correct response to the latest criticisms of the Prayer for the Jews must be, with the documents quoted in the last section, to continue to explain the teaching of the Church, and not give way to pressure to hide it.[33]

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the existence of the Jewish people "in their eyes" (that is, in the Jews' eyes). The Church is still not able intuitively to grasp what is obvious to virtually every Jew, which is that a Jewish community that embraces Christianity will immediately disappear as a historical actor in the Jewish story, just as a Jewish community that embraces Islam likewise comes to an immediate historical end.' http://www.torahmusings.com/2015/12/what-the-vatican-didnt-say-and-what-it-did/

[33] In defending the 2008 Prayer for the Jews, Walter, Cardinal Kasper, reflected on the need for honesty in all theological dialogue: 'A sincere dialogue between Jews and Christians, …is possible only, on the one hand, on the basis of a shared faith in one God, creator of heaven and earth, and in the promises made to Abraham and to the Fathers; and on the other, in the awareness and respect of the fundamental difference that consists in faith in Jesus as Christ and Redeemer of all men.' *L'Osservatore Romano* 10th April 2008. The full text can be found in English here: http://chiesa.espresso.repubblica.it/articolo/197381?eng=y

Appendix A: The texts of the Prayer for the Jews

The form of the prayer used up to 1956

Bidding	
Let us pray also for the faithless Jews: that Almighty God may remove the veil from their hearts so that they too may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord.	Oremus et pro perfidis Judæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster auferat velamen de cordibus eorum; ut et ipsi agnoscant Jesum Christum, Dominum nostrum.
Rubric	
('Amen' *is not responded, nor is said* 'Let us pray', *or* 'Let us kneel', *or* 'Arise', *but immediately is said:*)	*(Non respondetur 'Amen', nec dicitur 'Oremus', aut 'Flectamus genua', aut 'Levate', sed statim dicitur:)*
Collect	
Almighty and eternal God, who dost not exclude from thy mercy even Jewish faithlessness: hear our prayers, which we offer for the blindness of that people; that acknowledging the light of thy Truth, which is Christ, they may be delivered from their darkness. Through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, who liveth and reigneth with thee in the unity of the Holy Spirit, God, for ever and ever. Amen	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui etiam judaicam perfidiam a tua misericordia non repellis: exaudi preces nostras, quas pro illius populi obcæcatione deferimus; ut, agnita veritatis tuæ luce, quæ Christus est, a suis tenebris eruantur. Per eundem Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum Filium tuum, qui tecum vivit et regnat in unitate Spiritus Sancti, Deus: per omnia sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

In 1948, the Sacred Congregation of Rites declared that 'perfidi iudaei' and 'iudaica perfidia' could be translated into the vernacular, in books for the laity, in the sense of 'infidelitas, infideles in credendo'.[34]

In the 1956 reform of Holy Week, the 'Amen' and genuflection were inserted in line with the other prayers of the Orationes sollemnes.

In 1959 the Sacred Congregation of Rites directed that the words 'perfidis' and 'perfidiam' be removed, so the bidding reads 'Let us pray for the Jews' and the collect 'Almighty and eternal God, who dost also not exclude from thy mercy the Jews.'[35]

The ancient prayer, with the changes just noted, is the version found in the 1962 Roman Missal, used for the Extraordinary Form.

[34] Sacred Congregation of Rites, decree of 10th June 1948, (AAS 40, 1948: p342)
[35] Sacred Congregation of Rites, decree of 19th March 1959.

In 2008 Pope Benedict XVI substituted the bidding and collect in the Extraordinary Form as follows:

Bidding	
Let us also pray for the Jews: That our God and Lord may illuminate their hearts, that they may acknowledge Jesus Christ the Saviour of all men.	Oremus et pro Iudaeis: Ut Deus et Dominus noster illuminet corda eorum, ut agnoscant Iesum Christum salvatorem omnium hominum.
Collect	
Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.	Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.
Almighty and eternal God, who will that all men be saved and come to the knowledge of the truth, propitiously grant that even as the fullness of the peoples enters Thy Church, all Israel may be saved. Through Christ Our Lord. Amen.	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui vis ut omnes homines salvi fiant et ad agnitionem veritatis veniant, concede propitius, ut plenitudine gentium in Ecclesiam Tuam intrante omnis Israel salvus fiat. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

As part of the liturgical reform which followed the Second Vatican Council, a number of changes were made to the 1962 Missal in advance of the promulgation of the new Missal of 1970. **In 1965 the Prayer for the Jews was substituted as follows:**[36]

Bidding	
Let us pray also for the Jews: that our God and Lord may be pleased to shine the light of his face over them; that they too may acknowledge Jesus Christ our Lord as the Redeemer of all.	Oremus et pro Iudæis: ut Deus et Dominus noster faciem suam super eos illuminare dignetur; ut et ipsi agnoscant omnium Redemptorem, Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum.
Collect	
Let us pray. Let us kneel. Rise.	Oremus. Flectamus genua. Levate.
Almighty ever-living God who conferred your promises on Abraham and his seed, mercifully hear the prayers of your Church, that the people whom you anciently acquired may merit to come to the fullness of Redemption. Through Christ our Lord. Amen.[37]	Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui promisiones tuas Abrahae et semini eius contulisti: Ecclesiae tuae preces clementer exaudi; ut populus acquisitionis antiquae ad Redemptionis mereatur plenitudinem pervenire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. R. Amen.

Archbishop Annibale Bugnini, the architect of the reforms, remarks of this and other, smaller changes made at the same time to the *Orationes sollemnes*:

> It is always unpleasant to have to alter venerable texts that for centuries have effectively nourished Christian devotion and have about them the spiritual fragrance of the heroic

[36] Consilium ad exsequendam Constitutionem de Sacra Liturgia: Instruction, *Variationes in Ordinem hebdomadae sanctae inducendae* (1965)
[37] Translation by RPD.

age of the Church's beginnings. It was nevertheless thought necessary to face up to the task, lest anyone find reason for spiritual discomfort in the prayer of the Church.[38]

The Prayer for the Jews in the Ordinary Form (1970 Missal, 2011 English translation)

Bidding

Let us pray for the Jewish people, the first to hear the word of God, that they may continue to grow in the love of his name and in faithfulness to his covenant.

Rubric

Prayer in silence. Then the priest says:

Collect

Let us pray. [Let us kneel. Rise.]
Almighty and eternal God, long ago you gave your promise to Abraham and his posterity. Listen to your Church as we pray that the people you first made your own may arrive at the fullness of redemption. We ask this through Christ our Lord. Amen.

Oremus et pro Iudæis, ut, ad quos prius locutus est Dominus Deus noster, eis tribuat in sui nominis amore et in sui fœderis fidelitate proficere.

Oratio in silentio. Deinde sacerdos:

Oremus. [Flectamus genua. Levate.][39]
Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, qui promissiones tuas Abrahæ eiusque semini contulisti, Ecclesiæ tuæ preces clementer exaudi, ut populus acquisitionis prioris ad redemptionis mereatur plenitudinem pervenire. Per Christum Dominum nostrum. Amen.

[38] Annibale Bugnini *The Reform of the Liturgy 1948*-1975 (Collegeville MN: The Liturgical Press, 1990) trans Matthew J. O'Connell, p119.
[39] 'Flectamus genua. Levate' ('Let us kneel. Rise') is optional.

Appendix B: Prayers for the Conversion of the Jews in the Ordinary Form Liturgy of the Hours

Morning Prayer, December 31st (VII Day within the Christmas Octave)[40]

Christ, Son of David, fulfilment of the prophecies, may the Jewish people accept you as their awaited Deliverer [Messiah].	Christe, Deus et homo, qui Dóminus es David et fílius eius, prophetías adímplens, te rogámus, ut Israel te Messíam agnóscat.

Lauds, January 2nd

Simeon and Anna proclaimed you as the Saviour; grant that the Jewish people may accept your message [Gospel] so long foretold.	Christe, quem, ab ángelis glorificátum et a pastóribus annuntiátum, Símeon et Anna conféssi sunt et prædicavérunt, te rogámus, ut Evangélium tuum a pópulo promissiónis recipiátur.

Evening Prayer, during the Easter Season (i.e. for seven weeks)

May all the nations praise you as their king and Lord; make Israel the people whom you call your own [possession].	Omnes gentes tibi regi et Deo psallant, et Israel fiat posséssio tua.

Evening Prayer on Wednesday of the II and IV weeks of Easter

From the Jewish people you chose Christ's first disciples; show the children of Israel that your promises are fulfilled.	Tu, qui primítias discipulórum Fílii tui ex Iudáico pópulo elegísti, fíliis Israel repromissiónem revéla, quæ ad patres eórum facta est.
℟ Save your people through the victory of Christ.	℟ Per victóriam Christi salva redémptos tuos.

Evening Prayer, Easter Sunday and its Octave, and on 3rd and 5th Sundays of Eastertide

Let Israel recognise in you the Messiah it has longed for; fill all men with the knowledge of your glory.	Israel in te Christum spei suæ agnóscat et omnis terra cognitióne tuæ glóriæ repleátur.
℟ Victorious king, hear us.	℟ Victor Rex, exáudi nos.

Discomfort about these prayers in German-speaking countries is reflected in the way some of them are translated. Thus, the prayer quoted above from the Morning Prayer of the 31st December runs, in German:[41]

In dir erfüllt sich alles, was die Propheten verkündet haben; - hilf uns, dass wir auch in unserem Leben die Hand Gottes erkennen.	In thee everything proclaimed by the prophets is fulfilled, help us to recognise God in our lives.

[40] The English translations are those currently in use in England and Wales.

[41] This German translation was approved by the bishops of the German-speaking Conferences in 1978. The English given is a literal translation of the German.

Similarly, the prayer quoted above from the Morning Prayer of 2nd January runs, in German:

Christus, von den Engeln besungen, von den Hirten kundgemacht, von Simeon und Anna gepriesen; - gib, dass wir deine Frohe Botschaft annehmen.	O Christ, who was sung of (about) by the angels, made known by the shepherds, praised by Simeon and Anna; - give, that we may accept your Good News.

Appendix C: the Pre-1956 Prayer

The Prayer for the Conversion of the Jews, in the form used up to 1956, has been criticised in three ways: for the use of the words *perfidus /perfidia*; for other excessively harsh language applied to the Jews; and for the rubric omitting the genuflection used in the other *Orationes sollemnes*. To facilitate a correct understanding of the prayer, and by extension of the liturgical tradition of which it is part, these three points should briefly be considered. Such a clarification does not address the question of the justification of the successive changes made to the prayer noted in Appendix A.

The use of perfidus (-a, -um, adjective) and perfidia (-ae, noun)

In Classical Latin the meaning of 'perfidia' and its cognates is close to the English 'perfidy' and 'perfidious': Juvenal uses *perfidus* to mean 'scoundrel'. The 1948 decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites on the meaning of the terms in the context of the prayer has already been noted: it was claimed that the phrases could legitimately be translated not as 'perfidious Jews' and 'perfidy of the Jews', but 'unfaithful Jews', and the 'unfaithfulness in belief (of the Jews)'.[42] This declaration followed an enquiry about translations into modern languages which (as the Congregation expressed it) 'sound offensive'.[43]

The Latin words were officially defended in the context of the reform of 1956 Holy Week, with the *Ordo Hebdomadae Sancte* recording that:

> Jews of our time also have complained about the terms *perfidis Iudaeis* and *iudaicam perfidiam*; [but] the employment of this term most certainly did not arise from anti-Semitism, since it quite simply and in no pejorative sense indicates the absence of faith.[44]

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[42] Sacred Congregation of Rites Declaration: 'In that double prayer wherein holy Mother Church in the solemn prayers of Feria VI in Parasceve [Good Friday] implores God's mercy also for the Hebrew people, there occur these words: "perfidi Iudaei" and "Iudaica perfidia". Furthermore there has been an inquiry concerning the true sense of this Latin locution, especially since in various translations made into vulgar languages for the use of the faithful those words have been expressed in locutions which seem to be offensive to the ears of that people.

Questioned on this matter, this Sacred Congregation has resolved to declare these things only: that "In translations into vulgar languages, locutions whose sense is "infidelitas," "infideles in credendo" are not censured". Rome, 10 June 1948, C. Cardinal Micara, Bishop of Velletri, Prefect, f. A. Carinci, Archbishop of Seleuceia, Secretary.' ('In bina illa precatione qua sancta Mater Ecclesia in orationibus solemnibus feriae sextae in Parasceve etiam pro populo hebraico Dei misericordiam implorat, haec verba occurrunt: <<perfidi iudaei>>, et <<iudaica perfidia>>. Porro quaesitum est de vero sensu istius locutionis latinae, praesertim cum in variis translationibus, ad usum fidelium in linguas vulgares factis, illa verba expressa fuerint locutionibus quae auribus istius populi offensivae videantur.

'Sacra haec Congregatio, de re interrogata, haec tantum declarare censuit: <<Non improbari, in translationibus in linguas vulgares, locutiones quarum sensus sit: "infidelitas, infideles in credendo">>.')

[43] Eugenio (Israel) Zolli, the Chief Rabbi of Rome who converted to Catholicism in 1945, reported a private conversation with Pope Pius XII in which he raised the issue; it is natural to see the decree of the Sacred Congregation of Rites as a result of this. See Robert Weisbord and Wallace Sillanpoa *The Chief Rabbi, the Pope, and the Holocaust: An Era in Vatican-Jewish Relations* (New Brunswick NJ: Transaction Productions, 1992) p171.

[44] 'Etiam Iudaei moderni agebant contra voces *perfidis Iudaeis* et *iudaicam perfidiam*: usus huius vocis omnino ortus non est ex antisemitismo, nam simpliciter et non sensu peiorativo significat *absentiam fidei.'* H.A.P Schmidt SJ in *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae,* p790.

Such an understanding of the words was defended later by the Latinist Augustin, Cardinal Bea,[45] writing:

> Although to modern ears, this adjective has a pejorative ring, in the medieval Latin of the time of the prayer's composition it simply meant 'unbelieving'.[46]

This contention has support from dictionaries of Late Latin;[47] the key Latin author establishing this usage being St Cyprian of Carthage, who consistently used *perfidus* as a variant for *incredulus* (unbelieving), and *perfidia* in opposition to *fides* (faith), as set out in detail by the scholar Antoon Bastiaensen.[48]

It is regrettable that, when removing the adjective 'perfidus' in the bidding and the noun 'perfidia' from the collect, Pope St John XXIII did not replace them with another word, since it would be natural to read the Latin of the 1959 version as applying to all Jews, regardless of their state of belief.

The Preface to the decree promulgating the reformed, 1956 Holy Week, in which the original wording was unchanged, notes the problem,[49] and goes on to remark:

> In the new version of the psalms [i.e. the 1945 Latin psalter] expressions are avoided which have acquired another sense in modern languages.

This unintentionally exposes a fundamental problem. For an attempt to avoid Latin expressions in the liturgy and Scriptures which suggest (through etymology or by chance) a misleading expression in some modern language or other, would clearly be as impractical as it would be damaging to Latin's role in maintaining stability over time in the Church's prayer.

Other harsh language

Other aspects of the prayer which caused difficulty were its use of the imagery of 'blindness' and the 'veil' over the hearts of the Jewish people. These do not appear in the 2008 prayer, although a reference to 'enlightenment' does.

This language, however, is taken directly from St Paul's own discussion of the rejection of Christ by the Jews. The phrase 'take the veil from their hearts' is a direct quotation from 2

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[45] Cardinal Bea was in charge of producing the new Latin translation of the Psalms which was promulgated by Pope Pius XII in 1947: see Positio 5: *The Vulgate.*

[46] August, Cardinal Bea *The Church and the Jewish People: A Commentary on the Second Vatican Council's Declaration on the Relation of the Church to Non-Christian Religions'* (New York NY: Harper and Row, 1966) trans Philip Loretz, p22.

[47] The standard work is J.F. Niermeyer, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), which gives (p788): 'perfidia': 'unbelief, disbelief, heresy'; 'perfidus': 'unbelieving, disbelieving, disbelief, heretical.' See also: Alexander Souter *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600 A.D.* (Oxford: OUP, 1949) p295: 'perfidus': 'infidel, unbelieving (Cyprian onwards)'; 'perfidia': 'unbelief, disbelief, heresy, e.g. the Jewish faith, Cyprian on'. Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire Latin-français des Auteurs chrétiens* (Paris: Librairie des Méridiens, 1954) p. 673: 'perfidus': 'the Infidels, the Musulmans'. Adverb 'perfide': 'in a manner contrary to the faith'.

[48] Antoon A.R. Bastiaensen "Les vocables *perfidus* et *perfidia* et leur application aux Juifs dans la Chretienté Latine des premiers siècles" *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 60, 215-229 (2008) pp218ff.

[49] A. Bugnini and C. Braga *Ordo Hebdomadae Sanctae Instauratus* (Bibliotheca "Ephemerides Liturgicae" Sectio Historica, Edizioni Liturgiche, Roma, 1956) column p 115 footnote 14. The authors regret the retention of perfidia/ perfidus since they 'sound badly', because they have 'developed an offensive sense'.

Corinthians 3:15, and the imagery of 'blindness' and 'light' are drawn from 2 Corinthians 4:3-6.

Other prayers of the series, for the conversion of pagans, and of heretics and schismatics, also employ vivid and powerful language,[50] which as already noted find a place in a tradition of the use of such language going back to the Prophets of the Old Testament. On the other hand, comment on those outside the Church is rare in the ancient Latin liturgical tradition as we have received it today.[51] The far more usual objects of unflattering language in the Extraordinary Form are the Faithful, both clerical and lay. The expression of our sinfulness and need for grace is a constant theme of the liturgical tradition, a 'negative' theme reformers sought to downplay in preparing the 1970 Missal.[52] This language of sinfulness is used invariably in the context of the hope for conversion: it is never an expression of condemnation, but of charity.

The genuflection

The lack of a genuflection between the bidding and the collect in the pre-1956 rubrics goes back to the earliest liturgical documents, though not quite unanimously.[53] It is explained in the *Ordo Lateranensis* (c.1120) and the *Ordo Romanus* XII (c.1190), by reference to the fact that the Jews bent their knees in mockery of Christ during the Passion.[54] This is the explanation given in the modern liturgical commentaries by Dom Prosper Guéranger[55] and Pius Parsch.[56]

Although kneeling in mockery is more associated, in devotional art, with the Roman soldiers during the Crowning with Thorns, Jewish leaders are described as mocking Christ during or after his trial at Mark 14:65 and Luke 22:63, and during the Crucifixion itself, by the chief priests amongst others at Matthew 27:42, and by one or more other crucified criminals at Matthew 27:44, Mark 15:32, and Luke 23:39. This accords with a pattern found in the Synoptic gospels, in which first the Jews, and then the Gentiles, and then both together, mock Our Lord

[50] The Prayer for the Unity of the Church (for heretics and schismatics) immediately precedes the Prayer for the Jews in the *Orationes sollemnes,* and calls on God to 'look upon the souls deceived by diabolical fraud, that abandoning all heretical depravity, the hearts of the erring may regain sanity and return to the unity of truth.' ('ad animas diabolica fraude deceptas: ut omni haeretica pravitate deposita, errantium corda resipiscant, et ad veritatis tuae redeant unitatem.') The Prayer for the Conversion of Pagans, which immediately follows the Prayer for the Jews, calls upon God to 'remove iniquity from their hearts' ('auferat iniquitatem a cordibus eorum'), and 'deliver them from the worship of idols' ('libera eos ab idolorum cultura'). It is clear from these prayers that it is the objective state of those referred to which is addressed, and not their subjective blameworthiness for being in that state.

[51] Such comment is found occasionally in the Lectionary, and for example in the Collect of the votive Mass for the Defence of the Church (pro Ecclesiæ defensione), which refers to the 'pagan peoples who trust in their savagery' ('gentes paganorum, quae in sua feritate confidunt').

[52] The excision of 'negative theology' from liturgical texts in the post-Conciliar reform is clearest in the revision of the Collects, and the principles are explained by Consilium member Matias Augé CMF: "Le Collette del Proprio del Tempo nel Nuovo Messale" *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 84 (1970), pp275-98, at p275-8. The disappearance of references to God's anger, human sinfulness, and related themes is illustrated by Anthony Cekada *Work of Human Hands: a theological critique of the Mass of Paul VI* (West Chester OH: Philothea Press, 2010) pp224-234.

[53] Goddard *op. cit.* p176. The exception is the Old Gelasian sacramentary, of which only one manuscript survives; the later Gelasian sacramantaries, which derive from it, do omit the genuflection at this point, and Goddard suggests the inclusion of the genuflection in the earlier manuscript is a mere oversight (p.177).

[54] As Goddard, remarks 'There is no reason to doubt that this was the reason for the practice': *ibid.* p177.

[55] Vol 6 p485

[56] Vol. II p334

during the Passion. This mockery is in fulfilment of many prophecies: notably, Psalm 21 (22):7-8[57] and Isaiah 53:3[58] refer to the rejection and mockery of his own people.

Similar cases of unusual rubrics of the Triduum are to be found on Holy Thursday and the Easter Vigil. In the Mass of Holy Thursday, from the earliest times the Pax (Kiss of Peace) is omitted.[59] Medieval liturgical commentators explain that it would not be fitting to use the kiss, since on this day we remember Judas Iscariot's betrayal of Our Lord with a kiss.[60]

In the Easter Vigil, the final, twelfth prophecy of the pre-1956 service describes the ordeal of the Three Young Men cast into the fiery furnace for refusing to bow down to an idol (Daniel 3). The rubric for the collect that follows this reading omits the genuflection that is made at the beginning of all the preceding collects. Guéranger explains:

> The Church omits the genuflexion, in order to inspire the catechumens [those about to be baptised] with a horror for the idolatry of the Babylonians, who *bend the knee* before the statue of Nabuchodonoser.[61]

Of a slightly different character is the lack of titles for the lections. This seems to have been a survival of the most ancient practice, but this did not stop medieval liturgical commentators from understanding it in symbolic terms, for example that Christ our head has not yet been restored to us.[62]

In light of the history of the interpretation of the lack of genuflection in the Prayer for the Jews, and these parallels, it is clearly incorrect to understand it as a symbol of contempt towards the people the prayer concerns, any more than the lack of genuflection after the reading of Daniel 3 should be understood as indicating a lacking respect for the Three Young Men.

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[57] 'But I am a worm, and no man: the reproach of men, and the outcast of the people. All they that saw me have laughed me to scorn: they have spoken with the lips, and wagged the head.' ('Ego autem sum vermis et non homo obprobrium hominum et dispectio plebis. omnes videntes me subsannant me dimittunt labium movent caput.')

[58] 'Despised, and the most abject of men, a man of sorrows, and acquainted with infirmity: and his look was as it were hidden and despised, whereupon we esteemed him not.' ('Despectum et novissimum virorum virum dolorum et scientem infirmitatem et quasi absconditus vultus eius et despectus unde nec reputavimus eum.')

[59] See Goddard *op. cit.* p.145

[60] Goddard cites John of Avranches (d.1079) *Liber de officiis ecclesiasticis*: see Goddard *op. cit.* p165 n.110. See R. Delamare, *Le* De officiis ecclesiasticis *de Jean d'Avranches, archévêque de Rouen (1067–79): étude liturgique et publication du texte inédit du manuscrit H. 304 de la Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Montpellier*, Bibliothèque liturgique, 22 (Paris, 1923), 32. The same work reiterates the interpretation of the missing genuflection in Good Friday Prayer for the Jews (in the edition just noted, p34).

[61] Vol. 6 p605

[62] Goddard *op. cit.* pp230-1.