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REVIEW ARTICLE

STILL MORE LIGHT ON VATICAN COUNCIL II

BY

JARED WICKS, S.J.*

Dialogo e rinnovamento. Verbal e testi del segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani nella preparazione del concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962). Edited by Mauro Velati. [Istituto per le scienze religiose, Serie: Fonti e strumenti di ricerca, 5.] (Bologna: Il Mulino. 2011. Pp. 939. €60,00. ISBN 978-8-815-13188-1.)

Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Kommission für Glauben und Sitten, II. Vatikanisches Konzil. Edited and annotated by Alexandra von Teuffenbach. Vol. II, pts. 1 and 2 (1962-63). (Nordhausen: Verlag Traugott Bautz. 2011. Pp. 1279. €150,00. ISBN 978-3-883-09625-4.)

The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963. Critically Annotated Bilingual Edition. Edited by Karim Schelkens. [Instrumenta Theologica, XXXIV.] (Leuven: Peeters. 2011. Pp. xxx, 77. €28,00. ISBN 978-9-042-92453-6.)

Il Concilio Vaticano II. Una storia mai scritta. By Roberto de Mattei (Turin: Lindau. 2011. Pp. 625. €38,00. ISBN 978-8-871-80894-9.)

This review article continues three earlier presentations of publications of source-documents and scholarly studies on the Second Vatican Council and its documents.¹ Presented here are (1) an ample documentary record of work in the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians during the Council's preparation; (2) the second volume (covering October 1962 to September 1963) of the office diary of Sebastian Tromp, secretary of the Council's Doctrinal Commission; (3) the diary of Edward Schillebeeckx for the Council's Period I of 1962, with added comments during Period II on the ori-

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¹Jared Wicks, "New Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 92 (2006), 609-28; Jared Wicks, "More Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 94 (2008), 75-101; and Jared Wicks, "Further Light on Vatican Council II," *The Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 546-69.

entation votes of October 30, 1963; and (4) a one-volume traditionalist and highly critical account of the whole Council, which treats as well background during the pontificate of Pius XII and reports on the negative effects of the Council on the Catholic Church to 1978 under Pope Paul VI.²

The 1960-62 Preparatory Work for the Second Vatican Council by the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians

Mauro Velati has given us a most welcome work of documentation on how the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians fulfilled its mandate of bringing the ecumenical cause into the 1960-62 preparation for the Second Vatican Council.³ Pope John XXIII instituted the secretariat on Pentecost Sunday, June 5, 1960, by a paragraph of his *Motu Proprio*, *Superni Dei nutu*, in which he formally initiated the direct preparation of the Council.⁴ Following upon the massive collection by the broad-based canvas of 1959-60 of topical proposals from the Council's future members, the curial congregations, and pontifical universities and faculties, in June 1960 the pope established the ten preparatory commissions of the Council. These were to submit schemas in areas such as theology, bishops and the governance of dioceses, religious life, the liturgy, studies and seminaries, the missions, and the lay apostolate. To the ten commissions, the pope added two "secretariats"—one to prepare a conciliar treatment of the modern means of communication and the other to help Christians not in communion with the Apostolic See to follow the work of the Council and more easily find the way "to attaining that unity for which Jesus Christ prayed earnestly to the Heavenly Father." As well,

²A recent wide-based and informative survey of historical and interpretative work on the Second Vatican Council is Gilles Routhier, Michael Quisinsky, Philippe J. Roy, and Ward De Pril, "Recherches et publications récentes autour de Vatican II," *Laval théologique et philosophique*, 67 (2011), 321-73. Another such work is Massimo Faggioli, "Council Vatican II: Bibliographic Overview 2007-2010," *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 32 (2011), 755-91. Both literature reviews note the great interpretive potential of the work of Christoph Theobald, S.J., of Centre Sevrès, Paris, in the first part of his two-volume theological study, *La réception du concile Vatican II. I. Accéder à la source* (Paris, 2009). This 928-page analysis will be followed by a second part, still in preparation, with the subtitle *L'Eglise dans l'histoire et la société*. See, in Routhier et al., pp. 372-73, and in Faggioli, pp. 767-68, 771-73. Theobald also is treated by Faggioli in his compact work *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning* (Mahwah, NJ, 2012), pp. 127-28.

³Velati's monograph, *Una difficile transizione. Il cattolicesimo tra unionismo ed ecumenismo (1952-1964)* (Bologna, 1996), set forth in its first part the activities, begun in 1952, of the *Conférence catholique pour les questions oecuméniques* coordinated by Willebrands. The book then sketched the work of the secretariat from its founding to the completion and promulgation of the Second Vatican Council Decree on Ecumenism, *Unitatis redintegratio*, in November 1964 at the end of the Council's Period III.

⁴*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 52 (1960), 433-37, instituting the secretariat in no. 9 on p. 436.

the pope instituted a large Central Preparatory Commission of cardinals and bishops to review schemas produced by the particular commissions and secretariats to evaluate their adequacy for submission to the whole Council.

The new volume assembled by Velati documents a principal part of the Unity Secretariat's first two years of activity, giving (1) the initial draft texts produced by each of the secretariat's several subcommissions, (2) the minutes of meetings in which the secretariat's members and consultants evaluated each draft, and (3) the revised texts that the secretariat either circulated among the preparatory commissions or in certain cases to submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission for eventual treatment by the whole Council. Velati's collection is unique, since we do not have publications documenting, with texts and minutes of meetings, the genesis of the schemas that the ten preparatory commissions or the other secretariat developed for submission to the Central Preparatory Commission.⁵ Now we have just such a record of the Unity Secretariat, whereas for all the other preparatory bodies the initial and intermediate draft texts remain in archives, and we can only pick up the *tail* of the schemas when they came before the Central Commission to be evaluated in their suitability for distribution to the Council members.⁶

1. The Unity Secretariat's Personnel and Subcommissions

The dominant personages in the secretariat's preparatory work for the Second Vatican Council were, of course, Cardinal Augustin Bea, the secretariat's president from its founding until his death in 1968,⁷ and Monsignor Johannes Willebrands, the omnipresent secretary who effectively oversaw the complex operations of this new Vatican institution.⁸ The detailed minutes of

⁵For the Preparatory Theological Commission, the *Diarium Secretarii* of Sebastian Tromp, now in a volume edited by Alexandra von Teuffenbach (covered later in this article), gives the minutes of many subcommission and plenary meetings, but does not furnish the draft texts under discussion in the meetings.

⁶The texts submitted to the Central Preparatory Commission, the members' *animadversiones*, and the members' votes on the schemas are given in *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Approbando*, ser. II (Preparatoria), vol. II, *Acta Pontificiae Commissionis Centralis Praeparatoriae*, pts. I-IV (Vatican City, 1965-68). A narrative of the Central Commission's work through its seven, week-long working sessions, from June 1961 to June 1962, is given in Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo. Il dibattito nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genoa, 1962).

⁷On Bea, see *Atti de Simposio Card. Agostino Bea (Roma, 16-19 dicembre 1981)* (Rome, 1983); Stjepan Schmidt, *Augustin Bea, the Cardinal of Unity* (New Rochelle, NY, 1992); and Jerome-Michael Vereb, "Because He Was a German!" *Cardinal Bea and the Origins of Roman Catholic Engagement in the Ecumenical Movement* (Grand Rapids, MI, 2006).

⁸Newly published primary materials from Willebrands include "You Will Be Called Repairer of the Breach." *The Diary of J. G. M. Willebrands 1958-1961*, ed. Theo

plenary discussions were taken by the secretariat's first staff members (Thomas Stransky, C.S.P., and Jean-François Arrighi) and were composed in French by the latter for internal circulation. The sixteen voting members of the secretariat in 1960-62 included bishops such as Lorenz Jaeger (Paderborn), Joseph Martin (Rouen), John C. Heenan (Liverpool), François Charrière (Lausanne-Geneva-Fribourg), and Emiel-Jozef De Smedt (Bruges) and senior scholars such as Joseph R. Höfer (ecclesiastical counselor of the German embassy in Rome), Michele Maccarrone (church historian, Lateran University), Gustave Thils (professor of theology, Catholic University of Louvain), and Charles Boyer, S.J. (faculty member at the Gregorian University and director of the center *Unitas* in Rome). Among the twenty consultants serving the secretariat in 1960-62 were Hermann Volk (Münster); Eduard Stakemeier (Paderborn); Johannes Feiner (Seminary of Chur, Switzerland); Christophe-Jean Dumont, O.P. (the center "Istina," Paris); Jérôme Hamer, O.P. (Le Saulchoir, Paris); Gregory Baum, O.S.A. (Toronto); Maurice Bévenot, S.J. (Heythrop College, England); Gustave Weigel, S.J. (Woodstock College, Woodstock, MD); George Tavard, A.A. (Mount Mercy College, Pittsburgh); and Edward Hanahoe, S.A. (Graymoor, Garrison, NY).⁹

Bea initiated the work of the secretariat by a letter of October 3, 1960, asking the members and consultants to submit proposals of questions and topics that the new body should consider. Fourteen responses came in, from which came a first programmatic outline for discussion in the opening plenary meeting of November 14-15.¹⁰ The secretariat's program of work was quickly concretized by the formation of ten subcommissions for preparing

Salemink, [Instrumenta Theologica, 32], (Leuven, 2009); and *Les agendas conciliaires de Mgr. J. Willebrands, Secrétaire du Secrétariat pour l'unité des chrétiens*, ed. Leo Declerck, [Instrumenta Theologica, 33], (Leuven, 2009). Peeters will soon publish, in the series *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium*, the papers presented at the 2009 scholarly symposia in Utrecht and Rome on Willebrands during the centenary of his birth.

⁹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 18-25 (initial appointments), pp. 103-10 (full roster of members and consultants), and especially pp. 55-76 (previous experiences of the individuals before the preparatory work and their main contributions as they interacted with each other). The distinction between members and consultants played little part in the assigning and drafting of texts, but came into play late in the process when only the members voted to approve texts for further circulation. For the secretariat, some desired appointments went unfilled because of appointments to other preparatory commissions, as seen in the cases of Bishop Léon-Joseph Suenens, who was appointed to both the Commission on Bishops and the Central Preparatory Commission, as well as Bishop James Griffiths (auxiliary of New York) and Yves Congar, who were appointed to the Theological Commission.

¹⁰Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, p. 121 (Bea's letter), pp. 124-51 (the members' suggestions, of which the most elaborate sketch came from Bishop Pieter Nieerman of Groningen, pp. 144-51), and pp. 122-24 (outline in English, based on the members' suggestions, for the first plenary).

documents under the lead of a principal *relator*. The topics were (1) the ecclesial condition of baptized non-Catholic Christians (*relator* Bishop Pieter Nierman of Groningen); (2) the Church's hierarchical structure and the source of the powers of its ministers (Jaeger); (3) individual and community conversions to the Catholic Church (Höfer); (4) the priesthood of all believers, laypeople in the Church, and religious liberty or tolerance (Charrière); (5) the Word of God in the Church (Volk); (6) liturgical issues such as the vernacular languages in the Mass and sacraments and Communion under both forms (Martin); (7) mixed marriages (Jaeger); (8) the octave of prayer of unity (Dumont); (9) the central ecumenical problem, related to the World Council of Churches and its concept of unity (Hamer); and (10) questions regarding the Jews (Baum).¹¹

A further topic was the question of non-Catholic observers attending the Council, for which Willebrands took responsibility and held a consultative meeting with members and consultors residing in Rome on December 15, 1960. After a report and further discussion at the February 1961 plenary, the secretariat submitted a *votum* favoring the invitation of observers and sketching their roles, which the Central Preparatory Commission approved by a large majority in November 1961.¹²

As the work of the subcommissions developed, Subcommittee 1 dropped the term *members* from its topic and reformulated this as "the *ordo* of non-Catholic Christians to the Church." The cumbersome topic of Subcommittee 4 was divided in August 1961 into two distinct parts—namely, that of the priesthood of believers and that of religious liberty—with the latter topic assigned to a new Subcommittee 5 (*relator*, De Smedt). The newly numbered Subcommittee 6 (formerly 5) reformulated its topic as "the power (*virtus*)

¹¹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 173–74 (giving members and consultors who volunteered for service on each topic). After the secretariat's institution in June 1960, John XXIII had quietly entrusted it on September 18, 1960, with questions regarding Jews and antisemitism in the Church. For this area, Abbot Leo Rudloff, O.S.B. (Dormition Abbey, Jerusalem), became a secretariat member, and John Oesterreicher (Institute of Judeo-Christian Studies, Seton Hall University) joined the group of consultors.

¹²Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 176–86 (Willebrands's exposition of December, with minutes of the ensuing discussion presided over by Bea) and pp. 301–14 (report and discussion in the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting). The *votum* on observers and the Central Preparatory Commission discussion of November 7, 1961, are given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I:449–95. See also Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 57–67. For a survey on this topic and the secretariat's further role in hosting the Council's non-Catholic observers, see Velati, *Una difficile transizione*, pp. 275–318. Thomas Stransky reviewed this dimension of the Second Vatican Council at the 1998 congress of the Istituto Paolo VI, published as "Paul VI and the Delegated Observer/Guests to Vatican Council II," in *Paolo VI e l'ecumenismo*, [Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Paolo VI, 23], (Brescia and Rome, 2001), pp. 118–58.

of the Word of God and its principal role in the Church." A new Subcommittee 12 (*relator* Jaeger) emerged out of the initial Subcommittee 9 and began work in August 1961 on a proposal for making the secretariat a permanent body in the Church's central government after the Second Vatican Council.¹³ At the same time, the secretariat created Subcommittee 13, on tradition and Sacred Scripture (*relator* Feiner), to prepare an ecumenically constructive alternative to directions taken in the Preparatory Theological Commission's schema *De fontibus revelationis*. As Subcommittee 3 refocused its original topics on that of Catholic ecumenism, questions arose about practical aspects of ecumenical activities and relations with separated churches, which led to the creation of a new Subcommittee 14 (*relator* Thils) entrusted with outlining an Ecumenical Directory for later development and publication.¹⁴ Clearly, the secretariat took on a very full agenda, including several topics that promised positive effects across the whole span of the Council's future work of church renewal.

2. The Secretariat's Proposals (*vota*) for the Preparatory Commissions

Several of the secretariat's preparatory texts were recommendations that it sent to other commissions. The April 1961 plenary meeting approved the report of Subcommittee 6, on liturgical reforms especially desirable to dissipate prejudices and objections to Catholic worship among the Orthodox and Protestants. The report, with *vota* and recommendations, went to the Preparatory Commission on Liturgy, with which some members and consultors of Subcommittee 6 had already met to exchange views.¹⁵ Subcommis-

¹³Velati gives the documentation of this subcommittee's work in *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 747–62 and 899–914. Shortly after a first draft was circulated and discussed at the November 1961 plenary, John XXIII told Bea that the topic would not be on the Council's agenda but was reserved to the pope. A revised and expanded sketch came before the March 1962 plenary, at which Bea informed members and consultors that the pope did want the SPCU to continue after the Council and would gladly receive this part of the secretariat's work as a memorandum for future consideration (p. 913).

¹⁴Documentation in Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 793–815. A first outline came before the November plenary along with annexes for other preparatory commissions on imbuing seminary studies and the preparation of missionaries with ecumenical sensibilities. Discussion during the November 1961 plenary showed a consensus on the need for a directory for bishops and others, but the work was then set aside until 1965 when it proved useful in composing part I of the secretariat's *Ecumenical Directory* of 1967.

¹⁵Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 409–13 (editor's survey of this subcommittee's activity), pp. 414–19 (initial draft, composed mainly by Tavard), pp. 420–27 (revised report for the plenary, with sections on an expanded lectionary; homilies on scripture; more active congregational participation; wider use of the vernacular; watchfulness over devotional practices; permitting lay Communion from the chalice; allowing concelebration; mitigating rules against shared prayer and worship with non-

sion 8 drew up in early 1961 an ample study in view of reforming the existing canonical legislation on mixed marriages. A text discussed at the April plenary was revised so as to conclude with nine proposals (*vota*) that the August plenary discussed in detail. Subsequent modifications yielded a text with a short introduction and ten *vota*, which the secretariat's members approved in November for submission to the Preparatory Commission on the Discipline of the Sacraments.¹⁶

In May 1961 three important products of the secretariat's work went to the Preparatory Theological Commission as contributions offered for its schema *De ecclesia*.¹⁷ The first text came from Subcommittee 4, which had presented to the February plenary several proposals (*vota*) on the priesthood of all members of the people of God, the active role that the laity should have in the Church, and the complementary relation of the former priesthood with the ministerial priesthood. To this was added a draft of a biblically based conciliar teaching on the royal priesthood of believers, which *relator* De Smedt had requested from Lucien Cerfaux of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain.¹⁸ The April plenary received a developed Latin text on the priesthood of believers, organized around eighteen principal and three complementary *vota* that were stated as what the Second Vatican Council should teach. The discussion led to the definitive form of the twenty-one proposals for the schema *De ecclesia* of the Theological Commission on the dignity and duties of the priestly people of all the baptized.¹⁹

Catholics; and recognizing, where assured, the Christian baptism of converts), and pp. 431–37 (minutes of the April 18, 1961, discussion, which led to only minor modifications of the report, but in which Bea spoke with conviction on expanding use of vernacular languages and on concelebration as “absolutely desirable,” p. 433).

¹⁶Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 439–57 (April text and minutes of discussion), pp. 613–33 (*vota* for August, letter of World Council General Secretary Willem Visser ‘t Hooft, discussion), and pp. 695–700 (final text for the Commission on Sacraments).

¹⁷Tromp, the Theological Commission's secretary, noted in his office diary that on May 25, 1961, he received from Willebrands the documents of the secretariat “de Hierarchia, de laicis, de membris Ecclesiae.” *Konzilstagebuch Sebastian Tromp SJ, mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Theologischen Kommission für Glauben und Sitten II. Vatikanisches Konzil*, ed. and annot. Alexandra von Teuffenbach (Rome, 2006), I, pt. 1:223.

¹⁸Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 234–40 (French text of the report, with *vota* as well in Latin, including Cerfaux's doctrinal sketch in French) and pp. 240–47 (discussion during the February 1961 plenary in which most members and consultors gave the report their enthusiastic approval).

¹⁹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 354–69 (revised text for the April plenary, with most of the *vota* beginning “Doceatur . . .” or “Doceantur fideles . . .”), pp. 373–78 (minutes of the April discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 369–72 (definitive text of the proposed teaching).

The second text for the constitution *De ecclesia*, a product of the secretariat's Subcommittee 1, benefited from redactional work by Hamer, who prepared eight theses on the Church, the means of grace or elements constituting the Church, the efficacy of individual means even in separation from the complete ecclesial organism, the true but imperfect relation to the Church conferred by elements in separated bodies, and the need to ascertain the different levels at which the Orthodox and Protestants possess the ecclesial means or elements. The report intentionally avoided the term *member*. As a practical conclusion, the report urged respectful use of the terms *dissidents* or *separated brethren*, in place of *heretics* and *schismatics*. In discussion at the April 1961 plenary, an added ninth thesis noted the variety of biblical images applicable to the Church such as the kingdom of Christ or his vine, and to belonging as pertaining to his family or people or being a member of his body or stone of his house.²⁰

In the text prepared by Subcommittee 2, the secretariat took on topics central to the Catholic-Protestant controversy. The result was an ecumenically sensitive treatment, aimed at influencing of the schema *De ecclesia*, on the Church in its relation to Christ and its hierarchical structure, especially the episcopate. Although the contribution exerted no influence on the Preparatory Theological Commission, it did anticipate major positions of the future Constitution *Lumen gentium*. Here the Church is set forth as “mystery,” as people of God on earthly pilgrimage, as united by the Holy Spirit given by Christ, and as living under the “royal dominium” of Christ over his Church. For ministerial service the bishops succeed the Apostles, forming a collegial body united with its head, the Roman pontiff, whose teaching draws on scripture and tradition under the rule of the consensus in faith of the whole teaching office.

Subcommittee 2 had first offered the secretariat's February 1961 plenary meeting a treatment, drawn from research by Maccarrone, of the fourth- and fifth-century titles for the pope and of several positions on the pope and bishops advanced in the First Vatican Council's ecclesiological debate. But the February discussion turned the project in new directions, especially toward the Church's intimate connection with Christ, the collegial structure and role of the episcopate, and practical proposals regarding the Roman Curia in church governance. A quite different proposal came before the April plenary, with concise conclusions in the form of eleven ecclesiological proposals (*vota*), which the members and consultors

²⁰Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 188–98 (a first-draft text, found unsatisfactory at the February 1961 plenary), pp. 318–28 (Hamer's French text, after a March meeting of the subcommittee at Le Saulchoir, to which Latin theses were added), pp. 328–29 (addition of the ninth thesis and clarifying “member”), and pp. 329–35 (minutes of the April 17 discussion, making evident the wide approval of the text).

refined, restructured, and approved for transmission to the Theological Commission.²¹

During July 1961 the Preparatory Theological Commission completed its schema *De fontibus revelationis*, which the Central Preparatory Commission reviewed in early November.²² Bea had offered a lengthy critique in the Central Commission, and he saw the urgency of putting into circulation an ecumenically more constructive account of the relation between tradition and scripture. Thus the secretariat's Subcommittee 13 was created, under the lead of Feiner. For the plenary meeting of late November 1961, Feiner—aided by comments from his collaborators Boyer, Bévenot, Stakemeier, and Tavard—produced a Latin study of the relationship of tradition and scripture, which provided eight recommendations for conciliar teaching in its conclusion. For example, revelation given by Christ and formulated in the apostolic age should be called the *unicus fons revelationis*, whereas tradition, a dynamic process, and the written scriptures are to be seen as *media* or *viae* of transmission. The central *votum*, no. 5, urged that the question of the “material sufficiency” of scripture be left open for ongoing discussion among Catholic theologians. But the plenary also received the minority report of Boyer, who contended that the Council of Trent had expressed itself in a manner that excluded the fifth *votum*. The discussion on November 30, with fresh input from Boyer, showed that most all agreed with main request, but the constructive contribution of Bévenot led to a clarifying reformulation of the central point.²³ When this paper went to the Theological Commission, the

²¹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 213–29 (initial text and February discussion, with influential suggestions of a more pronounced Christological grounding by the consultor, Don Alberto Bellini of Brescia, and Hamer's suggestion of treating episcopal collegiality), pp. 337–41 (new text for the April plenary), pp. 347–50 (discussion, on April 17, especially Thils's urging a new order to articulate a basic ecclesiology in *vota* 1–4), and pp. 342–46 (the final twelve proposals on the Church and the episcopate). The consultor, Stakemeier, demonstrated how the Council's *Lumen gentium* took up the twelve *vota* of the secretariat into the Council's ecclesiology. “Leitmotive der Kirchenkonstitution in einem votum des Einheitssekretariats vom 20. April 1961,” in *Martyria, Liturgia, Diakonia*, Festschrift Bp. Hermann Volk, ed. Otto Semmelroth (Mainz, 1968), pp. 386–98.

²²Karim Schelkens treats *De fontibus* in his dissertation for the Catholic University of Leuven on the schema's genesis, published as *Catholic Theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II. A Redaction History of the Schema De fontibus revelationis (1960–1962)*, [Brill's Series in Church History, 41], (Leiden, 2010), which informs that on July 29, 1961, the Vatican printing office returned printed copies of the schema to Tromp's commission office (p. 218). The Central Preparatory debate on *De fontibus* took place on November 9–10, 1961, as documented in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. I: 523–61, and set forth by Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 77–90.

²³Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 764–80 (the study, with the eight-point concluding *votum* on p. 780), pp. 781–82 and pp. 788–89 (objections by Boyer), pp. 783–88

schema *De fontibus* could no longer be altered, since the Central Preparatory Commission had already reviewed it. But the content gained no little actuality in November 1962, since it expressed the secretariat's main contention in the work of the conciliar Mixed Commission (Doctrine/Secretariat), created by John XXIII to revise *De fontibus* after the vote in the *aula* on November 20 and the pope's removal of the schema from the immediate agenda of the Second Vatican Council.

3. The Secretariat's Schemas for the Council

Other texts prepared by the secretariat in 1960–62 were destined for the Central Preparatory Commission for its approval as schemas for presentation to the full Council.

Subcommittee 4, beyond its work on the priesthood of all the faithful, worked out a text on religious liberty, for which John XXIII gave permission in early 1962 for its submission to the Central Commission.²⁴ The documentation given by Velati includes an original “note” by Louis Jannsens of the Faculty of Theology at the Catholic University of Louvain, presented by De Smedt in the February 1961 plenary, on tolerance of those who exercise their natural right to believe differently and on collaboration by Catholics with non-Catholics on secular projects. To this Weigel added a short Latin statement on the church-state relationship, and Boyer cited Pope Leo XIII to call in question the proposed denial that the civil state owes worship to God. De Smedt presented to the April plenary a revised text in Latin, structured around fifteen *vota* for conciliar teaching on religious liberty, secular collab-

(minutes of the November 30, 1961, discussion of the report and proposed *votum*), and p. 790 (reformulated no. 5, from Bévenot's urging that the point be to avoid formulations that exclude views held by Catholics in the debate). Umberto Betti published an extract from the subcommittee study, with the eight recommended positions, in *La dottrina del concilio Vaticano II sulla trasmissione della rivelazione* (Rome, 1985), pp. 292–98. In Betti's documentation, no. 5 was further modified beyond what Velati offers on p. 790 before this went to the Theological Commission. The Catholics who held a type of sufficiency of scripture and should not even appear to be censured were indicated as the Fathers, medieval theologians, Matthias Joseph Scheeben, and many contemporaries. Their view is that, “post depositum revelationis completum veritates revelatae omnes—excepta sane quaestione de Canone Scripturae utpote sui generis—in Sacra Scriptura aliquo saltem modo continentur vel insinuantur, quae quidem simul per Traditionem conservantur et explicantur” [once the deposit of revelation is complete, all revealed truths, except of course the Canon of Scripture (a question sui generis), are at least in some way contained or insinuated in Holy Scripture, while they are at the same time preserved and explained through Tradition] (Betti, p. 298).

²⁴The long *iter* leading to the Council's *Dignitatis humanae* is set forth by Sylvia Scatena in *La fatica della libertà. L'elaborazione della dichiarazione «Dignitatis humanae» sulla libertà religiosa del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2003), a work presented in Wicks, “New Light,” pp. 621–28.

oration with others, and the relation of the Church to civil society. Bea opened the discussion of the *vota* with the momentous proposal that De Smedt should further develop the paper into "a constitution" on this topic, since it pertains to the competencies of the secretariat, because of its importance for Catholic-Protestant relations. Consequently, at the August 1961 plenary the text had the form of a concise three-chapter schema, which, after discussion and revisions, was approved by the secretariat's members, with the exception of the *placet iuxta modum* voted by Boyer.²⁵ After further stylistic revision, this text came in June 1962 before the Central Preparatory Commission and clashed with the Theological Commission's quite different treatment of tolerance, the church-state relation, and the Church's right to preach the Gospel, which made up chapters IX and X of its schema *De ecclesia*.²⁶ The Theological Commission's text on the Church was severely criticized by many Council members in December 1962. It was set aside and thus did not proceed to the step of a formal vote. The secretariat then added its text on religious liberty to its schema on ecumenism as chapter V, which began the often troubled *iter* leading to the Declaration *Dignitatis humanae*, promulgated on the Second Vatican Council's final day, December 7, 1965.²⁷

A second secretariat text sent to the Central Preparatory Commission was a theological gem of a brief "pastoral decree" on the Word of God in the life and ministries of the Church. It began as a draft in German by Volk of a "theology of the Word," which the author had further developed in the light of comments by the other members of Subcommission 5 (later 6). A French version stimulated a lively discussion at the April 1961 plenary.²⁸ Later in 1961 Bea realized there was no hope that the Theological Commission would welcome this creative account, and so work turned in the direction of a decree of pastoral applications. By March 1962 a schema was on hand in Latin, which

²⁵Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 247-61 (the Janssens-De Smedt "note"), pp. 272-76 (Weigel's contribution), pp. 379-94 (the April text with fifteen *vota* and the discussion begun by Bea's decision given on p. 391), and pp. 591-611 (the August schema, discussion of it, and Boyer's statement of his reservation).

²⁶The two texts are in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:657-72 (Theological Commission) and pp. 676-84 (secretariat). Scatena recounts the clash in the Central Preparatory Commission between the two options for treating religious freedom in *La fatica della libertà*, pp. 36-42, as does Indelicato in *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo*, pp. 298-307. An attempt to resolve the impasse posed by the clashing texts, by a type of mixed commission under Cardinal Pietro Ciriaci, did not succeed.

²⁷The *De ecclesia* chapters are in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:65-74, whereas the secretariat's chapter V, on religious liberty, distributed to the Council Fathers on November 18, 1963, is in *Acta Synodalia*, II, pt. 5:433-41.

²⁸Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 395-409 (report and minutes). The text treated the word as both gift of God and ecclesial task, the relation of word and sacrament, the word in pastoral ministry, and consequences to be drawn by the Council regarding the Church being under the word such as renewing the first part of the Mass, making scripture more accessible, and urging its more frequent reading by the faithful.

the Central Preparatory Commission discussed on its final day of work, June 20, 1962, but the slightly revised version of July was not published for the Council Fathers and was not mentioned among the twenty texts officially listed at the end of the Council's Period I for future work.²⁹

The secretariat prepared a text for the Council to issue as an exhortation to prayer for the unity of Christians. An initial focus was on the existing Octave of Prayer for Unity with its two competing forms—namely, the Atonement Priars' prayer for reunion of the separated with the Catholic Church and the approach of Paul Couturier in which Catholics, together with Orthodox and Protestants, prayed together for "unity as Christ wishes and by the means which he desires." Willebrands insisted at the November 1961 plenary that the issue was not to discuss differences, but to urge such prayer. The March 1962 plenary approved a short text giving the rationale and a draft text for conciliar adoption. This was approved at the final session of the Central Preparatory Commission, but in time was absorbed into the secretariat's draft decree on ecumenism.³⁰

Subcommission 10, on relations with Jews, produced for the April 1961 plenary a substantial statement in French by Oesterreicher and Baum, which concluded with four *vota* for teaching on the Church's roots in ancient Israel; on the early church of Jewish and Gentile Christians; on the Jewish people not being under divine malediction; on reconciliation with the Jews as integral to Christian hope; and on all forms of racism, especially antisemitism; as sins against justice, charity, and human fraternity. To these were added three *vota* on having a liturgical commemoration of the just of the Old Testament, on seminary instruction on Israel in the economy of salvation, and on purging prayers and Christian art of calumnies against the people from which came Christ according to the flesh. This text—now in Latin, with an added *votum* favorable to the State of Israel and new documentary references—was the object of a lively discussion at the August plenary, at the end of which Bea urged concentration on doctrine and its consequences, while relegating liturgical and practical points to a later directory. In the November plenary, Bea called for the preparation for the Central Committee of a brief schema of a

²⁹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 676-91 (report, proposal by Bea, and the discussion showing full agreement on having a pastoral decree) and pp. 872-92 (a revised report not taken up, schema in ten paragraphs, modifications adding nos. 11-13, and discussion). The schema *De Verbo Dei* treated by the Central Commission in June 1962 is given in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:816-19. In the Council's Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation, *Dei Verbum*, echoes of the secretariat's pastoral schema resound in chapter VI, on scripture in the life of the Church.

³⁰Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 462-78 (February 1961 report, remarks by Hanahoe, a Latin *votum*, minutes of discussion), pp. 718-28 (November revised report, minutes, with Willebrands's clarification of the aim on p. 727), and pp. 893-98 (text of March 1962, with brief discussion). The treatment by the Central Preparatory Commission is found in *Acta et Documenta*, ser. II, vol. II, pt. IV:813-16.

decree, while sending a *votum* on Israel and the Church to the Theological Commission for *De ecclesia* and a *votum* on human dignity to the secretariat's subcommission on religious liberty. The brief decree of four paragraphs was drawn up from the earlier text, but when Arab nations protested after a report that the Foreign Ministry of the State of Israel was sending an "observer" to the Council, Cardinal Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, Vatican secretary of state and president of the Central Preparatory Commission, decided against any consideration of the decree *De Iudaeis* in the Central Commission.³¹

Subcommission 3 suffered at first from an unclear mandate and the geographical dispersion of its members, but Willebrands intervened in July 1961 to steer the work in the direction of a statement on "Catholic ecumenism," adding Thils to the group and asking him to draw up texts for the August plenary.³² A clear focus emerged from the August sessions that pointed toward what would become the secretariat's main contribution, contained in the Decree *Unitatis redintegratio*, at the Council. A central text of the November plenary was Thils's concise synthesis in Latin of the doctrinal and practical orientations inherent in a Catholic conception of ecumenism, which led to a substantial discussion and constructive additions. The March 1962 plenary treated approvingly a revised text on Catholic ecumenism, from which came the version for the Central Preparatory Commission.³³ This,

³¹Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 490–508 (especially pp. 495–504, for the April text), pp. 633–52 (Latin text of August 1961, with minutes of discussion on each *votum*), and pp. 731–37 (especially pp. 736–37, giving the proposed schema of a decree). On this part of the secretariat's work, see Thomas Stransky, "The Genesis of *Nostra Aetate*. An Insider's Story," in *Nostra Aetate. Origins, Promulgation, Impact on Jewish-Catholic Relations*, ed. Neville Lmdan and Alberto Melloni (Berlin, 2007), pp. 29–53.

³²The original members were Höfer (*relator*), Hanahoe, Frans Thijssen (Utrecht), Francis Davis (Birmingham, England), and James Cunningham (American Paulist based in Rome). See Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 511–16 (slow beginnings of the work), pp. 521–22 (Willebrands's letter), pp. 523–49 (first texts by Thils, for the August plenary, with minutes of the discussion of his paper, "De oecumenismo catholico. Suggestiones practicae"), and pp. 555–58 (ten *vota* by Davis and Thils, already oriented to a new conciliar schema urging Catholics to enter constructively into ecumenical activities). Thils had recently published a short basic work, *La théologie oecuménique: notion—formes—démarches* (Louvain, 1960).

³³Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento*, pp. 663–75 (November synthesis with minutes of discussion), pp. 826–33 (version for March 1962), pp. 863–69 (discussion of March 8, in which Willebrands noted the complexity arising from ecumenism also being a chapter in the Theological Commission's *De ecclesia* and the topic of a schema coming from the Eastern Churches Commission), and pp. 852–62 (definitive text of May 1962, with ample notes referring to papal encyclicals and the Holy Office Instruction of 1949). Werner Becker studied the May text in "Das erste Schema des Sekretariats für die Einheit der Christen: das Pastoraldekret 'Über den katholischen Oecumenismus' von 1962," in *Sapienter ordinare. Festgabe f. Erich Kleinaidam*, ed. Fritz Hoffmann, Leo Scheffczyk, and Konrad Feiereis (Leipzig, 1969), pp. 371–91.

then, articulated the secretariat's basic position in early 1963, in the work mandated by the Council of composing a single text, along with the Commission on Catholic Oriental Churches and the Doctrinal Commission, on the rationale and forms of the Catholic Church's embrace of ecumenical collaboration and dialogue with other Christians.³⁴

Sebastian Tromp's Record of a Year's Work by the Doctrinal Commission, 1962–63

A 2001 guidebook to unpublished Second Vatican Council sources extant in archives around the world refers to the informative mimeographed reports (*relationes*) by Tromp, secretary of both the Preparatory Theological Commission and the conciliar Doctrinal Commission. These texts recorded for the two commissions' members and *periti* the main events, discussion of topics, and decisions made as the commission prepared and revised schemas for the Council.³⁵ Beyond the *relationes*, the same guidebook lists for Tromp a more detailed handwritten diary preserved at the Gregorian University.³⁶ That diary, however, covers the work of the Preparatory Commission only from August 1, 1960, to July 16, 1961. But in autumn 2000, Alexandra von Teuffenbach discovered in the Vatican Archive Tromp's complete set of thirteen hardcover notebooks containing his record of the two commissions' work from mid-1960 into 1966. She is now editing the text of this diary, which preserves a much more ample record than do Tromp's circulated *relationes*.

The first volume of Tromp's complete *Diarium Secretarii* was published in 2006, covering the Preparatory Commission's work from mid-1960 to October 11, 1962.³⁷ The edition gave, in part 1 (576 pp.), Tromp's text in the original Latin with a facing German translation, accompanied by a detailed introduction and further annotations, whereas part 2 of the same volume offered another 400 pages of documentation in the form of minutes of meetings, the circulated *relationes*, letters, draft schemas, and a helpful overview, with outlines, of the genesis of the Preparatory Theological Commission's nine schemas.

After a pause and change of publisher, the second volume of the Tromp diary now covers the dramatic Period I (1962) of the Second Vatican Council, under John XXIII, and then moves through the eventful "intersession" from December 9, 1962, to September 28, 1963, when Period II was about to open

³⁴See note 48 for an account of the work of this three-part conciliar commission in preparing the Council's 1963 schema *De oecumenismo*.

³⁵*Il concilio inedito. Fonti del Vaticano II*, ed. Massimo Faggioli and Giovanni Turbanti (Bologna, 2001), pp. 23–24.

³⁶Faggioli and Turbanti, *Il concilio inedito*, p. 147.

³⁷Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, I, pts. 1 and 2.

under Paul VI.³⁸ The new volume retains the structure of its two-part predecessor, but surpasses it in size with its 1279 pages.

The conciliar commission on doctrine consisted of twenty-five Council members, with the first being its appointed president, Cardinal Alfredo Ottaviani. Fifteen members were elected on October 16, 1962, and nine were appointed shortly after by John XXIII.³⁹ Significantly, Tromp's first membership list adds asterisks to only seven names to designate those of the twenty-four members, both elected and appointed, who had served on the preparatory commission of 1960–62.⁴⁰ Among the new members were Cardinals Franz König and Paul-Émile Léger; Archbishops Gabriel Garrone, John Dearden, and Franjo Šeper; Bishops André-Marie Charue and Georges Pelletier; and Marcos McGrath, C.S.C., auxiliary bishop of Panama. Ottaviani, who was continuing from the preparatory commission, designated Cardinal Michael Browne, O.P., an appointed member, as vice-president.⁴¹ The commission did not select a fixed group of consultants or *periti*, as the preparatory commission had done, but left the selection of theological advisers to the

³⁸The 1962 period is well known from many accounts of the Council, but for the developments and problems of the first intersession there is only one ample survey—that of Jan Grootaers, "The Drama Continues between the Acts: The 'Second Preparation' and Its Opponents," in *History of Vatican II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY, and Leuven, 1997), 2:356–514.

³⁹The elections were first scheduled for Saturday, October 13, at the Council's first working session, but were postponed at the request of Cardinal Presidents Achille Liénart and Josef Frings to the next Tuesday so as to allow wide consultation among the members—especially through the national and regional episcopal conferences. See Mathijs Lamberigts and Alois Greiler, "Concilium episcoporum est". The Interventions of Liénart and Frings Revisited. October 13, 1962," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, 73 (1997), 54–71; and Leo Declerck and Mathijs Lamberigts, "Le rôle de l'épiscopat belge dans l'élection des commissions conciliaires en octobre 1962," in *La raison par quatre chemins: en hommage à Claude Troisfontaines*, ed. Jean Leclercq, (Bibliothèque philosophique de Louvain, 73), (Dudley, MA, 2007), pp. 279–305.

⁴⁰Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:19, 21–23. Thus, less than one-third of the conciliar commission's members could be counted on to identify loyally with the texts produced by the predecessor commission of 1960–62. A majority of the members might well look upon the prepared theological schemas with detachment or even a critical eye.

⁴¹Late in Period II five new members joined the commission (four elected, one appointed by Paul VI). At the same time the commission elected Charue as second vice-president and Monsignor Gérard Philips, professor at Louvain, as adjunct secretary to serve along with Tromp. This confirmed the moderately progressive influence of the Belgians on major documents from the Second Vatican Council. Charue's diary, which is especially informative on the Doctrinal Commission, was published as *Carnets conciliaires de l'évêque de Namur A.-M. Charue*, ed. Leo Declerck and Claude Soetens, [Cahiers de la Revue théologique de Louvain, 32], (Louvain-la-Neuve, 2000).

members, especially at moments of their forming subcommissions for work on particular schemas or chapters of schemas.⁴²

The record preserved in Tromp's *Diarium* is not a personal work recording impressions and judgments like the Second Vatican Council diaries of Yves Congar, O.P., and Henri de Lubac, S.J., as well as the almost daily letters on the Council by Dom Helder Pessoa Camara.⁴³ Instead, Tromp kept a precise and complete "office diary," with daily entries that chronicled the doctrinal commission's work. This included meetings of the commission's leadership, with the decisions they made, the directives given "from above" for the commission to follow, the drafting work entrusted to subcommissions and individuals, the rhythm of production of texts, the comments and amendments offered orally or in writing by commission members before texts moved toward discussion in the Council *aula*, and the material that Tromp found relevant for the commission in discourses of the Fathers and texts circulating around the Council.

The present volume records, with documentary appendices, moments in the Council's treatment of the schema *De fontibus revelationis* amid the high tension of the *aula* discussion of November 14–21, 1962. Then follows an ample record of the meetings and texts of the Mixed Commission on revelation, in which Ottaviani and Tromp faced the growing influence of Bea and his Secretariat for the Promotion of the Unity of Christians. Despite the Mixed Commission's moments of internal conflict, which were emblematic confrontations of the early phase of the Council, these did not prevent production of a schema *De revelatione divina*, which went out to all the Council Fathers in May 1963, but was in time judged not sufficiently mature for discussion in the Council *aula*.⁴⁴

⁴²On March 3, 1963, Tromp recorded his personal judgment that bad fruit was coming from the commission's failure to designate *periti*, since this had allowed Bishop Joseph Schröffer to select Thils as *peritus* for the seven-member subcommission preparing the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. This move upset Tromp, because Thils was a member of the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians and held extreme ecumenical views. See von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, vol. II, pt. 1:263. Philips, coordinator of the *periti* who were then working to revise *De ecclesia*, confirms that in the work of revision Thils argued forcefully for texts expressing "open theses." However, this was welcome, since Philips could then defend moderate formulations acceptable to the majority. See *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips*, ed. Karim Schelkens (Leuven, 2006), pp. 93–94.

⁴³On Congar's *Journal* of the Council, see Jared Wicks, "Yves Congar's Doctrinal Service of the People of God," *Gregorianum*, 84 (2003), 499–550. On de Lubac's *Carnets*, see Wicks, "Further Light." On Helder's letters, see Wicks, "More Light," pp. 81–86. An English translation of Congar's diary has been published by Liturgical Press.

⁴⁴Among the many appended documents are the minutes of the Mixed Commission's meetings. The edition gives in two drafts a *prooemium* prepared and presented by Garrone, revising a text of Jean Daniélou, which offered on November 27, 1962, an attractive biblical and kerygmatic account of divine revelation itself. See von

The diary relates a decisive moment of the Council—namely, the selection on February 26, 1963, as replacement of the Preparatory Commission's *De ecclesia*, of a draft written by Gérard Philips at the request of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens.⁴⁵ Then one can follow Tromp's record of the initial discussion and production, coordinated by Philips, of the 1963 revised schema *De ecclesia*. For *Lumen gentium* another key moment was the insertion, late in the 1963 process, of chapter 2, *De populo Dei*, before chapter 3 on the hierarchy and episcopate.⁴⁶ Also chapter 4, on the universal call to holiness, was added to *De ecclesia* in 1963, appearing before a treatment of the ecclesial role of persons specially dedicated to following the evangelical counsels.⁴⁷

The newly published portion of the diary tells as well of the difficult genesis, in a three-part Mixed Commission (the Doctrinal and Eastern Catholic Churches commissions with the Unity Secretariat), of the first full draft of the

Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1013–19. Although the text contained several themes eventually found in chapter I of *Dei Verbum* of 1965, Tromp and several others were severe critics of its style and content in 1963; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:139, 259 and II, pt. 2:938–41, 1038–39. Pietro Pizzuto studied the Daniélou-Garrone draft in *La teologia della rivelazione di Jean Daniélou. Influxo su Dei Verbum è valore attuale*, [Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Teologia, 96], (Rome, 2002).

⁴⁵Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:257. Because Tromp was ill that day and absent from the meeting of the seven-member *De ecclesia* subcommission, he gives only a brief account, but the minutes taken by the recorder, Carlo Molari, are offered in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:888–93. The meeting began with Ottaviani stating that he had commissioned a draft by Archbishop Pietro Parente, but Ottaviani then exited the room, leaving the chair's duties to Browne. Of the seven members, five voted for the Philips schema—namely, König, Charue, Schröffer, Léger, and Garrone, with Parente abstaining and Browne favoring a text prepared by Parente.

⁴⁶Suenens recommended that a new chapter II of *De ecclesia* treat the people of God, at the July 4, 1963, meeting of the Council's Coordinating Commission; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:485, 513. This had been suggested earlier by Thijssen of the Unity Secretariat and taken over by Bea in a letter of January 23, 1963, to Döpfner. But immediately before the July meeting, it was Monsignor Albert Prignon, rector of the Belgian College, who convinced Suenens to put his authority behind this restructuring. Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens at Vatican II," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly, Joseph Famerée, Mathijs Lamberigts, and Karim Schelkens, [Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CCXVII], (Leuven, 2008), pp. 61–217, here pp. 94, 103 (with note 210).

⁴⁷Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:333 (Suenens's proposal, presented on March 28, 1963, to the Coordinating Commission), pp. 373 and 449 (Tromp relates this to the Doctrinal Commission, May 16 and 27, as coming from Döpfner), p. 457 (the *periti* Charles Moeller and Bernard Häring give backing on May 27 for the new chapter), and p. 463 (Charue relates on May 28 that Suenens's proposal has the backing of many Dutch, Belgian, German, and French bishops).

schema *De oecumenismo*.⁴⁸ Later, Bea added to the schema a brief chapter, *De iudaeis*, without any consultation of the Doctrinal Commission.⁴⁹

This diary also relates the work of early 1963 to assemble texts on the Church and its outlook on and action in the modern world, in a Mixed Commission from the doctrinal and lay-apostolate commissions.⁵⁰ Suenens's programmatic speech, the *aula* on December 4, 1962, had exhorted the Council to direct its concerns *ad extra* to the world to contribute solutions to pressing global problems.⁵¹ In January 1963 the Coordinating Commission mandated the formation of a Mixed Commission from the conciliar Doctrinal and Lay Apostolate commissions to undertake drafting of "Schema XVII" (later "Schema XIII") on the principles and action of the Church to promote the good of society. By mid-February, a general plan of work was in place, and *periti* began to be coopted and assigned to do initial drafting. Tromp's diary for the ensuing weeks refers often to the subcommissions of this developing project, up to his full record of this Mixed Commission's plenary session May 20–25, at which the lengthy schema was reviewed and largely approved.⁵²

⁴⁸Grootaers surveys this development concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:429–35. Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:235, with note 408, tells of the initial text presented February 22, 1963, by the *periti*, among whom the lead redactors were John Witte and Thils for the chapters, respectively, on the nature and principles of ecumenism in Catholic perspective and on the Church's ecumenical action. In time, chapter III's section on relations with the Orthodox churches digested the 1962 schema from the Eastern Churches Commission, to which the Unity Secretariat added in April 1963 a further section on relations with Protestant bodies; see von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:367. The Unity Secretariat's chronicle of the genesis of the schema is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:793–99.

⁴⁹Tromp's laconic note of July 27, 1963, on Bea's chapter on the Jews is provided in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:495. The secretariat had drafted a short text in spring 1962. After political considerations led to it being set aside, the pope approved resuming this work, leading to a statement that the secretariat's members approved in February 1963. See Claude Soetens, "The Ecumenical Commitment of the Catholic Church," in *History of Vatican II*, 3:257–346, here pp. 275–76.

⁵⁰Grootaers relates this concisely in "The Drama Continues," 2:412–22. Giovanni Turbanti treats more fully the late 1962 and early 1963 developments; see *Un concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale «Gaudium et spes» del Vaticano II* (Bologna, 2000), pp. 179–262. Turbanti's comprehensive study is covered in Wicks, "More Light," pp. 94–101.

⁵¹*Acta Synodalia*, vol. I, pt. 4:222–25, mentioning the inviolability of the human person and the population explosion, social justice and aid to the third world, evangelization of poor people, and international peace. Suenens's earlier "plan" for the Council, given to John XXIII in May 1962, had listed as well the *ad extra* topics of marriage and the family, the condition of culture, and the life of the political community. Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Léon-Joseph Suenens," pp. 67–75, 138–39.

⁵²Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:191–93 (Suenens's January recommendations of members and experts for chapters on the human person, family and population, the economic and social order, human culture, and the international order),

However, the schema was soon judged by Tromp, Döpfner, and Suenens and to lack essential qualities needed in a document to be formally presented and discussed in the Council *aula*.⁵³

Amid the mass of reported information in this volume of Tromp's diary, one unfolding dynamic is the loss of control over "their" documents by the leadership of the Doctrinal Commission. In the preparatory period from mid-1960 to mid-1962, Cardinals Ottaviani and Browne, along with Archbishop Pietro Parente, Tromp, and the leading *periti* of that phase, had acted with considerable autonomy in producing schemas. But the elections of October 1962 gave to critical individuals both voice and vote on the conciliar doctrinal commission, and soon the mandated Mixed Commissions forced the doctrinal leaders to collaborate with task forces from the Unity Secretariat and the Commission on the Lay Apostolate. The able and tenacious presidents of these two entities, Bea and Fernando Cento, along with their commission secretaries Willebrands and Achille Glorieux, began exercising influence on the doctrinal texts on revelation and the Church/world relationship. Most seriously, in early 1963 the Doctrinal Commission came under authoritative direction emanating from the seven cardinals of new Commission for Coordinating the Work of the Council.⁵⁴ This Council "directorate," created

pp. 213-15 (six chapters foreseen; initial drafts presented on the person in society by Pietro Pavan, the economic order by Agostino Ferrari Toniolo, and "the community of peoples" and peace by the Dominican Raymundus Sigmond), pp. 279-81 (two-hour review on March 8 by the Mixed Commission's bishops of the chapters developed by the *periti* such as by Daniélou and Ermenegildo Lio on the human person and by Johannes Hirschmann and Lio on marriage and family), and pp. 385-443 (the plenary of May 20-25, giving Tromp's minutes of the afternoon sessions on each chapter and paragraph, with reports on the morning meetings of the different subcommissions and *periti* working to incorporate desires voiced by the members).

⁵³Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1142 (Tromp's June 25, 1963, memo after the election of Paul VI on the state of his commission's schemas includes his doubts that the schema on the Church in today's world is ready to go to the Fathers. It contains matters not pertaining to the Council and is questionable in deducing everything from human dignity. It presents a baptized humanism, without theocentric and Christological themes), p. 483 (Döpfner says on July 3 that he and Suenens believe the schema is not yet mature), and p. 487 (Suenens reports to the Coordinating Commission on July 4 that the text lacks unity and synthetic power, is short on revealed doctrine [e.g., the regal dominion of Christ], mixes certain doctrine with secondary assertions, and does not develop sufficiently the topics of marital fruitfulness and the value of human work.).

⁵⁴Von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 1:173, where Tromp listed the newly appointed cardinal members: Ameleto Cicognani (president of the new Coordinating Commission), Achille Liénart, Francis Spellman, Giovanni Urbani (patriarch of Venice), Carlo Confalonieri (secretary of the Concistorial Congregation), Julius Döpfner, and Léon-Joseph Suenens. Tromp added his foreboding over Liénart's selection for such a role, since in the Central Preparatory Commission and in his *aula* discourse of

by John XXIII at the end of Period I, took charge of coordinating, overseeing, and regularly evaluating—according to criteria from John—the schemas produced by the Second Vatican Council's commissions, including the doctrinal, with Cardinal Achille Liénart having responsibility for *De revelatione* and Suenens becoming especially active as the Coordinating Commission's supervisor of work on *De ecclesia* and the schema on the Church in the modern world.

Much more could be related about the trove of information given in von Teuffenbach's edition of volume II of the office diary of Tromp and many related documents. But it is clear that the new volumes have made widely available the records of a quite important period in the unfolding of the Second Vatican Council.

The Diary of Edward Schillebeeckx, O.P., at the Second Vatican Council's Early Sessions (1962-63)

The newly published diary of Schillebeeckx offers an English translation (pp. 1-45) and the original Dutch text (pp. 46-74). This may seem to be a minor record of only a small part of the Council, especially when one compares it with the ample diaries that Congar, de Lubac, and Philips kept for the whole or much longer phases of the Council. But one should not underestimate the record offered in these *Council Notes* of the Flemish Dominican. His engagement with the approaching council began with journal articles in February 1959, just weeks after John XXIII's announcement of his intended convocation of a council. Schillebeeckx then became an opinion-shaper, especially on broad collegial participation at the Second Vatican Council, by his ghostwriting in late 1960 of the Dutch bishops' booklet *The Coming Ecumenical Council*, which circulated rapidly and widely in several languages.⁵⁵ During the opening weeks of the Council, our diarist was well positioned for observing directions taken in the initial discussions, since he had examined the nine initially distributed schemas in a detailed manner and prepared, in mimeographed form, two "Commentaries" widely distributed in Rome on these first official draft texts of the Council.⁵⁶

December 1, 1962 (*Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 4:126-27), the cardinal of Lille had advanced the view, contrary to Pius XII in *Humani generis* (and to the Preparatory Commission's schema *De ecclesia*), that the Mystical Body of Christ in fact extends more widely than the boundaries of the Catholic Church. On the institution of the Coordinating Commission and its wide-ranging direction of work during the first intersession, see Grootaers, "The Drama Continues," 2:365-70, 376-83.

⁵⁵In addition to translations into German, French, Spanish, and Polish, English versions appeared in *The Furrow*, 12 (1961), 365-81; and in *Catholic Mind*, 59 (1961), 364-80.

⁵⁶First came Schillebeeckx's 56-page "Commentary on the 'prima series' of the 'Schemata constitutionum et decretorum de quibus disceptabitur in Concilii session-

The present publication gives the author's notes (pp. 44–46 in English and pp. 73–74 in Dutch) on the nearly three-hour meeting on October 19, 1962, of nine French and German bishops and fifteen theologians, who agreed on the need of alternatives to the four initial doctrinal schemas.⁵⁷ At the meeting, Archbishop Alfred Bengsch of Berlin spoke out for a *non placet* on the four texts from the Preparatory Theological Commission, whereas Jean Daniélou held that good points could be lifted from them and fused into an acceptable text. But Schillebeeckx joined Karl Rahner in arguing that this was not possible, because the schemas were permeated by intentions discordant from the pastoral goal given to the Council by John XXIII. He held that one needs, instead, a new kind of kerygmatic address to the Church and to the world.⁵⁸

Schillebeeckx's diary offers accounts of developments and the author's reactions in a continuous manner only for Period I, which ran from October 11 to December 8, 1962. This includes accounts of the author's service as theological *peritus* of the Dutch bishops during the opening discussion of

ibus," treating the seven schemas sent to Council members in late summer 1962. The commentary is now published in its English version in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:948–91. When the drafts of dogmatic constitutions on the Church and on the Blessed Virgin Mary were distributed to the Council Fathers in late November 1962, Schillebeeckx hastily prepared an 8-page set of Latin "Animadversiones" on these, which saw rapid distribution in 1500 copies before the ecclesiology debate opened on December 1, 1962 (text in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2:1066–81, with Tromp's critical remarks in German, dated March 20, 1963, on pp. 1119–30). This activity, which many bishops welcomed, began before the Council opened, when the author addressed a group of Dutch missionary bishops on the schemas they had received. See Jan A. Browsers, "Vatican II, derniers préparatifs et première session: Activités conciliaires en coulisses," in *Vatican II commence . . . : Approches francophones*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux (Leuven, 1993), pp. 353–68.

⁵⁷In his preface to the Schillebeeckx diary, "The Importance of Diaries for the Study of Vatican II," Matthijs Lamberigts discusses the slight differences in the accounts about those attending the October 19 meeting that appear in Schillebeeckx, de Lubac (*Carnets du concile*, ed. Loïc Figoureux, 2 vols. [Paris, 2007], I:132–33), and Congar (*Mon Journal du Concile*, ed. Éric Mahieu, 2 vols. [Paris, 2002], I:122–24).

⁵⁸Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 45. The four dogmatic schemas treated (1) tradition and scripture as sources of revelation; (2) correction of errors on ten doctrines that are undermining the pure communication to Catholics of the deposit of faith; (3) the basic principles of the Christian moral order; and (4) chastity, matrimony, the family, and virginity. Congar wanted to avoid a blanket rejection of the work of the Preparatory Theological Commission, in part because he knew there would be valuable portions in the commission's further schema *De ecclesia*, soon to be distributed. Still, the four published schemas give masses of juxtaposed particulars "ce qui manque . . . c'est la synthèse, la vision; c'est le sens du mystère chrétien" ("what is missing . . . is the synthesis, the vision, the meaning of the Christian mystery"). Congar, *Mon Journal*, I:124.

liturgical renewal. On October 17, 1962, it was known that liturgy would come up first for formal discussion. That evening Schillebeeckx spoke to the Dutch bishops on the schema, which he was on record as having commended as "in its main lines and details, an admirable piece of work."⁵⁹ The bishops commissioned him to write a short Latin text on points favorable to the draft that would serve as the basis of an eventual speech in their name in St. Peter's. Once debate opened on October 20, some backers of the liturgical status quo took positions that called for rebuttal, and so Schillebeeckx reworked the text of the speech. On October 25, one of the Dutch bishops learned about arguments against the schema that Cardinal Guiseppe Siri was to make the next day. So, Schillebeeckx did another revision with the result that on October 26 in St. Peter's Siri's main points met with counterpointed responses in the address immediately following by Bishop Willem Bekkers speaking for the Dutch episcopal conference.⁶⁰

A further section (pp. 33–43) of the diary was written during Period II, treating more analytically the theological clash over episcopal collegiality, especially on the "trend votes" of October 30, 1963. On the latter, the diary includes the pertinent remark that the past weeks' discussion in St. Peter's gave the impression that the bishops were split into opposing groups of roughly equal size over basic aspects of the episcopate and its collegial nature. The votes then showed that those who opposed the innovative directions of the schema were in fact a small minority.⁶¹

In the total reality of the Second Vatican Council, Schillebeeckx had a limited role; although he was a resource for the Dutch bishops, he never became an official Council *peritus*. Nonetheless, he did work in 1964–65 on the subcommission on the family in preparing the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes*.⁶² Of greater import were his 1964 lectures in Rome on the Church/world relationship, which drew attention and occasioned sharply critical reactions by de Lubac.⁶³ But our global view of the Council has to include the contributions of many individuals who acted at key moments, and one of these is revealed in Schillebeeckx's *Council Notes*, which are a small but fine addition to the great mosaic of the record of the Second Vatican Council.

⁵⁹"Commentary on the 'prima series,'" in von Teuffenbach, ed., *Konzilstagebuch*, II, pt. 2: 986.

⁶⁰See *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:440–41 (Siri) and pp. 441–45 (Bekkers).

⁶¹The Council's opening discussion in 1962 of liturgical renewal had left the same "masking" impression, but the vote of November 14, to accept and develop the schema, showed, as Schillebeeckx noted, "on liturgy *in genere* 95% pro." Schelkens, ed., *Council Notes*, p. 19.

⁶²See Turbanti, *Un concilio*, pp. 524–27, 633, 641.

⁶³See Wicks, "Further Light," p. 560.

Reading the Second Vatican Council as Modernist Rupture with the Catholic Tradition

Some readers will be aware of a conservative Catholic agitation, centered in Rome, which recently called for a high-level critical review of the Second Vatican Council and its documents, to verify their continuities and more significant discontinuities with the normative Catholic tradition of teaching and practice. Monsignor Brunero Gherardini, emeritus professor of ecclesiology at the Pontifical Lateran University, is the leading theological spokesman for this appeal.⁶⁴ Another component originated in a large work of 1985, lamenting the Council's error of principle coming from modernism, by the Italian-Swiss philosopher of esthetics Romano Amerio.⁶⁵ In late 2010, the main exponents of this reading of the Council and of the urgently needed remedies for the Council's deviations held a congress in Rome under the sponsorship of the Franciscans of the Immaculate, at which the historian Roberto de Mattei was a principal speaker.⁶⁶

For readers of this journal, de Mattei's published contribution will be of most interest, for he has brought out a one-volume history of the Council composed of 629 pages. The "hermeneutics of rupture" rule de Mattei's reconstruction. Far from promoting the ongoing celebration of the Council, he claims that many Council texts and directives have roots in neo-modernist currents treated too benignly by Pope Pius XII despite the opposition of vigilant critics to their subversions.⁶⁷ De Mattei does not cite or reference Pius

⁶⁴Brunero Gherardini, *The Ecumenical Vatican Council II. A Much Needed Discussion* (Frigento, 2009), in which, after nine chapters raising critical questions, the author concludes his epilogue with a four-page "Appeal to the Holy Father," namely that "You offer some clarity by responding in an authoritative manner to the questions about the Council's continuity with the other Councils . . . and about its fidelity to the ever vigorous Tradition of the church" (p. 297). Gherardini's recent works on the Council's interpretation include *Ecumene tradita: il dialogo ecumenico tra equivoci e prassi falsi* (Verona, 2009); *Quale accord tra Cristo e Beliar? Osservazioni teologiche sui i problem, gli equivoci e i compromessi del dialogo interreligioso* (Verona, 2009); "Quod et traditi vobis". *La tradizione vita et giovinezza della chiesa* (*Divinitas*, 53 [2010], 1–399; Frigento, 2010); *Quaecumque dixerit vobis: parola di Dio e tradizione a confronto con la storia e la teologia* (Turin, 2011); and *Concilio Vaticano II: il discorso mancato* (Turin, 2011).

⁶⁵Romano Amerio, *Iota unum. A Study of Changes in the Catholic Church in the XXth Century*, translation from the second Italian edition (Kansas City, 1996). The Italian original was republished with a *postfazione* by Enrico Maria Radaelli (Turin and Verona, 2009). See Faggioli's account of Amerio's position in *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning*, pp. 26–29.

⁶⁶The news service *Correspondenza Romana* offers an account of the congress at <http://corrispondenzaromana.it/il-concilio-vaticano-ii-e-la-sua-giusta-ermeneutica-alla-luce-della-tradizione-della-chiesa>, accessed March 2, 2012.

⁶⁷De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 31–77 (in the era of Pius XII, creeping theological novelties, especially in France, were noted but not suppressed in 1950 by

XII's encouragement, in *Humani generis*, that theology always return to the inexhaustible sources of our knowledge of divine revelation: "Hence it is that the theological disciplines, through the study of the sacred sources, remain ever fresh (*semper iuvenescunt*)."⁶⁸ Without this *ressourcement*, which was characteristic of the preconciliar renewal currents, Pius XII says that theology turns into sterile speculation.⁶⁹

In its aftermath, de Mattei finds the Council leading to the deleterious consequences of a many-sided Catholic crisis during 1965 to 1978 under Paul VI. This later "epoch of the Council" included developments such as a destructive reform of the Curia, the Dutch Catechism (1966), dissent from Paul VI's *Humanae vitae* on contraception (1968), infiltration of the Church by elements of the social revolutions of 1968, and the spread of the theology of liberation.⁶⁹ Because the Council did not condemn communism, the Vatican *Ostpolitik* discomfited loyal, long-time Catholic opponents of Marxist ideology and religious suppression. Paul VI implemented the Council's liturgy constitution with the revolutionary *Novus Ordo Missae*, in which critics found an "immanentist" and secularizing ecclesiological vision.⁷⁰

Chapters II–VI of de Mattei's history set forth the Council preparations of 1959–62 and the events of each of the four working periods, along with information on developments during the three intersessions of 1963, 1964, and 1965. John XXIII had no coherent program, but was given to improvisations arising from his optimistic and benign outlook on life. This crystallized

Humani generis, the Catholic biblical movement surrendered to reductive historical exegesis, the liturgical movement called for innovations infected by rationalism and archeologism, and the ecumenical pioneers adopted the World Council of Churches ideal of the people of God moving through history toward eschatological unity). Then pages 83–98 introduce far-seeing opponents to these threats such as the Brazilian law professor and Catholic activist Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira (1908–95); Reginald Garrigou-Lagrange, O.P.; Joseph C. Fenton; José de Aldema, S.J.; and Antonio Messineo, S.J. (of *La Civiltà cattolica*). De Mattei presented the first-named of these Catholic watchmen in *The Crusader of the 20th Century: Plínio Corrêa de Oliveira* (Leominster, UK, 1998).

⁶⁸See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 42 (1950), 568–69.

⁶⁹De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 527–54, followed by pp. 554–59 on perceptions of the situation by Paul VI ("the smoke of Satan" in God's temple), by Hubert Jedin, and by de Lubac (conference of 1969 at St. Louis University, denouncing abusive interpretations of the Council's documents). Pages 559–61 tell how Siri denounced errors and promoted a salutary emphasis on the Second Vatican Council's continuity with the tradition, especially in editorials from 1966 to 1986 that appeared first in the journal *Renovatio* and later in *Il dovere dell'ortodossia* (Pisa, 1987).

⁷⁰De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 563–74. The author catalogs works critical of the Missal of Paul VI (p. 569n180) and recalls the multiauthored *Breve esame critica* presented to the pope in 1969 by Cardinals Alfredo Ottaviani and Antonio Bacci, who lamented the new Missal's departures from Trent's teaching on Eucharistic sacrifice (p. 570).

in the theme of *aggiornamento*, which, for de Mattei, rests on a naive belief that one can change inherited forms without losing doctrinal substance. But this was, in embryo, "the spirit of Vatican II."⁷¹ De Mattei's account of Period I ends with his theory about the dynamic at work in the Council's approval of liturgical renewal followed by its critical handling of the doctrinal schemas on the sources of revelation and on the Church's nature, structure, and mission. After relating Siri's late 1962 catalog of disturbing developments, de Mattei takes over the view of Victor-Alain Berto, the *peritus* of Spiritan Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre. Accordingly, the Council's members were not divided into a majority and minority, but instead into a tripartite division between the often undecided majority and two minorities seeking to give direction to the Council. One minority held Roman and Thomist principles, but was initially timid, whereas the anti-Roman and anti-Thomist minority showed determination and efficacy from the beginning in gaining broad backing for its critical positions.⁷²

De Mattei relates, but does not reflect on, two aspects of the early part of the Council. First, well before the efforts of organized promotion fused together, an orientation vote on the liturgy schema on November 14, 1962, showed a huge majority approving the renewal set forth in what was the model-schema coming out of the Council's preparation.⁷³ Second, in an interview given to Roberto Tucci, director of *Civiltà cattolica*, on February 9, 1963, John XXIII very plausibly read developments in Period I as the gradual appropriation by many Council members and by whole episcopates of the reforming hopes he had expressed in the opening discourse of October 11, 1962. In coherent, not improvised, directives given in the last days of Period I, John made the central paragraphs of that discourse normative for the revision of schemas and created the supervisory Coordinating Commission to ensure that revisions cohered with the pope's aims.⁷⁴

⁷¹De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, p. 118.

⁷²De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 278-83, in which, after texts by Siri, the author cites the sociological analysis of Melissa Wilde, which is presented in Wicks, "Further Light." But he is more convinced by Victor-Alain Berto, cited on p. 281, and by André Joussain's theory of modern revolutions that appears in *La loi des révolutions* (Paris, 1950).

⁷³De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 254 (the vote: *placet*, 2162; *non placet*, 46; invalid ballots, 7).

⁷⁴De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 286-88 (the interview, from Tucci's unpublished diary). The guidelines of December 6, 1962, for revision of schemas are given in *Acta Synodalia*, I, pt. 1:96-97. They cite John XXIII's opening discourse, including the distinction between the truths of the deposit of faith and the *modus quo enuntiantur*, which should correspond to the magisterium being especially pastoral in character. John's intentions were taken up and deepened in Paul VI's opening discourse of Period II on September 29, 1963, in a profound confession of Christ as light of the world and a succinct presentation of the four areas in which the Second Vatican Council would issue updated teaching and orient the Catholic Church to dialogical interaction with others.

De Mattei's history is especially informative on the members, eventual organization, and interventions during the Council of the *Coetus internationalis Patrum*.⁷⁵ As on other topics that it treats, on and from the *Coetus* this history offers numerous and sometimes sizable texts in Italian. A small committee came together during Period I, through efforts of the Brazilian bishops Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, S.V.D., and Antônio de Castro Mayer, who met with Lefebvre and some French priests dedicated to saving the Church from modernist subversion.⁷⁶ They sponsored conferences in November 1962 that involved Monsignor Salvatore Garofalo, coordinator of the drafting of *De fontibus revelationis* in the Preparatory Theological Commission, and Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini who insisted, against the "modernists," on tradition for knowing divine revelation. Period II in 1963 saw the *Coetus* formally organized and holding regular strategy sessions, especially against episcopal collegiality, under the leadership of Lefebvre, Proença Sigaud, and Bishop Luigi Carli of Segni. In Period III, the schemas on ecumenism and religious liberty became targets of circulars of the *Coetus* and appeals to Paul VI. They publicized as well their demand that the revised *De revelatione divina* be modified to give tradition its due along with the inerrancy of scripture and the historical character of the Gospels.⁷⁷ Before Period IV, the *Coetus* asked for, but was refused, an official role in the *aula* for voicing their critical views on religious liberty, revelation in scripture and tradition, the Church in the modern world, and relations with non-Christian religions. During the fourth period, a resolute Paul VI rebuffed attacks by the *Coetus* and its sympathizers on *De libertate religiosa*. But a long amendment prepared by the *Coetus*

⁷⁵On this group, see Luc Perrin, "Il Coetus internationalis Patrum e la minoranza conciliare," in *L'evento e le decisioni: Studi sulle dinamiche del Concilio Vaticano II*, ed. Alberto Melloni and Maria Teresa Fattori (Bologna, 1997), pp. 173-87; and Philippe J. Roy, "Le Coetus Internationalis Patrum, un groupe d'opposants au sein du concile Vatican II" (PhD dissertation, University of Laval, 2011).

⁷⁶De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 227-35, where one genealogical line goes back to the French Seminary in Rome in the mid-1920s, when Marcel Lefebvre, Victor-Alain Berto, and Raymond Dulac came under the formative influence of the long-time rector, Henri Le Floch, C.S.Sp., whom Pius XI ordered to leave Rome in 1927 following the condemnation of *Action Française*. At the Council, this group, formed into the *Coetus*, had the practical help of a fourteen-person secretariat set up and financed by Corrêa de Oliveira (p. 228).

⁷⁷De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 330-35 (Siri reluctant to take part in group action, because of progressive directions taken by Paul VI; on October 22, 1963, the first of the weekly *Coetus* meetings; Berto orients the group to coordinated submission of *modi* in numbers that those making the final revisions will be unable to disregard), pp. 374-78 ("reserved note" of September 1964 to Paul VI against collegiality, from Cardinal Arcadio Larraona and thirty-seven others, to which the pope responded forcefully with an eight-page, handwritten letter), pp. 389-90 (appeal to Paul VI by nine of the *Coetus* disturbed by imminent departures from the ordinary magisterium on ecumenism and religious liberty), and p. 407 (ten-page circular on insertions to demand in *De revelatione*).

gained more than 400 adherents to the demand, which was partially and indirectly granted, of a condemnation of communism in the passage on atheism in *Gaudium et spes*.⁷⁸

De Mattei has given an account of the Second Vatican Council that is noteworthy in its coverage. But it is seriously flawed by neglect and even denigration of the leadership of John XXIII and Paul VI as well as of the leading Council members whose intentions—*aggiornamento*, reform, and pastoral renewal—cohered closely with those of the two presiding popes of the Council.

⁷⁸De Mattei, *Il concilio Vaticano II*, pp. 422–26 (1964 interventions for condemning communism, with ample citation of Carli), pp. 454–56 (request for an *aula* role), pp. 458–70 (dramatic clash with Paul VI over religious liberty), and pp. 492–502 (final offensive and the long *modus* against communism, which suffered an improper delay in transfer to the commission for final revisions, but in the end led to the addition to *Gaudium et spes*, no. 21, of note 16 documenting condemnations of communism by Popes Pius XI, Pius XII, John XXIII, and Paul VI, with whom the Council joins in their *reprobatio* of atheism).

FORUM ESSAY

BY

NELSON H. MINNICH, JOSHUA BENSON, HANS J. HILLERBRAND, SIMON DITCHFIELD,
PAUL F. GRENDLER, AND BRAD S. GREGORY

The Unintended Reformation: How a Religious Revolution Secularized Society. By Brad S. Gregory. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2012. Pp. x, 574. \$39.95. ISBN 978-0-674-04563-7.)

Introduction by Nelson H. Minnich (The Catholic University of America)

In an effort to understand how contemporary American society came to be with its hyperpluralism of religious beliefs, emphasis on individual human rights, and dedication to consumerism, Brad S. Gregory looks for answers not to the Enlightenment, but to earlier eras, especially that of the Protestant Reformation. He approaches his topic from six intertwined perspectives: excluding God, relativizing doctrines, controlling the churches, subjectivizing morality, manufacturing the goods life, and secularizing knowledge. His investigation crosses national boundaries; sweeps across the centuries; and engages the disciplines of theology, philosophy, political science, sociology, economics, and even popular culture. An introduction explains his genealogical method and his conception of change over time, a conclusion summarizes his findings, and 145 pages of notes provide references to primary and up-to-date secondary literature in multiple languages. His writing style is lucid and even witty at times: "Whatever!"

In the chapter "Excluding God," Gregory shows how the late-medieval *via moderna* and its precursor John Duns Scotus departed from the traditional view of God as transcendent and incomprehensible, the God who revealed himself as "I am Who am" (Ex. 3:14) and whom St. Thomas Aquinas identified as the act of "to be" (*esse*). Scotus and his followers claimed that God shares being with creation, is conceptually part of the same framework as the created world in a "univocal metaphysics," and in nominalism is construed as the highest being (*ens*). Protestants insisted on the distinction between God and his creation, initially rejecting Aristotelianism and sacramentality as understood in the Roman Church. The Reformed and Radicals insisted that God is not physically present in the material world and that transubstantiation is a false teaching. After the early Church, they argued, God no longer manifested his power in miracles, and claims of apparitions and miracles wrought