

**ASIAN
HORIZONS**

Vol. 6, No. 3, September 2012

Pages: 423-455

THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

Alberto Melloni♦

The Event and History¹

The Announcement of a Dream

The Second Vatican Council was announced by John XXIII on 25 January 1959 in the sacristy of St. Paul's Outside the Walls during the concluding liturgy of the week of prayer for Christian unity.²

Such an announcement had been eagerly awaited for nearly a century, since the suspension of the First Vatican Council in the

♦**Alberto Melloni** is professor of History of Christianity at the University of Modena-Reggio (Italy) and Chair Holder of the UNESCO Chair on Religious Pluralism and Peace for his University and the University of Bologna. Since 2007 he is director of the John XXIII Foundation for Religious Studies in Bologna, as successor of Giuseppe Alberigo. He was member of the international group that authored *The History of the Second Vatican Council* directed by G. Alberigo. He serves on the Board of many international journals. He has launched several research programs. He has founded the series "Politics and Holy See in the 20th Century" (il Mulino, Bologna) and "Christianity and History" (Lit, Münster); he worked to the creation of the EU network on Pius XI and the EU network Tres. His recent publications: *Il conclave. Storia di una istituzione, L'altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il concilio Vaticano II (1959–1965)*, *Innocenzo IV. La concezione e l'esperienza della cristianità come regimen unius personæ*, *La storia che giudica, la storia che assolve, Papa Giovanni: Un cristiano e il suo concilio*, *Pacem in terris: Storia dell'ultima enciclica di papa Giovanni*, *Le cinque perle di Giovanni Paolo II* and *Chi ha paura del Vaticano II?* (ed. with G. Ruggieri). Email: melloni@fscire.it

¹I will refrain from constantly referring to the *Storia del concilio Vaticano II, diretta da G. Alberigo*, 5 vols., Bologna 1995-2001, mandatory reading for an exhaustive reconstruction of the Council and its historiography. In this preliminary overview I will provide only the more essential or recent bibliographic references.

²A. Melloni, *Prodromi e preparazione del discorso d'annuncio del Vaticano II* ("Questa Festiva Ricorrenza," 25 gennaio 1959), in "Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa," 28 (1992) 607-643.

summer of 1870 due to the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War. The idea that the Council might be reconvened as soon as a solution could be found to the "Roman Question" had long circulated in various circles³ and gradually returned to the fore along with glimpses of a possible reconciliation between Italy and the Holy See, from whom the Kingdom of Italy had seized temporal power. In 1925, Pius XI encouraged this dream and even consulted Catholic bishops on the subject.⁴ In fact, not everyone believed church councils to have been rendered obsolete by the proclamation of papal infallibility or the primacy of the Roman pontiff.⁵ Even among the clergy there were those who saw reason for a universal assize of the episcopacy in the conflict with modernity and the worldwide spread of the Church, as well as in the anti-modernist campaign.⁶ Thus the idea of a council remained latent for decades, surfacing only in the 1940s when Pius XII set up an investigative commission headed by Msgr. Borgongini Duca, the papal nuncio in Italy, which yielded no concrete results.⁷

The idea of the Council caused as much commotion outside the Catholic Church as within. In Moscow, a council held between 1917 and 1918 had preceded the "Soviet night" of the Russian Church, restoring the patriarchate and conciliarity more or less at the time of the October Revolution.⁸ In 1921, the throne of Constantinople had launched an appeal for a pan-Christian council to the churches of Christ, while the ecumenical movement, both before and after the Second World War, had envisioned its development in terms of a "council" of churches not unlike a synod. This excitement was part of the climate that greeted Pope John's announcement,⁹ but it was

³H.J. Sieben, *Katholische Konzilsidee im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert*, Paderborn 1993.

⁴G. Caprile, "Pio XI e la ripresa del concilio Vaticano," in *Civiltà Cattolica* 117 (1966/3) 27-39 and "Pio XI, la Curia romana e il concilio," in *Civiltà Cattolica* 120 (1969/2) 121-133 and 563-575.

⁵N. Jung, "Concile," in *Dictionnaire de Droit canonique, all'inizio degli anni '40*.

⁶Cfr. G. Butturini, "Per un concilio di riforma: una proposta inedita (1939) di C. Costantini," in *Cristianesimo nella storia* 7 (1986) 87-139.

⁷G. Caprile, "Pius XII. und das zweite Vatikanische Konzil," in *Pius XII. zum Gedächtnis*, Hrsg. H. Schambeck, Berlin 1977, 649- 691; the subject is also mentioned in the reports on the Council by *Civiltà cattolica*, gathered by G. Caprile in *Il concilio Vaticano II*, 4 vols. Roma 1966-1968.

⁸For the most recent research, see *Il concilio di Mosca del 1917-1918*, A. Mainardi ed., Bose 2004.

⁹For an example of the ways in which rumours of a possible council circulated at this time, see the conversation between Cardinal Frings and his secretary, which took place on the return voyage from the conclave, in *Für die Menschen bestellt*.

immediately apparent that the pontiff's initiative did not stem directly from this background and set of issues. It was, rather, characterized primarily by a novel encounter between the exercise of the primacy of the Bishop of Rome and a bold ecumenical perspective. Starting with his initial announcement, pronounced before a small number of cardinals and made public in February, the pontiff traced the outlines of a Council that would be "ecumenical" not only because it was deemed such by papal convocation and approval, in accordance with past Church practice. The intent, rather, was to express a novel openness to other churches in light of a common journey of conversion and obedience to the Gospel evoked by the pontiff with his reference, as classical as it was forgotten, to the "new Pentecost". Welcomed by a wave of hope, the announcement of the Council quickly moved out from under the veil of reserve beneath which it was initially shrouded, reaching communications channels worldwide from early February 1959 on. Immediately, and without – as yet – signals or proof, it seemed like the end of a long season, the end of the Constantinian phase, of the post-Tridentine era, and, more certainly, the end of the season of condemnations that had silenced many voices in the final years of the Pacelli papacy, from the anti-modernist repression of the early twentieth century to the campaign against the "new theology". Though this hopefulness was not entirely well founded (the pope, after all, was elderly), John XXIII's first actions regarding the future Council did nothing to temper it.

In fact, on 17 May 1959, the pope entrusted the next steps to a Pre-preparatory Commission made up of all the heads of the curial congregations and presided over by the Vatican Secretary of State. Apart from this novel leadership (a de facto preview, ten years in advance, of Paul VI's reform of the Curia thanks to which the functions of the Holy Office were reduced), the decision to consign the upcoming Council to the prefects of the congregations was certainly not promising in terms of the renewal evoked by John XXIII in his speeches, perhaps best symbolized by the note of 14 July 1959, in which he announced that the Council would be called Vatican II. In any case, in the cultural context of the period, the prospect of the Council seemed to represent a vital hope to the generation that had seen the horror of world war and the freezing of geopolitical blocks

Erinnerungen des alterzbischofs von Köln J. Kard. Frings, Köln 1973, 247. For other references see Melloni, "Questa festiva ricorrenza".

into an immobilism that included Catholic teachings against Communism.

The commission's first proposal was to send a closed-format questionnaire to bishops worldwide in order to gather their proposals for the Council. The pope rejected this method, insisting the questionnaire be replaced with a letter asking the bishops to express their "*vota*" for the Council. This request led to the mobilization of intellectual energies long dormant and intimidated, but the intuitions of the bishops, which were accompanied by a dose of conformity and predictable banality, were subsequently entrusted to an organizational machine that was working with other objectives, and in the utmost secrecy.¹⁰ In the end, the grid of the questionnaire, articulated according to the organizational structure of the Roman congregations, was used as a filter for compiling the 1998 *vota* letters sent by the 2593 bishops who, along with superiors of religious orders, Catholic universities, and the curial congregations (referred to with greater hauteur as *præcepta et monita*), had received the missive soliciting their input. Nonetheless, for many bishops the novelty of freely expressing their views and, for some, of new collaborations with theologians, served as a promise of a hitherto unthought-of renewal.

Ambivalent Preparations

The material gathered through the *vota* letters served as the basis of the work of the new organs created with the Council in view. John XXIII, with his 2 June 1960 *motu proprio, Superno Dei nutu*, approved a complex preparatory structure that made even more explicit the Curia's intention to control the preparatory phase. The preparatory work was, in fact, divided among ten preparatory commissions (one corresponding to each of the congregations plus one on the lay people, for which a curial organ had long been in the works¹¹) presided over by the prefects of the congregations and responsible for drafting the documents to be discussed at the Council based on the themes that had surfaced upon compilation of the *vota*. The commissions were not limited by anything but the obligation to pass

¹⁰A. Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai consilia et vota della fase antepreparatoria del Vaticano II," in *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura religiosa* 26 (1990) 556-576.

¹¹M.T. Fattori, "Il tema dei laici dagli anni trenta al concilio Vaticano II. Rassegna delle fonti e dei percorsi (1930-1965)," in *Cristianesimo nella storia* 20 (1999) 325-381.

the documents they produced on to a 120-member Central Preparatory Commission (made up of bishops, cardinals, and members of the Curia) for subsequent approval.¹² This decision-making structure corresponded to a precise vision of the preparatory phase and of the Council. From the start, preparations were carried out under the assumption that the Central Preparatory Commission would rubber-stamp the documents assumed to have been prepared upon papal order and to have obtained papal approval, at least indirectly—precisely what the conciliar assembly was expected to do in the future. This machine produced – in this manner and for precisely this purpose¹³– 70 draft documents or schemata, which frequently overlapped and which dealt in many cases with minor issues as part of a project aimed at rendering coherent the succession of papal condemnations of the previous century and reorganizing them into a unified *corpus* that mirrored the Curia. Obviously, it was not possible for the Central Preparatory Commission to systematically reject these proposals, but it did provide a few dozen bishops and almost all the cardinals with an opportunity to experience, on a small scale, the dynamics of a mixed assembly.

Apart from two changes, this flow of decisions did not alter substantially even after the death of the Cardinal Secretary of State Domenico Tardini who changed a balance of power that dated back to the 1958 conclave. The first change, within the preparatory system, was a result of the work on the liturgical reform. Availing itself of the 80 years of work of a “movement” that was as informal as it was substantial,¹⁴ in which pastoral aspirations and research met,¹⁵ the Liturgical Commission drafted a schema that was indecipherable both to those who thought of the Council as an instrument for giving solemnity to the theological structures of the era of Popes Pius IX through XII and to the cardinals who expected it to bring about a gradual series of reforms centred on the governing structures and on

¹²A. Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo. Il dibattito nella commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II*, Bologna 1992.

¹³*Verso il concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962)*, ed., G. Alberigo and A. Melloni, Genova 1993.

¹⁴J. Lamberts, “L'évolution de la notion de “participation active” dans le Mouvement liturgique du XXe siècle,” in *La Maison-Dieu*, 241 (2005) 77-120.

¹⁵For more on the contribution of the movement see É. Fouilloux, “‘Mouvements’ théologico-spirituels et concile (1959-1962),” in *À la veille de Concile Vatican II. Vota et réactions en Europe et dans le Catholicisme oriental*, ed., M. Lamberigts and Cl. Soetens, Leuven 1992, 185-199.

the Church's relationship with the world (emblematic of this was Cardinal Montini's amazement upon learning that the Council would open with a discussion of the liturgy¹⁶). The second change had to do with the singular but overwhelming example of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, instituted by the pope upon the suggestion of Cardinal Augustin Bea and charged with the general oversight of all ecumenical matters during the preparatory phase.¹⁷ Born in mid-1960 of an initiative that drew upon the experience of the German episcopacy, in a very few months the Secretariat became an element of extraordinary dynamism. It was not organized according to the rules that governed the regular procedures of the Curia, and therefore its working methods were far more efficient than those of the other commissions, thus creating a channel for issues that otherwise would not have found their way to the pope's inner circle (from anti-Semitism to freedom of conscience, from ecumenical relations to the renouncement of proselytism, from the relationship between the organs of the ecumenical movement to the various tangled knots of the great biblical questions). Along with Bea, a Jesuit cardinal and former rector of the Pontifical Biblical Institute, other figures who would otherwise have been marginalized or sacrificed by the central government of the Roman Catholic Church were called to Rome, including the Dutch priest Johannes Willebrands, who in the 1950s had organized an informal Catholic commission for ecumenical issues; various French and Belgian theologians hailing from spheres linked to the *nouvelle théologie*; and experts from various nations who made of the Secretariat the only truly international setting in papal Rome in terms both of citizenship and of theological cultures, destined to become the interlocutor of ecumenical circles and beyond.¹⁸

The working system of the commissions, marked by secrecy and an extreme fear of the world,¹⁹ thus slowed the progress of this complex

¹⁶F.G. Brambilla, "Il card. Montini e l'inizio del Concilio Vaticano II. Una ricostruzione storico-teologica. I-II," in *La rivista del clero italiano*, LXXXIII, 7-8, 504-519 and 9, 600-614 and "Carlo Colombo e G.B. Montini alle sorgenti del concilio," in *La Scuola Cattolica*, 130 (2002) 221-260.

¹⁷S. Schmidt, *Agostino Bea, il cardinale dell'unità*, Assisi 1987.

¹⁸Cfr. Ph. Chenaux, "Le Conseil oecuménique des Églises et la convocation du Concile," in *À la veille de Concile Vatican II*, respectively 200-213 and 214-257.

¹⁹A. Indelicato, "La "Formula nova professionis fidei" nella preparazione del Vaticano II," in *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 7 (1986) 305-340. For the atmosphere

institutional structure. That there were potentially no time limits made it seem likely that the conciliar project might vanish along with the elderly pope before it really began.²⁰ Assisted by Cardinal Cicognani, the new, elderly Vatican Secretary of State who had lived outside of Rome for a quarter of a century, Pope John nonetheless proceeded, at the end of 1961, to establish precise deadlines, first with the bull *Humanae salutis* of Christmas 1961 and then with the *motu proprio Concilium*, setting the opening of the conciliar assembly for 11 October 1962 and indicating with greater precision some of the characteristics of the future Vatican II, which was not to be a council of union or return, but rather a council open to the ecumenical journey, dedicated not to emitting condemnations but “pastoral” in nature²¹ and therefore dedicated to ensuring that the Gospel would speak to men and women of a new historical era.

An Eve of Doubts

After the date for the opening of the Council had been established, the work of the Preparatory Commission became more intense and chaotic. The number of draft documents sent for approval increased. The conditional approvals voted upon by the commission were often subject to vague and contradictory changes. Documents on important topics (the most sensational was the document condemning anti-Semitism, put forward by the Secretariat for Christian Unity) were set aside; draft regulations (published on 5 September but dated 6 August) made it clear that the authors of the schemata, writing on the pope’s behalf, believed themselves in some way to have obtained his authority and that therefore the task of the assembly would be reduced, inevitably, to the mere approval, without significant discussion, of everything with which it was presented.

This assessment – though reinforced by such unsettling acts as the emission of the encyclical on the use of Latin, *Veterum sapientia*, which was aimed at sabotaging the work of the liturgical commission – was wrong. The summer 1962 presentation, with papal approval, of 7 schemata to be discussed by the Council, provoked unexpectedly

surrounding the Lateran Council, see Ph. Chenaux, ed., *La Pontificia Università Lateranense e la preparazione del Concilio*, Roma, 2001.

²⁰ *Il Vaticano II fra attese e celebrazione*, G. Alberigo ed., Bologna, 1995.

²¹ Cfr. G. Alberigo, “Ekklesiologie im werden. Bemerkungen zum “Pastoralkonzil” und zu den Beobachtern des II. Vatikanums,” in *Ökumenische Rundschaü*, 40/2 (1991) 109-128.

vehement reactions. Suddenly the best theologians and bishops – frequently those who, as members of the Central Commission, had limited themselves to expressing criticism – realized that apart from the *de liturgia*, the schemata lacked doctrinal depth and failed to meet the expectations of the Church and of the world. It was clearly necessary to rethink the Council, but was it realistic to imagine this could be done? The discouragement felt by some of the experts on the preparatory commissions (Congar,²² for example, and De Lubac²³), but also by high-standing bishops (like Cardinal Léger), spread to those whose job it was to draft records and notes for the most important episcopal conferences.²⁴ A renewal of popular enthusiasm notwithstanding the most realistic thought it would be impossible for changes to be made.

On 11 October 1962, the throng that was to “make the Council happen” arrived in Rome. It was, obviously, made up of the 2500²⁵ bishops and others who had a right to participate according to the customs and canons of the Roman church, as well as a substantial group of “observers” from various Christian churches (over the summer the possibility of the arrival of an “observer” from Israel had created many misunderstandings), who by their presence testified to the credibility and authority with which, thanks to the Council, a new phase in the *historia conciliorum*²⁶ was being opened and created. At the same time, another “assembly” was gathering: nearly two thousand journalists and cameramen. For the first time, news of a Roman Catholic council would reach the public not only through print media, but also through radio and television, with an immediacy that would not fail to impact the assembly.²⁷ Less visible

²²Congar’s diary is of primary importance on this point. It was made available to scholars working on the history of the Council cited above and has recently been published. Y. Congar, *Mon Journal du Concile*, ed., É. Mahieu, 2 vols., Paris, 2002.

²³Ph. Levillain, *La mécanique politique de Vatican II. La majorité et l’unanimité dans un Concile*, Paris, 1975. H. De Lubac, *Entretien autour de Vatican II. Souvenirs et réflexions*, Cerf (France Catholique), 1985.

²⁴For the decisive role played by E. Schillebeeckx, cfr. J.HY.A. Jacobs, *Met het oog op een andere Kerk. Katholiek Nederland en de voorbereiding van het Tweede Vaticaans Oecumenisch Concilie 1959-1962*, Baarn, 1986, 17-24.

²⁵The same number of fathers participated in each of the four sessions, but due to internal rotation, 4500 fathers actually participated in the Council as a whole.

²⁶*Vatican II at Moscow*, ed. A. Melloni, Leuven, 1996.

²⁷*Il Concilio in mostra. Il racconto del Vaticano II nei filmati delle Teche Rai (1959-1965)*. Alberto Melloni ed., Bologna, 2005.

were members of the diplomatic community, the object of interests, fears, and world views despite the contemporary marginalization of political powers at Roman Catholic councils.²⁸

Contacts were made and hypotheses compared in an environment in which new key words took shape.²⁹ The bishops who had voiced their serious objections to the seven schemata sent out over the summer wondered what steps could be taken in order to bring about a change of course. The decision-making structure of the Council as laid out in the regulations weighed heavily upon everyone, with its excessively large presidential commission (made up first of 10 then 12 cardinals); its system of commissions (11 with two technical organs) geared towards making sure the schemata met with rapid approval; the appointment of Msgr. Pericle Felici – a prelate of the Sacred Rota fluent in the Latin *de curia*, less so in spoken languages,³⁰ who had already played an official role in the preceding phase – as director of the General Secretariat; and the apparent lack of space in which much of anything could be accomplished. There thus rose the prospect of a Council that might manage to finish everything (Pope John was the only one to question this idea, the night he opened the assembly) “before Christmas”.

The Council Begins, The Preparations Begin Again

As the Council changed, however, the atmosphere changed. There were two reasons for this. First, the presence of the participants in the Council itself, in their multi-coloured universality, was an impressive testimony. Secondly, John XXIII’s opening address, which began, “*Gaudet mater ecclesia*” and which the pope had written himself, by hand, after having re-read the opening addresses of various councils over the summer, liberated Vatican II in one fell swoop from the fears of the preparatory phase.³¹ Having cleared the way of the pessimism that had characterized the long decades of the clash with modernity,

²⁸A. Melloni, *L'altra Roma. Politica e S. Sede durante il concilio Vaticano II (1959-1965)*, Bologna, 2000.

²⁹L.-J. Suenens, “Aux origines du Concile Vatican II,” in *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 107 (1985) 3-21.

³⁰J. Grootaers, *Actes et acteurs à Vatican II*, Leuven, 1998. V. Carbone, [P. Felici] “Segretario generale del concilio ecumenico Vaticano II, in Il cardinale Pericle Felici,” Roma, 1992, 159-194.

³¹G. Alberigo-A. Melloni, “L’allocuzione *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia* (11 ottobre 1962), Sinossi critica dell’allocuzione,” in *Fede Tradizione Profezia. Studi su Giovanni XXIII e sul Vaticano II*, Brescia, 1984, 187-283 (the text is on 223-283).

Roncalli distanced himself from a negativity that had lost sight of the constant and continuous action of grace. Subsequently, he declared as the Council's objective not the formal acceptance of established doctrine, but its eloquent communication to modern man, using not the weapon of condemnation but the balm of mercy. Finally, he posited a dynamism of unity – which involved Catholicism, the churches, human kind – as the movement within which the Council was to be included. After the address, which lasted about half an hour, neither the Council nor the Church were the same.³² It took the assembly six weeks to understand it, but from the start, the address set a tone of freedom that until that moment had been slowed by the fear of appearing to commit insubordination. Freedom to imagine a different agenda for the council; a different function for its organizational structures; a different relationship with the pope; and, especially, a different relationship to the material and the ideas of the preparatory phase.

The first thing to be called into question was the obligation of the assembly to ratify the preparatory commissions and transform them, in a plebiscite to be held on the first day, into conciliar commissions.³³ It was Cardinals Lienart and Frings³⁴ who, at the beginning of the second day, asked for and obtained a postponement that charged the episcopal conferences with making lists, giving indications, and structuring their participation in an assembly without precedent in terms of size and variety. Thus the make-up of the commissions was renewed (with the exception of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, whose members were not from the Curia) to become less monolithic. Not only did this experience send a signal of freedom to the Council, it also increased the importance of the episcopal conferences by strengthening the various groups (linguistic, thematic) that helped to shape the mature participation of the bishops. As the morning sessions in St. Peter's basilica took shape through a series of speeches in Latin,³⁵ the dialogue between prelates and the discussion with

³²1962: *Vatican II commence... Approches Francophones*, ed., È. Fouilloux, Leuven, 1993.

³³The evolution is spelled out in M. Lamberigts, C. Soetens, J. Grooaters, ed., *Les Commissions conciliaires à Vatican II*, Leuven, 2003.

³⁴N. Trippen, *Josef Kardinal Frings (1887-1978). Band I: Sein Wirken für das Erzbistum Köln und für die Kirche in Deutschland* (KZG, Reihe B, 94), Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, 2003.

³⁵The patriarchs of the Eastern churches, though subject to Rome, decided to assert their dignity by expressing themselves in French; see the diary of N. Edelby. French

theologians became important instruments. A first example came with the first and unexpected “message for the world”, inspired by Marie-Dominique Chenu and approved by the assembly on 20 October.³⁶ For many, however, including Father Chenu, it still seemed possible that the message might turn out to be the only free act of a Council destined to stay in the firm control of the preparatory mechanism and of the Curia.

That is not how it went. After an initial deliberation on the schema on the liturgy on November 19³⁷(in the dramatic context of the risk of a military confrontation between the USA and USSR during the Cuban missile crisis), further discussion of the document was postponed to a future session, the first sign of the assembly’s ability to take control of its destiny and timetable. The discussion of *De fontibus revelationis*, in particular, which took place during those same weeks, marked a decisive change. Rejected by a majority of bishops (1368 vs. 822) that did not, however, reach the two-thirds foreseen by the regulations for the unexpected quashing of a schema, the draft constitution on revelation threatened to become the quagmire of Vatican II. Making use of his power to depart from the regulations, as he would do many times, and heeding the voice of Cardinal Léger,³⁸ John XXIII ordered that the document be withdrawn and re-written by a mixed commission³⁹ (precisely what the preparatory organs had so meticulously sought to avoid) to be made up of members of the theological commission and the Secretariat for Christian Unity. This sent an enormously important message, because the very substance of the objections demonstrated the Catholic intention to reflect on the relationship between faith and word of God outside of the controversy-ridden mould of the post-Tridentine era and the rigidities that followed Vatican I.

During the final weeks of that first period, Vatican II thus began to exist as a Council, with its own will recognized by ever-greater sectors of theologians and fathers as something belonging to them.

was also used during the Council for the act of rescinding the excommunications and for the final speech and messages of 8 December 1965.

³⁶Cfr. A. Duval, “Le message au monde,” in 1962. *Vatican II commence*, 105-118.

³⁷Cfr. A. Bugnini, *La riforma liturgica (1948-1975)*, Roma, 1983.

³⁸*L’Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed., by G. Routhier, Québec, 1997.

³⁹J. Wicks, “Pieter Smulders ans Dei Verbum: 4. Assessing the Mixed Commission’s 1962 Work on Scripture/Tradition and Biblical Inspiration,” in *Gregorianum* 85, 2 (2004) 242-277.

During the last week of the session, having approved a schema on social communications, provided it be pared down to the essential, and having set aside the idea of dealing with a draft document on the Virgin Mary as an act in and of itself, the Council turned its attention to the schema on the Church. This was the document upon which many pinned their expectations. Indeed, since October, Cardinal Montini, who did not see the usefulness of beginning the Council with the document on the liturgy, had already suggested that the work of the Council be reorganized around the pivotal issue of ecclesiology.⁴⁰ More broadly, many thought that the principal disagreements would arise around the issue of the relationship between the pope and the bishops, a problem left unsolved by Vatican I. The December 1962 discussion of *De Ecclesia* brought out profound expectations as pronounced by the nascent leaders of the assembly:⁴¹ the mystery of the Church, a new concept of the mystical body that went beyond old schematizations, the recovery of the tradition of the people of God, a renouncement of triumphalism (including institutional triumphalism), the conscious assumption of mission.

In this atmosphere, the circulation of two documents on the eve of the close of the session came therefore as confirmation that the pope did not want to let these impulses slip away and that those who might one day have papal ambitions and who had spoken before the hall in December (Suenens, Döpfner, Lercaro, but especially Cardinal Montini) had the same wish. On 5 December, a reduction to twenty topics of the remaining draft documents from the preparatory phase was proposed. The next day, the *Ordo agendorum* established what was to happen from that day until the start of the next session, initially set for May 1963. Commenting on his decision in the letter *Mirabilis ille*, which bore the date of the Epiphany, the pope decided to speak for the conciliar majority and its wishes for reform. Therefore, he freed the assembly from the burden of the documents prepared in the preparatory phase and repeated as a proposition the adage “concilium episcoporum est”, intended not as a privilege of caste, but as the responsibility of the college in its universality.

⁴⁰Cfr. Brambilla, *Il card. Montini*.

⁴¹According to the regulations, permission to speak was given first to cardinals and patriarchs, then to archbishops and finally bishops. In the discussions, therefore – and this was still the case in December of 1962 – the first speeches were made by the principal cardinals.

The effect of this announcement upon the newly created Coordinating Commission, led by Secretary of State Cicognani, was powerful. The number of draft documents was definitively reduced to 17 and the work of rewriting the decisive document on the Church was begun, according to a different procedure and with different participants, whose qualification was often the fact of having written alternative proposals. Along these lines, the contribution of Msgr. Gérard Philips, a perito from the sizeable "Belgian team", was substantial.⁴² Author of a famous article that identified two ecclesiologies – the ecclesiology of communion and juridical ecclesiology – Philips envisioned the work of the commission as the confluence in a new project of ideas and subjects of different origins (the French, German, and Chilean schemata) as well as all that which was "salvageable" from the draft document, in an attempt to gain consensus and balance within a reformist design. The ecclesiological concept of the *societas perfecta* was abandoned, the relationship between pope and bishops was posited as the basis of the sacramental nature of the episcopacy as the origin of communion, the notion of the people of God was included, as was a chapter on the universal call to holiness.

At the same time, the draft document on revelation was under review by groups comprised of members of the Theological Commission and the Secretariat for Christian Unity. The choice was made to abandon the heavily anti-Protestant formulation of the "two sources". What had by then become the final version of the *De liturgia* was approved. A schema on ecumenism was presented; the Secretariat for Christian Unity managed to include crucial themes that had been deliberately left out during the rigid preparatory phase (Judaism, conscience, religions, liberty).⁴³ And in addition to other documents, the revision of a new document on the relationship between the Church and the world was begun; Cardinal Suenens worked with particular dedication on the commission to which this revision was entrusted.⁴⁴ Between January and the end of May 1963, therefore, the Council was

⁴²Vatican II et la Belgique, ed., Claude Soetens, Ottignies, 1996.

⁴³M. Velati, *Una difficile transizione. Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1952-1964)*, Bologna, 1996.

⁴⁴Ch. Moeller, *L'élaboration du schéma XIII. L'Église dans le monde de ce temps*, Tournai, 1968; a critical study of the sources may be found in G. Turbanti, *Un concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale "Gaudium et spes" del Vaticano II*, Bologna, 2000.

indeed prepared again, no longer by curial circles but by organs within which other figures were emerging, figures whose authority did not stem from the amount of power exercised before and outside of the Council, but from their capacity to interpret, guide, express a tension shared by the assembly and of which the bishops and all the outside observers of the Council were aware. The problem that began to be visible on the horizon was that of determining how this “new wine” brought by the Council would be able to fit into the “old wineskins” of regulations written to facilitate a hasty approval of the *desiderata* of the Roman circles.

The Restructuring of the Assembly and the Turning Point

These problems would not be John XXIII's to tackle. The pope who had conceived of Vatican II, who had convoked it, and who had coloured it with the luminous and delicate shades of an event of grace, had fallen ill in September 1962. He died on 3 June 1963, a few weeks after signing the encyclical *Pacem in terris*, with which he left to the Council the inheritance of an announcement of peace, a vindication of human rights, and an aura of sainthood that the Council would not be able – or understand how – to interpret.⁴⁵ In a brief conclave held between 19 and 21 June, Giovanni Battista Montini, the archbishop of Milan, was elected pope, as had been widely expected. From the moment of the commemoration of the deceased pope, held in the Milan Cathedral, Montini had said that it would not be possible to abandon the way indicated through the Council by Pope John XXIII. As soon as he was elected and had taken on the name Paul VI, he announced that the Council would continue, and set the reconvening of the assembly for 29 September.

In those summer months, as discussions of the features of the revised schemata were taking place in many circles thanks to improvements in the circulation of information, the conciliar regulations became one of the responsibilities of the new pope. More than anyone else, it was Giuseppe Dossetti, a jurist who had been part of the Italian Constituent Assembly and was now a perito working for Cardinal Lercaro,⁴⁶ who proposed modifications that would permit the assembly to show its intentions in a simpler and clearer manner, to

⁴⁵E. Galavotti, *Processo a Roncalli. La causa di canonizzazione di A.G. Roncalli (1965-2000)*, Bologna, 2005.

⁴⁶For a discussion of Lercaro's work cfr. *L'esperienza conciliare di un vescovo*, in *Discorsi conciliari del card. Giacomo Lercaro. Per la forza dello Spirito*, Bologna, 1984, 7-62.

have a say regarding the conciliar agenda, and to be directed in a non-passive way.⁴⁷ This objective could be reached if the pope were to name a "cardinal legate" who represented the nascent conciliar majority and who, as had been the case at the Council of Trent, would coordinate the proceedings and the rhythm of the discussions. It was not until the eve of the session that Paul VI announced his decision to nominate a college of legates who would be called "moderators". Three of them (Döpfner, Lercaro, Suenens) came from the ranks of the majority that had expressed itself during the first session, while one (Agagianian) was an Armenian with a fixed post in the Curia. Furthermore, the pontiff admitted lay "auditors", that is, members who, without a right to vote, could (and did) speak to the assembly, an opportunity that was precluded to non-Catholic observers, who, however, could provide input in indirect ways.⁴⁸ The pope announced these developments in the speech he made to inaugurate the second conciliar period, which was centred in particular on ecclesiology. Paul VI, furthermore, explained that reform of the Curia, which could be seen as a necessary complement to the ecclesiological reform, was not among the objectives of the Council, and set as the tasks of Vatican II a renewed ecclesiology, internal reform, Christian unity, and dialogue with the world.

These were the cornerstones of the "Council according to Paul", not inconsistent with but different from the "Council according to John" because they presupposed a different papal standpoint in terms of the Council's freedom and expression. In John XXIII's view, the pope was to play a maieutic role for a majority whose emergence had an entirely theological importance and was a manifestation of the workings of grace in the Council. His natural interlocutor was, therefore, the majority understood not as a political reality but as a sign of the vitality of the Spirit. In Paul VI's view, the pope was to be the guarantor of an assembly in which the concord of the Church

⁴⁷G. Alberigo, both "La preparazione del Regolamento del concilio Vaticano II," in *Vatican II commence... Approches Francophones*, ed., É. Fouilloux, Leuven, 1993, 54-72, and "Dinamiche e procedure nel Vaticano II. Verso la revisione del Regolamento del Concilio (1962-1963)," *Cristianesimo nella storia* 13 (1992) 115-164. For a discussion of Lercaro's role in the Council see G. Alberigo, "Giuseppe Dossetti al concilio Vaticano II," in Giuseppe Dossetti, *Per una Chiesa eucaristica. Rilettura della portata dottrinale della Costituzione liturgica del Vaticano II. Lezioni del 1965*, ed., by G. Alberigo and G. Ruggieri, Bologna, 2002, 139-247.

⁴⁸G. Alberigo, "Ekklesiologie im Werden. Bemerkungen zum Pastoralkonzil und zu den Beobachtern des II. Vatikanums," in *Ökumenische Rundschau* 40 (1991) 109-128.

should be expressed in near unanimity, and therefore, by necessity, his interlocutor was the majority understood as the recipient of a series of requests and renunciations that would allow it to grow until it reached the thresholds of unanimity, even at the cost of making the pope, who was much more the expression of that majority than could be said of his predecessor, into a kind of indecipherable antagonist.

The approval of the liturgical reform, which took place in October through a series of votes on the chapters and on the document as a whole, marked an important passage for the Council. The document was promulgated on 4 December 1963. All fears of inertia and inconclusiveness overcome, not only was the Council due to leave its mark on the essence of all Christian life; it would also establish a series of fundamental points in terms of ecclesiology, through which the function of the bishop, his relationship with the faithful, the articulation of Christian life itself, would be reinvigorated with an energy that, not by chance, has for forty years continued to be the problem of traditionalist circles willing to go so far as to break with the Church rather than renounce habits confused with tradition.⁴⁹

The Trajectory of De Ecclesia

Simultaneously, however, on 1 October 1963, the long debate on *De Ecclesia* began. It would not be concluded for another thirteen months, with the approval of the constitution in a climate lacerated by disagreement and without doubt very different from the climate that characterized the early weeks. Indeed, the second period discussion of *De Ecclesia* opened with the acceptance by an overwhelming majority (2231 vs. 43) of the schema *Lumen gentium*, drafted by Philips, as a working document.⁵⁰ Nonetheless, despite the presence of the moderators in the assembly, the tens of speeches that followed one upon the next (about 80 a week) were not enough to make it clear whether or not the strongest concepts in the document – continuity between the “college” of the apostles and the college of the bishops, the function of episcopal consecration – were accepted by the bishops, or if those who feared a *vulnus* to papal power and

⁴⁹Nicla Buonasorte, *Tra Roma e Lefebvre. Il tradizionalismo cattolico italiano e il concilio Vaticano II*, Roma, 2003.

⁵⁰Cfr. Antonio Acerbi, *Due ecclesologie. Ecclesiologia giuridica e ecclesiologia di comunione nella “Lumen gentium,”* Bologna, 1975. For the point of view of the author, see G. Philips, *L’Église et son mystère au II^e Concile du Vatican: histoire, texte et commentaire de la Constitution “Lumen Gentium,”* Paris, 1967.

authority represented the assembly's most widespread convictions. Dossetti, at that time the secretary of the college of moderators, suggested holding, in order to overcome the impasse, an indicative vote on a series of questions which, though not definitive, would provide the Theological Commission with a means of complying with the real desires of the assembly.⁵¹ Opposed by sectors of the Curia alarmed by the proceedings and by the director of the General Secretariat, Msgr. Pericle Felici, the vote was postponed for days and (thanks to a decision of the Coordinating Commission as well as the college of moderators and the Council Presidents, with the support of the pope) at last held on 30 October 1963.⁵² It revealed an

⁵¹A. Melloni, "Procedure e coscienza conciliare al Vaticano II. I 5 voti del 30 ottobre 1963," in *Cristianesimo nella storia. Saggi in onore di Giuseppe Alberigo*, ed., A. Melloni, D. Menozzi, G. Ruggieri and M. Toschi, Bologna, 1996, 313-396.

⁵²The final version stated (cfr. AS II/3, p. 573): "Propositiones congregationis generalis suffragiis subiciendae quoad caput ii schematis "De ecclesia". Cum ex interventionibus Patrum in Aula Conciliari non sit possibile eruere quot Patres revera stent pro tali vel tali sententia, eo fine ut afferatur Commissioni competenti elementum aliquod iudicii circa amplitudinem adhaesionis quam appositae sententiae revera habent in Congregatione; adhaerendo petitionibus multorum Patrum, immo universae etiam aliquando Conferentiae episcopalis; Moderatores proponunt Patribus, pro Capite II Schematis De Ecclesia, quaestiones qua sequuntur. Vota Patrum de eisdem, proinde, nullum textum adprobant vel reiiciunt; unice eo tendunt ut Commissio scire possit quae sit propensio Congregationis circa propositas quaestiones; competens deinde Commissio Conciliaris, debite, *iuxta* Ordinem Concilii, perpendet singulas Patrum interventiones; ac deinde integrum textum subiiciet suffragationi Patrum in Congregatione generali. *Quaeritur*: 1. Utrum placeat Patribus ita apparari schema ut dicatur Episcopalem consecrationem summum gradum Sacramenti Ordinis constituere. 2. Utrum placeat Patribus ita apparari schema ut dicatur omnem Episcopum legitime consecratum in communione Episcoporum et Romani Pontificis, qui est eorum Caput et principium unitatis, membrum esse Corporis Episcoporum. 3. Utrum placeat Patribus ita apparari schema ut dicatur [*]* *Corpus seu* Collegium Episcoporum in munere evangelizandi, sanctificandi et pascendi succedere Collegio Apostolorum; et ipsum, una cum capite suo Romano Pontifice et numquam sine hoc capite (cuius salvum et integrum remanet ius primatiale in omnes pastores [*ut*] et fideles), plena et suprema potestate in universam Ecclesiam pollere. 4. Utrum placeat Patribus ita apparari schema ut dicatur praedictam potestatem ipsi Collegio Episcoporum Capiti unito competere iure divino. N. B.: sensus propositionum tertiae et quartae est: a) attuale exercitium potestatis Corporis Episcoporum regitur ordinationibus a Romano Pontifice adprobatis; b) actus vere collegialis Corporis Episcoporum non datur nisi invitante aut [*confirmante*] *saltem libere recipiente* [(cf. Schema *De Ecclesia*, p. 27, 1. 38) Romano Pontifice; c) modus practicus et concretus, quo duplex forma supremae potestatis in Ecclesia exercetur, ad ulteriorem determinationem theologicam et iuridicam pertinet, Spiritu Sancto harmoniam inter utramque formam indetectibiliter roborante. 5 Utrum placeat Patrihus ita apparari schema ut opportunitas consideretur instaurandi

unquestionable majority on the five most controversial points of the *De ecclesia* (between 2121 and 1588 votes in favour of the various points compared with between 34 and 525 against), which included: whether episcopal consecration is the highest degree of holy orders; whether each consecrated bishop becomes by virtue of his consecration a member of the episcopal college; whether the college of bishops succeeds the college of the apostles as full and supreme authority in the Church; whether the bishops enjoy this power by divine right; and whether it would be opportune to extend the diaconate to married men.

This confirmation of a reformist intent and awareness within the assembly had an impact on other decisions as well, including the decision not to create a separate conciliar document on the Blessed Virgin Mary but to include a chapter on the topic at the end of the *De Ecclesia*,⁵³ and the attempt, which emerged during the November discussion on the draft decree on the office of bishops, to transform the principles of the renewed ecclesiology into organs of communion between the college of the bishops and the pope or to clarify the theological depth of the episcopal conferences as specific expressions of that communion. In this setting, the schema on ecumenism found consensus when discussed, although there was violent resistance to two chapters which entered uncharted waters of theology (and which were destined to become declarations in their own right). The chapter on the liberty of conscience – an extremely unpalatable subject to intransigent Catholic culture – was accepted as a working document, and won out only after bitter debate,⁵⁴ while the subject of the repudiation of anti-Semitism and related preaching – another centuries-old subject of Christian history brought dramatically to the fore by the Shoah – was called into question because the bishops of the Middle East feared reprisals against Arab Christians on the heels of the war which had accompanied the foundation of the State of Israel and because of the wellspring of anti-Semitic sentiments present in some sectors of the Church.

diaconatum ut gradum distinctum et permanentem sacri ministerii, secundum utilitatem Ecclesiae in diversis regionibus”.

⁵³E. Toniolo, *La Beata Maria Vergine nel Concilio Vaticano II. Cronistoria del capitolo VIII della Costituzione dogmatica “Lumen gentium” e sinossi di tutte le redazioni*, Roma, 2004.

⁵⁴S. Scatena, *La fatica delle libertà. L’elaborazione della dichiarazione “Dignitatis humanae” sulla libertà religiosa del Vaticano II*, Bologna, 2003.

The epic clash in St. Peter's between Cardinal Frings and Cardinal Ottaviani, which took place during the 8 November debate on the bishops,⁵⁵ was emblematic of the ability of the second session to deal with every subject. The German cardinal – for whom the then professor Ratzinger worked as a perito – pronounced a harsh attack against the methods and mentality of the Holy Office, whose procedures and abuses had given rise, in previous centuries, to a nearly totalitarian culture. The Roman cardinal reacted violently, claiming for his institution a protective role upon which aspersions were being cast by transalpine “disinformation”. It was a violent clash between two worlds. The role Paul VI had envisaged for himself as mediator of unanimity was being put to the test. In signing the constitution on the liturgy, the pope had adopted a new formula of approval with which he *una cum sacrosancti concilii patribus* welcomed that which pleased the fathers;⁵⁶ as the discussions played themselves out, however, and especially the discussion on ecclesiology, in which the minority did not hesitate to charge him with the task of defending a tradition as if others really wished to destroy it, there was an increase in the distance separating him from the assembly and from the majority by which he had been elected.⁵⁷

This was not simply a personal or psychological drama for Pope Paul VI, but a powerful historical element concerning the passage from the second to the third period of the Council. During the second intersession (from the end of 1963 to the summer of 1964), the results obtained by the commissions working to improve schemata according to the opinions expressed in the sessions, though significant, were overshadowed by the impending decision felt by Paul VI and others to be “the” decision of the Council; that is, whether or not *De Ecclesia* would be approved when it came to vote in the autumn of 1964. After the end of the second period, the Coordinating Commission organized and redistributed the work of the commissions still more efficiently than it had done the previous year, and the commissions responded with equal precision to the

⁵⁵M. Faggioli, *Il vescovo e il concilio. Modello episcopale e aggiornamento al Vaticano II*, Bologna, 2005.

⁵⁶Cfr. G. Alberigo, “Una cum patribus. La formula conclusiva delle decisioni del Vaticano II,” in *Ecclesia a Spiritu Sancto edocta - Mélanges théologiques. Hommage à Mgr Gérard Phillips*, Gembloux, 1970, 219-319.

⁵⁷F.M. Stabile, *Il cardinal Ruffini e il Vaticano II. Lettere di un “intransigente,” in Cristianesimo nella storia* 11 (1990) 83-113.

amendments proposed by the fathers, to the weight of the opinions expressed by the assembly, to the indications that blossomed out of an extremely dense theological debate during which worldwide public opinion kept a close eye on the Church and “its” Council.⁵⁸ But this substantial collection of documents included themes of utmost importance as well as problems that were, objectively speaking, minor, little more than issues of discipline. Despite the attempt of Cardinal Döpfner of Munich, organizing them according to importance turned out to be impossible. In the end, the solution adopted (thereby establishing a distinction between messages, declarations, decrees, and constitutions) was insufficient and left open to discussion the organizational framework of the Council⁵⁹ and the hermeneutical core of Vatican II.

Confirmation of the centrality of the subject of ecclesiology in all its many facets came from events not strictly linked to the evolution of the Council. Paul VI’s January 1964 pilgrimage to Jordan and Jerusalem coincided with the bold decision of the ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras (who did not have an official “observer” at the Council but was represented by a monk), who also went to the holy city. With a historic embrace, the excommunications that had, for nine centuries, made enemies of the successor of Peter and the successor of Andrea, began to crumble.⁶⁰ In August, the pope published his first encyclical, *Ecclesiam suam*, which he had begun working on from the time of his election. Paul VI accepted the principle that dialogue was the key to the relationship between the Church and the world, though for precisely this reason he did not discuss the theological issues upon which the assembly had expressed its opinion the year before.

There were thus three unfinished issues to deal with when the third solemn session opened on 14 September 1964 – the Church, ecumenism, and the bishops – while the debates on three other issues

⁵⁸G. Alberigo, “Giovanni XXIII e il Vaticano II,” in *Papa Giovanni*, Roma-Bari, 1987, 211-213.

⁵⁹H. Vorgrimler discusses this in the first volume on Vatican II of *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche*, recalling the different systems for ordering the texts suggested by Karl Rahner and Alois Grillmeier.

⁶⁰V. Martano, *Athenagoras, il patriarca (1886-1972). Un cristiano tra crisi della coabitazione e utopia ecumenica*, Bologna, 1996.

– revelation,⁶¹ the apostolate of the laity, the Church in the modern world – were yet to begin. The big battle, however, centred on the document destined to become the constitution *Lumen Gentium*.

The outline proposed by Philips, which by now had grown into a document containing eight chapters polished in commission, came under discussion and was the object of the filibustering of a minority that could count on roughly five hundred votes. The decision regarding chapter three, which dealt with collegiality, was broken up into 39 separate votes. The aim, it was clear, was to win, at least, a symbolic victory in order to reinforce the pressure being exerted at that moment on the pope. In fact, these few fathers saw Paul VI as unable to react in the face of an ecclesiological reform that to them represented the demolition of papal primacy. The final vote on 30 September 1964 did not succeed in this regard. More than three-fourths of the fathers gave their full consent, 572 voted to approve the schema with further requests for amendment, and only 43 voted intransigently against it. This was, however, enough to keep tension high, which had an impact on the discussion of the draft document on the bishops. The most stubborn components of the minority vainly attempted to get their own during the discussion of *De ecclesia* then taking place.

Between 22 and 25 September, two documents were brought before the assembly: the declaration on religious liberty as a blessing for all people and not only Catholics and the declaration on the relationship with the Jews (with the addition of three sections on the encounter between Christianity and other religions). At last, between 30 September and 6 October, came the discussion of the very delicate schema on revelation that sought to integrate potential unilateral extremist interpretations of the Tridentine decisions and in which (the theses were the fruit, in particular, of the work of Rahner, Ratzinger and Congar) the minority saw a dangerous break from its reading of Tridentine teachings. The majority, for its part, wrote to the pope urging him to defend conciliar freedom.

The climate continued to worsen despite various attempts to calm the waters (for example the attempt to temper the discussion on liberty made by Carlo Colombo, the pope's theological consultant) with

⁶¹H. Sauer, *Erfahrung und Glaube. Die Begründung des pastoralen Prinzips durch die Offenbarungskonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils*, Frankfurt a. M., 1993.

glimpses, behind a dense series of acts typical of the conciliar dialectic, of papal hesitations, intentions, and even secret orders which did not actually exist or which constituted an indistinct aggregation. *De oecumenismo* became the target of more than two thousand amendments that were like a battering ram against the patient work of Bea's Secretariat. In early October, the General Secretariat ordered that *De Judaëis* be inserted into *De Ecclesia* (which would have blocked *sine die* both documents), marginalizing Bea and his working group. An interview between Frings (one of the seventeen who had signed the letter of 11 October) and the pope restored the *statu quo ante*, but the rhythm of the proceedings and the rapid succession of subjects and great scenarios continued to exacerbate tensions. The arrival of the schema on the Church in the world brought to the debate the four principles at the base of the latest of the four versions of the document created by the commission up to that point. Service of the Church, underdevelopment, overpopulation, and war were the points upon which both bishops and theologians of greatly differing approaches were called to reflect. Some expected this would involve a summary discussion of these issues departing from earlier theological positions, others took on the task of attempting a global and therefore sociological description of the state of the world, and still others brought to one or another issue the weight of dramatic experiences such as the encounter with Communist regimes (as was the case of Msgr. Wojtyła⁶²).

In early November, with the solemn session for the promulgation of the decisions approved by the Council already set to take place on the twenty-first of the month, a series of incidents exacerbated existing tensions. It became clear as early as 6 November that the discussion of the schema on the bishops would not be completed in time. On the ninth, a draft document on missionary activity, which from a theological standpoint had not evolved past the preparatory phase and was thus disconnected from the rest of the proceedings, was withdrawn. The document on the renewal of religious life was sent back to commission on the twelfth, the document on Christian education and the formation of priests on the seventeenth. It was clear that the pope's dream of closing the Council in 1964 with a quasi-unanimous acceptance of the constitution on the Church, which

⁶²J. Koczowski, "Les Évêques polonais et le concile Vatican II," in *Le Deuxième Concile du Vatican (1959-1965)*, ed., l'Ecole française de Rome, Rome, 1989, 167-168.

would have had an impact on the other documents, had failed; the result would be a *De Ecclesia* surrounded by a tension Paul VI was unable to withstand.

This is decisive in explaining why, on 14 November, the fathers received a pamphlet containing the third chapter of the *Lumen Gentium* furnished, however, with a *Nota explicativa praevia* with which the commission (in actual fact not all of its members) explained the reasons that had governed the examination of the amendments. Published with an enigmatic formulation (“by mandate of the Supreme Authority”), the *Nota* concealed, behind an apparently formal action, an attempt to suggest or even impose an interpretation of the chapter with which the pope – who had taken on the role of spokesperson for a series of minority amendments – sought to negotiate with the document’s opponents a sort of compromise that responded to and tempered their objections. The *Nota*, however, raised more issues than it resolved. Some said that the chapter must be discussed all over again if the pope himself found it unsatisfactory; there were those, including then professor Joseph Ratzinger, who were willing to go so far as to reject the *De Ecclesia* altogether and call into question the entire proceedings. If, on the other hand, the *Nota* did not actually touch upon the contents of the chapter, it was pleonastic and, ultimately, an orphaned document with no purpose. Three decisions made in this inflamed atmosphere led journalists to speak of a “Black Week” for Vatican II. On 19 November came the announcement that the declaration on religious liberty would be discussed at the fourth session, a decision made outside of the Council regulations but upheld despite the appeals presented by authoritative fathers. That same morning it was announced that nineteen changes had been made to the decree on ecumenism “by way of authority” without a vote in Council, an action which cast doubts upon the credibility of Catholicism in ecumenical circles and especially upon the authority of Bea and Willebrands before the observers. Finally, in his 21 November speech, the pope referred to Mary as “Mother of the Church”, which was not intended as a challenge to the widespread worry that other Marian titles rejected by the Council would accumulate pleonastically, but which, without

rising to the level of definition, was nonetheless a demonstration of the distance separating Paul VI's sensibilities from the Council's.⁶³

The long ecclesiological trajectory that had opened the year before came to a close on 21 November 1964 with the solemn approval of *Lumen gentium*, *Unitatis redintegrati*, and *Orientalium ecclesiarum*. It would be impossible, observing the results, not to be struck by the force of renewal they represent and their loyalty to the great doctrine of the Church, which had transient needs and conflicts had frequently suffocated over the previous two centuries. The centrality of communion to a lived experience of the Church and of the churches had met with solemn acknowledgment. The preoccupation with a concept of ecclesiology as a hierarchy – marked more by anti-modern nightmares than by tradition – had been surpassed by contact with the living inheritance of patristic thought and the living experience of Catholicity. The preeminence of sacramental elements – in relation to the understanding of the figure of the bishop, and even in the very membership in a Church in which the Spirit acted – made it possible to move beyond the impasse created by the attempt to balance the discourse on the pope and the discourse on the bishops, which had marked decades of post-Vatican I debate.

Faces from the End of the Council

A number of rather complex issues, experiences, and problems remained. The increasingly intense whirlwind of discussions and debates that had characterized the third period (on the very eve of the solemn session the Council had been "obliged" to discuss *De matrimonio*) was clearly destined to be repeated in the fourth period, which the pope decided in January 1965 to convoke for September, abandoning the hypothesis of a longer break. At the end of May, only five of the eleven schemata remaining on the agenda were presented to the fathers with the expectation that they would meet with definitive approval. Some of these involved completions, it was simpler to finalize than discuss again, while others (such as the schema on missionary activity) had met with drastic last minute improvement thanks to the contribution of theologians who "freed themselves" from other schemata. Some acts were very sensitive, such as the declarations on liberty and on the new encounter with the

⁶³*L'evento e le decisioni. Studi sulle dinamiche del concilio Vaticano II*, ed., A. Melloni and M.T. Fattori, Bologna, 1997.

Jews and with the believers of other faiths, while some constitutions (especially *De revelatione* and the schema on the Church in the world) aimed for the broadest possible theological and pastoral range.

Paul VI gathered these tensions in his final speech, for which the way had been partially paved by the end-of-June announcements in which he took upon himself the reform of the Curia, the issue of hormonal contraception, and the revision of the *Codex iuris canonici* mentioned by Pope John upon opening the Council and which since that time had been waiting for the guidelines to be established in the most important conciliar decisions. Addressing the fathers on 14 September, the pontiff pledged he would make a pilgrimage to the UN as testimony to the peace of Vatican II (which would have a direct impact on the document on the Church in the world) and announced the institution of a *Synodus episcoporum* that would bring depth to the debate on collegiality.

After the immediate and pointed interventions of the third period, the pope, withdrawing somewhat, now left to the Council the task of drawing its work to a close. This made it possible for existing differences within the majority, frozen by the conflict of the year before, to express themselves.⁶⁴ The sequence of debates, the rapid succession of votes on chapters and working documents, the drafting and elaboration of amendments which rendered the informal working groups so essential,⁶⁵ the declarations, in fact, continued to cause fatigue. A summary and incomplete list of the major discussions and votes (behind which there was a full calendar of intermediate votes on sections, chapters, versions) should serve to make it clear what exhausting conditions characterized the Council. On 15 September, the debate on religious liberty was held. On 21 September came the document on revelation, on 23 and 27 September the schema on the apostolate of the laity. 6 October saw the conclusion of a first phase of discussions on the Church in the modern world, while from 5 to 7 October the part on peace was discussed, a vote was taken on the document on the bishops, and the discussion on missionary activity began. On 11 October came the

⁶⁴*I volti di fine concilio: saggi di teologia e storia sulla fine del Vaticano II*, ed., J. Doré-A. Melloni, Bologna, 2001.

⁶⁵S. Gomez De Arteche Y Catalina, *Grupos "Extra Aulam" en el II Concilio Vaticano y su influencia* (3 volumes), Biblioteca della Facultad de Derecho de la Universidad de Valladolid.

decree on the life and activity of priests and the education of the clergy, upon which a second vote was held from 13 to 16 October.⁶⁶ On 15 October, a first part of the declaration on non-Christian religions *Nostra aetate* was approved, in time for the solemn promulgation on 28 October,⁶⁷ at which time *Christus Dominus*, *Perfectae caritatis*,⁶⁸ *Optatam totius*, *Gravissimum educationis*, and *Nostra aetate* became conciliar acts.

And yet there were still too many themes and issues to be covered by a Council that would, on 18 November, solemnly promulgate *Dei Verbum* – the constitution upon which the title “dogmatic” was conferred and which from its very preface offered a profoundly renewed key to the relationship between the Church and the word⁶⁹ – and *Apostolicam actuositatem*, with which the figure of the “layperson” ceased to be a mere subject of the Church. In just a few short days – which included a pause in the work of the general congregations from 19 to 30 November, scheduled so that the commissions could have more time to work⁷⁰– the Council would manage to approve the fourth constitution of Vatican II (the pastoral constitution *Gaudium et spes*) in addition to the decrees *Presbiterorum ordinis* and *Ad gentes* and the declaration *Dignitatis humanae*.

During this tiring final period, deciphering the near and distant futures revealed itself to be complex for all. The intuition of Vatican II had responded, on the historical plane, with a singular sense of time – and a timeliness unusual for Catholicism – to the varied cultural and

⁶⁶A. Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare. Die Ausbildung der Priester in der Dynamik des Zweiten Vatikanums*, mit einem Vorwort von P.A. Kard. Mayer OSB (Annua Nuntia Lovanensia XLVIII), Leuven-Paris-Dudley MA, 2003.

⁶⁷Cfr. A. Melloni, “Nostra aetate e la scoperta del sacramento dell’alterità,” in *Chiesa ed ebraismo oggi. Percorsi fatti, questioni aperte*, ed., N. Hofmann, J. Sievers, M. Mottolese, Roma, 2005, 153-179. An overview may be found in Johannes M. Österreicher, *The New Encounter between Christians and Jews*, New York: Philosophical Library, 1986.

⁶⁸Cfr. J.M.R. Tillard-Y. Congar, *L’adaptation et la rénovation de la vie religieuse. Décret “Perfectae Caritatis”*, Cerf, Paris, 1967; for a historical perspective see J. Schmiedl, *Das Konzil und die Orden. Krise und Erneuerung des gottgeweihten Lebens*, Vallendar-Schonstatt, 1999.

⁶⁹R. Burigana, *La Bibbia nel concilio. La redazione della costituzione “Dei verbum” del Vaticano II*, Il Mulino: Bologna, 1998.

⁷⁰*Experience, Organizations and Bodies at Vatican II*, M.T. Fattori - A. Melloni, ed., Leuven, 1999.

spiritual climate that had grown up around the Council.⁷¹ The civil rights movement, détente, the American loss of prestige in Vietnam which made the Cold War blocs seem similar in the eyes of the young generation, the signs of the sexual revolution, the leading role of the *baby boomers*, were already appearing to some as problems the Council could not or did not want to deal with, while others thought the answers it had given were excessively prone to dangerous libertarian trends. For others, the hesitations over certain crucial issues of reform the pope had arrogated to himself – synodality,⁷² reform of the Curia, evaluation of hormonal contraception,⁷³ theological judgment on atomic deterrence – were obstacles to a reception about which many cherished false hopes in terms of duration (*rectius* in terms of speed). And finally, the minority that had been defeated by the brief Council was left reflecting upon the methods and steps necessary to take back the lost terrain, to weaken the appeals for renewal in light of a return to habitual practices of Christian life. They failed to perceive how fragile those practices had become and would blame their subsequent explosion on the period that followed the Council.

On 8 December 1965, Paul VI closed the assembly and, with the apostolic letter *In Spiritu Sancto*, expressed once again his full approval of the Council's decisions, including the formal rescinding of the excommunications between Rome and Constantinople that had, on 7 December, made everyone aware of the way in which the intuition of the elderly pope from Bergamo and the hard work of his successor had brought the Church to a new obedience of the Gospel in the discernment of the signs of the time, in the light of faith.

Sources and References

The substantial archives of the General Secretariat and of the commissions of Vatican II – entrusted for years to the zeal of Msgr. Vincenzo Carbone, who used them in producing the volumes of the *Acta* to which reference is made below – have been catalogued and may now be consulted at the Vatican Secret Archives, according to

⁷¹P. Pasture, "Christendom and the Legacy of the Sixties: Between the Secular City and the Age of Aquarium," in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 99/1 (janv.-mars 2004) 82-117.

⁷²A. Indelicato, *La synodus episcoporum dal concilio al post-concilio*, Bologna (in press).

⁷³J. Grootaers-J. Jans, *La régulation des naissances à Vatican II: une semaine de crise* (Annuaire Nuntia Lovanensia, 43), Leuven-Paris-Sterling VA, 2002.

the instructions of Paul VI, of which Msgr. Carbone was the faithful interpreter. Now the care of the prefect and the archivists of the illustrious Vatican institution permit continuous access to this extraordinarily wealth of material, of which an inventory is being prepared under the supervision of P. Doria. In addition to these sources, essential to the study of the history of Vatican II no less than to the publication of the documents it produced, "private" collections of fathers, periti, observers, journalists, diplomats, onlookers have gradually been made available for consultation in Bologna, Leuven and Louvain-la-Neuve, Notre Dame, and in other locations.⁷⁴ An analytical guide to this varied *corpus* (which includes diaries,⁷⁵ personal files, papers⁷⁶) is provided in M. Faggioli-G. Turbanti, *II*

⁷⁴See *Sources locales de Vatican II*, published by J. Grootaers and Cl. Soetens, Leuven 1990 and A. Melloni, "Tipologia delle fonti per la storia del Vaticano II," in *Cristianesimo nella storia* 13 (1992) 493-514 for a systematic discussion of the issue.

⁷⁵Cfr. A. Melloni, "Les journaux privés dans l'histoire de Vatican II," in M.-D. Chenu, *Notes quotidiennes au Concile*, Paris, 1995, 7-54. The principal edition is Y. Congar, *Mon journal du Concile*, Paris, 2002; collections of letters written by Lercaro and Camara during the Council have also been published, see G. Lercaro, *Lettere dal concilio 1962-1965*, Bologna, 1984 and Helder Camara, *Vaticano II: Correspondência conciliar. Circulares á família do São Joaquim*. Introdução e notas de Luiz Carlos Marques (Obras completas, volume I/tomo I) 1962-1964, Recife: Editora Universitaria UFPE, 2004. Other diaries have also been published: B. Lai, *Il papa non eletto. G. Siri, cardinale di Santa Romana Chiesa*, (diary included as appendix), Roma-Bari, 1993; after the cited diary of Father Chenu, N. Edelby, *Souvenirs, Alep* (Italian translation) *II Vaticano II nel diario di un*, ed., by R. Cannelli, Cinisello B., 1996; "Carnets Conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue," ed., L. Declerck-C. Soetens, in *Cahiers RTL*, Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000; G. Moralejo, *El Vaticano II en taquigrafía: la*, Madrid, 2000; U. Betti, *Diario del Concilio. 11 ottobre 1962-Natale 1978*, EDB, Bologna, 2003; L. Declerck & A. Haquin, ed., *Mgr Albert Prignon. Journal conciliaire de la I^{ve} session*. Louvain-la-Neuve, 2003; F. Sportelli, ed., *Diario dell'Arcivescovo Enrico Nicodemo a Bari (1953-1973)*, Bari, 2003; parts of A. Nicora's diary are included in G. Alberigo, *Breve storia del concilio Vaticano II*. Forthcoming are J.A. Jungmann, *Konzilstagebuch*, Institut für iturgiewissenschaft, University of Innsbruck; O. Semmelroth, *Tagebuch zum II. Vatikanischen Konzil, 1962-1965*, Frankfurt a.M. Previews or synopses of this sort of material are frequently published in memoirs such as D. Horton, *Vatican Diary 1963. A protestant observes the second session of Vatican Council II*, Philadelphia-Boston 1964; A. Ballestrero, *Autoritratto di una vita. Padre Anastasio si racconta*, Edizioni OCD: Morena (Rm), 2002; A. Schmemmann, *Memoirs 1973-1983* (German translation *Aufzeichnungen*, Freiburg 2002); R. Sugranyes de Franch, *Militant per la justícia. Memòries dialogades amb el pare Hilari Raguier*, Barcelona, 1998.

⁷⁶*Concile Vatican II et église contemporaine - Archives de Louvain-la-Neuve*, 4 vols, ed., C. Soetens, J. Famerés, L. Hulsbosch, E. Louchez, Louvain-la-Neuve, 1989-1995; *Documents pour une histoire du Concile Vatican II. Inventaire du Fonds J. Le Cordier*, ed., A.-M. Abel - P. Ribaud, Paris, 1993; *La documentazione bolognese per la storia del concilio*

concilio inedito. Fonti del Vaticano II, Bologna 2001; also useful in terms of their discussions of the sources are studies dedicated to important circles that were part of the Council,⁷⁷ to the people who with different roles participated in or influenced Vatican II,⁷⁸ and the historical works mentioned above. For information on broadcast media sources, see *Il concilio in mostra*, edited by A. Melloni, Bologna 2005; digital copies of material from Radio Vaticana and the tapes from the assembly and the commissions, recorded on Philips hardware, were made at the beginning of this century.

The archive now housed in the Vatican Secret Archives served as the basis for the monumental edition of conciliar acts⁷⁹ – relating both to the preparatory phase and to the Council itself – which was interrupted on the threshold of publication of the acts of the commissions, which had in part been avoided by other sources⁸⁰ and

Vaticano II. Inventario dei fondi G. Lercaro e G. Dossetti, ed., L. Lazzaretti, Bologna, 1995; P. Lafontaine, *Inventaire des Archives conciliaire et du Fonds Paul-Émile Léger*, Montréal, 1995; R. Desreumaux-A.-M. Abel, *Inventaires du Fonds Henri Dupon et Adrien Grand*, Paris, 2001; *Inventaires des papiers conciliaires de mgr Gérard Philips, secrétaire ad. de la Commission doctrinale*, éd. L. Declerck - W. Verschooten, Leuven, 2001; F. Álvarez Alonso, *Centro Vaticano II. Ricerche e documenti. Claretiani al Concilio*. Arcadio M. Larraona, Arturo Tabera e Anastasio Gutiérrez. *Inventario dei fondi documentari sul Concilio Vaticano II*, Città del Vaticano, PUL, numero 02/II (2002) 85-186; *Schriften des Archivs des Erzbistums München und Freising, Bd. 6: Erzbischöfliches Archiv München - Julius Kardinal Döpfner. Archivinventar der Dokumente zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, Peter Pfister-Guido Treffler (Bearb.), München-Freising, 2004.

⁷⁷See, in addition to the works already cited, B.M. Daly, *Beyond Secrecy. The Untold Story of Canada and the Second Vatican Council*, Ottawa 2003; J.J. Murphy, "On the Threshold of the Modernity: Australian Bishops at Vatican II (the Third Session: 1964)," in *The Australasian Catholic Record*, 79, 4 (2002) 444-468; J. Wicks, "I teologi al Vaticano II. Momenti e modalità del loro contributo al concilio," in *Humanitas*, 59 (5/2004) 1012-1038.

⁷⁸Various references are provided above; an updated list may be found in Faggioli, *Bollettino* cit.

⁷⁹Cfr. A. Melloni, "Vaticano I, Vaticano II. L'edizione dei concili in età contemporanea," in *Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento / Jahrbuch des italienisch-deutschen Instituts in Trient* 29 (2003) 495-510. V. Carbone, "Genesi e criteri della pubblicazione degli Atti del Concilio Vaticano II," in *Lateranum*, 44 (1978) 579-595, nonché "L'Archivio del Concilio Vaticano II," in *Archiva Ecclesiae*, 34/35, (1991/92) 57-67; inoltre cf. G. Lefebvre, "Les Actes du Concile du Vatican," in *Revue Théologique de Louvain*, 11 (1980) 186-200 and 325-351.

⁸⁰This omission is partially made up for, in terms of the Theological Commission, by S. Tromp in *Diarium Secretarii Commissionis Theologicae Concilii Vaticani II, adiunctis documentis variis*, ed., Alexandra von Tauffenbach (versionem germanicam confecit B. Wegener), Romæ 2006-.

partly published⁸¹ outside of the conciliar *Acta*. V. Carbone, *Genesi e criteri della pubblicazione degli Atti del Concilio Vaticano II*, in *Lateranum*, 44 (1978) 579-595, explains the project, now available in the series referred to as AD I/ for *Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando, series I (antepreparatoria)*, Typis Pol. Vaticanis 1960-1961;⁸² AD II for *Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando, series II (praeparatoria)*, Typis Pol. Vaticanis 1969-;⁸³ and AS for *Acta Synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II*, Typis Pol. Vaticanis 1970-, which includes in its appendices much of the pre-preparatory and preparatory material.⁸⁴ A critical compendium of the publication history of the individual documents has been provided,⁸⁵ followed by other selections of editorial material from the *Acta*.⁸⁶ Reference has been made above to publications of the decisions alone.

⁸¹As far as the Secretariat for Christian Unity is concerned, the existing material has been published in *I verbali del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani durante il Vaticano II*, ed. M. Velati, Bologna, 2006.

⁸²*Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series I (Antepreparatoria)*: Città del Vaticano, Typis Polygl. Vaticanis: vol. 1: *Acta Summi Pontificis Joannis XXIII*, 1960; vol. 2: *Consilia et vota episcoporum ac praelatorum* (in eight volumes divided according to geographical areas and two volumes of appendix) 1960-1961; vol. 3: *Proposita et monita SS. Congregationum Curiae Romanae*, 1960; vol. 4: *Studia et vota Universitatum et Facultatum Ecclesiasticarum et Catholicarum* (in three volumes), 1961; un vol. di *Indices*, 1961. *Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series II (Praeparatoria)*: Città del Vaticano, Typis Polygl. Vaticanis; vol. 1: *Acta Summi Pontificis Joannis XXIII*, 1964; vol. 2: *Acta pontificiae Commissionis Centralis praeparatoriae Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II* (in four volumes) 1965-1968; vol. 3: *Acta Commissionum et Secretariatuum praeparatorium Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II* (in two volumes), 1969; vol. 4: *Acta Subcommissionum Commissionis Centralis Praeparatoriae* (in three volumes), 1988, 1993, 1994.

⁸³*Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Oecumenici Vaticani II*: Città del Vaticano, Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis: vol. 1, *Periodus prima*, 1970; vol. 2, *Periodus secunda*, 1971; vol. 3, *Periodus tertia* 1973; vol. 4, *Periodus quarta*, 1976.

⁸⁴*Acta Synodalia*, cit., vol. 5: *Processus verbales*, tomo I: *Consilium Praesidentiae* (1962); *Secretariatus de Conc. negotiis extra ordinem* (1962); *Commissio de Conc. laboribus coordinandis (sessiones I-VII: 21 Ianuarii-23 Octobris 1963)*, 1989; tomo II: *Commissio de Concilii laboribus coordinandis (sessiones VIII-XVII: 29 Octobris 1963-7 Octobris 1964)*, 1990; tomo III: *Commissio de Concilii laboribus coordinandis (sessiones XVIII-XXIII: 15 Octobris 1964-1 Decembris 1965)*; *Moderatores* (30 Octobris 1963-26 Octobris 1965), 1991.

⁸⁵Cfr. I. Alberigo - F. Magistretti, *Constitutiones dogmaticae "Lumen Gentium" Synopsis Historica*, Bononiae, 1975.

⁸⁶Francisco Gil Hellín, ed., *Concilia Vaticani II Synopsis in ordinem redigens schemata cum relationibus necnon Patrum orationes atque animadversiones* (collana della "Pontificia Universitas Sanctae Crucis"): 1) *Constitutio Dogmatica de divina revelatione Dei Verbum* (Città del Vaticano 1993); 2) *Constitutio Dogmatica de Ecclesia Lumen gentium* (Città del Vaticano 1995); 3) *Decretum de presbyterorum ministerio et vita*

Studies

For the history of the Council, as mentioned above, the most concise reference, good for the bibliography prior to the twenty-first century, may be found in *Storia del concilio Vaticano II, diretta da G. Alberigo*, 5 vols., Bologna 1995-2001, published in various languages under the general supervision of Peeters Publishers & Booksellers. Contributors include G. Alberigo, J.-O. Beozzo, R. Burigana, J.F. Famerée, G. Fogarty, È. Fouilloux, J. Grootaers, P. Hünermann, R. Kakczynski, J. Komonchak, M. Lamberigts, A. Melloni, G. Miccoli, A. Riccardi, H. Sauer, L.A. Tagle, G. Routhier, G. Ruggieri, C. Soetens, N. Tanner, C. Theobald, G. Turbanti, M. Velati, L. Vischer, E. Vilanova, K. Wittstadt. The Italian edition of *Storia del concilio Vaticano II* was edited by Alberto Melloni (il Mulino), the German edition by K. Wittstadt and G. Wassilowski (Grünwald), the French edition by È. Fouilloux (Cerf); the Russian edition by A. Bodrov (St. Andrew), the Spanish edition by E. Vilanova and H. Raguer, the Portuguese edition by J.O. Beozzo. G. Alberigo's *Breve storia del concilio Vaticano II*, Bologna 2005 (translated in various languages) provides a lively synthesis and essential references.

As the writing of the history of the Council has progressed, overviews of the work produced up to given points in time have been provided by: J. Famerée, "Vers un histoire du Concile Vatican II," in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 89 (1994) 638-641; A. Greiler, "Ein internationales Forschungsprojekt zur Geschichte des Zweiten Vatikanums," in *Zeugnis und Dialog. Die katholische Kirche in der neuzeitlichen Welt und das II. Vatikanische Konzil. Klaus Wittstadt zum 60. Geburtstag*, hrsg. W. Weiß, Würzburg 1996, 571-578; G. Routhier, "Recherches et publications récentes autour de Vatican II," in *Laval théologique et philosophique*, 53, 2 (juin 1997) 435-454; G. Alberigo, "Le Concile Vatican II. Perspectives de Recherche," in *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique*, 99 (2002) 562-573. For a discussion of the work on the history of the Council, see P. Pombeni, "Sulla "rivoluzione" del Vaticano II. Noterelle di uno storico della politica a margine della Storia del concilio diretta da G. Alberigo," in *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 23 (2002) 813-825; N. Tanner, "La storiografia del concilio: l'area anglosassone," in *Centro Vaticano II*, 2, 1 (2002) 47-54; S. Leimgruber,

Presbyterorum ordinis (Città del Vaticano 1996); 4) *Constitutio Pastoralis de Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis Gaudium et spes* (Città del Vaticano 2003); 5) *Constitutio de Sacra Liturgia Sacrosanctum Concilium* (Città del Vaticano 2003).

"La storia del concilio in area tedesca," in *Centro Vaticano II*, 2, 1 (2002) 39-46; G. Routhier, "Recherches et publications récentes autour de Vatican II," in *Laval Théologique et philosophique*, 60/3 (2004) 561-577. The most up-to-date information in terms of the themes and results of twenty-first century studies of the Council may be found in the periodicals and exhaustive "bulletins" compiled by M. Faggioli, "Concilio Vaticano II: bollettino bibliografico (2000-2002)," in *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, XXIV/2 (2003) 335-360; "Concilio Vaticano II: bollettino bibliografico (2002-2005)," in *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, XXVI/3 (2005) 743-767.

The most recent discussions of conciliar hermeneutics may be found in C. Theobald (dir.), *Vatican II sous le regard des historiens*, Paris 2005 and G. Ruggieri, "Per una ermeneutica del Vaticano II," in *Concilium* 35/1 (1999) 18-34 and "Lucha por el Concilio," in *Iglesia viva* (2006). A discussion of the state of the theological debate and German specialist literature may be found in *Die Dokumente des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils: Theologischen Zusammenschau und Perspektiven*, von G. Bausenhardt, H. Fuchs, B.J. Hilberath, H. Hoping, R. Kaczynski, H.-J. Sander, J. Schmiedl, R.A. Siebenrock, Freiburg-Wien-Basel 2005 and in the aforementioned *Storia del concilio Vaticano II*.

For the ocean of doctrinal, theological, and historical commentary see, in addition to the works cited in the preceding overview of the progress of Vatican II, the most recent bibliographical references for each document (with the exception of the messages and the rescinding of the excommunications), available in *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, hrsg. P. Hünermann - B.J. Hilberath, mit.von G. Bausenhardt, O. Fuchs, H. Hoping, R. Kaczynski, H.J. Sander, J. Schmiedl, R.A. Siebenrock, 5 voll., Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2004-2005.

Web Resources

Inventories and information are available on the web. The aforementioned *Bollettini* by M. Faggioli may be found on the site of the Fondazione per le scienze religiose "Giovanni XXIII" in Bologna www.fscire.it, which also includes references to the archives. Pope Paul VI's papers may be found on the website of the Istituto Paolo VI in Brescia www.istitutopaolovi.it; Further web sources include the sites of the Institut Catholique de Paris www.icp.fr/icp/archives_bibliotheques.php; the *Centre for the Study of the Second*

Vatican Council in Leuven, www.theo.kuleuven.ac.be/en/centr_vatII.htm; the *Centre Lumen Gentium* in Louvain-la-Neuve, www.hecc.ucl.ac.be/Lumengentium/lgpageentree.html; the Canadian papers of the Faculté de Théologie et de Sciences Religieuses, Université Laval (Québec) www.fts.ulaval.ca/vatican2/; the Centro studi e ricerca sul Vaticano II of the Pontificia Università Lateranense, <http://www.pul.it/centrcv2.htm>. Of particular interest is the well stocked website of the University of Notre Dame (Indiana), classic.archives.nd.edu/findaids/ead/default.htm and www.rarebooks.nd.edu/collections/ephemera/vatican_ii/; Seattle University has a site dedicated to the papers of the Council: www.seattleu.edu/lemlib/web_archives/vaticanII/vaticanII.htm.