

FESSLER, *Das vatikanische Concilium* (Vienna 1871). L. VEUILLLOT, *Rome pendant le Concile*, 2 v. (Paris 1872). E. OLLIVIER, *L'Église et l'état au Concile du Vatican*, 2 v. (Paris 1879). T. GRANDERATH, *Constitutiones dogmaticae Concilii Vaticani* (Freiburg 1892); *Geschichte des vatikanischen Konzils*, 3 v. (Freiburg 1903–06). J. GIBBONS, *A Retrospect of Fifty Years*, 2 v. (Baltimore 1916). F. MOURRET, *Le Concile du Vatican d'après des documents inédits* (Paris 1919). E. CAMPANA, *Il Concilio Vaticano*, 1 v. in 2 (Lugano 1926). C. BUTLER, *The Vatican Council*, 2 v. (New York 1930; abr. ed. Westminster, MD 1962). J. R. BEISER, *American Secular Newspapers and the Vatican Council* (Washington 1942). J. BRUGERETTE and É. AMANN, *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*, ed. A. VACANT, 15 v. (Paris 1903–50; Tables générales 1951–)15.2:2536–86. R. AUBERT, *Le Pontificat de Pie IX* (Fliche-Martin 21; 2d ed., 1964). U. BETTI, *La costituzione dogmatica "Pastor Aeternus" del Concilio Vaticano I* (Rome 1961). J. J. HENNESEY, *The First Council of the Vatican: The American Experience* (New York 1963).

[J. J. HENNESEY]

VATICAN COUNCIL II

On Jan. 25, 1959, less than 100 days after his election, in a speech in which he outlined the broad lines of his papacy, Pope JOHN XXIII told a group of cardinals gathered at St. Paul-Outside-the-Walls that he intended to revive two ancient forms for stating doctrine and ordering discipline: he would hold a diocesan synod for Rome and an ecumenical council for the universal Church, the two events to be followed by a reform of the Code of Canon Law. The announcement of a council surprised most Catholics. No ecumenical council had been held since the First Vatican Council, and some churchmen were of the view that its definitions of papal primacy and infallibility made further ecumenical councils superfluous. Both Pius XI and Pius XII had considered reconvening Vatican I, but although consultations were undertaken and some considerations of an agenda were begun, in the end both popes decided not to proceed.

In various speeches and messages over the next years, John XXIII set out three general purposes for the Council: he wished it to be an opportunity for a spiritual renewal and reinvigoration of the Church that would make it more faithful to Christ's will and for an updating (aggiornamento) of its pastoral attitudes, habits, and institutions to make them more effective in the changed conditions of the modern world; if these two goals could be achieved, the Council would also greatly promote the restoration of unity among Christians.

Preparatory Commissions. On Pentecost Sunday, May 17, 1959, the pope established an Antepreparatory Commission headed by Cardinal Tardini, with Msgr. Pericle Felici serving as secretary, and composed of ten clerics who held important posts in the Roman Curia. This commission's tasks were to consult the bishops of the

world, the offices of the Curia, and the theological and canonical faculties of Catholic universities for their advice and suggestions about a conciliar agenda, to sketch the general lines of the topics to be discussed at the Council, and to suggest various bodies that would prepare the material for conciliar deliberation. The bishops and others consulted were left complete freedom to make suggestions in the areas of doctrine, discipline, pastoral activity, and contemporary problems. Over 75% of those invited responded; their responses filled 15 large tomes in four volumes. Proposals ranged in significance from the sublime to the trivial and reflected a very broad range of theological and pastoral perspectives; there were those who opposed any change and those who hoped the Council would be an opportunity for major reforms. If the majority of bishops were rather cautious and earth-bound in their suggestions, it could have been in part because of the deadline for their submissions, and in part because it was not at all clear what Pope John himself wished the Council to be and to do.

In the vast material received the antepreparatory commission found no fewer than 9,338 suggestions which it organized for convenient reference according to the traditional divisions of dogmatic and moral theology and of the books and topics of the Code of Canon Law. The proposals received were placed under the seal of secrecy and could be consulted only by those officially engaged in the preparation of the Council. As the structure of the preparation took shape, the materials were divided once again, drastically reduced in number, and presented in the form of questions for further study.

On Pentecost, June 5, 1960, John XXIII announced the structure of the preparatory period. Ten commissions were established to draw up texts for the Council to consider: (1) the theological (for matters of faith and morals); (2) for bishops and the governance of dioceses; (3) for the discipline of the clergy and the Christian people; (4) for religious; (5) for the discipline of the sacraments; (6) for the liturgy; (7) for studies and seminaries; (8) for the eastern churches; (9) for the missions; (10) for the apostolate of the laity. In addition, the pope created two secretariats, one for the communications-media and the other for promoting the unity of Christians which, it was said, would enable non-Catholics to follow the work of the Council. A Central Commission was also established to supervise and coordinate the work of the other commissions, to review the texts they prepared and to recommend them to the pope for the conciliar agenda, and to draw up the rules that would govern the Council's work.

The ten commissions were chaired by the cardinal-heads of corresponding offices in the Roman Curia, with Curial figures also serving as secretaries on most of them.

The personnel of the commissions consisted of members and consultors, the former having voting rights, the latter offering advice when asked. Among the members and consultors, it was noted, were included some theologians who had been under suspicion or the subject of disciplinary measures during the previous decade, among them Yves Congar, Henri de Lubac, Bernhard Häring, and Karl Rahner. No women and no lay people were appointed to the preparatory commissions.

The commissions set to work on the basis of the questions proposed by the antepreparatory commission, although they were permitted to suggest additional questions. The work of preparation suffered from a lack of supervision and from the failure of the most of the commissions to collaborate on common or related problems. The Theological Commission, headed by Alfredo Cardinal Ottaviani, added to the problem by insisting that it had exclusive responsibility for doctrinal questions; as it would not enter into practical pastoral problems, so it expected all other commissions to submit to itself any and all matters of doctrine. In further expression of its conception of its own sovereignty, the Theological Commission refused to collaborate with other commissions and in particular with the Secretariat for Christian Unity. Compounding this lack of coordination, the pontifical secret that was supposed to surround the work of the commissions was widely understood to prohibit speaking about the work of one's own commission even with members of other commissions.

The commissions brought before the Central Commission a total of 75 texts which were later culled, some remanded to the postconciliar reform of canon law, some combined with others, so that a total of 22 Schemas were in the end considered fit for conciliar discussion. The texts prepared by the pastoral commissions generally flew very close to the ground; they did little more than recommend mostly minor changes in the Church's canonical and disciplinary norms; there was very little evidence that the commissions had considered the serious sociological and theological discussions of pastoral activity that had been going on for three decades. The one exception to this description was the Commission on the Sacred Liturgy whose members included many of the most important scholars in the liturgical movement; they decided to undertake serious historical and theological studies of the various topics they addressed and were therefore able to buttress with effective arguments their recommendations of significant liturgical reform.

The Theological Commission prepared eight texts: a new formula for the profession of faith, meant to be used at the opening of the Council, and seven constitutions: on the sources of revelation, on the moral order, on

defending the deposit of faith, on chastity, virginity, marriage and the family, on the Church, on the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the community of nations, and on the social order. In general, these texts were meant to confirm with the Council's high authority the orientations and emphases that had characterized the papal magisterium for the previous century and a half, and in particular as these had been expressed at Vatican I, in the anti-modernist documents, *Pascendi* and *Lamentabili*, and in the encyclical *Humani generis*. Their general tone was very defensive, suspicious of most of the recent movements of theological renewal in dogmatic and moral theology and in biblical studies, and at best indifferent to ecumenical implications.

During the preparatory period the Secretariat for Christian Unity, chaired by Cardinal Augustin Bea, represented a different notion of what the Council might do and how it might do it. Early on, it received permission from Pope John to prepare texts to alert the other commissions to the ecumenical dimensions of various subjects. When its efforts to collaborate with the Theological Commission were rebuffed, it began to prepare texts that the Pope said could eventually be brought to the Council itself. Some of the Secretariat's texts addressed questions being considered also by the Theological Commission, among them the Word of God, membership in the Church, hierarchical authority, and religious freedom. These texts were written with an eye to overcoming misunderstandings of Catholic doctrine on the part of other Christians, to exploring their views with sympathy, and to proposing ways of understanding and stating Christian doctrine that would go beyond polemical impasses.

All of the texts written by the preparatory commissions were brought for review before the Central Commission, which was composed of cardinals and archbishops from all over the world and which met in six meetings between June 12, 1961, and June 20, 1962. The members of this commission were not reluctant to criticize the prepared texts and to offer amendments. Had people been aware of the quality and vigor of the discussions within the Central Commission, the public might have anticipated the drama that unfolded when some of these texts reached the Council floor. The criticisms and proposed amendments were referred to a subcommission whose work was then to be reviewed by the whole Central Commission; time did not permit this last step and consequently the texts went before the Council as altered or not by the subcommission.

Rules and Procedures. By the *motu proprio* *Appropinquante concilio* (Aug. 6, 1962) John XXIII laid down the rules that were to govern to conduct of the Council. For the direction of the general congregations,

in which the proposed decrees were to be discussed and voted on, he established a board of ten presidents, all cardinals, who were to supervise the debate and maintain discipline, one of them presiding each day. He also set up ten commissions, which were the same as those in the preparatory phase, although the first was now called the Commission for the Doctrine of Faith and Morals, and the last was now charged with matters pertaining not only to the apostolate of the laity but also to the mass media and entertainment. The Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, the Technical-Organizational Commission, and the Financial Secretariat were carried over, and at the last minute the Pope added a Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs which would examine new questions proposed by the fathers. Besides the chairman, who was named by the pope, each conciliar commission consisted of 24 members, two-thirds of whom were elected by the fathers and the rest chosen by the pope; this represented a change from Vatican I where all the members of the conciliar commissions were elected by the assembly. Latin was to be used in the public sessions and general congregations; modern languages could also be used in commission meetings. The speeches of individual fathers were not to last more than ten minutes. The majority required for approval of all matters except elections consisted of two-thirds of those present and voting. Some of these provisions would be later modified in the light of the conciliar experience.

On July 23, 1962, the General Secretariat of the Council, with Archbishop Pericle Felici continuing at its head, sent the conciliar fathers a first volume containing the texts that would be discussed at the first session of the Second Vatican Council. It contained the following texts: drafts of dogmatic constitutions on the sources of revelation, on the defense of the deposit of faith, on the Christian moral order, on chastity, marriage, the family and virginity, drafts of constitutions on the sacred liturgy and on the mass media, and a draft of a decree on the unity of the Church (dealing with the Oriental Catholic Churches). Why out of the mass of material prepared these seven texts were chosen for the initial conciliar agenda is not known; that the draft of a dogmatic constitution on the Church and on the Blessed Virgin Mary was not included was explained by the fact that the final revisions and editing of these two texts were not completed when the Council opened; a second volume would be distributed to the fathers only early in November.

The ecumenical goal of the Council was reflected by invitations sent to the major Christian churches and communities. Their representatives were permitted to attend not only the public sessions but also the general congregations, but they did not have the right to vote or to speak; they would prove able, however, to make their views

known to the commissions through the Secretariat for Christian Unity and through personal contacts with conciliar fathers. It was a great disappointment that most of the Orthodox Churches were not represented at the first session, but a decision made at a pan-Orthodox meeting in Rhodes in 1961 had decided upon a common response; on the very eve of the Council, however, the Moscow patriarchate broke with the rest and decided to send representatives. Representatives of the Patriarch of Constantinople would not attend the Council until the third session. Ecumenical representation at the Council increased from year to year; 17 Orthodox and Protestant denominations were represented by 35 delegate-observers and guests at the first period, while at the fourth 93 represented 28 groups.

The announcement of the Council and the years of its preparation had created widespread interest both within and without the Catholic Church. A spate of historical surveys and studies of the previous 20 ecumenical councils appeared, along with monographs on topics likely to be discussed at Vatican II, particularly in the areas of liturgy and ecclesiology. Surveys of the desires and wishes of Catholics with regard to the Council were published, and several authors published proposals for a reform agenda.

In the spring of 1962, several important members of the Central Commission, among them Cardinals Suenens (Archbishop of Malines-Brussels) and Léger (Archbishop of Montreal) and Archbishop Dennis Hurley (Durban, South Africa), wrote to Pope John to express their concern that the pastoral and ecumenical goals he had outlined for the Council were unlikely to be met on the basis of the texts the Central Commission had reviewed. Such fears spread as the character of the official texts became more widely known. There was some apprehension that the Council, which was not expected to last more than two sessions, would entail little more than rubber-stamping the documents placed before the fathers. As the bishops began to gather in Rome in the second week of October 1962, contrasting fears and hopes divided them.

Periods. The Second Vatican Council met in four periods: from Oct. 11 to Dec. 8, 1962; from Sept. 29 to Dec. 4, 1963; from Sept. 14 to Nov. 21, 1964; and from Sept. 14 to Dec. 8, 1965.

In the course of the four years of Vatican II, 3,058 fathers participated, by far the largest number in the history of the ecumenical councils. Besides the 129 superiors general of clerical religious orders, their numbers and the percentages of all those who attended, ranked by continent, are: Europe 1,060 (36%); South America 531 (18%); North America 416 (14%); Asia 408 (14%); Africa 351 (12%); Central America 89 (3%); and Oceania 74

(3%). Participation by those who had a right to attend fluctuated. It was the highest at the first (84.34%) and at the fourth (84.88%) periods; 82.34% attended the second and 80.23% the third. These numbers would have been higher had many bishops from countries under Communist domination been permitted to attend.

First Period. The most dramatic of the four periods of the Council opened with a solemn ceremony attended by representatives of 86 governments and international bodies. In his opening speech Pope John disagreed with “those prophets of doom who are always forecasting disaster” and recommended that the fathers instead consider whether God might not be providing new opportunities for the Church. He wanted the Council not only to defend the patrimony of the faith but to consider how to understand and present it to contemporaries; to this end he distinguished between the substance of the faith and the fashion in which it is articulated, and he urged a pastoral goal and the use of the methods of research and literary forms of modern thought. In the face of errors he advised the fathers to avoid condemnations and instead to give a positive demonstration of the validity of the Church’s teaching. He emphasized the duty to work actively for the fulfillment of the mystery of unity with other Christians and with non-Christians. To those familiar with the preparatory material, it appeared that the pope was declaring his dissatisfaction with the official schemata and proposing that the Council adopt a different approach.

The first general congregation (Oct. 13, 1962) had permanent consequences for the Council, for instead of proceeding immediately, as had been planned, to electing the 16 members of each commission with only the lists of members and consultors of the defunct preparatory commissions to guide it, the Council, at the motion of Cardinal Achille Liénart, Bishop of Lille, and of Cardinal Josef Frings, Archbishop of Cologne, adjourned after a few minutes to allow more time for consultation among the bishops of the various countries or regions. Thereupon the national or regional episcopal conferences decided to recommend one or two candidates of their own number for each commission; and in the second general congregation (October 16), before the fathers cast their ballots, a composite list of all these nominees was distributed. In this way the commissions became more nearly representative of the whole assembly and did not merely perpetuate the mentality of the preparatory commissions, which had been largely dominated by curialists and could have been expected merely to defend texts which many fathers considered to be unacceptable. (Some continuity was assured, however, by the pope’s appointment as presidents of the conciliar commissions of the same curial cardinals who had presided over the corresponding preparatory commissions.) The postponement of these

elections was a first indication that the fathers were going to accept their responsibility for the Council, and the consultations undertaken established the importance for the Council of cooperation within and among the episcopal conferences.

In the course of this first period the Council discussed the schemata on the liturgy, on the sources of revelation, on mass media, on the unity of the Church, and on the Church. Lively discussions took place on the liturgical schema’s proposals to allow greater use of vernacular languages, more common practice of communion under both kinds and concelebration, and greater authority in liturgical matters for episcopal conferences. The long debate came to a close with a vote on the general principles set out in the draft, and an overwhelming majority of the fathers (2,162 to 46) showed themselves ready to embark upon significant Church reform.

The second important debate concerned a schema on the sources of revelation which focused on two questions: the relationship between Scripture and Tradition and the value of modern historical critical methods in the interpretation of the Bible. The text was sharply criticized for its negative tone and lack of ecumenical and pastoral sensitivity, for prematurely settling the legitimately debated issue whether all revealed truths are found in the Scriptures, and for looking with such suspicion on the problems uncovered by modern biblical scholarship that it would prevent any fruitful Catholic contribution. Defenders of the text argued that the dogmatic issue had been settled at the Council of Trent and by subsequent common teaching and that the faith was being endangered by books and articles calling into question the historical character of both Old and New Testaments. A vote was taken on whether to discontinue the debate or to continue it with discussions of the individual chapters. Although the vote to discontinue (1,368 to 822) fell just short of the two-thirds majority required, the pope, to avoid prolonged and probably fruitless debate, intervened, halting the discussion and remanding the text to a special commission under the joint chairmanship of Cardinals Ottaviani and Bea to rewrite the text. It had become clear that a substantial majority of the fathers wished to compose texts different in orientation and purpose from those composed by the Theological Commission, and that the pope would back them up.

Now that the Council had clearly demonstrated its pastoral and doctrinal interests, the rest of the first period was somewhat anticlimactic. A few days were given at the end to a preliminary discussion of the schema on the Church, commonly considered the chief business and central theme of the whole Council. The official text was subjected to a by now familiar litany of complaints, and

it was understood, even without a formal vote, that it too would have to be substantially revised. In fact, that would prove to be the fate of all the prepared schemata. On Dec. 6, 1962, it was announced that the Pope had appointed a Coordinating Commission, chaired by Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, whose task it would be to review the draft texts prepared for the Council and, in the light of the goals of the Council as stated by Pope John and ratified by the Council's votes, to decide which were to be retained on the conciliar agenda, which could be left for post-conciliar decisions, and what changes in content or in method and tone needed to be made. This "supercommission" rapidly reduced the texts to be retained to 17, the last of these being a new schema, championed in particular by Cardinal Suenens, to address the presence of the Church in the modern world. Throughout the intersession, the conciliar commissions undertook what has been called a "second preparation" of Vatican II.

The first period ended without its having approved a single schema, but the decisions made at it determined the orientation of the whole course of the Second Vatican Council. The people and the purposes that had largely dominated the preparation of the Council had been replaced; new leaders would now pursue goals largely ignored during the preparation.

With the death of John XXIII on June 3, 1963, the Council and all activities related to it were automatically suspended. But the day after his election (June 22), Pope Paul VI promised that the Council would be resumed and that it would pursue the goals set for it by his predecessor. Five days later he fixed the opening date of the second period for September 29.

Second Period. Before the fathers reconvened, Paul VI issued a revised edition of the *Ordo concilii . . . celebrandi* in order to correct some of the defects in organization and procedure manifested in the first period and to expedite the labors and ensure the freedom of the participants. He abolished the Secretariat for Extraordinary Affairs and enlarged to 12 members the board of presidents; it would be their duty to see that the rules were duly observed and to resolve any eventual doubts and remove difficulties. He also appointed four cardinals Agagianian, Prefect of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide; Giacomo Lercaro, Archbishop of Bologna; Julius Döpfner, Archbishop of Munich and Freising; and Leo Joseph Suenens, Archbishop of Malines-Brussels as moderators, who were to take turns in directing the discussions in the general congregations. The pope also made various changes in the procedural rules, such as reducing to 50 percent plus one the majority required for the rejection or deferment of a schema or a part of one, and permitting one father to speak in the name of others.

For the improvement and expansion of the news services, about which there had been many complaints during the first period, Paul VI appointed a Press Committee chaired by Abp. Martin J. O'Connor. The pope increased the number of non-Catholic Christian observers invited to the Council, and 31 more were present at the second period than at the first. John XXIII had invited one Catholic layman, Jean Guitton, to the latter part of the first period; Paul VI provided for the attendance of several lay auditors at the general congregations and for their assistance to the commissions; in addition to Guitton, ten other laymen from various countries, for the most part representing international Catholic organizations, were welcomed at the start of the new period.

At the public session which opened the second period on Sept. 29, 1963, Paul VI gave a memorable address in which he emphasized the pastoral nature of the assembly and specified its four purposes as: to define more fully the notion of the Church, especially with regard to the position of bishops; to renew the Church; to promote the restoration of unity among all Christians (he asked for non-Catholics to pardon Catholics for their faults in the schisms and condoned injuries done to Catholics); and to initiate a dialogue with the contemporary world.

The conciliar discussions began with the revised schema on the Church. Heated debate arose over the schema's discussion of the collegiality of bishops and its relation to the primacy of the pope defined at Vatican I. On October 30, the moderators, employing a procedure not envisaged in the *Ordo*, put to votes for the guidance of the Doctrinal Commission five propositions contained substantially in the schema's third chapter. Four of them concerned the sacramentality of the episcopate and its collegial character and authority; the fifth concerned the restoration of the diaconate as a permanent order. All five of the propositions received majorities of more than two-thirds, thus removing all doubts about the progressive tendency of the Council. But the "irregular" character of the votes would be evoked many times afterward to call into question their validity.

Also in connection with the schema on the Church, another division among the fathers appeared over the question whether the schema on the Blessed Virgin Mary should be a separate text or be incorporated into the schema on the Church. After an emotional debate, the question was put to a vote on October 29th, and by the narrowest margin in all the Council's deliberations (1,114 to 1,074) the assembly decided to incorporate it into the constitution on the Church.

During a discussion of the schema on bishops and the governance of dioceses (November 5–15), one of the Council's rare dramatic confrontations occurred when

Cardinal Frings frankly criticized the methods of the Holy Office and Cardinal Ottaviani, its secretary, vehemently defended them. The first three chapters of the schema on ecumenism were discussed (November 18-December 2) and were approved on condition of revision, but, to the consternation of many fathers, all action on the fourth chapter (on the Church's attitude toward non-Christians and especially the Jews) and on the fifth (on religious freedom) was deferred to the third period, allegedly because of lack of time for mature consideration.

On November 21 the pope announced that the number of members of each commission would be increased to 30. After the episcopal conferences again nominated candidates, the fathers elected the greater part of the new members on November 28, and the pope appointed the rest. The commissions then elected a new additional vice-chairman and secretary. The avowed purpose of these changes was to expedite the labors of the commissions, but they seem also to have been intended to help bring some recalcitrant commissions into greater harmony with the wishes of the conciliar majority.

During a ceremony commemorating the conclusion of the Council of Trent (December 3), Paul VI made known his *motu proprio Pastorale munus* (November 30), in which he either granted or declared to be restored (his language was ambiguous) to bishops certain faculties and privileges, many of which had been proposed in an appendix to the schema on bishops and the government of dioceses. The relatively insignificant character of many of these faculties or privileges underscored in the minds of many fathers and observers the degree to which the episcopate had in the past become dependent upon the papacy.

On December 4, the concluding public session of the second period was held. The fathers definitively passed the constitution on the liturgy by a vote of 2,147 to four and, by a vote of 1,980 to 164, the decree on the communications media. Against the latter opposition had been raised at the last minute on the grounds that it would not answer the expectation of Christians and would compromise the Council's authority, and the final vote in a general congregation on November 25 had seen over 500 bishops vote against it. The pope, using a formula that stressed his union with the other conciliar fathers, approved and promulgated the two texts, the first of the final documents of the Council. On Jan. 25, 1964, he issued the *motu proprio Sacram Liturgiam* by which he established a commission for the implementation of the liturgical constitution.

In his closing address Paul VI thanked those fathers who had contributed toward the expenses of the Council or had aided their needy brothers, remarked that the

Council had been marked by assiduous labor and freedom of expression, expressed the hope that it could complete its work in a third period, and announced his forthcoming pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

During the interval between the second and third periods the fathers were again invited to submit further comments on the unfinished business, and with the help of this counsel the commissions continued to revise the schemata. At the direction of the Coordinating Commission and in accord with the pope's own desires, they reduced some of the topics, namely, those on priests, religious, education for the priesthood, missionary activity, marriage, and Catholic education, to a series of brief and basic principles on which the fathers would be expected to agree easily and quickly, and without public discussion, in the third period; the fuller articulation and implementation of these principles could be left to post-conciliar bodies. This reduction of the conciliar agenda, known as the "Döpfner plan," was designed to ensure that the Council could end its work with the third session, and in furtherance of this purpose changes were made also in the conciliar procedures to prevent repetitions and to expedite decisions.

Just before the third period was to open, the pope announced that women would now join the lay men as auditors of the Council. Among the increased number of observer-delegates, for the first time, were representatives of the Patriarchate of Constantinople.

Third Period. Pope Paul opened the third period on Sept. 14, 1964, with a public session at which he concelebrated Mass with 24 conciliar fathers, a first conciliar expression of the concrete reforms approved in the constitution on the liturgy at the end of the second period. The conciliar discussions began with chapters of the schema on the Church not yet approved in general and then with successive votes on the eight chapters as amended. In the discussion of the chapter on the Blessed Virgin Mary, debate focused on whether to accord her the titles "Mediatrice" and "Mother of the Church." Very great interest attended the votes on the third chapter, on the hierarchical constitution of the Church with special reference to bishops. The battle over the relationship between papal primacy and episcopal collegiality had not grown less fierce, and in fact on the very eve of the third period Paul VI had received a confidential note from prominent cardinals and heads of religious orders begging him not to allow the teaching of the chapter to be voted on and not very subtly implying that if he did not so act, he would be guilty of squandering the authority of his office. After four formal reports on the chapter were read out to the assembly, the voting did proceed and on the major issues under debate the votes were overwhelmingly favorable.

Discussions followed on the schema on the pastoral office of bishops whose progress, however, was impeded by the need to await the results of the voting on the schema on the Church. The schemas on religious freedom and on the Jews, which had originally been part of the schema on ecumenism, were now to become distinct documents; the debate on them was vigorous and was marked by concerns both theological and political. The text on religious freedom was criticized for departing from the Church's traditional insistence on the unique rights of the true religion; it was defended as reflecting the development of political realities, respecting the dignity and freedom of persons, and a prerequisite for any serious ecumenical or inter-religious dialogue. The schema on the Church's relationship with Jews continued to receive criticism because of the political consequences it was feared it would have for Christians in the Middle East. A revised text on divine revelation was also discussed as was a schema on the lay apostolate. Early in October the revised schema on ecumenism was put to a series of votes and approved.

Opposition to the Döpfner plan and to a premature closing of the Council grew during the early weeks of the third period and it was to show itself when the drastically reduced and so-called "minor schemas" came before the fathers. On October 12 a revised schema of 12 propositions "on the life and ministry of priests" was brought before the Council; it was attacked by many fathers as inadequate, superficial, jejune, and disappointing, and by a vote of 930 to 1,199 it was sent back to the competent commission to be completely recast. The discussion of the schema on the Church's missionary activity was initiated by Paul VI himself, but despite his favorable judgment of it, most of the speakers found it unsatisfactory because of its brevity and skeletal nature, and at the proposal of the commission the fathers by a vote of 1,601 to 311 remanded it to be completely rewritten. The schema of 19 propositions on the renewal of the religious life was also criticized but was accepted by a narrow margin (1,155 to 882) provided that it be extensively modified to take account of the thousands of reservations (*modi*) expressed. The schema of 22 propositions on education for the priesthood was more favorably received and was substantially adopted. The schema on Christian education, developed from the inadequate previous schema of propositions on Catholic schools, was substantially approved in spite of 419 negative votes. A brief document (*votum*) on the sacrament of marriage, intended for the guidance of the commission for revising the Code of Canon Law was discussed, and by vote the fathers accepted the moderators' proposal to submit the schema to the pope for his action in accord with their two-day discussion.

The Council also discussed the schema on the Oriental Catholic Churches and the long-awaited schema of a constitution on the Church in the world of today, commonly called Schema 13 from the number of its place on the agenda. The debate on the latter focused on the methodology of the schema, on whether it properly distinguished and related the realms of the natural and the supernatural, and on the appropriateness of a council addressing the very contingent questions discussed in appendices to the schema. The fathers were admonished to avoid the subject of artificial contraception, which the pope had reserved to the study of a special group of clerical and lay experts and to his own final judgment.

Four events in the last days of the third period were received so poorly by substantial numbers of the fathers that they spoke of "the black week." Because a minority persisted in its objections to the third chapter of the schema on the Church, the pope ordered that an "explanatory note" be prefaced to the Doctrinal Commission's explanation of the final revisions; drawn up to allay the minority's fears, this text was declared to provide the authoritative interpretation of the doctrine contained in the third chapter. Although the Council was never given an opportunity to discuss or to approve this note, it succeeded in its purpose and in a vote on November 17 only 47 out of 2,146 fathers were opposed to the text.

On November 20, the revised text on the Church's relationship with non-Christian religions was approved by the Council with the provision that recommended amendments would be taken into account. The revised schema on religious freedom suffered a different fate. It was distributed to the fathers on November 17 and, according to the moderators' decision was to be voted on two days later. Since the new schema differed considerably in structure, length, and argument from the text discussed earlier in the period, some fathers requested more time for study and consultation; to accommodate them, the moderators and presidents decided to take a preliminary vote to determine whether or not the fathers wished to proceed at once to the scheduled vote. But on the appointed day (November 19) Cardinal Tisserant in the name of the presidents announced that no vote would be taken in that period. Amid strong feelings of disappointment and resentment an urgent petition for an immediate vote, drawn up by U.S. bishops, was circulated in the council hall and was signed by 441 fathers (and later by hundreds more); it was then presented to Paul VI by Cardinals Albert Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago; Joseph Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis; and Paul Léger, Archbishop of Montreal. The Pope upheld the decision to postpone the vote on the grounds that the *Ordo* required more time, but he promised that the schema on religious freedom would be the first item on the agenda of the fourth period.

On the same day, November 19, 19 modifications, which at the last minute had been introduced by papal mandate into the schema on ecumenism by the Secretariat for Christian Unity were distributed to the fathers; they were accepted by them the next day in the final vote on the whole schema, the alternative being rejection of the whole schema. The modifications were intended to clarify the text, but many of them were found offensive to and by Protestants.

At the public session that ended the third period, Paul VI concelebrated Mass with 24 priests having major Marian shrines in their territories. Then the fathers passed the constitution on the Church (2,151 to five), the decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches (2,110 to 39), and the decree on ecumenism (2,137 to 11), and the pope promulgated them. In his closing address the Pope, having expressed his pleasure at the doctrine concerning the episcopate and the Church in general, proclaimed on his own authority Mary to be the “Mother of the Church,” that is, of all the faithful and all the pastors. The Council had followed the Doctrinal Commission’s advice and declined to accord her this title explicitly and had contented itself with presenting the idea in equivalent terms. Many saw the pope’s act as intended to reassert his own distinct papal authority.

Fourth Period. Paul VI opened the fourth and last period of the Council at a public session on Sept. 14, 1965, at which he again concelebrated Mass with 24 fathers. He announced that he was establishing (by the *motu proprio Apostolica sollicitudo*, dated September 15) a Synod of Bishops, as he had previously promised and as the fathers were requesting in the as yet unfinished schema on the pastoral office of bishops; in this way the close cooperation between the pope and the bishops could continue to benefit the Church even after the end of the Council.

Of the 16 final documents of Vatican II 11 were completed, approved, and promulgated at public sessions during the fourth period; five texts were promulgated on October 15, two on November 18, and four on December 7. The pace of developments was rapid, and to expedite matters opportunities for the bishops to intervene orally in the hall were reduced even more than during the third period.

As the pope had promised, the schema on religious freedom was the first discussed, and while opposition to it continued to be voiced, a preliminary vote on it taken on September 21 found that a majority of 1,997 to 224 had accepted it as the basis for a definitive text. This overwhelming success represented one of the high-points for the U.S. bishops and for their chief adviser on the issue, John Courtney Murray, S.J. Amended further, and with

some last-minute changes from the pope, it was approved on October 15 by vote of 1,954 to 249.

The schema on the Church in the modern world had been greatly expanded by the inclusion of the appendices to the previous draft. Differences among progressives appeared with regard to this text with some fathers, particularly Germans, arguing that it was too positive, neglecting realities of sin, and confused the realms of the natural and the supernatural. The French-speaking bishops and theologians defended its incarnational approach. A rather evangelical approach, articulated by Cardinal Lercaro, was particularly upset that the text was not stronger in its section on war and peace. This section was criticized also, but on nearly opposite grounds, by some U.S. bishops on the grounds that it ignored the deterrent role played by nuclear weapons and implied criticism of the defense policies of the west. Some controversy also arose over the sections on marriage and the relationship among its ends and on the regulation of births. A large number of bishops were also upset that their plea for an explicit condemnation of communism was not seriously considered. On December 6 the schema was approved by a vote of 2,111 to 251.

The revised schema on divine revelation continued to be the subject of debate, particularly on the question of the relationship between scripture and tradition, on inerrancy, and on the historical character of the Gospels. Last-minute interventions of the pope once again reduced opposition, and the text was approved on October 29 by a vote of 2,081 to 27.

All the other texts went through the final stages of their redaction and approval without great controversy: the schemas on the pastoral office of bishops, on the renewal of the religious life, on priestly formation, on Christian education, on the Church’s relation to non-Christian religions, on the apostolate of the laity, on the Church’s missionary activity, and on the ministry and life of priests.

In a dramatic event on December 7, the day before the Council closed, Paul VI and Patriarch Athenagoras I, in order to remove the psychological barrier to reconciliation, expressed their regret for the mutual excommunications of the Roman See and Patriarchate of Constantinople in 1054 and for the offensive words, unfounded reproaches, and reprehensible gestures that accompanied those acts on both sides. They also expressed a desire to remove the memory of those events from the midst of the Church and committed them to oblivion. Finally, they deplored the preceding and subsequent untoward incidents, which, under the influence of various factors including lack of mutual understanding and trust, ultimately led to the effective rupture of ecclesiastical communion.

The last public session of the Council was held outdoors in front of St. Peter's Basilica on Dec. 8, 1965. After a Mass celebrated by the pope alone, a series of messages to the world, composed in French, were read out: to rulers, scholars, artists, women, workers, the poor and sick, and youth. The apostolic brief *In Spiritu Sancto* ordering the closure of the Council was then read by the secretary general and the acclamations traditional at ecumenical councils since the fifth century were chanted, and the fathers professed their obedience to the conciliar decrees.

To acquaint the faithful with the teachings of the Council and to stimulate them to acceptance of its decrees, to incite them to the desired spiritual renewal in their private, domestic, public, and social life and to gratitude to God for the Council, and to develop in them a feeling for and an awareness of the Church, Paul VI, by the apostolic constitution, *Mirificus eventus* (Dec. 7, 1965), proclaimed an extraordinary jubilee to be celebrated in all the dioceses of the world from Jan. 1 to May 29 (Pentecost), 1966. By the *motu proprio Integrae servandae* (Dec. 7, 1965) he changed the name of the Holy Office to the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith and altered its procedure. Then, by the *motu proprio Finis concilii* (Jan. 11, 1966) he established post-conciliar commissions for (1) bishops and the governance of dioceses, (2) religious, (3) the missions, (4) Christian education, and (5) the apostolate of the laity, all of which were composed of the same chairmen, members and secretaries as the corresponding conciliar commissions had been, and were to be assisted by experts chosen especially from among the conciliar *periti*. He established also a new central commission for the purpose of supervising the work of the other five commissions and of interpreting the documents of the Council. Finally, he confirmed the permanent existence of the three secretariats for promoting Christian Unity, for Non-Christian Religions, and for Non-Believers.

Pronouncements of the Council. The Council enacted four constitutions, nine decrees, and three declarations. Constitutions. These covered the Church, divine revelation, liturgy, and the Church in the modern world.

Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (Lumen gentium). In the fathers' discussion of this constitution the principal points centered on: Biblical figures for the Church; the Church as a mystery; the theological, spiritual, and juridical aspects of the Church; the relation between Christ's Church and the Roman Catholic Church; the position of separated Christians and of non-Christians vis-a-vis the Church; the authority of the body of bishops (collegiality) and its relations to the papal primacy; restoration of the permanent diaconate with or with-

out celibacy; universal priesthood of the faithful; functions of the laity and their relation to the hierarchy; existence and role of charisms; the position of separated Christians and of non-Christians vis-a-vis the Church; balance between equality and authority; concern for the poor and the afflicted and for social justice; the missionary obligation of the Church; relations between Church and State; and the Blessed Virgin Mary as mediatrix of grace and as mother of the Church. The constitution has the following chapters: (1) "The Mystery of the Church," (2) "The People of God," (3) "The Hierarchical Structure of the Church and the Episcopate in Particular," (4) "The Laity," (5) "The Universal Call to Holiness in the Church," (6) "Religious," (7) "The Eschatological Nature of the Pilgrim Church and Its Union with the Church in Heaven," and (8) "The Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, in the Mystery of Christ and of the Church."

Dogmatic Constitution on Divine Revelation (Dei verbum). The discussion centered on the nature of tradition and its relation to Scripture; whether all revelation is somehow contained in the Scriptures; inerrancy of the Bible; historicity of the Gospels; and reading, diffusion, and interpretation of the Bible. The chapters of the constitution are: (1) "Revelation Itself," (2) "The Handing on of Divine Revelation," (3) "Sacred Scripture," (4) "The Old Testament," (5) "The New Testament," and (6) "Sacred Scripture in the Life of the Church."

Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium). The conciliar discussion touched on the Biblical, Christological, and ecclesiological foundations of the liturgy; its didactic value; liturgy as a unifying factor; the best ways to secure active and intelligent participation; simplification of rites; use of Latin and of modern languages; incorporation of local or national customs or traditions; making liturgy an effective influence in society; the competence of episcopal conferences and of individual bishops; concelebration of Mass; Communion under both kinds; Anointing of the Sick; and the length, language, and composition of the Breviary. In addition to an introduction, which states that the liturgy is the outstanding means whereby the faithful express in their lives and manifest to others the mystery of Christ and the real nature of the true Church, the constitution contains the following chapters: (1) "General Principles for the Restoration and Promotion of the Sacred Liturgy," (2) "The Most Sacred Mystery of the Eucharist," (3) "The Other Sacraments and the Sacramentals," (4) "The Divine Office," (5) "The Liturgical Year," (6) "Sacred Music," and (7) "Sacred Art and Sacred Furnishings." An appendix contains "A Declaration on the Revision of the Calendar."

Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the World of Today (Gaudium et spes). The fathers discussed the meaning and value of temporal activity; dignity of the human person; the conflict in the world between good and evil; the presence of sin; the role of women in society; racial discrimination; problems of the third world; world poverty and hunger; problems of emigration; atheism, Marxism, and communism; freedom and encouragement of scholarly research; the Church's influence on culture; Christian humanism and anthropology; the equality of all human beings; the necessity for Catholics to work with all men of good will; the solidarity of the Church with the world; the light shed by revelation on the mentality, problems, and forces of our age; the benefits of religion to civilization; the nature, ends, acts, and indissolubility of marriage; family life; abortion; economic production; the conditions of workers; relations between the Church and political society; the arms race; the possession and use of nuclear weapons; obligatory military service and conscientious objection; the obligations of nations toward an international authority; the growth of world population; aid to underdeveloped nations. The constitution contains an introductory statement on "The Situation of People in the Contemporary World." Part 1, entitled "The Church and the Human Person's Calling," consists of four chapters: "The Dignity of the Human Person," "The Community of Mankind," "Human Activity throughout the World," and "The Role of the Church in the Modern World." Part 2, entitled "Some Problems of Special Urgency," has five chapters: "Marriage and the Family," "Development of Culture," "Economic and Social Life," "Political Community," and "Peace and the Community of Nations." A concluding section states that the Church desires honest dialogue between her own members, with the separated brethren and communities, with all who acknowledge God, with those who cultivate the noble qualities of the human spirit without believing in God, and even with those who oppress the Church.

Decrees. The nine decrees consisted of the following:

Decree on the Pastoral Office of Bishops (Christus Dominus). The discussions centered on the bishop's office and the powers needed to exercise it; the Roman Curia and its relations with bishops; internationalization of the Curia; the powers needed for the proper discharge of bishops' duties; freedom in the appointment of bishops; compulsory retirement of bishops; the subjection of religious to the local ordinary; care for migrants; personal dioceses for people of a peculiar rite or nationality; powers of episcopal conferences; and a central organ of bishops to assist the pope in governing the Church.

Decree on Ecumenism (Unitatis redintegratio). Points of discussion included: the need of humility, chari-

ty, forgiveness, and the acknowledgment of errors and faults of all parties; assurance that unity does not mean uniformity; no simple "return" of the separated brethren; the meaning and use of the word "ecumenism"; the propriety of calling certain Protestant communities "churches"; the danger of engendering confusion and indifferentism in the minds of the faithful; participation in religious services with non-Catholic Christians; the validity of marriages celebrated before non-Catholic ministers; ways of conducting the dialogue; the desire for the restoration of unity among all followers of Christ. In conclusion the decree exhorts Catholics to refrain from superficiality and imprudent zeal, to be faithful to the truth received from the Apostles and Fathers of the Church, and to act in conjunction with the separated brethren so that no obstacle be put in the ways of divine Providence and no preconceived judgments impair the future inspirations of the Holy Spirit.

Decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches (Orientalium Ecclesiarum). The discussion treated structure of the Church; the rights and prerogatives of patriarchs; the evils of forced Latinization; determination of the rite of Oriental converts to the Catholic Church; the participation of Oriental Catholics in the religious services of Oriental non-Catholics and vice versa (*communicatio in sacris*); and marriages between Oriental Catholics and non-Catholics. The decree expresses the Catholic Church's esteem for the institutions, liturgical rites, ecclesiastical traditions, and the established standards of Christian life of Oriental Catholics.

Decree on the Ministry and Life of Priests (Presbyterorum ordinis). Central points of discussion included: the dignity and excellence of the priesthood; the spirituality and holiness of priests; the connection between their spiritual life and their ministry; their participation in Christ's priesthood; obedience and poverty; the importance of celibacy; life in common; associations of priests; their relations with bishops and laymen; an advisory council for the bishop; rights of priests; their duties toward non-Catholics; extraparochial apostolates; training in preaching; their intellectual activity and continued education in the ministry; the administration of the Sacrament of Penance; the missionary dimension of the priesthood; the equitable distribution of priests throughout the world; remuneration and financial equality of priests; abolition of the system of benefices and of honorary titles; and care for ill, aged, and fallen priests. The preface of the decree states that the decree applies to all priests.

Decree on Education for the Priesthood (Optatam totius). Points of discussion included: the notion of a vocation to the priesthood and means of fostering it; the nature and purpose of minor seminaries; adaptation of

seminary discipline to modern times and to life in the world; organic unity in the spiritual, intellectual, and pastoral formation of candidates for the priesthood; sending them from other parts of the world to study in Europe; the place of scholasticism, especially Thomism, in the teaching of philosophy and theology; the need of natural, human virtues in candidates; the development of a missionary or apostolic spirit in them; isolation of seminarians from the world; a period for acquiring preliminary experience in the ministry or else a pastoral apprenticeship after ordination; and reform of the Congregation of Seminaries.

Decree on the Up-to-date Renewal of the Religious Life (Perfectae caritatis). Renewal according to the Gospel was discussed, as well as the attitude toward traditional practices; the theology of the vows; the role of contemplatives; the place of the apostolate in religious life; accommodation to contemporary needs; the spirituality of the active life; the recent decrease of vocations; and conferences of major superiors. The decree asserts that the adapted renewal includes both the constant return to the sources of all Christian life and to the original spirit of the institutes and their adaptation to changed conditions and the needs of the Church. The religious life is a state complete in itself and should be held in high esteem. The vows of chastity, poverty and obedience are related to dedication to the love and service of God and to the works of the apostolate. Priests and religious educators should foster religious vocations.

Decree on the Missionary Activity of the Church (Ad gentes). Conciliar discussion covered: the theology of the missions; the nature of the missionary vocation; flexibility and adaptation to other cultures with their own customs and values; creation of a central mission board; the new role of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith; the reason for missionary activity; the need of it for the salvation of non-Christians; dialogue with non-Christians; connection of missionary activity with ecumenism; extension of the mission area to other territories; the situation of the "new churches"; the status of prelates *nullius*; the relations between missionary institutes and local ecclesiastical jurisdictions; the apostolic training of missionaries and catechists; borrowing of priests; lay missionaries; support of the missions; and twinning or pairing of an older diocese with a new jurisdiction.

Decree on the Apostolate of the Laity (postolicam actuositatem). Points discussed included: the dogmatic foundation of this apostolate and its objectives; lay spirituality; formation for the apostolate; relations with the hierarchy; Catholic Action; lay initiative and clericalism; the apostolate of youth; social action; cooperation with

non-Catholics and non-Christians; and a secretariate in the Roman Curia.

Decree on the Media of Social Communication (Inter mirifica). The responsibility of the laity in this area was discussed, as well as the use of the media for evangelization; the need of concrete assistance in personnel and equipment in missionary countries; the formation of sound public opinion; institution of a special office in the Roman Curia or expansion of the then existing Pontifical Commission; and creation of an international Catholic news agency. The Council asks the pope to extend the duties and competence of the Secretariate for the Supervision of Publications and Entertainment to embrace all media, including the press, and to appoint to it experts from various countries, including laymen.

Declarations. The Council issued the following declarations:

Declaration on Religious Freedom (Dignitatis humanae). Points of discussion included: philosophical and juridical and/or dogmatic and theological arguments; connection between internal, personal freedom and external, social freedom; limitations; development of the Church's earlier teaching, especially of the doctrine of previous popes; effects on Catholic countries and on concordats; "rights of error"; danger of giving an excuse to antireligious governments; freedom or toleration; right of evangelization or of proselytism; danger of promoting indifference; rights of the Catholic Church; and application to predominantly non-Catholic countries and to those under Communist domination. Part 1 of the declaration, "The General Principles of Religious Freedom," states that the human person has a right to immunity from coercion on the part of individuals, social groups, or any human power. Government should respect and favor the religious life of the citizenry but should not command or inhibit religious acts; in preventing abuses, it must act according to juridical norms for the preservation of public order. Part 2, "Religious Freedom in the Light of Revelation," asserts that the human person's response to God in faith must be free. The Church must enjoy freedom and independence. The Council denounces and deplores the oppressive policies of some governments and emphasizes the necessity of religious freedom, which should everywhere be provided with an effective constitutional guarantee.

Declaration on the Church's Attitude toward Non-Christian Religions (Nostra aetate). The discussion covered: religious, not political, motives for a pronouncement in view of Arab opposition; the common religious patrimony of Christians and Jews; the alleged collective guilt of the Jewish people for the death of Christ (the accusation of deicide); their alleged rejection by God; the

prediction of their eventual conversion to Christianity; the urgency of condemning anti-Semitism; and bonds with Islam and other world religions. The declaration affirms that all peoples have one community, origin, and goal. People ask the fundamental religious questions. The Church deplors hatred and persecution of the Jews and all displays of anti-Semitism and reproves any discrimination or harassment based on race, color, social status, or religion.

Declaration on Christian Education (Gravissimum educationis). The discussion covered: objectives; role of the family; obligations and limitations of the state; parents' right freely to choose schools; freedom within Catholic schools and freedom of research, especially in the sacred sciences; duties of the postconciliar commission. The declaration recognizes the importance of education for young people and adults amid present-day progress. All persons have a right to education; children have a right to moral instruction. The Church is obliged to educate its children, and it uses all suitable aids, such as catechetical instruction, but especially schools. In Catholic colleges and universities individual disciplines should be pursued according to their own principles and methods and with freedom of research, and there should be, if not a faculty, at least an institute or chair of theology with courses for lay students.

Bibliography: *Acta et Documenta Concilio Vaticano II Apparando*, Series I (*Antepreparatoria*) (Vatican City 1960–61); *Acta et Documenta Concilio Vaticano II Apparando*, Series II (*Præparatoria*) (Vatican City 1964–69); *Acta Synodalia Sacrosancti Concilii Vaticani II* (Vatican City 1970–2000). *Acta congressus internationalis de theologia concilii Vaticani Secundi*, ed. A. SCHONMETZER (Vatican City 1968). *A la veille du Concile Vatican II: Vota et réactions en Europe et dans le catholicisme oriental*, ed. M. LAMBERIGTS and CL. SOETENS (Leuven 1992). *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, ed. H. VORGRIMLER, 5 vols. (New York 1969). *Les commissions conciliaires à Vatican II*, ed. M. LAMBERIGTS et al. (Leuven 1996). *Der Beitrag der deutschsprachigen und osteuropäischen Länder zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, ed. K. WITTSTADT and W. VERSCHOOTEN (Leuven 1996). *Le deuxième Concile du Vatican (1959–1965)* (Rome 1989). *L'Église canadienne et Vatican II*, ed. G. ROUTHIER (Québec 1997). *L'evento e le decisioni: Studi sulle dinamiche del concilio Vaticano II*, ed. M. T. FATTORI and A. MELLONI (Bologna 1997). *Experience, Organizations and Bodies at Vatican II*, ed. M. T. FATTORI and A. MELLONI (Leuven 1999). *Glaube im Prozess: Christsein nach dem II. Vatikanum*, ed. E. KLINGER and K. WITTSTADT (Freiburg 1984). JAN GROOTAERS, *I protagonisti del Vaticano II* (San Paolo 1994); *Actes et acteurs à Vatican II* (Leuven 1998). *History of Vatican II. Vol. I: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II: Toward a New Era in Catholicism*, ed. G. ALBERIGO and J. A. KOMONCHAK (Maryknoll/Leuven 1995); *Vol. II: The Formation of the Council's Identity: First Period and Intersession. October 1962–September 1963* (Maryknoll/Leuven 1997); *Vol. III: The Mature Council: Second Period and Intersession September 1963–September 1964* (Maryknoll/Leuven 2000). A. INDELICATO, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'Evangelo: Il dibattito nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genoa 1992). J. H. MILLER, ed., *Vati-*

can II: An Interfaith Appraisal (Notre Dame 1966). *The Reception of Vatican II*, ed. G. ALBERIGO, J.-P. JOSSUA, and J.A. KOMONCHAK (Washington, D.C. 1987). *Per la storicizzazione del Vaticano II*, ed. G. ALBERIGO and A. MELLONI, *Cristianesimo nella Storia*, 13 (October 1992) 473–641. *Vatican II à Moscou: Actes du colloque de Moscou, 1995* (Leuven 1996). *Vatican II: Assessment and Perspectives Twenty-Five Years After (1962–1987)*, ed. R. LATOURELLE, 3 vols. (New York 1988–89). *Vatican II commence: Approches francophones*, ed. E. FOUILLOUX (Leuven 1993). *Vatican II et la Belgique*, ed. C. SOETENS (Ottignies 1996). *Vatican II Revisited by Those who Were There*, ed. A. STACPOOLE (Minneapolis 1986). *Vatican II: The Unfinished Agenda. A Look to the Future*, ed. L. R. et al. (New York 1987). *Il Vaticano II fra atene e celebrazione*, ed. G. ALBERIGO (Bologna 1995). *Vatikanum II und Modernisierung: Historische, theologische und soziologische Perspektiven*, ed. F. X. KAUFMANN and A. ZINGERLE (Paderborn 1996). *Verso il Concilio Vaticano II (1960–1962): Passaggi e problemi della preparazione conciliare*, ed. G. ALBERIGO and A. MELLONI (Genoa 1993). *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en visperas del Vaticano II*, ed. J.O. BEOZZO (San Jose, Costa Rica 1992). F. ANDERSON, *Council Daybook: Vatican II, Sessions 1 and 2; Session 3* (National Catholic Welfare Conference; Washington 1965). A. BERARD, tr., *Preparatory Reports, Second Vatican Council* (Philadelphia 1965). R. M. BROWN, *Observer in Rome: A Protestant Report on the Vatican Council* (Garden City, N.Y. 1964). R. CAPORALE, *Vatican II: Last of the Councils* (Baltimore 1964). G. CAPRILE, *Cronache del Concilio Vaticano II edite da "La Civiltà Cattolica,"* 5 v. (Rome 1965–66). Y. M. J. CONGAR, *Vatican II: Le Concile au jour le jour* (Paris 1963); *Deuxième session* (1964); *Troisième session* (1965). C. DOLLEN, *Vatican II: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, N.J. 1969). H. FESQUET, *The Drama of Vatican II: The Ecumenical Council, January 1962–December 1965* (New York 1967). J. C. HAMPE, *Ende der Gegenreformation? Das Konzil: Dokumente und Deutung* (Stuttgart 1964). R. B. KAISER, *Pope, Council, and World: The Story of Vatican II* (New York 1963). W. KAMPE, *Das Konzil im Spiegel der Presse* (Würzburg 1963). H. KÜNG, *The Council in Action: Theological Reflections on the Second Vatican Council* (New York 1963); et al., eds., *Council Speeches of Vatican II* (Glen Rock, N.J. 1964). R. LAURENTIN, *L'Enjeu du Concile*, v.1 (Paris 1962); v.2 *Bilan de la première session* (1963); v.3 *Bilan de la deuxième session* (1964); v.4 *Bilan de la troisième session Bilan du Concile* (Paris 1966). M. NOVAK, *The Open Church: Vatican II, Act II* (New York 1964). J. RATZINGER, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II* (New York 1966). X. RYNNE (pseud.), *Letters from Vatican City: Vatican Council II (First Session): Background and Debates* (New York 1963); *The Second Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II* (New York 1964); *The Third Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II* (New York 1965); *The Fourth Session: The Debates and Decrees of Vatican Council II* (New York 1966). A. WENGER, *Vatican II: Première session* (Paris 1963); 2d ed. *Chronique de la première session* (1965); *Chronique de la deuxième session* (1964); *Chronique de la troisième session* (1965). RALPH M. WILTGEN, *The Rhine Flows into the Tiber: The Unknown Council* (New York 1967). V. A. YZERMANS, *A New Pentecost: Vatican Council II, Session 1* (Westminster, Md. 1963).

[R. F. TRISCO/J. A. KOMONCHAK]

VATICAN LIBRARY

The Vatican Library began as the Library of the popes, for since the beginning of papal times the popes