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The Council of the Peruvian Episcopate : A historical-theological study of the Peruvian participation at the Second Vatican Council (1959-1965)

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AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
RESEARCH CENTRE FOR STUDIES ON THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL

THE COUNCIL OF THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE:
A HISTORICAL-THEOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE PERUVIAN PARTICIPATION AT THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1959-1965)

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the joint degree of Doctor in Theology (KU Leuven) and Doctor in Philosophy (ACU)
by

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2025

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SUMMARY

The dissertation focuses on the participation of Peruvian episcopate in the Second Vatican Council, from its calling in January 1959 to its closure in December 1965. The research uses the historical-theological category "doctrinal conciliar experience" – which refers to the different doctrinal positions of the prelates *vis-à-vis* the conciliar developments. The dissertation makes use of the Peruvian Fathers' *vota*, their interventions in the conciliar *aula*, their participation in episcopal networks and the preparation of *modi*. Based on archival and published sources, the study shows the doctrinal diversity of the Peruvian Fathers, their interpretation of the conciliar developments and Church magisterium, and the lack of unity of the episcopate in dealing with the conciliar debate.

The dissertation has five chapters. Chapter one depicts the situation of the Peruvian Catholic Church and Episcopate from 1945 to 1965. It presents, on one side, the historical and theological evolution of the Peruvian Catholic Church, and the shaping of her missionary character with the creation of 13 prelatures between 1958 and 1964. The following four chapters are organised in two parts. The First Part includes chapters two and three, and deals with the antepreparatory and preparatory phases of Vatican II (1959-1962). The Second Part analyses the participation of the Peruvian Fathers during the conciliar years (1962-1965), their doctrinal positions and their networks during the debate of the conciliar documents. Chapter four and five follow the division between the texts related to the Church *ad intra* (chapter four) and to the Church *ad extra* (chapter five).

The research contributes to valuable and needed nuance to the historiography of the Council. Echoing the current ecclesial context of the pontificate of Pope Francis, the first Latin American pope, and the synodal process, the doctoral research contributes proposing a new approach to the *vota* and the study of the Peruvian interventions during the Council, and also recalling the value of incorporating new voices into the conciliar historiography. To the hermeneutical debate on the Second Vatican Council, the research contributes showing the doctrinal experience of the Peruvian Fathers and its value for a more nuance and comprehensive hermeneutics of the Council

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>
> *Spiritual Exercises* nº 233

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ..... **I**

TABLE OF CONTENTS ..... **III**

ABBREVIATIONS ..... **VII**

PRIMARY SOURCES ..... **X**

SECONDARY SOURCES ..... **XIII**

RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION ACRONYMS ..... **XXXII**

INTRODUCTION **1**

CHAPTER I. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PERU SINCE WORLD WAR II (1945-1965) **8**

1. A Church Between Tradition and Renewal: Lay Movements, Pastoral Change, and Missions 8
   - 1.1. The Peruvian Catholic Action and Socio-Ecclesial Formation of Lay People 9
   - 1.2. Socio-Political Approaches to Pastoral Work: Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, and the Peruvian Episcopal Conference (CEP) 12
   - 1.3. The New Missionaries and the Change of Pastoral Approach 17
2. The Structure of the Catholic Church in Peru on the Eve of the Council 20
   - 2.1. The Ecclesiastical Province of Peru: A Demi-Missionary Territory 20
   - 2.2. The Peruvian Catholic Church in Numbers 22
3. "The Church in the State of Council": The Expectations for the Council of the Peruvian Catholic Church 27
   - 3.1. Catholic Activities to Promote the Council (1960-1961) 27
   - 3.2. The Bishops' Letters on Vatican II and the Petition of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference 30
4. The Peruvian Bishops and Prelates Who Participated at Vatican II (1962-1965) 32
   - 4.1. A Short Presentation of the Peruvian Fathers Who Attended the Second Vatican Council 35
   - 4.1.1. Ecclesiastical Province of Arequipa 35
   - 4.1.2. Ecclesiastical Province of Cusco 37
   - 4.1.3. Ecclesiastical Province of Lima 38
   - 4.1.4. Ecclesiastical Province of Trujillo 40
   - 4.1.5. Apostolic Vicariates and Prefecture 42
5. Conclusion 44

FIRST PART. THE PERUVIAN CHURCH DURING THE ANTEPREPARATORY AND PREPARATORY PHASES FOR THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1959-1962) **47**

CHAPTER II. THE *VOTA* OF THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE FOR THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL (1959-1960) **48**

1. A Critical Assessment of the Study of the *Vota* 49
   - 1.1. The European Approach to the Study of the *Vota* 49
   - 1.2. The Latin American Historiography on the *Vota* 51
2. The *Vota* of the Peruvian Episcopate and their Assessment of the Situation of the Church 52

2.1. New Criteria for the Study of the Peruvian *Vota* 53
2.2. Breviary 56
2.3. Canon Law 56
2.4. Church 57
2.5. Church image 57
2.6. Clergy Shortage 58
2.7. Clerical Clothing 58
2.8. Condemnation 58
2.9. Council 58
2.10. Diaconate and Lay Ministry 59
2.11. Discipline 60
2.12. Discipline of the Sacraments 60
2.13. Divine Office 62
2.14. Ecumenism 62
2.15. Episcopate 62
2.16. Laity and Lay Movements 63
2.17. Liturgical Miscellanea 64
2.18. Marian Dogma 64
2.19. Mass 64
2.20. Mission 65
2.21. Modern Technology 65
2.22. Parish 66
2.23. Priesthood 66
2.24. Protestantism 67
2.25. Religious Congregations 67
2.26. Saint Joseph 68
2.27. Seminary 68
2.28. Vernacular 68
2.29. World Affairs 69
2.30. The Category of Complaint 69

3. Conclusion 70

CHAPTER III. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PERUVIAN HIERARCHY DURING THE PREPARATORY PHASE OF VATICAN II 72

1. The Canon Luis Lituma Portocarrero, Consultor of the Preparatory Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments 73
   1.1. The Report on *De forma extraordinaria celebrationis matrimonii* (April 1961) ..75
   1.2. The Reports on *De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt* (November, 1961) 76
   1.2.1. The Report on the Priests Who Have Left the Priesthood. 76
   1.2.2. The Report on the Civil Marriage of Priests 79
   1.3. Pastoral Care as Adaptation of the Canon Law and the Ecclesial Discipline 80
2. Two Contributions to the Work of the Preparatory Commissions: the Questionnaire on Liturgy and the Report on the Seminaries 81
   2.1. The Answers to the Questionnaire of the Preparatory Commission *De sacra liturgia* 82
   2.2. Ricardo Durand Flórez's Report *De disciplina et institutione spirituali in Seminariis* 84
3. The Participation of Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, in the Central Preparatory Commission 86
   3.1. A Training Period: the Participation of Archbishop Landázuri Ricketts in the First and Second Sessions of the CPC (12th-19th June and 7th-17th November 1961) 87

3.2. Reforming with the Episcopal Conferences: Landázuri's Intervention in the Fifth Session of the CPC (26th March – 3rd April 1962) 91
3.3. The Reform as a Compromise: the Participation of Cardinal Juan Landázuri in the Sixth Session of the CPC (3rd-12th May 1962) 94

4. Conclusion 97

SECOND PART. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE IN THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1962-1965) 100

CHAPTER IV. THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE'S REACTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CHURCH DOCTRINE AT VATICAN II 101

1. The Debate on *De Sacra Liturgia* and *De Divina Revelatione*: Adapting and Resisting Doctrinal Development 102
1.1. A Liturgical Reform of Pastoral Interest 102
1.2. On the Divine Revelation: Resistance and Adapting to the Doctrinal Changes. . 109

2. The Debate on *De Ecclesia*: Reactions and Resisting the Developments on Ecclesiology 120

3. The Debate on the Church Members: Episcopate, Presbyterate, Laity and Religious Life 136
3.1. For a New Theology of the Episcopate 136
3.2. From *Sacerdos* to *Presbyter*? The Debate on the Priests and Their Education ... 142
3.3. Theology of the Laity and the Lay Apostolate 150
3.4. Adapting the Religious Life for the Church and the Contemporary World 154

4. Conclusion 157

CHAPTER V. THE CHURCH *AD EXTRA*: THE PERUVIAN REACTIONS TO THE DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD 160

1. Expanding the borders of the idea of Catholicism: The Debate on Ecumenism and the Eastern Catholic Churches. 160
1.1. The Debate on *De Oecumenismo* and the Fear of Proselytism 160
1.2. The Peruvian Interventions on De Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis 166

2. The Debate on the Notion of Mission of the Church 167

3. The Church in the World: the Supporting and Resistances to Gaudium et Spes 181

4. Questioning the Ideas of Religious Freedom and Inter-Religious Dialogue: *De libertate religiosa* and *Nostra aetate* 199
4.1. Nuancing the Religious Freedom: The Peruvian Intervention in the Debate on the Declaration *De libertate religiosa* 199
4.2. *Nostra Aetate* and the Interreligious Dialogue: A Minor Point on the Peruvian Conciliar Agenda 212

5. A Peruvian Concern on the Topic of Education: José Dammert's Intervention on *Gravissimum Educationis* 214

6. Conclusion 216

GENERAL CONCLUSION 218

1. The Antepreparatory and Preparatory Periods: A Search for a Prudent Ecclesial Renewal... 218

2. The Conciliar Years: Doctrinal Experience and Arguments, Networks and Trajectories 220
2.1. The Doctrinal Experience and Arguments of the Peruvian Fathers.....220
2.2. The Trajectories of the Peruvian Fathers 223
3. Contribution to the History and the Hermeneutics of Vatican II 225

ANNEX I. THE RESIDENCES OF THE PERUVIAN FATHERS IN ROMA DURING VATICAN II.....226

ANNEX II. MAPS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF PERU.....228

ABBREVIATIONS

AP	*Annuario pontificio.* Città del Vaticano: Tipografia poliglotta Vaticana, 1958-1965.
AEP 1951	*Anuario Eclesiástico Peruano 1951*. Lima: Imprenta Santa María, 1951.
AEP 1954	*Anuario Eclesiástico Peruano 1954*. Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1954.
AEP 1960	*Anuario Eclesiástico Peruano 1960.* Lima: Librería Studium, 1959.
AAV, Conc. Vat. II	Archivio Apostolico Vaticano. Fondo Concilio Vaticano II.
AFSCIRE, FSig	Archivio della Fondazione per la scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII. Fondo Geraldo de Proença Sigaud.
AFSCIRE FL XXII	Archivio della Fondazione per la scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII. Fondo La Chiesa dei Poveri (nn. 380-480).
AD I, II, VII	*Acta et documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series I (Antepraeparatoria). Volumen II. Consilia et vota episcoporum ac praelatorum. Pars VII America Meridionalis – Oceania (Sub Secreto).* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1961.
AD II, II, I	*Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series II (Praeparatoria). Volumen II. Acta pontificiae commissionis centralis praeparatoriae concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Pars I. Sessio prima: 12-20 Iunii 1961. Sessio secunda: 7-17 Novembris 1961 (Sub secreto).* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1965.
AD II, II, III	*Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series II (Praeparatoria). Volumen II. Acta pontificiae commissionis centralis praeparatoriae concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Pars III. Sessio quinta: 26 Martii – 3 Aprilis 1962. Sessio sexta: 3-12 Maii 1962 (Sub secreto).* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1968.
AD II, III, I	*Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series II (Praeparatoria). Volumen III. Acta commissionum et secretariatuum praeparatoriorum concilii oecumenici Vaticano II. Pars I Commissiones: Theologica, De episcopis et dioceseon regimine, De disciplina cleri et populi christiani, De religiosis, De disciplina sacramentorum (Sub secreto).* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1969.
AD II, III, II	*Acta et documenta concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando. Series II (Praeparatoria). Volumen III. Acta commissionum et secretariatuum praeparatoriorum concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Pars II. Commissiones: De sacra liturgia, De studiis et seminariis, De ecclesiis orientalibus, De missionibus, De apostolatu laicorum. Secretariatus: De scriptis prelo edendis et de spectaculis moderandis, Ad christianorum*

unitatem fovendam (Sub secreto). Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1969.

AS I, I — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen I Periodus prima. Pars I. Congregationes Generales I-IX.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970.

AS I, II — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen I Periodus prima. Pars II. Congregationes Generales X-XVIII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1970.

AS I, III — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen I Periodus prima. Pars III. Congregationes Generales XIX-XXX.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1971.

AS II, I — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen II Periodus secunda. Pars I. Sessio publica II. Congregationes Generales XXXVII-XXXIX.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1971.

AS II, III — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen II Periodus secunda. Pars III. Congregationes Generales L-LVIII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1972.

AS II, IV — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen II Periodus secunda. Pars IV. Congregationes Generales LIX-LXIV.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1972.

AS II, V — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen II Periodus secunda. Pars V. Congregationes Generales LXV-LXXIII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1973.

AS III, I — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars I. Sessio publica IV. Congregationes Generales LXXX-LXXXII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1973.

AS III, II — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars II. Congregationes Generales LXXXIII-LXXXIX.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1974.

AS III, III — *Acta et synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars III. Congregationes Generales XC-XCV.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1974.

AS III, IV — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars IV. Congregationes Generales XCVI-CII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1974.

AS III, V — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars V. Congregationes Generales CIII-CXI.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1975.

AS III, VI — *Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars VI. Congregationes Generales CXII-CXVIII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1975.

AS III, VII	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen III Periodus tertia. Pars VII. Congregationes Generales CXIX-CXXII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1975.
AS IV, I	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen IV Periodus quarta. Pars I. Sessio Publica VI. Congregationes Generales CXXVIII-CXXXII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1976.
AS IV, III	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen IV Periodus quarta. Pars III. Congregationes Generales CXXXVIII-CXLV.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1977.
AS IV, IV	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen IV Periodus quarta. Pars IV. Congregationes Generales CXLVI-CL.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1977.
AS IV, V	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen IV Periodus quarta. Pars V. Congregationes Generales CLI-CLV. Sessio publica VII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1978.
AS IV, VI	*Acta synodalia sacrosancti concilii oecumenici Vaticani II. Volumen IV Periodus quarta. Pars VI. Congregationes Generales CLVI-CLXIV. Sessio publica VIII.* Vaticano: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1978.
AHDOPE	Archivo Histórico de los Dominicos de la Provincia de Hispania.
APCPL	Archivio Pontificio Collegio Pio Latinoamericano.
CELAM	Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano – Latin American Episcopal Council
CEP	Conferencia Episcopal Peruana – Peruvian Episcopal Conference
CIC	Codex Iuris Canonici 1917 – Code of Canon Law of 1917
CPC	Central Preparatory Commission
SCUF	Secretariatus ad Christianorum Unitatem Fovendam – Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians
RIPUCP	Repositorio Institucional PUCP.
TC	Theological Commission

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RELIGIOUS CONGREGATION ACRONYMS

CM	Congregatio Missionis – Congregation of the Mission or Vincentians or Lazarists
CP	Congregatio Passionis Iesu Christi – Congregation of the Passion of Jesus Christ or Passionists
CSsR	Congregatio Sanctissimi Redemptoris – Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer or Redemptorists.
MCCJ	Missionarii Comboniani Cordis Iesu – Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus (Italian branch of the Comboni Missionaries)
MFSC	Congregatio Filiorum S. Cordis Iesu – Missionaries of the Sons of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (German branch of the Comboni Missionaries until 1975).
MHM	Societas Missionariorum S. Ioseph de Mill Hill – Saint Joseph's Missionary Society of Mil Hill
MM	Societas de Mayknoll pro missionibus exteris – Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America or Maryknoll Society
MSC	Missionarii Sacratissimi Cordis – Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus
MSpS	Missionarii Sancti Spiritus – Missionaries of the Holy Spirit
OAR	Ordo Augustinianorum Recollectorum – Order of Augustinian Recollects
O. Cam.	Ordo Fratrum Beatissimæ Virginis Mariæ de Monte Carmelo – Order of the Brothers of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel
OFM	Ordo Fratum Minorum – Order of Friars Minor
OIC	Congregatio de Imitatione Christi – Order of the Imitation of Christ or Bethany Ashram
OP	Ordo Praedicatorum – Order of Preachers
OSA	Ordo Fratrum Sancti Augustini – Order of Saint Augustine

OSB	Ordo Sancti Benedicti – Order of Saint Benedict or Benedictines
OSI	Congregatio Oblatorum Sancti Ioseph – Oblates of Saint Joseph
OSM	Ordo Servorum Beatae Mariae Virginis – Order of the Servants of Mary or Servite Order
PME	Societas pro missionibus exteris Provinciae Quebecensis – Society of Foreign Missions of the Province of Quebec
SDB	Societas Sancti Francisci Salesii –Society of Don Bosco or Salesians
SJ	Societatis Iesu – Society of Jesus or Jesuits
SSCC	Congregatio Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae necnon adorationis perpetuae SS. Sacramenti altaris – Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary
SVD	Societas Verbi Divini – Society of the Divine Word
SX	Pia Societas S. Francisci Xaverii pro exteris missionibus – Xaverian Missionary Fathers
TOR	Tertius Ordo Regularis Sancti Francisci – Third Order Regular of St Francis

INTRODUCTION

> *[The Second Vatican Council] was the most epoch-making ecclesiastical event of the twentieth century. [...] I remember the impressive spectacle in the nave of St. Peter's Basilica on 11th October of that year [1962], with about 2200 Council Fathers, truly representing the Catholic Church of the five continents. Something unimaginable just a short time before.*
>
> Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts, OFM[1]

During the Synod on Synodality of October 2023, the Australian theologian Ormond Rush presented a report on the notion of tradition, recalling the redactional history of *Dei Verbum*. Addressing the Synod Fathers, Rush said: "I have had the impression that some of you are struggling with the notion of tradition, in the light of your love of truth."[2] Thus, sixty years after the closure of the Second Vatican Council, there are still unresolved themes and debates related to the Revelation, ecclesiology, evangelisation, ecumenism, interreligious dialogue, the relationship with the world, etc. These issues remain under the spotlight and constitute, in the synodal process, a task for the necessary reform of the Church, her structure, mission and engagement with the world. Thus, Rush's statement is an acknowledgement of the continuing need of in-depth research on Vatican II in context and its implications for ecclesiology and theology.

On theological terms, the synodal process opens a new horizon for the Vatican II studies. After the Council, a series of commentaries on the final documents of the Council focused on the proper meaning of the texts proposing new paths for the Catholic Church after Vatican II and describing the challenges for their reception.[3] After the debate at the Extraordinary Synod of Bishops in 1985, it seemed that the Holy See desired to took over the interpretation of Vatican II. 20 years later, Pope Benedict XVI also proposed the paradigm of the hermeneutics of reform, opposing it to the hermeneutics of discontinuity and rupture.[4] However, between 2004 and 2006, the German theologian Peter Hünermann coordinated a five-volume theological commentary on Vatican II.[5] In addition, between 2014 and 2022, the Italian theologians Serena Noceti and

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[1] Juan Landázuri Ricketts, *Recuerdos de un pastor al servicio de su pueblo* (Lima: Realidades, 1994), 95-96.

[2] Ormond Rush, "Presentation: The Synthesis Report (23rd October 2023)," accessed on 30th January 2025, https://www.synod.va/content/dam/synod/assembly/2310/EN---Rev.-Ormond-Rush.pdf, 1.

[3] Massimo Faggioli, *Vatican II. The Battle for Meaning* (New York: Paulist Press, 2012), 8-9. On the concept of conciliar reception, see: Gilles Routhier, *Cinquante ans après Vatican II. Que reste-il à mettre en oeuvre?* (Paris: Cerf, 2014), 31-56; Gilles Routhier, *Vatican II, herméneutique et réception* (Montréal: Fides, 2006), 47-85.

[4] Benedict XVI, "Address of His Holiness Benedict XVI to the Roman Curia Offering Them His Christmas Greetings," accessed on 5th February 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia.html. For an interesting analysis of Benedict XVI's hermeneutics of reform, see: John O. Malley, "The Hermeneutics of Reform: A Historical Analysis," *Theological Studies* vol. 73, nº 3 (2012): 517-546.

[5] Peter Hünermann, ed., *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, volume 1-5 (Herder: Freiburg, Basel and Wien, 2004-2006).

Roberto Repole prepared a nine-volume commentary on the council.[6] At present, the international project "Vatican II: Event and Mandate" prepared a 12-volume commentary which gathers history and theology for a fresh reception and new orientations for the life of the Church.[7]

Also after the Extraordinary Synod of 1985, Giuseppe Alberigo began in 1988 the large enterprise of a history of Vatican II which ended in 2001.[8] The five-volume *History of Vatican II* embodied the major scholarly and historiographical exploration on Vatican II. One of the main consequences of the five-volume *History of Vatican II* was that it launched an international debate on Vatican II in the Catholic world.[9] In Latin America, both the preparatory research for the project and the publication of new sources give a more complete picture of the history of Vatican II. The historical and theological studies on Vatican II in Latin American have revitalised the research on the Second Vatican Council and its reception in the region.[10]

Alberigo's hermeneutical principle was that the Council was not only its documents, but also an "event," which should be interpreted according to Pope John XXIII's intentions: the pastoral nature of the council, the *aggiornamento* and ecumenism.[11] The Council as an "event" means that its identity is determined not only by canonical and institutional requirements, but by the actual form of the assembly and its internal economy.[12] Hence, the notion of event and John XXIII's objectives became also relevant in the theological interpretation of Vatican II. As the

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[6] Serena Noceti and Roberto Repole, ed., *Commentario ai documenti del Vaticano II*, volume 1-9 (Bologna: EDB, 2014-2022).

[7] The members of the Steering Committee are the theologians and Church historians: Sandra Arenas, Margit Eckholt, Massimo Faggioli, Nontando Hadebe, Peter Hünermann, Shaji George Kochuthara, Hans Langendörfer and Klaus Vellguth. The project is divided in five continental groups and 16 commentary groups for each conciliar document. I am member of the Latin American group and the *Apostolicam Actuositatem* group. See: Vatican II. Event and Mandate. Intercontinental History and Commentary: Reception and Orientations for the Life of the Church, accessed on 3rd February 2025, https://vatican2legacy.com/.

[8] Alberto Melloni highlighted also the specific environment of Alberigo's project: the decade of 1980s of John Paul II''s pontificate, the emergence of the conservative government of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan, and the general élan of the *revanche de Dieu*. See: Alberto Melloni, "Fare Storia del Concilio. Criteri ermeneutici, problemi storiografici e processi di ricezione del Vaticano II," *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte = Revue suisse d'histoire religieuse et culturelle = Rivista svizzera di storia religiosa e culturale*, nº 107 (2013): 64.

[9] Faggioli, *Vatican II*, 15-16.

[10] Jose Oscar Beozzo, ed., *Cristianismo e Iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II* (San José: Editorial DEI, 1992); Loris Zanatta, "Il 'mal di Concilio' della Chiesa argentina. Radiografia di un Episcopato al Vaticano II. Prima sessione e intersessione. Ottobre 1962 - Settembre 1963," In *Experience, Organizations and Bodies at Vatican II*, ed. Maria T. Fattori and Alberto Melloni (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1999), 141-216; Luiz Baraúna, "Alguns aspectos da participação brasileira no Concílio Vaticano II", in *Experience, Organisations and Bodies at Vatican II*, ed. Maria T. Fattori and Alberto Melloni (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid van de K.U. Leuven, 1999), 1-21; Pablo Dabezies, "Los obispos del Uruguay en el Concilio Vaticano II", in *Experience, Organisations and Bodies at Vatican II*, ed. Maria T. Fattori and Alberto Melloni (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit Godgeleerdheid, 1999), 23-65; Sandra Arenas and Marcela Aranda, ed., *Ecclesiam Dei: Propuesta de Chile en el proceso de elaboración del Documento sobre la Iglesia del Concilio Vaticano II. Texto original, traducción, su historia y sus autores*. Anales de la Facultad de Teología, vol. LXV, n. 103 (Santiago: Facultad de Teología, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, 2014); Luis Liberti *Los obispos argentinos en el Concilio Vaticano II* (Buenos Aires: Ágape Libros, Sociedad Argentina de Teología, Editorial Guadalupe, 2015).

[11] Giuseppe Alberigo, "Criteri ermeneutici per una storia del Vaticano II," in *Transizione epocale. Studi sul concilio Vaticano II*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2009), 29-45. In a 2002 article, Alberigo highlighted pastorality and *aggiornamento* as the two pillars of identity of Vatican II. See: Giuseppe Alberigo, "Vatican II et son héritage," in *Vatican II and its legacy*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Kenis (Leuven: Peeters, Leuven University Press, 2002), 3-7.

[12] Alberigo, "Criteri ermeneutici," 36-37.

Canadian theologian Gilles Routhier remarks, because of the nature of Vatican II as an "event," the conciliar hermeneutics always requires the knowledge of the history of the text, of what the Fathers did not decide to say and decided to say.[13] Therefore, the history and theology of the Second Vatican Council are intimately intertwined.

Although the international character of the *History of Vatican II*, there were only two non-Western scholars in the redactional team: the Brazilian historian Jose Oscar Beozzo (volume one) and the Filipino historian Luis Antonio Tagle (volume four). Furthermore, the Council as an "event" mainly pays attention to the principal protagonists and their networks during the intersessions and sessions of Vatican II. Thus, the members of the *Squadra belga*, the cardinals Döpfner, Liénart, Léger, Frings, Suenens, Lercaro, Alfrink, Agagianian, Siri, Pizzardo, and other Fathers, and the theologians Yves Congar, Karl Rahner, Henri de Lubac, Gustave Thils, and other one, primarily occupy the historical narrative of the council. Hence, the historiography of Vatican II, as well as its theological hermeneutics, have not fully recovered the voices of the Council Fathers coming from Churches that could be described as "minor or peripheral." That is to say, Churches, on the one hand, far from the centralising power of Rome and, on the other, from the centres of theological production and innovation in Western Europe and North America.

Nevertheless, Vatican II still remained an important source of historical and theological research, and also of inspiration, reflection and challenge for the Catholic Church. In the context of the sixty anniversary of Vatican II (2022-2025), there are new sources, questions and approaches. Researchers can profit from new sources, mainly the Vatican II archives at the *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano* and other sources as mass media.[14] The new sources open, together with the current ecclesial and socio-cultural contexts, new questions for the historical and theological research. These questions are related to the contexts of the researcher, who must recognise that he or she is always situated in and influenced by particular contexts at particular periods in history.[15]

The crisis of abuse, secularisation, the growth of fundamentalism, the synodal process and the resistance to the pontificate of Pope Francis are the situation and influences coming from the ecclesial context, as well as, in the case of the socio-cultural and political context, the crisis of democracy, the emergence of the nationalist, populist and fundamentalist perspectives in politics, the climate crisis and the growth of inequalities.

The new sources, questions and context are an invitation for new approaches to the historical and theological research on Vatican II. This doctoral research is part of this new moment for Vatican II studies. Focusing on the participation of the Peruvian episcopate in the Second Vatican Council, from its convocation in 1959 to its closure in 1965, the doctoral research approaches the history of Vatican II from the doctrinal and pastoral perspectives of the Council Fathers belonging to the Peruvian Catholic Church. Thus, the dissertation reveals the theological complexity of the Peruvian Fathers, their doctrinal stances and evolution during the debate, the weight of their pastoral experience in their doctrinal positioning, and the networks woven during the conciliar years.

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[13] Routhier, *Vatican II*, 365.

[14] On the Vatican II archive and the use of other sources for Vatican II studies, see: Piero Doria, "An Archive for Vatican II," in *The Oxford Handbook of Vatican II*, ed. Catherine Clifford and Massimo Faggioli (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 69-88; Federico Ruozzi, "Other Sources for the Study of Vatican II. Journalism, Diaries, and Mass Media," in *The Oxford Handbook of Vatican II*, ed. Catherine Clifford and Massimo Faggioli (New York: Oxford University Press, 2023), 89-113.

[15] Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "Commemorating 50 years Vatican II (2012-2015). Some historiographical data and reflections," *Centro Vaticano II. Studi e ricerche*, vol. X, nº 2 (2016): 127-128.

The research on the Peruvian episcopate's participation at Vatican II contributes to valuable and needed nuance to the historiography of the Council. In this way, it is possible to have a more global history of Vatican II. Echoing the current ecclesial context of the pontificate of Pope Francis, the first Latin American pope, and the synodal process, the doctoral research aims to answer the following questions: What did the Council mean in theological and pastoral terms for the Fathers coming from a "minor" Church like the Peruvian Catholic Church? What kind of participation did the Peruvian Fathers have and what was their contribution to the conciliar debate? How did the conciliar years shape the pastoral and theological perspective of the Peruvian Fathers? In answering these questions, it should be possible to answer – to paraphrase the title of a book, published by the Jesuit historian of the Council, John O'Malley – *what happened to the Peruvian Fathers at Vatican II?*

For the research, the use of the category "conciliar experience" has proved useful as a historiographical-theological concept for understanding the expectations of the Peruvian Council Fathers prior to the Council (1959-1962) and their diverse and complex doctrinal/theological positioning during the conciliar period (1962-1965). But, what does the "conciliar experience" mean for research? Giuseppe Alberigo, Gilles Routhier and Philippe Chenaux explore the concept "conciliar experience" to explain the complexity of the Fathers' participation in the conciliar debates. For the three scholars, the notion of "conciliar experience" is connected with the definition of Vatican II as an "event," which means that there was a Council with all its implications: the meetings, the debates, the universality of the Church, the coming to Rome, etc.[16] Thus, firstly, "conciliar experience" explains the progressive theological-pastoral transformation of the majority of Council Fathers: accepting and integrating the doctrinal developments through their participation at Vatican II (learning process).[17]

For Chenaux, the "conciliar experience" constitutes a criterion for understanding the transformation of bishops and prelates belonging to different countries. In this regard, it is important to examine why and how bishops were progressively inclined to accept the new developments in theology and pastoral life, leaving behind their pre-conciliar theology and ecclesiology, in order to accept the new theological and ecclesiological developments that were forged in the debates and work during Vatican II.[18] Although a group of Fathers was already informed about or eventually interested in the new theological trends before the Council, most of them had a traditional theological formation resulting from training that went back to the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s and 1950s. Hence, for the majority of bishops and prelates, the Council represented, in Chenaux's words, "not only an extraordinary experience of fraternal communion under the guidance of the Holy Spirit but also a school of theological update (*aggiornamento*)."[19]

However, the concept of "conciliar experience" should also include the discrepancies, distances, and resistances of the Fathers regarding the debate at Vatican II. For instance, regarding the discussion on *De Ecclesia* during the first period, some Fathers dismissed the schema because it was merely a canonical proposal displaying a juridical ecclesiology. Others found this period theologically instructive and learning, while many Fathers supported the schema because its juridical and traditional theology.[20] Consequently, the category "conciliar experience" needs to

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[16] Gilles Routhier, *Cinquante ans après*, 11-12

[17] Philippe Chenaux, "Prefazione," in *Il cardinale Juan Landázuri Ricketts. La Chiesa Peruviana e Latinoamericana nel periodo del Concilio Vaticano II*, Massimo Zorzin (Roma: Studium Edizioni, 2018), 11-13.

[18] Chenaux, "Prefazione," 12.

[19] Chenaux, "Prefazione," 12.

[20] Giuseppe Alberigo, "'Aprender por sí mismo'. La experiencia conciliar," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer período y la primera*

be completed due to the diversity of ecclesiological and doctrinal positions during the drafting history of *Lumen gentium* and other documents. Many bishops and prelates, not only the Fathers belonging to the so-called "minority," also lived their own "conciliar experience." In many cases, some of these Fathers resisted the ecclesiological developments, while others openly rejected them. Therefore, the Fathers received the conciliar theology with both enthusiastic and indifferent acceptance, with a frustrated resignation or as a challenging theological and pastoral novelty.

In sum, the "conciliar experience" gathers the support, rejection and acceptance and indifference towards the doctrinal developments taken place at Vatican II. Besides, the analysis of the "conciliar experience" sheds light on the first hermeneutics of the Council made by the Fathers during the same conciliar years. Hence, the study of the Peruvian Fathers' "conciliar experience" contributes to a more global history of Vatican II.

The study of the Peruvian episcopate's participation in the Second Vatican Council is based on documents from published sources, archives and libraries. Among the published sources are *Acta et documenta. Series I Antepreparatoria*, *Acta et documenta. Series II Preparatoria*, *Acta synodalia*, *Annuario pontificio*, pastoral letters and exhortations, and Catholic and secular press. These published sources have been consulted in the libraries of the Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies (KU Leuven), the Library of the Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII (Bologna), the Central Library of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, the Library of the Institute Riva-Agüero-PUCP (Lima), and the Library of the Institute Bartolomé de las Casas (Lima). The archives consulted during the research are the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, the Archivo Histórico de los Dominicos de la Provincia de Hispania, Archivio della Fondazione per le scienze religiose Giovanni XXIII, the Archivo Histórico de la Provincia Jesuita del Perú, and the Documentation Centre of Special Collections of the Central Library of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru.

Unfortunately, during the investigation, I could not obtain any permission to enter diocesan archives and the Archive of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. Likewise, in the particular case of Cardinal Juan Landázuri, his documents are not kept in the Archive of the Archdiocese of Lima. In the case of Monsignor José Dammert, his documents are divided between the diocesan archives and members close to him. The difficulty to get access to a more personal information, such as diaries, memoirs and other kind of personal texts,[21] of the Peruvian Fathers underlines the doctrinal dimension of the "conciliar experience," that is to say the study does not introduce the subjective impression of the Fathers, but the doctrinal and canonical reactions to the debates and developments taking place at Vatican II.

To study the doctrinal dimension of the conciliar experience, the doctoral thesis analysed, firstly, the Fathers' speeches and written observations, individually and collectively, during the conciliar debates. Secondly, the *modi* which were prepared and send by the Fathers at end of the debates. The large majority of the *modi* were signed by a group of Fathers, coming from different countries and nationalities. The *modi* had an international character as they brought together doctrinal positions that had emerged during the conciliar debate. Only few Peruvian Fathers, prepared individual *modi*. When approaching the Peruvian Fathers' individual and collective interventions and *modi*, first, I contextualise the intervention within the particular moment of the debate of a conciliar text. Second, I analyse the theological language and doctrinal positioning

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intersesión, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 518-519.

[21] Only two Peruvian bishops wrote about their personal and episcopal experiences. See: Landázuri Ricketts, *Recuerdos de un pastor al servicio de su pueblo* (Lima: Realidades, 1994) and Gustave Prévost, *Serán mis testigos. Memorias de Monseñor Gustavo Prévost PME. Primer Obispo Vicario de Pucallpa, Perú* (Lima: CAAAP, 1996). Only Cardinal Landázuri mentioned his experience as Council Father.

regarding the debate. In this step, cases of "intertextuality" can be studied, answering the question: what doctrinal means did the Peruvian Fathers use (canonical, doctrinal and theological insights, references and citations to Vatican I and the pontifical magisterium) during the debate at Vatican II? Both steps depict the process of doctrinal support, resistance or acceptance of the Peruvian Fathers during the various moments of the debate on a conciliar text. Likewise, the study of the debate makes it possible to trace the networks, temporary or permanent, that the Peruvian Fathers had during the Council, which also reveals the inner interaction between the Fathers.

The Structure of the Research

The dissertation has five chapters. Chapter one depicts the situation of the Peruvian Catholic Church and Episcopate from 1945 to 1965. It presents, on one side, the historical and theological evolution of the Peruvian Catholic Church, and the shaping of her missionary character with the creation of 13 prelatures between 1958 and 1964. The chapter ends with a short presentation of each Peruvian Father who participated at Vatican II, which includes date of birth and death, nationality, studies and ecclesiastical career.

The following four chapters are organised in two parts. The First Part[22] contains chapters two and three, and deals with the antepreparatory and preparatory phases of Vatican II (1959-1962). Chapter two analyses the Peruvian *vota* or wishes sent to the Antepreparatory Commission for the Ecumenical Council. The historiography related to the *vota* proposed an interpretation in light of John XXIII's objectives for the Council: pastoral nature of the Council, *aggiornamento* and ecumenism. The chapter highlights the need for a critical assessment of this historiographical approach to situate the *vota* within their historical and theological context. Hence, for the Peruvian *vota*, I propose four analytical categories to study them: doctrinal-canonical, pastoral, liturgical and adaptation. These categories gather the different concerns and requests prepared by the bishops and give a portrait of the situation of the Catholic Church from the episcopal perspective.

Chapter three studies the participation of four members of the Peruvian hierarchy in the preparatory period of Vatican II. The Lima Cathedral Canon Luis Lituma Portocarrero and the archbishop of Lima Juan Landázuri were members of two preparatory commissions. Lituma was named consultor of the Preparatory Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments. He prepared two reports, the first on marriage, and the second on the priests leaving the ministry. Being a canonist, Lituma proposed a pastoral interpretation of the ecclesial discipline and canon law. Landázuri Ricketts was member of the Central Preparatory Commission in which he showed his search for doctrinal and canonical compromise in the subject of Church renewal.

Two other clerics were requested for two different preparatory commissions to send reports and information. Bishop José Dammert, president of the CEP Commission for Liturgy answered a questionnaire for the Preparatory Commission *De sacra liturgia*. The questionnaire had close questions focusing on the canonical dimension of liturgy (number of liturgical commission in the territory, directories, special liturgical rubrics and norms, etc.); however, Dammert pointed out the importance to give more authority to the episcopal conferences in liturgical matters, mainly related to the permission for using the vernacular and adapting the liturgical calendar. The Jesuit Ricardo Durand Flórez was invited by Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, president of the Preparatory Commission *De seminariis, studiis et educatione catholica* to write

[22] The First Part is based on the preliminary investigation prepared for the Master of Advanced Studies in Theology and Religion Studies. However, this investigation has been entirely revised and reorganised using new archival and bibliographical material. See: Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "The Preparation of the Peruvian Episcopacy for the Second Vatican Council (1959-1962)" (Master Thesis, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, KU Leuven, 2021).

a *votum* on the subject of discipline and spiritual education in seminaries. Durand's report had a cautious mindset regarding the priestly formation and recommended, due to the increasing menace of communism, the teaching of the social doctrine of the Church. In sum, chapter three illustrates the doctrinal status of the Peruvian Church prior to Vatican II: the desire for ecclesial renewal under the paradigm of doctrinal and canonical compromise (Landázuri), the consideration of the pastoral experience to analyse the doctrine and the canon law (Lituma and Durand), and the emergence of new questions like the authority of episcopal conferences (Dammert).

The Second Part analyses the participation of the Peruvian Fathers during the conciliar years (1962-1965), their doctrinal stances and their networks during the debate of the conciliar documents. Chapter four and five are part of this section and follow the division between the texts related to the Church *ad intra* (chapter four) and to the Church *ad extra* (chapter five). Chapter four studies the doctrinal position of the Peruvian Fathers in the debate on liturgy, revelation and the Church. These themes *ad intra* includes the following conciliar documents: *De Sacra liturgia*, *De divina revelatione*, *De Ecclesia*, *De pastorali episcoporum munere in Ecclesia*, *De ministerio et vita presbyterorum*, *De apostolatu laicorum* and *De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae*.

The last chapter, the fifth, analyses the doctrinal positions of the Peruvian Fathers on issues *ad extra*, or the relationship between the Church and the world. The conciliar documents study in chapter five are the following: *Unitatis redintegratio*, *Orientalium ecclesiarum*, *Ad gentes*, *Gaudium et spes*, *Dignitatis humanae*, *Nostra aetate* and *Gravissimum educationis*. Doctrinal change on issues such as the understanding of the mission of the Church, religious freedom, ecumenism and the very relationship of the Church in the world produced different reactions among the Peruvian Fathers. Some of them, as in the case of ecumenism, while accepting the doctrinal change, objected to the pastoral application of the decree in Peru and Latin America for various reasons. Besides, the doctrine of ecumenism was also discussed during the debate on *Ad gentes* and *Gaudium et spes*. In the debate on Schema XIII, the Peruvian bishops who intervened sought to focus the document on the theme of poverty and reduce its Western bias.

The Second Part investigates how during the conciliar years the Peruvian Fathers' stances show their doctrinal evolution of acceptance, resistance and indifference during the conciliar debate. Their different doctrinal positions were based on their theological background, and their particular interpretation of the ecclesial tradition and the magisterium. They made use of episcopal networks to express their positions. The thesis ends with a General Conclusion which presents the results and the contribution of the research in relation to the current historiographical debate, proposing a new approach to the *vota* and the study of the Peruvian interventions during the Council, and also recalling the value of incorporating new voices into the conciliar historiography. To the hermeneutical debate on the Second Vatican Council, the research contributes showing the doctrinal experience of the Peruvian Fathers and its value for a more nuance and comprehensive hermeneutics of the Council.

CHAPTER I. THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN PERU SINCE WORLD WAR II (1945-1965)

From the half of the 1940s onwards, the Peruvian Catholic Church went through a period of rapid transformation because the socio-political context in the country placed new challenges.[23] The chapter explores this process in four sections. The first one analyses the different Catholic actors' visions towards society and politics. It inquires how the episcopate, the lay movements and the new missionary orders faced the socio-political challenges with both traditional and creative approaches, however not without tensions between them. For instance, the emergence of the slums, known in Peru as *barriadas*,[24] in the main cities triggered pastoral transformations, which incorporated development theories to stop the spread of communist ideas and the Protestantism.[25] The second part studies the structure of the Catholic Church in Peru through the creation of prelatures in the Andean region that were commissioned to missionary orders, which changed the Peruvian ecclesial situation. During these years, the number of priests and religious slightly decreased the total number of Peruvian clergy, while the number of foreign clergies slightly increased. The third section inquiries about the general state of Peruvian Catholics on the eve of the Council. The different expectations about the coming council reveal Peruvian Catholics' differences in ecclesiology and pastoral issues. The fourth part presents the Peruvian bishops and prelates who participated in the Council.

Therefore, two groups were coming out within Peruvian Catholicism during these years. On one side, a new Church was emerging from the process of socio-political transformation of the country. This group was able to negotiate with development theories and more social approaches in pastoral care. On the other side, a more traditional ecclesial group endured the opposition against communism, other ideologies and Protestantism, which were considered threats to the hegemony of Catholicism. Hence, before Vatican II, one group of the Catholic Church was progressively becoming a more dynamic and open Church in tension with the traditional group of Catholicism.

1. A Church Between Tradition and Renewal: Lay Movements, Pastoral Change, and Missions

The 1950s were a decade of transition from a rigid Church into a more dynamic and missionary Church. Not only the lay movements were involved in a transforming process, but many pastoral innovations were introduced at different levels. The historiography qualifies these

[23] Jeffrey Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú. Su historia social desde la independencia* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1988), 283-286.
[24] The name *barriada* refers contemptuously to the word *barrio*, a term similar to "neighbourhood."
[25] The research uses the term "Protestantism" to respect the documents and archival material consulted. The term referred to all non-Catholic Churches and communities, among them Lutherans, Methodist, Anglicans, Evangelicals and Pentecostals. From the late 1960s, the term began to be abandoned and the names of specific denominations of Churches and Christian communities were used instead.. See: Juan Miguel Espinoza, "El episcopado peruano posconciliar y el ecumenismo: un desafío pastoral pendiente (1960-2010)," in *Ecumenismo. Un panorama latinoamericano*, ed. Sandra Arenas and Rodrigo Polanco (Santiago de Chile: Ediciones Universidad Alberto Hurtado, 2021), 109-141; Véronique Lecaros, *La Iglesia católica y el desafío de los grupos evangélicos. El caso del Perú en América Latina* (Lima: UARM, 2016).

years as the period of the "modern" Church because of the influence of the development theories[26] on pastoral methods, the expansion of Church infrastructure in the cities, the planification of ecclesial and pastoral work, and the progressive incorporation of the clergy collar among urban priests as a sign of modernisation.[27] The archbishop of Lima Juan Landázuri Ricketts and his auxiliary bishops José Dammert and Fidel Tubino, the bishops and prelates of Southern Andes Peru, the specialised Catholic Action movements, and the new foreign missionaries were the main actors of the ecclesial transformation. For them, the Church had to move from a position of observer to a more active role in the process of change in Peruvian society and politics. However, during those years, the communism and Protestantism were important in every ecclesiastical and pastoral responses to the new socio-political situation of Peru. For instance, in the face of the fear of communism, many pastoral agents, mainly missionaries, opted in their pastoral work for development theories as a socio-political alternative.[28] Therefore, this decade was crucial for preparing the ground for Vatican II reception and forming the generation who would apply the council within the Peruvian Church.

1.1. The Peruvian Catholic Action and Socio-Ecclesial Formation of Lay People

One important actor of the ecclesial renewal was the Peruvian Catholic Action (PCA), founded in 1935 during the First National Eucharistic Congress.[29] Many of its members came from high and middle-class urban families, which were a kind of mirror of the Peruvian society where some classes had the time to gather and work for ideals. In its beginning, PCA followed the Italian model of Catholic Action, which had four areas: one for adult men, one for adult women, a third one for female youth, and a fourth one for male youth.[30] The first president of the National Committee (*Junta Nacional*) was César Arróspide de la Flor, a prominent layman who was also involved in the reception of Vatican II. The PCA never had a numerous membership. On the eve of the Council in 1959, the Peruvian Catholic Action counted 500 men and 1623 women as active members.[31]

From the 1940s, new specialised Catholic Action movements were organised, according to the French and Belgian model of Catholic Action, such as the National Union of Catholic Students (*Unión Nacional de Estudiantes*, UNEC), different professional groups (for teachers, engineers, pharmacists, and lawyers), the Agricultural Catholic Action, the Christian Family Movement, the Christian Worker Youth (*Juventud Obrera Católica*, JOC), and other

[26] The notion of "development" sprung from the conditions of poverty, lack of socio-political welfare, and lack of modern capabilities to improve the human life conditions of the local people. United Nations, the USA and other Western countries promoted different approaches to development which emphasized the transference of socio-economic values, technologies and political values to improve the human life. Many of these initiatives feared of the communist influence in Latin American politics. See: Javier Alcalde Cardoza, *Idea y realidad del desarrollo: el caso de América Latina*, Departamento de Ciencias Sociales. Cuaderno de trabajo no. 15 (Lima: PUCP, 2012), 12-27.
[27] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 335.
[28] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 336-337.
[29] The Catholic Action brought together different Catholic lay movements: the Centre of Catholic Youth (1895), the Centre of Catholic Extension (1915), the Social Action of the Youth (1926), the Centre Fides (1930), the Catholic Centre of Miraflores (1929), the Centre of the Worker Catholic Youth of Peru (1936), the Female Catholic Action (1931), and other centres founded in Lima and provinces. For a brief description of these centres, see Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 286-292.
[30] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 322.
[31] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 322-323.

associations.[32] Those groups gained a progressive protagonist position within the pastoral transformation since the 1950s and during the early phase of the reception of Vatican II while Catholic Action itself was declining.

In Peru, Catholic Action was very important as a place for the Christian formation of laypeople and clergy who were involved in Church transformation since the 1950s. In 1949, Catholic Action began a process of self-assessment. During the Fourth Eucharistic Congress, held in Cusco, the leaders of PCA considered first that the movement followed the European model of the parish organisation, which did not fit with the Peruvian ecclesial context and the country reality. At the same time, they complained about the secondary role of the laity in the Church structure.[33] The self-evaluation also opened a concern about the socio-political situation as a crucial topic for Peruvian lay movements.

In 1956, the Third Inter-American Week of Catholic Action was organised by the Peruvian members of Catholic Action, who were discontent about the formal and clerical environment of the previous meetings.[34] With the support of the advisor of the Inter-American Secretariat of Catholic Action, Manuel Larraín, bishop of Talca (Chile), they proposed to organize the meeting in the northern coastal city of Chimbote. At that time, this city had many new slums (*barriadas*) around the growing steel and fishing factories.[35] The poverty and the new socio-economic situation of the Latin American countries were at stake during the meeting.

The encounter was the opportunity for the Catholic Action delegates[36] to have an in-depth dialogue facing the poverty and the social challenges of the continent. The main concerns were "the urgent necessity of restoring and revitalizing the Catholic traditions of Latin America" and "how to carry on a modern lay apostolate within a Church whose traditional position in Latin-American society has radically changed within the past generation."[37] According to the Chimbote Report[38], the Peruvian delegates described Peruvian Catholicism as "characterized by little or no religious formation" and stated that Catholics had a frank apathy toward "the ideological conflict or to apostolic work."[39] The Peruvian delegates also criticised the rationalist approach to religion, "which reduces everything to isolated logical concepts," which seems to be a criticism against scholastic education and the lack of attention to Scripture in the programmes of religious formation.[40]

Therefore, the report also reflected the laypeople's concern about the meaning of lay apostolate because "we know that we face a new world. This world demands a new apostolate. New, not as far as its sources are concerned, or the contents of its message, but an incarnate apostolate, adapted and adequate to the possibilities of the epoch in which Providence wishes us

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[32] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 322.
[33] César Arróspide de la Flor, "Actitud crítica de la Convención Nacional del Cuzco de 1949 sobre la Acción Católica Peruana," in *La misión del laicado en la Iglesia y en el mundo. Selección de textos* (Lima: Centro de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1988), 85-96. In the report, César Arróspide asserted that the laypeople were similar to "infra-clerics" or "subsub-deacons".
[34] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 326. The first Inter-American Week of Catholic Action was held in Santiago de Chile in 1945. The second meeting was held in La Habana (Cuba) in 1949.
[35] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 326.
[36] The delegates represented around 150,000 Catholics from 20 countries. See: William Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism. A Self-Evaluation*. World Horizon Reports. Report nº 23 (New York: Maryknoll Publications, 1958), iv.
[37] Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, iv-v.
[38] The Chimbote Report refers to the report produced by the meeting and published as *Tercera Semana Interamericana de Acción Católica – Documentos* (Lima, Chimbote: 1953).
[39] Quoted in Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, 29. The document quoted is the Chimbote Report.
[40] Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, 29.

to carry on our activity."[41] Finally, all delegates demanded a profound interior life, a clear concept of laypersons and their position and responsibility in the Church, and the adaptation of traditional methods to the reality of the moment.[42] Consequently, the Catholic Action meeting was crucial for a new awareness of the laity's belonging to the Church, the politicisation of the laity and their commitment to social and political change.[43]

The changes in the specialised Catholic Action groups and the foundation of Christian Democracy in 1956 accelerated the lay commitment to the social and political transformation in the country. For many social movements, such as labour unions and student guilds, the left language provided a new grammar for understanding political and social demands.[44] For the Catholic students, the socio-political situation required political engagement in view of the transformation of society. The search for social justice, political independence and cultural autonomy was crucial in their struggles, and these topics shaped the Catholic students' understanding of faith.[45]

In Peru, the National Union of Catholic Students was a paramount institution among Catholic lay movements. At UNEC, as Rolando Ames Cobián recalled, the students discussed the political and social situation of Peru and reflected on them from the Christian approach.[46] And, since 1960, Father Gustavo Gutiérrez, who had studied philosophy at Leuven and theology at Lyon, became the archdiocesan advisor of UNEC. Subsequently, some Catholic lay people started to move on from a devotional paradigm to an engagement in political and social affairs as a manner to live a real Christian life. And, at the same time, the episcopate recognised the validity of the bond between faith and social commitment, which legitimised the intuition of the laypeople. This process intensified in the years of Vatican II and in the immediate period of its reception.

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[41] Quoted in Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, 76.
[42] Coleman, *Latin American Catholicism*, 80.
[43] In January 1956, prominent members of the Catholic Actions were involved in the foundation of the Christian Democratic Party in Peru. Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 326.
[44] Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "'Jeder Peruaner soll seine Zukunft selbst bestimmen'. Laien, historische Wende und öffentliches Engagement in Peru (1962-1971)," in Margit Eckholt (ed.), *Religion als Ressource befreiender Entwicklung. 50 Jahre nach der 2. Konferenz des lateinamerikanischen Episkopats in Medellín: Kontinuitäten und Brücke* (Ostfildern: Grünewald, 2019), 82.
[45] Ana María Bidegaín, *From Catholic Action to Liberation Theology: the Historical Process of the Laity in Latin America in the Twentieth Century* (Notre Dame: Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1985), 15.
[46] Rolando Iberico Ruiz, Interview with Rolando Ames. Personal interview. Lima, 10th July, 2018. Ames was UNEC member at the end of 1950. He was close with the Christian democracy movement. After the Council, Ames participated actively in the Liberation theology movement, especially in political formation of lay leaders. Between 1985 and 1990, Ames was senator of United Left party (*Izquierda Unida*).

1.2. Socio-Political Approaches to Pastoral Work: Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, and the Peruvian Episcopal Conference (CEP)

In May 1955, Juan Landázuri Ricketts took over the Archdiocese of Lima.[47] He started a new pastoral and government style. Lima was in a radical process of urban and social change. The arrival of immigrants from the Andes and other areas of the country, the new industrial factories established in the capital, and the development of a political middle class radically shifted the face of Lima, the capital city. The more important consequence was the progressive decline of the traditional oligarchy of the country, mainly established in the capital. Archbishop Landázuri, who was a member of a regional oligarchy, understood the historical moment and tried to support the process with moderate reform plans to restructure the archdiocesan territory and the pastoral work.[48]

From the beginning, Landázuri visited parishes and chapels in the emerging slums, which were the marginalised and poor urban and semi-urban areas. He also did pastoral visits to rural and urban parishes in the large territory of the archdiocese. Therefore, he himself asserted in his memories that he "was touched by the reality" when he visited his territory. For Landázuri, "the urgent needs of the people, to whom he had to arrive with Christ's message and the material incentive to live decently," were primordial in his pastoral programme.[49] The concern about the social conditions of the new inhabitants of Lima gave the prelate a new awareness of the necessity of socio-political and economic change in the country. From the beginning, he enjoyed the support of his auxiliary bishop José Dammert, a canonist who had been professor and authority at the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, the Catholic Action members, and clerics of Lima educated in Europe. Landázuri was inspired by the development theories of that time and the idea of ecclesial renewal.

To respond to such diverse challenges, on 17th May 1957, Landázuri created the Mission for Lima (*Misión de Lima*), which was the first pastoral plan to respond to the challenge of the *barriadas*.[50] The main goal of the Mission for Lima was to evangelise the new inhabitants and "the pursuit of social justice in the slums through the dignification of the human person and the achievement of the common good."[51] The Mission's statement coupled evangelisation with the engagement to "help the poor people to help themselves." The project involved religious priests,

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[47] In June 1954, Juan Landázuri was elected coadjutor bishop of Lima of cardinal Juan Gualberto Guevara, archbishop of Lima since 1945. Guevara was a traditional prelate whose pastoral ministry was characterised by his commitment with the Seminary of Santo Toribio, the pastoral care of the priests, and the promotion of the lay apostolate and the Peruvian Episcopal Assembly. He fostered the common life of secular priests, mainly in rural parishes, and considered the Catholic Action as a lay arm of the hierarchy settled in the parish. Hence, according to Guevara the Catholic Action should dedicate to the social question including the "Protestant invasion." See: Juan Gualberto Guevara, *Carta pastoral que su eminencia el Dr. Juan Gualberto Guevara, cardenal arzobispo de Lima, Primado del Perú, dirige al V. Cabildo Metropolitano, al Clero y Fieles de la Arquidiócesis con motivo de la toma de posesión de su cargo* (Lima: Editorial Lumen, 1946); José Dammert Bellido, "Labor pastoral del cardenal Guevara en el Arzobispado de Lima," (1954), 312, accessed on 12th November 2024. http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle /123456789/131432.

[48] Gonzalo Portocarrero, *De Bustamante a Odría. El fracaso del Frente Democrático Nacional, 1945-1950* (Lima: Mosca Azul, 1983), 95; Catalina Romero, *Iglesia peruana: cambio y continuidad. Naturaleza y sentido de su transformación* (Notre Dame: Kellogg Institute, University of Notre Dame, 1985), 3-4

[49] Juan Landázuri Ricketts, *Recuerdos de un Pastor*, 59.

[50] Lima had approximately 1,652,000 inhabitants. In 1957, the *barriadas* had around 120,000 inhabitants. Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 347.

[51] María Rosario Aráoz, *La Misión de Lima* (Lima: s.n., 1967), 19. "El cumplimiento de la justicia social en las barriadas mediante la dignificación de la persona humana y la consecución del bien común."

nuns, independent laypeople who worked in urban parishes, Catholic schools, and members of the Archdiocesan Catholic Action. The mission's main leader was the very active laywoman María Rosario Aráoz, who was educated as a school teacher by the Sacred Heart sisters in the Normal High College for Women (*Escuela Normal Superior de Mujeres*).[52] She promoted the Mission for Lima among Catholic schools and public schools. Also, Aráoz involved her school's female students and other schools' students to participate actively in pastoral care and social aid in the Mission for Lima.

The Mission for Lima established the so-called Mission-House (*Casa-Misión*), which had a chapel-auditorium, a priest residence, and new rooms for local inhabitants' activities. The Mission-House provided a library, a centre for mothers, a literacy school, different workshops, young and infant clubs, and medical and dental care centres.[53] The first Mission-House was founded in October 1957 at "El Montón," which was the former city dump, only 2 kilometres from the city centre of Lima.

During the inauguration ceremony of El Montón Mission-House, Landázuri asserted that "in Lima's slums, a new Peru is emerging because men and women are honest, committed, patriot and believers."[54] In 1963, the first Mission-House was elevated to a parish Church with the name "La Virgen Medianera" and was commissioned to the Missionary Society of Saint Columban.[55] Between 1957 and 1967, around 47 Mission-Houses were established in the archdiocese, most of them commissioned to missionary societies. They were progressively elevated to parish Churches during the same period.[56] Much of the pastoral work of the Mission for Lima was inspired by the development theories, which incorporated the care for more decent human life socio-economic and political conditions coupled with evangelisation.

Every Mission-House should be an evangelising Christian community that promotes the local development of the *barriada* and its inhabitants. This was a new model of parish and pastoral work, which was reinforced after Vatican II among the poor areas in Lima and in other ecclesiastical territories. The Mission for Lima gave the opportunity to many religious women and men and lay people to "touch reality," as Landázuri stated. These laypeople gained a new consciousness of the social and cultural transformations of Lima and the social challenges they had.[57] However, it did not mean that all of these laypeople were ready for a more political pastoral work in the Church.

Landázuri's social efforts to reach the marginalised people in Lima were followed by a public declaration of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference (CEP). In 1957, José Dammert, auxiliary of Lima, was nominated the first secretary of the CEP and he was one of the drafters of the "Pastoral letter of the Peruvian Episcopacy on some aspects of the social question in Peru." The letter was published in January 1958. The document was a milestone in the Peruvian episcopal

[52] Elmer Robles Ortiz, "Las primeras escuelas normales en el Perú," *Revista Historia de la educación latinoamericana* 6 (2004), 68.
[53] Aráoz, *La Misión de Lima*, 19.
[54] Quoted in Aráoz, *La Misión de Lima*, 9. "En las barriadas de Lima se está gestando un nuevo Perú, porque en ellas los hombres y mujeres son honestos, esforzados, patriotas y creyentes."
[55] Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "El Cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts, arzobispo de Lima: pastor de la recepción conciliar y de la unidad (1955-1989)" in *Obispos de la Patria Grande. Pastores, profetas y mártires*, ed. Ana María Bidegaín (Bogotá: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano, 2018), 108.
[56] Aráoz, *La Misión de Lima*, Annexes in pages 32-33.
[57] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 348; Iberico, "El Cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts," 108

magisterium because it analysed the social context from the perspective of the Catholic social doctrine.[58]

The Pastoral Letter criticised the new situation created by economic development, which "produces a distinction between areas that are developing and other ones that remain on a rudimentary level."[59] The bishops denounced the causes of poverty and injustice in Peru: "the goods of this world are unequally distributed."[60] The bishops, in line with the magisterium of Pius XII, recalled the dangers of materialism, technocracy, depersonalisation and dehumanisation produced by the unjust situation of the country. They condemned "materialism as solution," that is to say, the communist or socialist alternative.[61] At the end of the Pastoral letter, the episcopate convened the First Social Week as a space for dialogue and the search for solutions for national problems.

The First Social Week, organised by Dammert and a committee of lay people and priests, was held in Lima between 1st and 9th August 1959 and enjoyed the pontifical support.[62] Bishop Dammert recognised the influence of European Social Weeks, which had studied the European social contexts for years.[63] The participants came from 15 dioceses and 196 different Catholic groups, which constituted a total of 348 delegates. Dammert's presentation entitled "Guidelines for the Church's action" was a clear invitation to Catholics to search for a solution of national problems and to promote among them an active social commitment. For him, the Church should participate "in the social reforms that justice and charity claim." It implied abandoning "paternalism" and the "lack of sense of social justice," which drove poor people to Communism and anti-clericalism.[64]

During the First Social Week, five of the six main lectures were delivered by laypeople who belonged to Catholic Action and Christian Democracy.[65] The meeting used the method of

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[58] Juan Miguel Espinoza, "Monseñor José Dammert Bellido, un pastor abierto al mundo" in *Obispos de la Patria Grande. Pastores, profetas y mártires*, ed. Ana María Bidegaín (Bogotá: Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano, 2018), 259.

[59] "En la economía de nuestro País se ha venido gestando una distinción entre zonas que se han desarrollado con otras que permanecen en un nivel rudimentario." See: Asamblea Episcopal del Perú, "Carta pastoral colectiva del episcopado peruano sobre algunos aspectos de la cuestión social en la república," (1958), accessed on 11th November 2024, http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/bitstream/handle/123456789/52641.

[60] "Los bienes de este mundo están desigualmente repartidos." Quoted in Iberico Ruiz, "El Cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts", 108.

[61] "Efectivamente 'a pesar de las afirmaciones contrarias que acaso corren entre vosotros, la doctrina de Cristo, la doctrina de la verdad y de la fe, es inconciliable con las más. máximas materialistas, de suerte que adherirse a ellas (se quiera o no se quiera, se tenga o no se tenga conciencia de ello) es lo mismo que desertar de la Iglesia y dejar de ser católico'." See: Asamblea Episcopal del Perú, "Carta pastoral colectiva," (1958).

[62] Domenico Tardini, "Carta de la Santa Sede," in Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, *Primera Semana Social del Perú. Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima: Secretaría General del Episcopado del Perú, 1959), 11-12.

[63] José Dammert Bellido, "Palabras Liminares," in Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, *Primera Semana Social del Perú. Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima: Secretaría General del Episcopado del Perú, 1959), 7.

[64] Dammert asserted that "es tiempo que los cristianos abandonen el cómodo individualismo y se aboquen a la edificación de la ciudad terrena, informándola de las luces de la moral y de la caridad." Quoted in Espinoza, "Monseñor José Dammert Bellido," 260.

[65] The laypeople who were keynote speakers at the First Social Week were José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, president of Peru (1945-1948), Jorge del Busto Vargas, César Arróspide de la Flor, Luis Echecopar García, and Ernesto Alayza Grundy.

commissions where groups discussed the lectures and proposed conclusions for action.[66] Finally, in the closing discourse, Landázuri affirmed that the Church "considers that the current socio-economic order must be reformed and improved."[67] Abbé Pierre, the French founder of the Emmaus solidarity community, was invited to the closing event. The First Social Week concluded with a long report in which the participants urged "members of the Church, priests and laypeople, to make known their permanent concern for the realisation of social justice."[68]

The 1958 Pastoral Letter and the 1959 First Social Week gave an ecclesial acknowledgement to the different voices in favour of deep social and economic reforms in the country. The urban and educated Catholics became aware of the situation of poverty, social injustice and the necessity of social change in the country. The platform granted recognition to different Catholic movements and laypeople that were involved in the debates on the Peruvian situation.

On 29th October 1961, in the context of pre electoral campaign in Peru, the Peruvian episcopate launched the Pastoral Letter intitled "Catholics and Politics" (*Los católicos y la política*) addressed to priests and laypeople. The language used by the Pastoral Letter showed the transitional moment of the Peruvian Church. On one side, the pastoral letter fostered the exercise of the citizenship of the faithful, members of the "Mystical Body of Jesus Christ," whose political commitment was based on the love of neighbour. The bishops asserted that "among the ways of loving men, of working for the temporal good of men, one of the most excellent is political activity" because "politics offers, after religion, the widest field for the exercise of love of neighbour."[69]

On the other side, the style still remained under some elements of the traditional magisterial teachings. Thus, the Letter defined the politics as the exercise of political rights (vote, political positions in the government, and enrolment in political parties) to reach the common good according to the rules of natural law and Christian moral teachings. The politics also rejected the any form of totalitarianism while emphasising the reverence and obedience to the established legitimate authorities, according to the Gospel message.[70] Another element of this transitional style was related to the task of political activity which should overcome and kill "the seeds of latent conflicts in the exaggerated economic differences between citizens" and also overcome the affective distances, the ignorance and animosity between social and ethnic groups of Peru.[71] The Pastoral Letter included a Directory "Catholics and Politics" which prohibited the vote to communist and marxist candidates and warned against political doctrines of atheistic materialism,

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[66] Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, "Reglamento de la Semana Social," in Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, *Primera Semana Social del Perú. Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima: Secretaría General del Episcopado del Perú, 1959), 283. The method of commissions was also used by the Liberationist movement in the 1970s.

[67] La Iglesia "considera en general que el actual orden económico-social debe ser reformado y mejorado." Quoted in Iberico Ruiz, "El Cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts," 108.

[68] "Los miembros de la Iglesia, sacerdotes y seglares, deben hacer conocer su constante preocupación por la realización de la justicia social." See: Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, "Documento Final de la Primera Semana Social," in Secretaria General del Episcopado del Perú, *Primera Semana Social del Perú. Exigencias sociales del catolicismo en el Perú* (Lima: Secretaría General del Episcopado del Perú, 1959), 243.

[69] Episcopado Peruano, "Los católicos y la política. Carta pastoral del Episcopado del Perú a los sacerdotes y fieles," 29th October 1961, Lima, accessed on 11th December 2024, http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/52640, 619-620.

[70] Episcopado Peruano, "Los católicos y la política," 620-621.

[71] Episcopado Peruano, "Los católicos y la política," 622.

laicism, class struggle, socialist collectivism, economic materialism, scientific-technic evolutionism and State absolutism.[72]

On 1st May 1963, during the first intersession of Vatican II, the CEP published a Pastoral Letter regarding the social and political activity with the prominent title "Politics, Christian Duty." The Pastoral Letter pointed out the elections in Peru due to importance of the social betterment and the evils and dangers for the future of the country.[73] Following the notion of development, first, the Peruvian episcopate proposed to disappear the social mentality which justify the social inequalities. The national situation did not respond to human dignity and there were no condition for a moral and social development for the Peruvian people. Secondly, the bishops and prelates emphasised education as a tool for development and effective preparation for work, for professionals, technicians, workers, farmers, etc. Thirdly, the economic progress must include every Peruvian through their involvement in the national economy and the improvement of the economic facilities in the country. The CEP supported the agrarian reform because the centre of the economic question was the human being, and it was a mean to improve the human condition of farmers and peasants. Therefore, for the CEP, the promotion of social and economic development required the exercise of political activity of the citizens.[74]

In this political scenario of searching for social and economic development, the Christian community had a role because "love of God and his Christ impels us to serve others as taught by the example of the Divine Master, who 'came not to be served but to serve'."[75] The episcopate recalled the duty of Christians with the social reform, because as an "exemplar citizen" must cooperate with the building up of the temporal society. This was "a real test of love for others."[76] Finally, the Pastoral Letter recalling the Conciliar Message asserted that "in our hearts pulsate the anguish and suffering, the desires and hopes of all peoples. The most humble, the poorest and the weakest, those who do not have a condition of life worthy of their human and Christian quality, are especially present." Therefore, the "difficult situation of our time" fostered the Christian community to work for the social renewal.[77]

The documents issued by the CEP showed a transitional moment in the Peruvian Church, from a traditional and apologetic position to a more open to ecclesial renewal and socio-political commitment to the reality of the country. The redactional style of the documents is a clear demonstration of this process of change in the Peruvian Church. After the Pastoral Letter of 1963, the CEP did not issue any other collegial document until 15th August 1966. That date, the CEP

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[72] Episcopado Peruano, "Los católicos y la política," 637-638. The previous year, on 1st February 1960, the Archbishops of Peru: Juan Landázuri (Lima), Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón (Arequipa), Carlos Jurgens (Cusco) and Federico Pérez Silva (Trujillo) rejected the vote of the Peruvian delegation in the Congress of American Teachers in favour of opposing any "negative forces" against the extension and strengthening of a true democratic and secular education." The Archbishops rejected the insinuation that "the Church is a negative force in America" as it "contradicts history and denies the active participation the Church has today in America's educational endeavour and social betterment." They concluded that "it is not licit for any Catholic in Peru to sustain this doctrine," since it "contradicts the teaching of the Church and threatens national unity." See: Episcopado Peruano, "Declaración de los Arzobispos metropolitanos en nombre de la Jerarquía eclesiástica del Perú," 1st February 1960, accessed on 12th December 2024, http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/52643.

[73] Episcopado Peruano, "Política, deber cristiano. Carta pastoral colectiva del Episcopado peruano sobre la actividad social y política en la hora presente," 1st May 1963, accessed 12th December 2024, http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/52639, 228.

[74] Episcopado Peruano, "Política, deber cristiano," 231-235.

[75] Episcopado Peruano, "Política, deber cristiano," 236.

[76] Episcopado Peruano, "Política, deber cristiano," 236-237.

[77] Episcopado Peruano, "Política, deber cristiano," 237.

launched a "Declaration" regarding the end of the Second Vatican Council and its teachings. The document emphasised the importance of renovation, dialogue and the openness to the national context. Furthermore, the "Declaration" addressed the different actor of the new moment of the Church: priests, religious women and men, catechists and teachers, permanent deacons and laypeople.[78]

1.3. The New Missionaries and the Change of Pastoral Approach

The arrival of foreign missionaries increased significantly since the 1950s.[79] Many of the foreign missionaries responded to the papal invitation to reinforce the Catholic presence in the South.[80] They shaped the missionary character of the Peruvian Church. Foreign missionaries shared two characteristics. The first was that almost all missionaries belonged to religious orders or congregations. They had a strong identity that was reinforced in their missionary work. Only a small number of them were members of a priestly association founded by the local bishops, like the Missionary Society of Saint James from Boston (the USA). Among the missionaries, the largest national group was the Spaniards, then in order of numbers were the American, Irish, Canadian, Italian, French and German missionaries. The second characteristic was that, with the exception of Spaniards, the missionaries from the so-called "First World" bonded their missionary vocation with a new conception of social engagement and local development. They understood that the promotion of social development was a manner to fight against communism and its spread through the region.[81]

A good example of this new way of evangelising and promoting development was the Peruvian Southern Andes. It was a rural territory with a majority presence of Aymara and Quechua indigenous people.[82] This region includes the departments of Arequipa, Cusco and Puno. Since the beginning of the 20th century, Adventist and Protestant churches were quite present in the department of Puno with temples and schools for indigenous peasants. The Adventists founded schools to teach and train the peasant and indigenous people in the use of new technologies to improve the agrarian work.[83] At the same time, since the 1920s some leftist groups established in the Southern Andes, mainly in Arequipa and Puno.[84] They severely criticised the privileges of the Catholic Church in the region and accused her to promote poverty and ignorance among indigenous and poor people. Many South Andean citizens joined liberal parties to oppose the Catholic presence in the public sphere.[85] On many occasions, there were coalitions between

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[78] Episcopado Peruano, "Declaración del Episcopado Peruano," 15th August 1966, accessed on 12th December 2024, http://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/52638.
[79] Between 1940 and 1984, 42 new orders, congregations and priestly associations arrived in Peru. 17 of them had settled in the country between 1940 and 1960. Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 358.
[80] The concern about the shortage of clerics was displayed by Pius XII's encyclical *Fidei donum*. The encyclical invited missionaries to aid mainly Africa to supply the missions with clerics. However, *Fidei donum* inspired the arrival of new missionaries to Latin America.
[81] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 359-360.
[82] In the 1950s, the French sociologist François Bourricaud called Puno "the most indigenous region in Peru." Quoted in José Luis Rénique, *La batalla por Puno. Conflicto agrario y nación en los Andes peruanos* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Juliaca, La Siniestra Ensayos, 2016), 33.
[83] Juan Fonseca, *Misioneros y civilizadores. Protestantismo y modernización en el Perú (1915-1930)* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 2002), 89-90.
[84] Rénique, *La batalla por Puno*, 35-154.
[85] Hinnerk Onke, "Subaltern Political Culture and the Formation of the Working Class in Arequipa, 1895-1919," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte Lateinamerikas*, 50, 241-248.

Adventists, left groups and liberals against the Catholic Church, mainly in their advocacy of the right to education for the indigenous people.[86]

In the Peruvian Southern Andes, the arrival of new missionary congregations and the creation of new prelatures of Ayaviri, Juli, and Sicuani, changed the presence of the Church in the area. The Sacred Hearts priests, the American Carmelites and the Maryknoll brothers and priests were active promoters of local development through priestly and lay education, the creation of radio stations, and the valorisation of Quechua and Aymara as local native languages. Nevertheless, the path towards an understanding of their mission in the new territories was long. For instance, at the beginning of their arrival in 1943, the Maryknoll Fathers considered as the two priorities of their "Indian apostolate": the "Romanisation of the sacramental practices" of the Quechua and Aymara peasants and their "popular Catholicism."[87] In Puno, the Seminary of San Ambrosio was commissioned to the Maryknoll missionaries, and between 1943 and 1947, they tried to gain access among peasant communities in Carabaya and Sandia, both in Puno. The mission failed due to language problems and their lack of knowledge about the social and cultural context of those peasant communities.[88]

In 1954, Maryknoll Fathers organised in Lima the Conference on methods of evangelisation which was a self-assessment of their mission in Latin America. The meeting was connected to the Chimbote meeting of Catholic Action. During the meeting, the Maryknollers considered that the mission should also have a socio-economic dimension which was understood as the local development of communities. Therefore, the Maryknoll Fathers began cooperatives and promoted a socio-economic change in their urban missions, while among the peasant communities, they promoted food aid, basic literacy and medical support in order to reduce poverty.[89] In 1955, Maryknoll Father Daniel McLellan founded a credit cooperative to help entrepreneurship to promote local development and he established the central bureau in the capital with the intention to spread the initiative to other areas of Peru.

In 1961, Father Robert Kearns created in Puno the first radio school, "Onda Azul," which expanded quickly through rural areas. The radio broadcasted in Quechua and Aymara to around 2,000 peasants.[90] In parallel, the missionaries launched a program for peasant catechists in Azángaro (Puno), which was crucial for the implementation of the pastoral and theology of Vatican II in the post-conciliar Southern Andean Church. The peasant catechists gathered for a month to learn about sacraments, pious devotions and the catechism in Quechua. They were married men and worked in farming. Because of their ecclesial role, peasant catechists became local leaders and were the right hand of the few clerics in the area. Thus, they reinforced the presence of the Church among the highland communities as the institution which protected them from the land owners (*hacendados*).[91] Consequently, the changes allowed the missionaries to

[86] Arturo Vilchis, "Anarquitas y educación: aproximaciones con los movimientos andinos en Puno, Perú," *Revista de Historia de América* 153 (2017), 23-47; Héctor Elías Núñez, "Presencia protestante en el altiplano peruano: Puno 1896-1915. El caso de los Adventistas del Séptimo Día" (Bachelor's Degree Thesis, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Lima, 2008), 153-199.
[87] Susan Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission in Peru, 1943-1989. Transnational Faith and Transformation* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2012), 8-9. In the mid-1950s, the Maryknoll fathers opened new missions in Lima and Arequipa for the middle class areas and the *barriadas*.
[88] Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 64-71.
[89] Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 94.
[90] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 363.
[91] Otto Brun, "Catequistas campesinos," *Allpanchis Phuturinqa*, vol. XX, nº 24 (1984): 135-136

promote a new type of evangelisation coupled with local development, which had its centre, from 1957, in the Prelature of Juli.

In contrast with the approach to evangelisation in the new prelatures, the missions in the Amazonia had a more traditional approach. The Spanish origin of missionaries, who had a more traditional and heroic vision of the mission among the indigenous people, played a role in their traditional approach. For instance, the term "indigenous infidels" was used to designate missionary subjects of the Marañón in the Northern Peruvian Amazonia. Those "indigenous infidels" were part of the Apostolic Prefecture of San Francisco Javier that was commissioned to the Spanish Jesuits of the Province of Toledo in 1945.[92] The Prefecture was a huge and difficult territory the size of Belgium.

The Dominican bishop José María García Graín, apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado (1949-1959), shared the same perception. In a letter to the missionaries, he remarked that there were places within the Vicariate without the presence of "civilised men." Hence, the mission was a "task to conquer them [the indigenous people] for God and for the country." The missionaries should be aware that the mission was a "divine task."[93] One year later, Javier Ariz, coadjutor vicar, wrote to the Provincial of the Dominican Province of Spain and close to the vicar, Aniceto Fernández, explaining his concern about the "invasion" of Protestants in the Amazonia.[94] Hence, the Amazonian missionaries represented the traditional approach to mission: evangelisation as a civilising process for the Church and the country, radical opposition to Protestantism, and the identification of the Church with the hierarchy and ecclesial structures. Hence, according to the pre-conciliar papal magisterium, the task of the mission was to implant the Church structure in the missionary territory.[95]

Therefore, while the Church of Lima, doing pastoral work in the slums and proposing a social commitment to change, and the prelatures in the Peruvian highlands were involved in the process of pastoral transformation, the Amazonia retained a more traditional manner of the mission. These two ecclesial trends were also the expression of the country's situation that would become a challenge for the Church in Peru since the 1960s. While these Catholic identities had differences concerning the pastoral approach, the understanding of socio-political change and the Catholic commitment to the development of people, they both shared the fear of communism and the defence of Catholic prevalence in the country. Nevertheless, both tendencies evinced future tensions during the reception of Vatican II in Peru.

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[92] Provincia de Toledo, 18 de marzo de 1945. Quoted in Guallart, *Historia del Vicariato de San Francisco Javier del Marañón* (Lima: Centro Amazónico de Antropología y Aplicación Práctica, 1997), 26, 31-32.

[93] José María García Graín, *Circular. A todos los misioneros y misioneras del Vicariato de Puerto Maldonado* (Lima, 15th February, 1952).

[94] Salamanca. AHDOPE. B-B-b-26 vPE-4-2. Doc. 18. Letter of Mons. Ariz to Provincial Fr. Aniceto Fernández. Lima, 28th October, 1953. According to Ariz, the Dominicans coordinated with other vicariates the strategy to stop the spread of Protestantism forming teachers and catechists for the mission.

[95] On the Papal magisterium on mission, see: James Kroeger, "Papal mission wisdom: five mission encyclicals 1919-1959", in *A Century of Catholic Mission. Roman Catholic Missiology 1910 to the Present*, ed. Stephen B. Bevans (Edinburgh: Regnum Books International, 2013), 93-100.

2. The Structure of the Catholic Church in Peru on the Eve of the Council

2.1. The Ecclesiastical Province of Peru: A Demi-Missionary Territory

In 1959, when Pope John XXIII conveyed the council, the Catholic Church in Peru consisted of four archdioceses, fourteen dioceses, eight prelatures, seven apostolic vicariates, and one apostolic prefecture.[96] There were eighteen archdioceses and dioceses and sixteen missionary territories formed by prelatures, vicariates, and one apostolic prefecture. During the 20th century, the Amazonia and the large parts of Andes gradually became missionary regions. Compared with the 19th century, when the Ecclesiastical Province of Peru was only composed of dioceses, the 1959 structure revealed the Church as a demi-missionary territory.

In the Amazonian area, the first apostolic prefectures were established upon request of the Peruvian government to the Apostolic See. The main goal of the government was to incorporate the indigenous people and the territory into the nation through the Christianisation and civilisation of Catholic missionaries.[97] In 1900, Pope Leo XIII established, by means of the Congregation *Propaganda Fide*, the apostolic prefectures of San León del Amazonas, Santo Domingo de Urubamba, and San Francisco de Ucayali, which were commissioned to the Augustinian, Dominican, and Franciscan orders, respectively. Benedict XV created the apostolic prefecture of San Gabriel de la Dolorosa del Marañón in 1921. Finally, in 1945 and 1946, Pius XII established two new apostolic prefectures San José del Amazonas and San Francisco Javier. They were commissioned to the Franciscan and Jesuit orders, respectively. The first five were elevated to apostolic vicariates between 1921 to 1956.

In the Peruvian Andes, in 1950, the Church started a modernisation process of pastoral care. New foreign missionary congregations, settled in poor urban and rural areas of the country, brought a new pastoral approach which was shared among the popular and rural population through development projects and an inflexible opposition against communism and Protestantism.[98] Hence, a new missionary style emerged within the Peruvian Church in the highland, which the Apostolic See ratified between 1957 and 1959 with the creation of three prelatures in the Southern Andes. Pope Pius XII established in June 1957 the Prelature of Juli and in July 1958 the Prelature of Ayaviri. Finally, in January 1959, John XXIII created the Prelature of Sicuani. As a result, the Holy See constituted three new ecclesiastical jurisdictions in order to promote the evangelisation of the Quechua and Aymara peasant populations.[99] The Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts (the Picpus Fathers), and the Carmelite Order of North America received the new pastoral commission of the prelatures of Juli, Ayaviri and Sicuani, respectively.

Therefore, by the 1950s, it is possible to assert that the Catholic Church in Peru was, in accordance with the Holy See parameters and canonical perspective, a missionary territory. Almost half of the prelates were foreigners and belonged to a missionary congregation. In Latin America, the churches had different faces: some had missionary areas, such as the Peruvian

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[96] AP 1959.

[97] Félix Sáiz Díez, *Centenario de la creación de las prefecturas apostólicas en el Perú. Después de tres siglos y medio de acción misional en el oriente peruano* (Lima: Provincia Misionera de San Francisco Solano, 2000), 74-77. The Peruvian government also wanted to secure its borders with the missions and the missionary presence in Amazonia.

[98] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 337.

[99] Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 9. When the Maryknoll fathers arrived in Puno in 1943, there was a total population of 645,000 inhabitants, of whom 92% spoke Quechua and Aymara.

Church, while others had an established hierarchy in the whole territory. For instance, in 1960, the Church of Argentina had nine archdioceses and 27 dioceses, and the Chilean Church had three archdioceses and 16 dioceses, two apostolic vicariates, and one prelature. On the other side, the Colombian Church had six archdioceses and 22 dioceses, 11 apostolic vicariates, eight apostolic prefectures and one prelature.[100] While the former two churches had a steady hierarchy, the latter was a Church with missionary regions within its ecclesiastical territory. Therefore, the Peruvian Catholic Church was growing in square kilometres through the Holy See's strategy to commission missionary territory to orders, which made the Peruvian Church, at a certain point, more dependent on foreign clergy and income.[101]

How should this situation be read? The conception of the mission was related to the establishment of the Church structure – fundamentally the hierarchy – within the missionary ecclesiastical territories.[102] For this apostolic task, a foreign prelate from an established and steady Church was supposed to be the adequate person to fulfil the mission. The foreign congregations were commissioned because they could send missionaries and adequate supplies for the mission. Conversely, the archdioceses and dioceses were commissioned to Peruvian prelates because they were considered as old churches displayed through its established hierarchy.

During the 19th century, the ecclesiastical hierarchy was formed only by Peruvian prelates. The transformation of the Peruvian ecclesiastical province into a demi-missionary Church was the result of a combination of State policies to colonise the Amazonia and to incorporate the peasant highlands into the national life, the local pastoral concerns related to the rise of Evangelical Protestant communities in rural areas, the shortage of Peruvian clergy, the fear of communism, and the Holy See's perception of the Peruvian Church reality through the Nuncios' eyes.

When Pope John XXIII conveyed the council, in 1959, the Peruvian Church had 37 bishops and prelates, of whom 29 were bishops and eight presbyter prelates. The Peruvian episcopate was diverse because of the bishops' and prelates' nationalities and religious affiliations. The dominant group of prelates were Peruvians, with a total number of 21 bishops. Three of them were auxiliary bishops, two of Lima and one of Abancay. They were in charge of the four archdioceses and 14 dioceses of the country. The eight prelates from Spain were the second largest group. Among them, six were apostolic vicars, one prelate and one apostolic prefect. The other eight apostolic vicars and prelates came from Canada (2), Germany (2), the USA (2), Italy (1) and France (1). The foreign prelates were missionaries from various religious orders and congregations, and the administration of prelatures, apostolic vicariates and apostolic prefectures was commissioned to them. The apostolic vicars were all bishops, while the prelates and the apostolic prefect were priests. The only exception was the prelate of Moyobamba Martin Fulgencio Elorza Legaristi, who was appointed bishop in 1953.

Between 1959 and 1965, five prelatures were added to the Peruvian ecclesiastical province, which counted that year a total of four archdioceses, 14 dioceses, 14 prelatures, seven apostolic vicariates and one apostolic prefecture. On 4th December 1961, John XXIII created the

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[100] AP 1960, 1353, 1353.

[101] Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 12-13. The author remarks that at the beginning of the 1960s because of Maryknoll fathers and their networks, Peruvian Church became the primary beneficiary of US Church and US government programs. Of the 100% of US diocesan clergy who came to Latin America, 68% went to Peru.

[102] On the missiology methods, see Francis Anekwe Oborji, "Catholic Missiology 1910-2010: Origins and Perspectives" in *A Century of Catholic Mission. Roman Catholic Missiology 1910 to the Present*, ed. Stephen B. Bevans (Edinburgh: Regnum Books International, 2013), 133-146.

Prelature of Huamachuco, part of the ecclesiastical province of Trujillo, and appointed the Spanish Damian Nicolau Roig TOR as the prelate. During the conciliar years, new prelatures were established by the Holy See. On 5th June 1962, Pope John XXIII erected the Prelature of Chuquibamba, part of the ecclesiastical province of Arequipa, and appointed the Maltese Redento Maria Gauci O. Carm, as its first prelate. The same year, on 26th November, the Pope established the Prelature of Chimbote, part of the ecclesiastical province of Trujillo. Its first prelate was the American James Burke OP. Pope Paul VI erected on 7th April 1963 the Prelature of Chota appointing as its first prelate the Spanish Florentino Armas Llerena OAR. On 4th March 1964, the Pope established the Prelature of Chulucanas and appointed the American John Conway McNabb OSA as its first prelate. Both prelatures were part of the ecclesiastical territory of Trujillo.

When Vatican II ended in 1965, the Peruvian Church had the following composition: 38 bishops, five presbyter prelates and one apostolic prefect. Among the 38 bishops, there were eight prelates consecrated bishops and seven bishop vicars. Hence, there were four archbishops, 15 residential bishops, four auxiliary bishops, eight bishop prelates, seven bishop vicars, five presbyter prelates and one apostolic prefect. Thus, at the end of the Council, the CEP counted 44 members, between bishops and prelates. There were 39 ecclesiastical territories in the Peruvian Church: four archdioceses, 14 dioceses, 13 prelatures, seven apostolic vicariates and one apostolic prefecture. Out of 39 jurisdictions, 18 were archdioceses and dioceses, and 21 were missionary territories. Thus, the demi-missionary character of the Peruvian Catholic Church was consolidated during the years of the Council.

2.2. The Peruvian Catholic Church in Numbers

Between 1940 and 1961, the Peruvian population increased from 6,207,500 to 9,906,746 inhabitants.[103] In 1961, 5,933,037 Peruvians lived in rural areas, which makes Peru a predominantly rural country,[104] but finding itself in a rapid process of becoming an urban society due to migration to main cities.[105] For instance, in 1950, Lima surpassed one million inhabitants, and in 1962 there were two million people.[106] The new inhabitants of Lima demanded health services, housing, and education. Their social demands were picked up by populist political programmes in the country.[107]

The pastoral care of an increasing population was very difficult for the Catholic Church. In 1820, on the eve of the Peruvian political independence, the clergy had 3,000 members for a 2,000,000 population,[108] but in 1959, there were a total of 1,696 diocesan, religious and newly ordained priests. If we add the seminarians, who were part of the clergy according to the Code of Canon Law of 1917,[109] the number reached 1,923. Furthermore, from the beginning of the 20th

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[103] Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *La Población del Perú* (Lima: ONEC, 1974), 17. Information based on national censuses of 1940 and 1961.
[104] Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *La Población del Perú*, 20.
[105] According to the census of 1972, the population increased to 13,572,052. For the first time, the urban population (7,198,780) was slightly higher than the rural population (6,373,272). See: Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos, *La Población del Perú*, 20.
[106] Carlos Contreras and Marcos Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo. Desde las luchas de la independencia hasta el presente*, 5º edition (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2013), 314.
[107] Contreras and Cueto, *Historia del Perú contemporáneo*, 314.
[108] Jeffrey Klaiber, "La escasez de sacerdotes en el Perú: una interpretación histórica," *Histórica* vol. 5, nº 1 (1981), 1. Many Spaniards and their descendants, including many bishops and prelates like the archbishop of Lima, left the country after the independence.
[109] CIC, c. 108 § 1: "Qui divinis ministeriis per primam saltem tonsuram mancipati sunt, clerici dicuntur."

century, the native clergy decreased in 1901 from 82% of the total number of clerics to 38% in 1973.[110] In 1948, the Jesuit historian Rubén Vargas Ugarte, Rector of Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, published a booklet "Un gravísimo problema nacional" in which he explored the historical situation of the native clergy in Peru and the reasons for their reduction. The Rector explained the problem using the case of the Seminary of Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo in Lima. In 1864, the Seminary had 45 students, while in 1942, only 14.[111] Besides, in Lima, in 1821, there was one priest for every 520 people, while in 1960, there was one priest for every 8,000 inhabitants.[112] Most of the clerics had been studied in seminaries under the umbrella of a traditional mindset. However, there were also progressive clerics, most of them linked to the PUCP. During the 1950s, these clerics had important roles in the transformation process of Catholic Action and the changes in its pastoral approach.[113]

In 1943, when the Maryknoll missionaries arrived in the city of Puno, at that moment, there were only 28 priests for 645.000 residents.[114] In the rural areas of Lima province, the situation was quite similar. In a letter, written around 1954, to the archbishop of Lima, a group of Yauyos laity explained that the last year when they had nine parish priests to attend their province was in 1925. From 1954 onwards, there was only one parish priest for the entire province of Yauyos. They demanded the entrance of missionaries to resolve the religious problem.[115] In 1957, the Prelature of Yauyos was erected and in October the prelate Ignacio de Orbegozo arrived in the province with five Opus Dei priests.[116] Therefore, the situation of shortage of clergy was clearly evident in the country, both in rural areas such as Yauyos and in cities such in Puno.[117] However, although the number of priests was limited for its growing population, in Lima, the capital, the problem of shortage of clergy was a distant problem.[118]

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[110] Klaiber, "La escasez de sacerdotes," 1

[111] Quoted in Klaiber, "La escasez de sacerdotes," 2.

[112] Guillermo Lohmann Villena, "Peru," in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. XI Pau to Pyx (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1967), 188.

[113] José Dammert Bellido, "Universidad Católica y vocaciones eclesiásticas," (1957), 184-185. Among the progressive priests were José Dammert Bellido, Gerardo Alarco, Felipe McGregor, Gustavo Gutiérrez, Jorge Álvarez Calderón, Carlos Álvarez Calderón, and many others.

[114] Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 47.

[115] Esteban Puig Tarrats, "Los inicios de la Prelatura de Yauyos (Perú) 1956-1968. Antecedentes y recuerdos documentados," *Studia et Documenta. Rivista dell'Istituto Storico San Josemaría Escrivá*, 4 (2010): 303.

[116] Puig Tarrats, "Los inicios de la Prelatura de Yauyos," 308. The next year, six more priests arrived to the new prelature. As soon as the new prelate arrived, the archbishopric of Lima ordered the return of two priests who attended the region to send them to other parishes. See: Prieto Celi, *Don Ignacio*, 135.

[117] In 1957, the prelature of Yauyos included the provinces of Yauyos and Huarochirí, with a total area of 12,559.51 km². This is almost the total surface of the Flemish region in Belgium. In 1962, the province of Cañete was added to the prelature which increases its area to 17,140.15 km². The same year, while the prelature had 19 priests and 9 vowed religious men, the diocese of Bruges, which had 3,230 km², had 1,512 priests, 408 religious priests, 23 recently ordained priests, and 1,0004 vowed religious men. See: AP 1962, 74, 695.

[118] There is no a research which gives a historical and social explanation on the drop of priestly vocations since the Independence. According to Klaiber, the drop of the number of the local clergy was related to three elements. The first was the "romanisation" of the Peruvian Church; second, the liberal reforms that undermined the colonial basis of the Catholic Church; and, third, the lack of pastoral and intellectual creativity to face the socio-political changes in Peru. On the other hand, Lohmann Villena considered that the shortage of clergy had many causes. Among them, the poverty of the Church that forced bishops to reject admissions with scholarships, the civil conflicts which moved many young people into the military life, the loss of Christian life at home, the young men's decision to study new careers such as trade, technic, education, etc., and the loss of prestige of secular clergy. Besides, many parishes had reduced incomes which made them unattractive for native priests. Although, the Peruvian constitutions of 1856 and 1860 established that the State paid the parish priests, canons and prelates; this disposition was only fulfilled for

The three tables below display the number of clergy in Peru. Table 1 collects the information of the Peruvian Ecclesiastical Yearbooks (AEP) of 1951, 1954 and 1960.[119] Between 1951 and 1960, the native clergy, both secular and religious, dropped from 741 to 707. In the same period, the foreign clergy, both secular and religious, increased from 653 to 807. In 1951, there were 581 native secular clergies and 160 native religious, while in 1960, there were 500 native secular priests and 207 native religious. A fall in the number of native secular priests happened over the decade. The opposite occurred for the foreign secular clergy. They increased from 60 foreign secular priests in 1951 to 144 in 1960. Many of the foreign secular priests came after the second half of the 1950s, like the members of the Missionary Society of St. Columban and the Society of St. James founded by the archbishop of Boston, Cardinal Richard Cushing.

Table 1. Native and Foreign Clergy in Peru (1951, 1954, and 1960)

1951[120]				**1954**[121]				**1960**[122]			
Secular clergy		Religious clergy		Secular clergy		Religious clergy		Secular clergy		Religious clergy	
native	foreign	native	foreign	native	foreign	native	foreign	native	foreign	native	foreign
581	60	160	593	575	70	186	671	500	144	207	663

Tables 2, 3 and 4 gathered the information from the Annuario Pontificio. The tables show the slight increase of the total number of clergy from 1,923 in 1959 to 2,338 in 1965, at the end of the council. In 1962, the total number of clerics was 2,129. This growth did not match the Peruvian population growth, which consequences were felt in the missionary and rural regions. While the Peruvian Church grew due to the incorporation of new missionary territory, the number of diocesan priests was quite stable and the number of religious priests increased.

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canons and prelates. Klaiber's and Lohmann's assessments need to be discussed, but they gather data that show the impression of a gradual fall of the number of clerics in Peru along the 20th century. See: Lohmann Villena, "Peru," 188; Klaiber, "La escasez de sacerdotes," 3.

[119] The next AEP was published in 1969.

[120] AEP 1951. On the secular clergy. Only one native clergyman in the diocese of Moyobamba. No foreign clergy registered in the dioceses of Huancavelica and Huancayo. On the religious clergy. No native religious clergy in the dioceses of Huánuco, Huancavelica (only 2 foreign religious) and Chachapoyas (only 2 foreign religious). No native religious clergy also in the prelature of Moyobamba, the apostolic vicariate of San Gabriel del Marañón, and the apostolic prefecture of San Francisco Javier del Marañón. For the diocese of Tacna, no distinction made between native and foreign religious clergy among the 4 religious.

[121] AEP 1954. On the secular clergy. There were no native secular clergy registered in the dioceses of Huancavelica, Ayacucho, Huancayo and the vicariate for the Peruvian army. On the religious clergy. There was no native religious registered for the dioceses of Huaraz, Ica, Huancavelica, Chachapoya and Huánuco, the apostolic vicariates of San Gabriel del Marañón and Iquitos, and the apostolic prefecture of San Francisco Javier del Marañón. There were no foreign religious registered in the diocese of Tacna and the prelature of Moyobamba. There is no distinction made for the total number of native and foreign religious for the apostolic vicariates of San José del Amazonas (14) and Puerto Maldonado (22).

[122] AEP 1960. On the secular clergy. There is no separation made for the total number of native and foreign secular clergy for the archdiocese of Trujillo (a total of 38), the dioceses of Huaraz (40), Chiclayo (28), Ayacucho (42), Huancavelica (27), and the prelatures of Moyobamba (1), Juli (9), Huari (8) and Ayaviri (7). The apostolic vicariates and prefecture had no secular clergy. On the religious clergy. There is no distinction between native and foreign for the archdiocese of Trujillo (a total of 35), the dioceses of Huaraz (15), Chiclayo (27), Abancay (9), the prelatures of Yauyos (9), Juli (14), Huari (7) and Ayaviri (3), and the apostolic vicariates of San José del Amazonas (14) and Pucallpa (12). There were no native religious clergy registered in the dioceses of Ica, Chachapoyas and Huánuco, the apostolic vicariates of San Gabriel del Marañón and Requena, the prelatures of Moyobamba and Sicuani, and the apostolic prefecture of San Francisco Javier del Marañón.

Table 2. Number of clergy in Peru in 1959[123]

	Diocesan priests	Religious priests	New priests	Seminarians
Archdioceses and dioceses	631	811	10	206
Prelatures	61	48	0	12
Vicariates	8	117	1	9
Apostolic Prefecture	0	9	0	0
Total	700	985	11	227

Table 3. Number of clergy in Peru in 1962[124]

	Diocesan priests	Religious priests	New priests	Seminarians
Archdioceses and dioceses	696	861	13	189
Prelatures	80	77	0	25
Vicariates	21	145	1	10
Apostolic Prefecture	0	11	0	0
Total	797	1094	14	224

Table 4. Number of clergy in Peru in 1965[125]

	Diocesan priests	Religious priests	New priests	Seminarians
Archdioceses and dioceses	692	958	12	157
Prelatures	116	163	0	44
Vicariates	9	157	1	11
Apostolic Prefecture	1	15	0	2
Total	818	1293	13	214

The religious women have been always more numerous than priests. In 1959, there were 3,013 nuns in Peru with 286 female religious houses established in the country, while in 1965, the number of female religious increased to 3,919 in 334 houses.[126] The majority of nuns were in the archdioceses and dioceses, and the minority of them lived in the prelatures. The prelature of Yauyos had no female religious in its territory until 1964. Some of the nuns were part of old religious congregations, established before the independence, while other congregations arrived from the second half of the 19th century onwards or were founded to serve in the missions.

Most of the 19th-century congregations took over education and health. Thus, the Congregation of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary founded two important schools for elite

[123] AP 1959, 103-528, 737-762, 773-824, 843-844.
[124] AP 1962, 1-475, 680-701, 709-742, 759.
[125] AP 1965, 9-499, 708-728, 741-773, 788.
[126] See Tables 4 and 5.

girls in Lima, in 1851, and Arequipa, in 1878.[127] Another important female religious institution was the Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus which were invited by the Peruvian government to take over the Women's teacher training college (*Escuela Normal de Mujeres*) in 1876.[128]

Other female institutes were founded to attend missionary territories. In 1913, the first apostolic vicar of Urubamba[129] Ramón Zubieta y Lés OP founded with sister Ascensión Nicol Goñi OP the Congregation of Dominicans of the Holy Rosary to aid the missionary work in the Peruvian Amazonia.[130] Closer to the beginning of the Council, in 1961, Friedrich Kaiser, prelate of Caravelí, founded, with Therese Bonefeld Griesse, known as Sister Wilibrordis,[131] the Pious Union of Missionary Sister of Jesus, Word and Victim, later known as Missionaries of Jesus Word and Victim. The Union's mission was to provide pastoral care to rural and remote areas of the prelature that lacked priests. The nuns fulfilled all the tasks that did not require an ordained minister.[132]

The female religious number was important in the ecclesiastical context of Peru. They were largely present in in archdioceses and dioceses, where the Catholic Church was very well established. Furthermore, the religious women were present in missionary territories, where they had performed support functions related to the shortage of priests. They had different roles in the Peruvian society, like providing education and health care, and also accomplished different kind of pastoral activities in the Church.

Table 5. Number of female religious in Peru in 1959[133]

	Archdioceses and dioceses	**Prelatures**	**Apostolic Vicariates**	**Apostolic Prefecture**	**Total**
Female religious	2,780	28	210	18	3,036
Religious houses	225	5	30	3	263

Table 6. Number of female religious in Peru in 1962[134]

	Archdioceses and dioceses	**Prelatures**	**Apostolic Vicariates**	**Apostolic Prefecture**	**Total**
Female religious	3,149	70	304	25	3,548

[127] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 201-204.
[128] Klaiber, *La Iglesia en el Perú*, 208-211.
[129] In 1900, Leo XIII erected the Apostolic Prefecture of Urubamba and named Fr. Ramón Zubieta y Lés OP as its first prefect. The apostolic prefecture was elevated to Apostolic Vicariate of Urubamba and Madre de Dios in 1913 by Pius X. Finally, in 1949, the vicariate was renamed as Apostolic Vicariate of Puerto Maldonado.
[130] Dominicos España, "Fray Ramón Zubieta," accessed 31st October, 2019 https://www.dominicos.org/quienes-somos/grandes-figuras/personajes/biografia/.
[131] Misioneras de Jesús Verbo y Víctima, "Madre confundadora," accessed on 15th December 2024, https://mjvv.org/madre-confundadora/.
[132] Misioneras de Jesús Verbo y Víctima, "Historia," accessed on 15th December 2024, https://mjvv.org/historia/#
[133] AP 1959, 103-528, 737-762, 773-824, 843-844.
[134] AP 1962, 1-475, 680-701, 709-742, 759.

Religious houses	261	12	37	4	314

Table 7. Number of female religious in Peru in 1965[135]

	Archdioceses and dioceses	**Prelatures**	**Apostolic Vicariates**	**Apostolic Prefecture**	**Total**
Female religious	3,420	173	297	29	3,919
Religious houses	278	25	27	4	334

The shortage of clergy and religious men and women, the lack of seminarians, and the scarcity of established parishes were common problems for many ecclesiastical territories. The Peruvian archdioceses and dioceses concentrated the majority of diocesan and religious priests, religious women and seminarians. The numbers displayed the status of the Church and its structures, but they also reciprocally related to the country's socio-political context. While the cities accrued institutions, including ecclesial ones, the rural areas suffered from a lack of civil and ecclesiastical presence.

3. "The Church in the State of Council": The Expectations for the Council of the Peruvian Catholic Church

3.1. Catholic Activities to Promote the Council (1960-1961)

During the years 1960 and 1961, in Lima and other Peruvian cities, many activities were scheduled concerning the council. Although the pontifical secrecy covered the work of the antepreparatory and preparatory phases, the council raised many expectations among Peruvian Catholics. In Lima, the Archdiocesan journal *El amigo del clero* connected the 18th Synod of the Archdiocese of Lima with the "yearning for renovation" of the ecumenical council. According to the journal, and echoing John XXIII's words, the council "would be a new Pentecost" which "would promote a new age of living faith for the entire Christendom, of more fervent charity, of greater purity of traditions, of unity among all who called themselves Christians."[136] In Arequipa, the priest Salvador Rodríguez wondered about the reaction of Protestants, Anglicans, and Orthodox to the call of John XXIII for a council of unity. For him, "the Catholics and the current hierarchy are clearly oriented towards a unitarian synthesis," that is to say, all the Christian denominations incorporated into the Catholic Church.[137]

On 28 June 1960, after Landázuri was incorporated as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission, he explained to *El amigo del clero* that the council was the "soft and secret breath of the Spirit of God" received with hope in the Christian world.[138] Nevertheless, the lack of information was commonplace in the Catholic world.[139] It produced some speculation, such as

[135] AP 1965, 9-499, 708-728, 741-773, 788.
[136] *El amigo del Clero*, nº 1615 (December, 1959), 380.
[137] Salvador Rodríguez, "El XXI Concilio Ecuménico," *El Deber* (23rd July, 1959), 4.
[138] *El amigo del Clero*, nº 1621-1623 (June, July, August, 1960), 166.
[139] Oscar Beozzo, "El clima exterior," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II,* vol. I, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 1999), 331-348.

the information of a possible postponement of the council for 1963.[140] Hence, the expectation of the council was displayed in many ways in the Peruvian Catholic press. Moreover, the lack of information about the council might have to do with the presence of only two Peruvian prelates in the preparatory commissions.

In parallel with the press news, conferences were organised. In Lima in January 1960, during the week of prayer for Christian unity, the auxiliary bishop of Lima, José Dammert, gave a conference intitled "The Coming Council and the Unity of Christians" in the Faculty of Arts of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru. His lecture was published in *El amigo del clero*.[141] Dammert's conference had four sections: a theological explanation of an ecumenical council, a brief overview on the history of councils, the ecclesial attitude concerning the council, and the prospects for the coming council.

In the first section, the bishop pointed out that an ecumenical council was by faith infallible because it represented the infallible teachings of the Church. Nevertheless, he remarked that ecumenical councils were not totally necessary because the Roman Pontiff could, by himself, issue new doctrinal definitions. He asserted: "Essentially, there is not any distinction between a pontifical definition and a conciliar definition."[142] Dammert's definition of a council and its relationship with papal infallibility fitted with the ecclesiological interpretation of Vatican I. His theological view lacked a theology of the episcopate. Dammert only had in mind a theology of the papal infallibility over the Church gathered in a council.

On the issue of the unity of Christians, Dammert considered the council as the "solemn framework" for the "longing to find the unity of all believers in Christ, Son of God." For Dammert, the new desire for Christian unity had been favoured by the biblical, Patristic and liturgical renewal movements within the Catholic Church. The encyclicals *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943) and *Mediator Dei* (1947) and Pius XII's authorization of a new Latin translation of the Psalter fostered the theological renewal. Moreover, the prelate asserted that the encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi* (1943) and the Catholic Action movements had awakened among the laity a new awareness of being living members of the Church.[143] Dammert, who supported the unity of Christians, had a positive reading of the theological renewal, his reception in the pontifical magisterial and the increasingly active role of laypeople in the Church.

The prelate also found that the migrations – triggered by WWII and the "opposite ideologies" such as Nazism and communism – induced coexistence among Christians. Dammert proposed two examples. The first was the use of Protestant temples by Catholics to celebrate the Mass, and vice-versa in Germany. And the second was the erection of the Orthodox parish of the Holy Trinity by Russian immigrants near the Seminary of Santo Toribio in Lima. Thus, "the common suffering of all Christians" had fostered "the union of believers in Christ."[144] Finally, Dammert quoted the French Jesuit Charles Boyer to say that "the reunion [the unity of the Church] is not the unilateral acceptance of the Catholic truth, but a rich exchange and a reciprocal

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[140] "II Concilio Ecuménico Aplazaría S.S. a 1963," *El Deber* (11th April, 1962), 2. The article asserted that the information came from informed people ("entendidos"). They affirmed that a lot of paramount work needed to be done on the issues that will be discussed in the council.

[141] José Dammert Bellido, "El próximo concilio y la unidad de los cristianos," *El amigo del clero* nº 1621-1623 (June, July, August, 1960): 195-204.

[142] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 196. He added that "When there is a dissent, the infallibility is with the bishops who adhere to the Roman Pontiff.".

[143] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 200-201. Dammert quoted the works of Romano Guardini, Cardinal Emmanuel Célestin Suhard, Charles Boyer, Pius Parsch and Karl Adam.

[144] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 202.

communication towards the fullness of Christians."[145] He added that from the path towards unity, Catholics could learn about grace from Lutherans, the Bible from Calvinists, austerity in the religious service from Anglicans, and a real sense of mystical life from the Slav religion.[146] For Dammert, the term "unity of Christians" referred to the Catholic efforts towards unity within the Catholic Church and truth, but in an enriching process for the Catholic doctrinal development. He only used once the term "ecumenical movement" as another effort towards unity, which the Holy Office acknowledged in 1949 as the "action of the Holy Spirit working nowadays in the non-Roman Christian community."[147]

The prelate ended his lecture by recalling the bishops' role during the last one hundred years on paramount ecclesial issues. Dammert mentioned the large consultations made by the Holy See for the dogmatic declarations of the Immaculate Conception by Pius IX and of the Assumption by Pius XII, for the new Code of Canon Law by Benedict XV, and the preparatory works for the coming council requested by John XXIII. Nevertheless, for the auxiliary bishop, the council would not be exempt from dissident and partisan attitudes because the Fathers had different formations. Coincidentally or not, he foresaw the coming council and its different theological positions.

He concluded with a reflection about the conciliar reception. The work of a council did not finish with the conciliar agreements, for it required one or two Christian generations for a council could penetrate Christians' lives and souls. Hence, after the council, its fruits needed to be implemented not only by the council Fathers but also by theologians.[148] In sum, for Dammert, the coming council was – quoting John XXIII's words – "one of the greatest mysteries in history, which will be the mystery of the Lord's mercy for all peoples."[149]

Besides this conference, during the 1960 academic year, the Faculty of Theology of Lima organised many conferences related to the council. In Arequipa, Dammert gave a TV interview about the council. Similarly, the Catholic bulletin "Florecillas de San Antonio" edited by the Franciscan from Arequipa included a section for the ecumenical council.[150] However, these public activities did not appear to be sufficient for promoting a council.

In April 1961, the papal nuncio Romolo Carboni informed the General Secretary of the Central Preparatory Commission of the activities planned in Peru during 1960 and the first months of 1961. The Nuncio requested the jurisdictions their list of activities. In these activities nine dioceses, five prelatures and three apostolic vicariates participated. Two types of activities are identified. The first is related to the promotion among the faithful of prayers, personal sacrifices and the recitation of the holy rosary, all of them offered for the success of the council. In addition to these pious activities, the priests were commissioned to speak about the council during their Sunday preaching. The second group of activities was the publication of articles and news related

[145] Dammert did not quote which Boyer's text he was referring. However, for Boyer the reunion means that the separated brethren first have to return to the Catholic Church and, then, bring their own gifts.
[146] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 203.
[147] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 202. Dammert was referring to the Instruction *De motione oecumenica* issued in December, 1949 by the Holy Office.
[148] It is remarkable that Dammert did not consider the faithful as executors of the implementation of the conciliar agreements.
[149] Dammert, "El próximo concilio," 204-205.
[150] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 318, fasc. 1. "Letter of Juan Landázuri Ricketts to Pericle Felici" (Lima, 29th April, 1961).

to the council in local and diocesan newspapers and the organisation of conferences and courses about the council. The conferences and courses were broadcasted in the press and on the radio.[151]

The first group of activities came mainly from the prelatures and apostolic vicariates. Only the prelature of Ayaviri organised a conference about the council and its possibilities for seminarians. To promote the council, why prelatures and apostolic vicariates did focus on pious activities rather than conferences and formation? It seems to correspond appropriately to their traditional understanding of the Church and their notion of mission, as primarily *plantatio ecclesiae*. The situation of these jurisdictions as missionary territories meant that they were territories without a majority of Christians, and the Church, hence, was in the process of growing and implantation.

3.2. The Bishops' Letters on Vatican II and the Petition of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference

On 23rd December 1960, the Franciscan archbishop of Arequipa, Leonardo José Rodríguez Ballón, published a pastoral letter, "The Catholic Doctrine and Communism."[152] The text was part of the prelate's endorsement of Peruvian president Manuel Prado Ugarteche's message to the nation on the danger of communism in Latin America and Peru. Rodríguez Ballón based his pastoral letter mainly on Pius XI's encyclical *Divini redemptoris* on atheistic communism (19th March 1937). The archbishop did not mention the proximity of the council. The pastoral letter was mainly an ideological opposition to Communism, which characterised the Catholic political movements during those years. Since the beginning of the 20th century, the left groups had competed with Catholic lay movements and Franciscan groups for the workers and popular sectors. Besides, political situation in Arequipa was divided between left and Catholic groups and movements, which had conflicting worldviews.[153]

Prior to the beginning of Vatican II, in 1962, Rodríguez Ballón published a pastoral exhortation in which he explained the council. According to the archbishop, "the Church, the Kingdom of God on the earth," was not alien to the transformation of the world. He considered the "perfectly structured" social doctrine as the solution for the communist and capitalist menaces. He also described internal challenges for the Church, such as the lack of priests in Latin America and the presence of a reformist movement inside the Church. Another question was the new conscience of the lay people (*laicado católico*) who "desire to live their Christianism with the complete exigences of faith and lives as active members of the Mystical Body of Christ." The bishop asked his subjects to pray, attend mass, and not attend social events (theatres, dance events, etc.) to keep the pious and prayer spirit during the conciliar time.[154]

In January 1960, the Peruvian Episcopal Conference met in Lima. The prelates agreed to ask Pope John XXIII to consecrate the world to the Holy Spirit in the Council. On 13th February 1960, Landázuri sent a letter to Domenico Tardini, the Secretary of State. In his letter, Landázuri affirmed that the consecration would have many fruits for the council and the entire Church.

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[151] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 319, fasc. 3. "Settembre 1961."
[152] Leonardo José Rodríguez Ballón, *La Doctrina Católica y el Comunismo. Carta Pastoral* (Arequipa, 23rd December 1960).
[153] For the Arequipa Church, the opposition to communism was at the ideological level, but also social commitment played a role. See: Nalvarte Lozada, Juan Carlos, "Representación de la guerra civil española por la prensa escrita arequipeña (1936 -1939)," *HiSTOReLo. Revista de Historia Regional y Local*, 10, 21 (2019): 173-210; Iberico Ruiz, "La Roma del Perú," 86-117.
[154] Leonardo José Rodríguez Ballón, "Exhortación pastoral con motivo del Concilio Ecuménico Vaticano II," *El Deber* (18th September 1962), 1.

Along with this letter, there was the request addressed to Pope John XXIII. Landázuri probably drafted the petition of the Episcopal Conference, which was based on the idea of the dangers of material and moral disorders and the menace of war.

The archbishop explained that the material and moral disorders were treated by the Social Week organised by the CEP and other Catholic groups in 1959. However, Landázuri asserted that the socio-doctrinal dimension differed from the spirituality, which offered the most crucial remedy for these "great evils." This spiritual remedy was the consecration of the world to the Holy Spirit. For Landázuri and his peers, this sacred and spiritual dedication also would foster the steadfastness of faith, charity, the purity of traditions, the fraternal union of all in Christ, Christian social justice, and true peace.[155] This was the only collective document of the CEP directly related to the beginning of the Second Vatican Council.

In Lima, Juan Landázuri published two pastoral exhortations in 1961 and 1962. In his Pastoral Exhortation of 21st June 1961, archbishop Landázuri developed and explained the main purpose of the council: the renovation of the entire life of the Church.[156] For him, the Church was "in the state of Council." On the renewal of the Church, Landázuri asserted:

> "The Church is not of the world, but she lives in the world, and she cannot remain impassive in the swaying of the forms that the world is adopting, which are subject to ageing and expiration. Renewal and adaptation are therefore necessary: renewal in the vigour of faith and doctrine, renewal in administrative and disciplinary structures, renewal in the religious and liturgical life of ecclesiastics and laity, renewal in the forms of apostolate, renewal, finally, in the consolidation of Christian principles, by which the development of civil, economic, political and social life is governed".[157]

For the Peruvian archbishop, the renewal of the Church was related to the "swaying forms that the world is adopting". The renovation, hence, was connected to the reality in which the Church was established. This aspect of his idea of Church renewal was influential during his involvement in the Preparatory phase as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission. As a member of the Central Preparatory Commission, Landázuri's idea of renewal incorporated the views coming from other Fathers.

Finally, before departing at the beginning of Vatican II in 1962, the archbishop explained that the council was not an international conference or a scientific congress but an assembly guided by the Holy Spirit. Hence, Landázuri requested the faithful's active collaboration through "their prayers and the intensification of their Christian life."[158] From Rome, Landázuri asserted to a local newspaper *El Comercio* that "the Ecumenical Council is the largest hope for humanity now under the menace of atheistic and Marxist materialism."[159]

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[155] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 601, fasc. 1. "Letter of Juan Landázuri Ricketts to Domenico Tardini" (Lima, 13th February, 1960). In the same busta, there are 25 more petitions requesting the consecration of the world to the Holy Spirit.

[156] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 396, fasc. 18. "Card. Juan Landázuri Ricketts."

[157] "La Iglesia no es del mundo, pero vive en el mundo, y no puede quedar impasible en el vaivén de las formas que el mundo va adoptando, y que están sujetas a envejecimiento y caducidad. Se impone, pues, la renovación y la adaptación: renovación en el vigor de la fe y de la doctrina, renovación en las estructuras administrativas y disciplinares, renovación en la vida religiosas y litúrgica de los eclesiásticos y de los laicos, renovación en las formas de apostolado, renovación, en fin, en al consolidación de los principios cristianos, por los que se rige el desenvolvimiento de la vida civil, económica, política y social." AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 396, fasc. 18.

[158] Juan Landázuri Ricketts, "Exhortación pastoral con motivo del Concilio Ecuménico Vaticano II," *El amigo del clero*, nº 1948 (1962), 250-252.

[159] *El Comercio*. Sunday edition (7th October, 1962), 1.

For Lent 1962, the bishop of Chiclayo, Daniel Figueroa Villón, wrote a pastoral letter in which he explained the importance of the Second Vatican Council. Figueroa Villón mentioned that the Church as the "mystical body of Christ" involved all the baptised under different levels of authority. In the parishes, the parish priests represented the bishop, who was a successor of the Apostles and was united to the Roman Pontiff. The bishops and the Pope were the "teaching Church" (*Ecclesia docens*) whose "dogmatic and moral" solutions were infallible because of Christ's power granted to the Pope.[160] The ecclesiological view of Figueroa, rooted in papal infallibility and Vatican I teachings, corresponded with the predominant ecclesiology in the Catholic Church, boosted by Pius XII. His position also lacked a theology of the episcopate because the bishops' authority was said to be derived from papal infallibility.

For Figueroa Villón, the Council would be a "medical examination" (*chequeo*) to know the status of the different organs of the Church: the Roman curia, the dioceses, the parishes, the families, and every faithful. One of his main worries was the religious ignorance of the faithful.[161] Hence, Figueroa Villón considered that the teaching and sanctifying duties were the two primary manners to support the Church's mission, which "is identical to Christ's mission."[162] The letter concluded with a calling for lay people (*seglares*) to request them to follow the episcopal authority, to have a Eucharistic life, to pray, and to practice charity.[163] Although Figueroa Villón died in 1967, he did not participate in any of the four sessions of Vatican II because of a stroke.

4. The Peruvian Bishops and Prelates Who Participated at Vatican II (1962-1965)

The Peruvian bishops and prelates had very diverse origins and education. In 1965, 30 bishops and prelates had a religious affiliation and 14 were diocesan bishops. Among the religious bishops and prelates, there were five Franciscans,[164] three Dominicans, two Carmelites, two Augustinians, two Sacred Hearts, two Salesians, two Passionists, two Opus Dei, one Redemptorist, one Maryknoll, one missionary of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, one Oblate, one Missionary of the Sons of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, one Vincentian, one Augustinian Recollect, one Jesuit, one member of the Third Order Regular of St Francis, and one member of the Society of Foreign Missions of the Province of Quebec.

Carlos Alberto Arce, bishop of Piura, never attended the Council and died on 6th January 1963. The auxiliary bishop, Erasmo Hinojosa Hurtado took over the diocese as a residential bishop. Nemesio Rivera, who participated in the third and fourth session, held the title of titular bishop of Diospoli Superiore from July 1961. He had been the first bishop of Huacho between 1958 to 1960, when he was moved to Cajamarca. Because of disagreements with the presbyters and faithful of Cajamarca, he renounced to the diocese in July 1961.[165] Finally, on 6th December

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[160] Daniel Figueroa Villón, *Carta pastoral referente al próximo Concilio Vaticano II. Cuaresma 1962* (Chiclayo, 11th March, 1962), 2-4.
[161] Figueroa Villón, *Carta pastoral*, 5.
[162] Figueroa Villón, *Carta pastoral*, 7-11.
[163] Figueroa Villón, *Carta pastoral*, 15-16.
[164] In 1914, the Peruvian Franciscan province was divided in two: the Province of the Twelve Apostles and the Province of Saint Francis Solano. The latter had a missionary profile and the majority of its members came from Spain.
[165] Martin Scheuch, "El extraño exilio burgués de un obispo peruano" (12th December 2015), accessed on 20th January 2025, https://laslineastorcidas.wordpress.com/2015/12/12/el-extrano-exilio-burgues-de-un-obispo-peruano/.

1965, Carlos María Jurgens was transferred from Cusco to the archdiocese of Trujillo by Pope Paul VI.

Table 8. Participation of Peruvian prelates at Vatican II sessions (1962-1965)

Ecclesiastical jurisdiction	Name	First Session 1962	Second Session 1963	Third Session 1964	Fourth Session 1965
Archdiocese of Arequipa	Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón, OFM	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Puno	Julio Gonzales Ruiz, SDB	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Tacna	Alfonso Zaplana Belliza	attended	attended	attended	
Prelature of Ayaviri	Lucien Metzinger, SSCC	attended	attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Caravelí	Federico Kaiser, MSC	attended	attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Juli	Fr. Edward L. Fedders, MM	attended	attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Chuquibamba	Redento Maria Gauci, O Carm.	attended	attended	attended	attended
Archdiocese of Cusco	Carlos María Jurgens Byrne, CSsR	attended	attended	attended	attended
	Elías Prado Tello				attended
Diocese of Abancay	Alcides Mendoza Castro	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Ayacucho	Otoniel Alcedo Culquicóndor, SDB	attended	attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Sicuani	Nevin Hayes, O Carm.	attended	attended	attended	attended
Archdiocese of Lima	Card. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, OFM	attended	attended	attended	attended
	Fidel Tubino Mongilardi		attended		attended
	Mario Cornejo Radavero		attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Huacho	Pablo Ramírez Taboada, SS.CC	attended		attended	
Diocese of Huánuco	Ignacio Arbulú Pineda	attended		attended	
Diocese of Huaraz	Teodosio Moreno Quintana	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Huancavelica	Florencio Coronado Romani	attended	attended		attended
Diocese of Huancayo	Mariano Jacinto Valdivia y Órtiz	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Ica	Alberto Dettmann Aragón, OP	attended	attended		attended
Prelature of Huari	Marco Libardoni, OSJ	attended	attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Tarma	Antonio Kühner y Kühner, MFSC	attended	attended	attended	attended

Prelature of Yauyos	Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicochea, Opus Dei	attended	attended	attended	attended
Archdiocese of Trujillo	Federico Pérez Silva, CM	attended	attended		
Diocese of Cajamarca	José Dammert Bellido	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Chachapoyas	José German Benavides Morriberón		attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Chiclayo	Daniel Figueroa Villón				
	Luis Sánchez-Moreno Lira, Opus Dei	attended	attended	attended	attended
Diocese of Piura	Carlos Alberto Arce Masías		+		
	Erasmo Hinojosa Hurtado	attended	attended		attended
Prelature of Chimbote	James Charles Burke, OP				attended
Prelature of Chota	Florentino Armas Llerena, OAR		attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Chulucanas	John Conway McNabb, OSA			attended	attended
Prelature of Huamachuco	Damian Nicolau Roig, TOR		attended	attended	attended
Prelature of Moyobamba	Martín Fulgencio Elorza Legaristi, CP	attended	attended		attended
Apostolic Vicariate of Iquitos	Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda, OSA	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of Pucallpa	Joseph Roland Gustave Prévost, PME	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of Puerto Maldonado	Javier Ariz Huarte, OP	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of Requena	Valeriano Luis Arroyo, OFM	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of San José de Amazonas	José Dámaso Laberge, OFM	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of San Román	León de Uriarte Bengoa, OFM	attended	attended	attended	attended
Apostolic Vicariate of San Gabriel de la Dolorosa del	Gregorio Elías Olazar Muruaga, CP	attended	attended	attended	attended

Marañón (Yurimaguas)					
Apostolic Prefecture of San Francisco Javier	Antonio De Hornedo Correa, SJ		attended	attended	attended
	Nemesio Rivera Meza. Appointed bishop of Cajamarca in January 1960. He renounced in July 1961. Titular bishop of Diospoli Superiore since 8th July, 1961.			attended	attended
	Romolo Carboni, titular bishop of Sidone. Apostolic nuncio in Peru (1959-1969)	attended	attended	attended	attended
Total number of Participant Fathers		**34**	**38**	**36**	**40**

4.1. A Short Presentation of the Peruvian Fathers Who Attended the Second Vatican Council[166]

4.1.1. Ecclesiastical Province of Arequipa

a. Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón, OFM, archbishop of Arequipa[167]

- Date of Birth: 10th March 1909
- Date of Death: 6th October 1992
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies at the Franciscan Convent of Santa Rosa of Ocopa (Huancayo).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Lima in 1943 and transferred to the archdiocese of Arequipa in 1946.

b. Julio Gonzáles Ruiz, SDB, bishop of Puno[168]

- Date of Birth: 15th July 1923
- Date of Death: 06th January 1986
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: doctorate in Sacred Theology at the Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano (Rome) in 1954.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Puno on 2nd March 1959.

[166] When there is no footnote on the name of the bishop/prelate, the reference comes from *Catholic Hierarchy*, accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.catholic-hierarchy.org.
[167] Álvaro Espinoza de la Borda, *In Te, Domine speravi. Monseñor Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón y la arquidiócesis de Arequipa* (Arequipa: Cabildo Metropolitano de Arequipa, 2011), 33-44.
[168] "Monseñor Julio González Ruiz. Bodas de plata sacerdotales," *Boletín Salesiano. Revista de la familia salesiana*, July-August 1977, nº 71, 16

c. Alfonso Zaplana Belliza, bishop of Tacna[169]

- Date of Birth: 20th January 1912
- Date of Death: 28th April 1973
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies at the Seminary of Santo Toribio (Lima).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Trujillo in July 1952 and transferred to the diocese of Tacna in December 1957.

d. Lucien Metzinger, SSCC, prelate of Ayaviri[170]

- Date of birth: 27th December 1910
- Date of Death: 23th October 1992
- Nationality: French
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies at Châteaudun (France) and at the Pontifical Gregorian University (Rome) (1927-1935).
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in 1954. Appointed prelate in 1958 and ordained bishop of Ayaviri in 1964.

e. Friedrich Kaiser, MSC, prelate of Caravelí[171]

- Date of birth: 24th may 1903
- Date of Death: 26th September 1993
- Nationality: German
- Studies: Theological studies at the Seminary of the Congregation of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart (MSC).
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in 1939. Between 1950 and 1956, advisor of the women's youth branch of the Catholic Action. Appointed prelate in 1958 and ordained bishop of Ayaviri in 1963.

f. Edward L. Fedders, MM, prelate of Juli[172]

- Date of birth: 4th December 1913
- Date of Death: 11th March 1973
- Nationality: American
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Superior of all South America (1952-1957). Appointed prelate in August 1957 and ordained bishop of Juli in December 1963.

g. Redento Maria Gauci, O Carm, prelate of Chuquibamba

- Date of birth: 27th December 1920
- Date of Death: 10th February 1978

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[169] Diócesis de Tacna y Moquegua, "Episcopologio," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://diocesisdetacnaymoquegua.org/episcologico/.

[170] Gastón Garatea, "Semblanza de Mons. Luciano Metzinger, ss.cc.," in *Luciano Metzinger, hombre libre por la fe. Semblanzas y textos* (Lima: CEP,1995), 9-39; "El primer obispo de Ayaviri. Monseñor Luciano Metzinger," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.punomagico.com/Personaje%20religioso%20Luciano%20metzinger.htm.

[171] Misioneras de Jesús Verbo y Víctima, "Federico Kaiser. Biografía," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://mjvv.org/federico-kaiser/biografia/.

[172] "U.S. Missionaries Named Ordinaries in New Guinea, Peru," *The Catholic Northwest Progress*, vol. 60, nº 30, (16th August 1957): 6, accessed on 28th January 2025, https://thecatholicnewsarchive.org/?a=d&d=CATHNWP19570816-02.2.74.2&e=-------en-20--1--txt-txIN--------.

- Nationality: Maltese
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed prelate of Chuquibamba in June 1962 and ordained bishop in 1967.

4.1.2. Ecclesiastical Province of Cusco

a. Carlos María Jurgens Byrne, CSsR, archbishop of Cusco

- Date of birth: 28th April 1903
- Date of Death: 6th October 1980
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Huancavelica in January 1949, and transferred to the archdiocese of Cusco in February 1954. In December 1965, he was transferred to the archdiocese of Trujillo.

b. Elías Prado Tello, auxiliary bishop of Cusco

- Date of birth: 18th September 1910
- Date of Death: 14th February 2002
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Cuzco in November 1963.

c. Alcides Mendoza Castro, bishop of Abancay[173]

- Date of birth: 14th March 1928
- Date of Death: 20th June 2012
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Philosophical studies in Arequipa, and theological studies at the Faculty of Theology in Lima.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Abancay in April 1958, and in December 1962, became residential bishop of Abancay.

d. Otoniel Alcedo Culquicóndor, SDB, bishop of Ayacucho

- Date of birth: 3rd July 1914
- Date of Death: 20th June 1997
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Chachapoyas in February 1953, and in August 1958, bishop of Ayacucho.

e. Nevin Hayes, O Carm, prelate of Sicuani

- Date of birth: 17th February 1922
- Date of Death: 12th July1988
- Nationality: American
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed prelate in January 1959 and ordained bishop in May 1965.

[173] Diócesis de Abancay, accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.diocesisdeabancay.org/nuestra-diocesis/testigos-en-la-historia

4.1.3. Ecclesiastical Province of Lima

a. Juan Landázuri Ricketts, OFM, archbishop of Lima[174]

- Date of birth: 19th December 1913
- Date of Death: 16th January 1997
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies at the Franciscan Convent of Santa Rosa of Ocopa (Huancayo). Doctorate in Canon Law at the Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum (Rome).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed archbishop coadjutor of Lima in May 1952 and took over the archdiocese in May 1955.

b. Fidel Tubino Mongilardi, auxiliary bishop of Lima[175]

- Date of birth: 31th December 1909
- Date of Death: 1st February 1973
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Doctor of Law and license in Sacred Theology.
- Ecclesiastical office: Rector of PUCP (1953-1962). Appointed auxiliary bishop of Lima in February 1956.

c. Mario Cornejo Radavero, auxiliary bishop of Lima

- Date of birth: 27th October 1927
- Date of Death: 22th November 2015
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Doctorate in canon law at the Pontifical Lateran University.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Lima in February 1961.

d. Pablo Ramírez Taboada, SS.CC, bishop of Huacho[176]

- Date of birth: 5th October 1909
- Date of Death: 19th December 1966
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies in Chile.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Cajamarca in September 1947 and transferred to diocese of Huacho, for health reasons, in January 1960.

e. Ignacio Arbulú Pineda, bishop of Huánuco

- Date of birth: 1st February 1909
- Date of Death: 6th April 1979
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop in February 1959.

[174] Iberico, "El Cardenal Juan Landázuri Ricketts," 104-105.
[175] PUCP. Galería de Rectores. Monseñor Fidel Tubino Mongiliardi, accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.pucp.edu.pe/rector/monsenor-fidel-tubino-mongilardi/.
[176] Víctor Nomberto, "Diócesis de Huacho," accessed on 28th January 2025, http://blog.pucp.edu.pe/blog/victornomberto/2017/01/20/diocesis-de-huacho/

f. Teodosio Moreno Quintana, prelate of Huáraz

- Date of birth: 28th May 1898
- Date of Death: 4th November 1981
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Cajamarca in December 1940 and transferred to Huánuco in June 1947. In December 1956, he was moved to Huáraz.

g. Florencio Coronado Romani, CSsR, bishop of Huancavelica

- Date of birth: 23th May 1908
- Date of Death: 25th February 2006
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies in Belgium (where he was ordained priest in 1938).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop in December 1956.

h. Mariano Jacinto Valdivia y Órtiz, bishop of Huancayo[177]

- Date of birth: 11th September 1895
- Date of Death: 30th June 1982
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Studied canon law at the Pontifical Gregorian University (Rome).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Huaraz in December 1940 and transferred to Huancayo in December 1956.

i. Alberto Dettmann Aragón, OP, bishop of Ica[178]

- Date of birth: 10th November 1902
- Date of Death: 28th January 1982
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies in Leuven, Belgium.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Huancavelica in September 1945, transferred to Puno in June 1948 and moved to Ica in February 1959.

j. Marco Libardoni, OSJ, prelature of Huari[179]

- Date of birth: 29th June 1907
- Date of Death: 25th October 1966
- Nationality: Italian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in the late 1940s. Appointed prelate in May 1958, and ordained bishop in November 1964

[177] Diócesis de Huancayo, "Monseñor Mariano Jacinto Valdivia y Ortiz," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://arzobispadodehuancayo.org/mons-valdivia/
[178] Federico Salas Guevara, "Llegada del primer Obispo de Huancavelica (27th August 2019)," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://huancavelicaenlahistoria.photo.blog/2019/08/27/1945-llegada-del-primer-obispo-a-huancavelica/
[179] Edwin Limas Falcon, "Congregación Oblatos de San José," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.expreso.com.pe/opinion/congregacion-oblatos-de-san-jose/

k. Antonio Kühner y Kühner, MFSC, prelate of Tarma[180]

- Date of birth: 1st May 1914
- Date of Death: 22th January 1991
- Nationality: German
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Parish priest in Huánuco in 1950s. Appointed prelate in May 1958, and ordained bishop in September 1964.

l. Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicoechea, Opus Dei, prelate of Yauyos[181]

- Date of birth: 25th March 1922
- Date of Death: 4th May 1998
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Medicine at the Central University of Madrid and the University of Seville. Theological studies at the Pontifical Lateran University (Rome) between 1954-1956.
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in July 1953 to established the Opus Dei in Peru. Appointed prelate in April 1957, and ordained bishop in October 1963.

4.1.4. Ecclesiastical Province of Trujillo

a. Federico Pérez Silva, CM, archbishop of Trujillo[182]

- Date of birth: 7th February 1903
- Date of Death: 16th October 1965
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies in the religious seminary in Chile.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Lima in September 1946, and appointed coadjutor bishop of Piura in May 1952. In January 1953, he assumed the diocese of Piura and transferred to the archdiocese of Trujillo in June 1957.

b. José Dammert Bellido, bishop of Cajamarca[183]

- Date of birth: 20th August 1917
- Date of Death: 10th September 2008
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Doctorate in civil law at the University of Pavia, Italy (1934-1938) and theological studies at the Faculty of Theology of Lima, Peru (1942-1946).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliar bishop of Lima in April 1958 and transferred to Cajamarca in March 1962.

c. José Germán Benavides Morriberón, bishop of Chachapoyas

- Date of birth: 17th March 1920
- Date of Death: 1st June 1985
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop in August 1958.

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[180] Diócesis de Huánuco, "San Pedro," accessed on 28th January 2025, http://diocesisdehuanuco.com/san-pedro/
[181] Prieto Celi, *Don Ignacio*, 27-34, 45-64.
[182] Biografías de misioneros paúles, "P. Federico Pérez Silva CM," accessed on 28th January 2025, http://vincentians.com/es/p-federico-perez-silva-c-m/
[183] Espinoza, "Monseñor José Dammert Bellido," 252-255.

d. Daniel Figueroa Villón, bishop of Chiclayo[184]

- Date of birth: 16th August 1902
- Date of Death: 30th January 1967
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Theological studies at the Seminary of Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (Lima) and canon law at the Faculty of Theology of Lima.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop of Arequipa in April 1945, and transferred to Huancayo in September 1946. He was transferred to the diocese of Chiclayo in December 1956.

e. Luis Sánchez-Moreno Lira, auxiliary bishop of Chiclayo[185]

- Date of birth: 12th November 1925
- Date of Death: 28th September 2009
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Doctorate in civil law at the Central University of Madrid and doctorate in canon law at the Angelicum (Rome)
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed auxiliary bishop in April 1961.

f. Carlos Alberto Arce Masías, bishop of Piura[186]

- Date of birth: 24th November 1903
- Date of Death: 06th January 1963
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies at the Pius Latin American College and the Pontifical Gregorian University (Rome).
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Tacna in July 1945, and transferred to the diocese of Huánuco in December 1956. Appointed bishop of Piura in February 1959.

g. Erasmo Hinojosa Hurtado, auxiliary bishop of Piura

- Date of birth: 25th November 1914
- Date of Death: 06th August 1977
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed coadjutor Bishop of Piura, Peru in May 1961, and took over the diocese of Piura in January 1963.

h. James Charles Burke, OP, prelate of Chimbote

- Date of birth: 30th November 1926
- Date of Death: 28th May 1994
- Nationality:
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed prelate in March 1965.

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[184] Diócesis de Huancayo, "Monseñor Daniel Figueroa Villón," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://arzobispadodehuancayo.org/mons-figueroa/

[185] "Falleció Mons. Luis Sánchez-Moreno Lira, arzobispo emérito de Arequipa," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.padrenuestro.net/fallecio-mons-luis-sanchez-moreno-lira-arzobispo-emerito-de-arequipa/

[186] APCPL, Nº 1076: Arce Masías, Carlos Alberto.

i. Florentino Armas Llerena, ORSA, prelate of Chota[187]

- Date of birth: 16th October 1900
- Date of Death: 25th November 1979
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies at the regional Spanish ORSA convents of San Millán and Marcilla.
- Ecclesiastical office: Missionary in Venezuela (1927-1950). Third Advisor of his Order in Rome (1950-1962). Appointed prelate in April 1963.

j. John Conway McNabb, OSA

- Date of birth: 11th December 1925
- Date of Death: 26th February 2016
- Nationality: American
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed Prelate of Chulucanas, Peru in March 1964.

k. Damian Nicolau Roig, TOR

- Date of birth: 29th October 1907
- Date of Death: 9th august 1998
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed prelate in October 1963.

l. Martín Fulgencio Elorza Legaristi, CP

- Date of birth: 30th December 1899
- Date of Death: 30th December 1966
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed apostolic administrator of Moyobamba in January 1949 and bishop prelate of Moyobamba in 1953.

4.1.5. Apostolic Vicariates and Prefecture

a. Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda, OSA, apostolic vicar of Iquitos[188]

- Date of birth: 19th September 1893
- Date of Death: 4th September 1985
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Ecclesiastical and theological studies at the Royal Seminary College of Valladolid, at La Vid, in Barcelona and finally in Peru in 1924.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed apostolic vicar of Iquitos in May 1955.

[187] Emiliano Cisneros, "Semblanza de monseñor Florentino Armas, obispo prelado de Chota (1900-1979)," *Recolletio*, nº 38 (2015): 401-417.
[188] J. Álvarez Fernández, "Rodríguez Gamoneda, Ángel (19.9.1893-4.9.1985)," in *Institutum Historicum Augustinianum*, accessed on 28th January 2025, http://iha.augustinians.net/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=114&cntnt01detailtemplate=detcase&cntnt01returnid=194

b. Joseph Roland Gustave Prévost Godard, PME, apostolic vicar of Pucallpa[189]

- Date of birth: 25th October 1914
- Date of Death: 13th November 2005
- Nationality: Canadian
- Studies: Theological studies at the Seminary of Pont-Viau (Laval) of the Foreing Missions.
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed prefect of Lintong (China) in November 1946. Imprisoned by the Chinese communist regime (1951-1954). Elected apostolic vicar of Pucallpa in November 1956.

c. Javier Ariz Huarte, OP, apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado[190]

- Date of birth: 9th July 1910
- Date of Death: 30th September 1995
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Theological studies at San Esteban Convent in Salamanca
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in August 1950 was transferred to Puerto Maldonado. Appointed coadjutor apostolic vicar in February 1952 and took over the vicariate in May 1959.

d. Valeriano Luis Arroyo Paniego, OFM, apostolic vicar of Requena[191]

- Date of birth: 29th November 1890
- Date of Death: 2nd August 1976
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies at the Franciscan convents of Cajamarca, Ocopa and Lima (Peru). He wrote many books on the history of the Franciscan missionary presence in Peru.
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in 1907. Provincial Franciscan Ministry (1944-1952). Appointed apostolic vicar in January 1957.

e. José Dámaso Laberge, OFM, apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas[192]

- Date of birth: 6th October 1900
- Date of Death: 25th December 1968
- Nationality: Canadian
- Studies: Philosophical and theological studies in Québec.
- Ecclesiastical office: Provincial of the Franciscan Province of Saint Joseph of Québec (1942-1946).[193] Appointed apostolic prefect in January 1946, and in July 1955 became the first apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas.

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[189] Gustave Prévost, *Serán mis testigos. Memorias de Monseñor Gustavo Prévost PME. Primer Obispo Vicario de Pucallpa, Perú* (Lima: CAAAP, 1996), 95-137.
[190] Juan José Larrañeta, *Monseñor Javier Miguel Ariz Huarte OP. Semblanza de un hombre bueno* (Lima: Centro Bartolomé de las Casas, Vicariato Apostólico del Puerto Maldonado, Vicariato Regional de Misioneros Dominicos, 2000), 9-12, 16-19.
[191] Álvaro Espinoza de la Borda, "Manejando la pluma para mejor servir la causa de Dios. Los escritores recoletos de Arequipa," in *Arequipa a través del tiempo. Política, cultura y sociedad*, ed. Álvaro Espinoza de la Borda, Fernando Calderón Valenzuela and Lorenzo Tacca Quispe (Arequipa: Centro de Estudios Arequipeños, Universidad Nacional San Agustín de Arequipa, 2008), 132-133.
[192] Vicariato apostólico de San José del Amazonas, "Dámaso Laberge OFM, Primer Vicario Apostólico," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://sanjosedelamazonas.org/damaso-laberge/;
[193] Because of the IIWW, the Canadian missions in Japan were closed and the missionaries expelled. The Holy See put its eyes on Latin America. Hence, as Provincial, Laberge visited the Peruvian Amazonian in

f. León de Uriarte Bengoa, OFM, apostolic vicar of San Ramón[194]

- Date of birth: 28th January 1891
- Date of Death: 19th January 1970
- Nationality: Spanish
- Studies: Theological studies at the Franciscan convents in Peru.
- Ecclesiastical office: Arrived in Peru in 1906. Professor of Theology, Hebrew and Holy Scriptures in Arequipa (Peru). Provincial of the Franciscan Province of San Francisco Solano (1928-1937). Appointed apostolic vicar in July 1940.

g. Gregorio Elías Olazar Muruaga, CP, apostolic vicar of Yurimaguas

- Date of birth: 24th December 1912.
- Date of Death: 26th February 1976.
- Nationality: Spanish.
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed coadjutor vicar of San Gabriel de la Dolorosa del Marañón and took over the vicariate of Yurimaguas in December 1957.

h. Antonio De Hornedo Correa, SJ, apostolic prefect of San Francisco Javier del Marañón[195]

- Date of birth: 23th September 1915
- Date of Death: 10th January 2006
- Nationality: Spanish.
- Studies: Philosophical studies in Chamartín (Madrid) and theological studies in Ireland.
- Ecclesiastical office: Entered the Society of Jesus in Belgium (27th May 1933) because of the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spain. Arrived in Peru in 1962 as Superior of the Jesuit Mission of Marañón. Appointed apostolic prefect in August 1963.

i. Nemesio Rivera Meza

- Date of birth: 11th August 1918
- Date of Death: 9th January 2007
- Nationality: Peruvian
- Studies: ---
- Ecclesiastical office: Appointed bishop of Huacho in May 1958. Transferred to the diocese of Cajamarca, Peru in January 1960. Resigned to his see and appointed titular bishop of Diospolis Superior in 1961.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, according to the ecclesiology and the missiology of the period, the structure of the Peruvian Church became a demi-missionary ecclesiastical territory. The first feature of this was the territorial organisation. From the beginning of the 20th century, many

1944, which was commissioned to the Franciscan by the Apostolic See. See: Jean Hamelin, *Les Franciscains au Canada, 1890-1990* (Québec: Éditions du Septentrion, 1990), 69-70.

[194] Espinoza de la Borda, "Manejando la pluma," 129-131.

[195] Ayuntamiento de Comillas, "Antonio de Hornedo Correa," accessed on 28th January 2025, https://www.aytocomillas.es/comillas/opencms/contenido/Comillas/Historia/Personajes/Antoniohornedo.html.

regions of the Peruvian Church gradually became missionary territories under the jurisdiction of the Sacred Congregation *Propaganda Fide*. In 1959, of the 34 ecclesiastical jurisdictions, 16 were missionary territories: eight prelatures, seven apostolic vicariates and one apostolic prefecture. In June 1962, John XXIII erected the prelature of Chuquibamba.

The larger missionary territories were the apostolic vicariates and the prefecture, which were erected in the Amazonian region.[196] On the other side, prelatures took away territory from the archdioceses and dioceses to promote missions among peasant and indigenous communities in the Peruvian highlands. Among the missionary bishops and prelates, the hierarchy also displayed differences. On the one hand, the very traditionally educated bishops and prelates of the apostolic vicariates, the apostolic prefecture and the Opus Dei prelature had a more classical vision of mission as *plantatio ecclesiae* among the indigenous infidels and peasants. On the other hand, the Southern Andean prelates represented new ways to do pastoral work that intermingled evangelisation with local development. Moreover, those prelatures had more financial resources, and the newly appointed prelates brought ideas with them from their previous engagement in their congregations, which they then invested in missionary work in Peru. For the entire missionary bishops and prelates, the shortage of clergy, the expansion of Evangelical Protestantism, and the fear of communism were common concerns. However, these challenges were treated by them with different pastoral and doctrinal strategies.

A second aspect of a demi-missionary Church was the situation of the clergy. The proportion between the number of clergies and the general population revealed a serious problem in pastoral care, according to the theological ideas of that time. And also, the missiology emphasised the importance of establishing the hierarchy and the clerical institution (seminars, priestly vocations, female religious institutions, etc.) as a guarantee of adequate Christianisation. Most of the clergy were in cities, primarily in the main archdioceses and dioceses of the country, while nearly 60% of the Peruvian population lived in rural territories without pastoral care.

In parallel with the territorial expansion of the Peruvian Church, a gradual renewal within pastoral care and theology emerged because of the challenges of slums and poverty and the arrival of new missionaries for the prelatures. These new perspectives incorporated actors like laypeople and peasant catechists in ecclesial work actively. Moreover, this approach opened areas for pastoral work with social commitment, and the theories of development inspired some perspectives, like the Maryknollers' pastoral in Southern Andes and the Mission for Lima.

Besides, presbyters like Luis Lituma, Gerardo Alarco and José Dammert were well-reputed clergy open to the new theological ideas coming from Europe. They were also willing to discuss new disciplines, such as psychology and social sciences. The renewal also implicated the episcopate. Since 1955, the archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri and the Episcopal Conference had sought to attend the emerging slums pastorally and socially. The Social Week of 1959 attempted to understand the country's socio-political transformation. Likewise, the new missionary congregations brought pioneering pastoral models for the slums and the prelatures. The cooperatives in slums and the catechetical schools for peasants were two examples of innovation in pastoral work in Peru.

The renewal in the pastoral work cohabited with the apologetic-traditional and sacramental style of the rural parishes and the Amazonian missions. Nevertheless, the two pastoral styles had common concerns, such as the spread of communism and Protestantism and

[196] Only the Amazonia represents the 60.6% of the territory of Peru. PNUD, *La Amazonía y la Agenda 2030* (Ciudad de Panamá: PNUD, 2016), 4.

the scarcity of clergy. Then, the Peruvian Catholic Church status had two large non-defined sectors with shared challenges at the eve of the coming ecumenical council. Therefore, the demi-missionary Peruvian Church had the basis for her renewal placed on the eve of the council.

Finally, between 1959 and 1962, the Peruvian prelates displayed their expectations on the coming council. Some of them prepared pastoral letters, participated in public lectures and organised conferences concerning the council and the main Church doctrines. These public appearances showed the different perspectives on the ecclesial renewal and the principal problems the Church faced on the threshold of the council. They were also expressions of the two main trends inside the Peruvian Church.

Therefore, at the beginning of Vatican II, the Catholic Church in Peru was in "a state of Council." This situation had many meanings for the Peruvian prelates depending on their views on the Church and the world and their pastoral concerns. Many expected that the Council would ratify the Church's doctrinal, moral, and canonical teachings. The majority of the Peruvian bishops and prelates arrived at Rome with traditional expectations like the consecration of the Holy Spirit and the condemnation of communism. These worries co-existed with a new awareness of the pastoral challenges for the Church. Hence, others supported a gradual renewal of canonical structures of the Church to improve pastoral work. Consequently, the experience of being part of the Council changed them radically because both the traditional group and the gradual renewal group were the ground for their "conciliar experience."

FIRST PART. THE PERUVIAN CHURCH DURING THE ANTEPREPARATORY AND PREPARATORY PHASES FOR THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1959-1962)

CHAPTER II. THE *VOTA* OF THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE FOR THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL (1959-1960)

On 25th January 1959, Pope John XXIII convened a council to deal with the situation of the universal Church. Together with the council, John XXIII convened a Roman synod and announced the update of the Code of Canon Law.[197] At the very first moment, there was lack of concrete information on the themes the council would deal with. For the outer world, the conciliar issues were not precise enough. For instance, in Arequipa, the day after the Pope's announcement, the Catholic newspaper *El Deber* remarked on its front page that the conciliar goal was to unify Christendom which included the Orthodox Church and the Catholic Church of Communist China.[198] Within five months the Pope erected the Antepreparatory Commission on 17th May 1959, under the presidency of Cardinal Domenico Tardini, also Secretary of State.

On 26th May 1959, Tardini proposed a letter to invite the global episcopacy to send their suggestions to the council. The letter included a questionnaire to guide the answers.[199] However, on 18th June 1959, Tardini sent a simple letter to all the bishops of the Catholic world requesting them to send their proposals, the *consilia et vota*, to be considered on the council's preparatory agenda.[200] Despite the fact that the commission dropped the questionnaire, the letter proposed some "subjects for the Council" such as "doctrine, the discipline of the clergy and Christian people, the manifold activities of today's Church, matters of greater importance with which the Church must deal nowadays."[201] Hence, Tardini's letter suggested a structure that bishops could follow when delivering their answers. Regardless, from 1st August 1959 until 20th May 1960, 27 Peruvian *vota* arrived with the Antepreparatory Commission in Rome.

This chapter studies the Peruvian *vota*. It starts analysing the limits and contributions of the European and Latin American approaches to the study of the *vota*. I propose and develop new analytical categories to study the Peruvian *vota*. These categories represent a new approach to retrieving the contribution and limits of the Peruvian *vota* prior to Vatican II. The second part studies the Peruvian *vota* using the analytical categories to collect the theological, canonical and pastoral information gathered in the *vota*. They shed light on the theological and canonical status of the Peruvian episcopate on the eve of the Second Vatican Council.

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[197] Giuseppe Alberigo, "El anuncio del concilio. De la seguridad del baluarte a la fascinación de la búsqueda," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II,* vol. I, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 1999), 17-31.

[198] "Para unificar a la cristiandad. Se convocó a Concilio Universal," *El Deber*, 26th January, 1959.

[199] Étienne Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria (1959-1960). El lento camino para salir de la inercia," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II,* vol. I, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 1999), 92-93. The questionnaire had five sections which did not consider the local ecclesial context and challenges as part of the responses.

[200] The change was caused by the Pope's will who wanted that the bishops speak out freely. Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 94.

[201] Quoted in Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 95.

1. A Critical Assessment of the Study of the *Vota*[202]

The *vota et consilia* have been systematically studied by professors Alberto Melloni[203] and Étienne Fouilloux[204] as a source for the history of the Second Vatican Council. During the preparatory period of the *History of Vatican II*, directed by professor Giuseppe Alberigo, international research groups were in charge of publications related to the ecclesial situation prior to Vatican II. Their research included studies on the episcopal *vota*. For Latin America, the Brazilian historian José Oscar Beozzo compiled different studies referring to the *vota* of the Latin American episcopates.[205] While for Western and Eastern Europe, professors Mathijs Lamberigts and Claude Soetens gathered studies which include the preparation of the *vota* from different European countries.[206]

1.1. The European Approach to the Study of the *Vota*

Alberto Melloni asserts that the *vota* or "wishes" give information about the diverse ecclesial and theological backgrounds of the bishops and prelates. The *vota* provide information about the bishops' ecclesiological, theological and pastoral ideas and inquiries. Hence, the study of *vota* requires a theological-pastoral frame that allows us to understand the theological language of the episcopal concerns. Moreover, in many cases, the "wishes" have a complacent language with Rome because many bishops were accustomed to declare that they were in complete harmony with the Apostolic See. However, the proposals could include the bishops' voices with their concerns and hopes. They could also refer to or omit local political situations.[207] It is also possible that the problems of these prelates are related to their pastoral letters and government style.[208] Therefore, according to Melloni, in the analysis of the episcopal wishes, many ecclesial aspects need to be considered: Pius XII's ecclesiological model, the local magisterium, the ecclesial and theological context, and the impact of new theological currents.[209] Finally, from outside the Church, the *vota* asking for a condemnation of communism revealed the episcopal political mindset in favour of the right political parties.

Melloni considers that it is not possible to have "a portrait of the Church" derived from the *vota*.[210] However, it is possible to place the *vota* within the context of their authors and in the large Church context to draw "a portrait of the episcopate prior to Vatican II." The *vota* give

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[202] A broader critical assessment of the historiography on *vota* for the Andean episcopate has been published. See: Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "The *Vota* of the Episcopate of the Andean Region on Ecclesiology and Laity," in *Vatican II After Sixty Years. Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts, Antonia Pizzey and Karim Schelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2023), 131-136.

[203] Alberto Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai *consilia et vota* della fase antepreparatoria del Vaticano II," *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 26 (1990): 556-576.

[204] See Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 98-133.

[205] José Oscar Beozzo (ed.), *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II,* Coleccion historia de la Iglesia y de la Teologia (San José: DEI, 1992).

[206] Mathijs Lamberigts and Claude Soetens (eds.), *A la veille du concile Vatican II: vota et réactions en Europe et dans le catholicisme oriental*, Instrumenta theologica 9 (Leuven: KU Leuven, Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1992).

[207] The case of the Paraguayan Church displays how the close relationship between the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the State did not allow the bishops to denounce the abuses of the dictatorship of Alfredo Stroessner. Even, the regime paid the expenses of bishops who participated in the first conciliar session. See: Margarita Durán Estragó, "Paraguay," in *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II,* ed. José Oscar Beozzo (San José: DEI, 1992), 145-146.

[208] Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai *consilia et vota*," 575.

[209] Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai *consilia et vota*," 563-565.

[210] Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai *consilia et vota*," 575.

information from an episcopal perspective about the ecclesial context and challenges, such as institutional problems, the importance of lay groups and movements, the relationship between the bishops and the clergy, and ecclesiastical and pastoral challenges. However, in many *vota,* local non-ecclesiastical contexts were neglected, such as the increase in poverty, the growth of cities, the anti-conception challenge, the family context, the spread of Protestantism and other topics. This can be partially explained by the fact that many bishops and prelates considered the councils as doctrinal and juridical assemblies.

Melloni also affirms that it is essential to analyse the episcopal concerns in order to understand the language of the *vota*. For him, a map of the ecclesial context and the episcopal magisterium is crucial to understand the "wishes."[211] Hence, the *vota* should be placed in a redaction context that sheds light on the bishops' theological and canonical ideas and inquiries. Despite Melloni's reluctance to derive from the *vota* a "Church portrait," the *vota* capture a precise "Church portrait" from the perspective of the bishops and prelates in the transition period between the end of Pius XII's pontificate and the calling for the council. However, how to draw this ecclesial portrait?

From the perspective of historical theology, Étienne Fouilloux delineated a three-block portrait of the Church derived from the contents of the *vota*. The first group, named intransigent *vota*, pays little attention to John XXIII's objectives of the ecclesial renewal. The second block matches with the theological-pastoral line of John XXIII with concerns not only related to disciplinary changes but also pastoral. The third block corresponds to the "unclassifiable" proposals that generally came from the young churches and in which it is possible to find in the very same *votum* the two previous groups: intransigent and renewal proposals.[212] However, Fouilloux did not mention that some of these young churches were represented by European bishops.

According to Fouilloux, the Hispanic American *vota* can be classified within the first block together with the Spanish and Italian *vota*.[213] These "wishes" can be considered as schematic, uniform, conformist and lacking originality.[214] Furthermore, the Hispanic American *vota* contrasted for "their often glaring lack of connection with the sad realities of the subcontinent."[215] Besides, the *vota* of the first group included many canonical proposals relating to the reform of canon law, which was announced by John XXIII in January 1959 as one of the three axes of the programme of his pontificate.[216] Finally, Fouilloux considers that many first-block *vota* seemed to answer a Roman inquiry in a way which is a sample of the Roman *habitus*. Indeed, they were "accustomed to conforming to what Rome desired," and it "predetermined the excessively respectful tone, the canonical form, and above all, the notorious cautiousness of many responses."[217]

Fouilloux's approach lacks an immersive insight into the complexity of the Hispanic American *vota*. Besides, the "wishes" are divided into the ones that fit or did not fit with John XXIII's objectives. However, were the Pope's objectives for the council clearly defined in 1959? If this was the case, were these objectives sufficiently exposed in the Catholic world between 1959 and 1960? Or, does Fouilloux's classification depict the conciliar division of the Fathers

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[211] Melloni, "Per un approccio storico-critico ai *consilia et vota*," 575.
[212] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 108-109.
[213] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 109.
[214] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 110.
[215] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 113.
[216] The other two axes were the celebration of a Roman synod and an ecumenical council. See: Giuseppe Alberigo, *A Brief History of Vatican II* (New York: Orbis, 2006), 4.
[217] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 106-107.

between the majority and minority in an anachronistic way? Does this categorization illustrate the division between Fathers who supported and resisted the conciliar development? At this point, it is important to remind that, as Alberigo remarks, John XXIII gradually delineated the objectives and nature of the ecumenical council. From 1959 to 1960, the Pope avoided controversies and well-defined phrases about the conciliar aims.[218]

1.2. The Latin American Historiography on the *Vota*

In 1992, the Brazilian scholar José Oscar Beozzo edited the book *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II*, which gathered studies on the Latin American *vota* and ecclesial situation prior to Vatican II. The book includes the analysis of the *vota* from Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, Perú, Colombia and Venezuela, Central America, Mexico and The Caribbean. According to Beozzo, the *vota* are sources to understand the bishops' concerns regarding pastoral issues, their idea of an ecumenical council and their proposals of topics for the council.[219] However, the analysis of the *vota* is mainly descriptive without proposing a frame to understand the episcopate's mindset prior to Vatican II.

For instance, for the Peruvian case, the Jesuit Jeffrey Klaiber provides us with a descriptive account of the ecclesial situation and the *vota* of the bishops and prelates. The author dedicates only three pages out of eleven to the analysis of the *vota*.[220] Klaiber classifies the *vota* into ten categories according to the frequency in which a specific proposal appears. Thus, the recurrent *vota* were the introduction of the vernacular language, the permanent diaconate, and the reform of the divine office. Also, some prelates requested the declaration of the dogma of the universal mediatorship of Mary, and others called for more active incorporation of the laity into the parish and liturgical life. The less frequent proposals were the marriage problems, the menace of Protestantism and the reform of canon law.[221]

Klaiber introduces his study with a lengthy description of the context of the Peruvian Church. However, he does not analyse and situate the "wishes" in the episcopal mindset and ecclesial context. Neither does the author insert the *vota* into the socio-ecclesial tensions of the context, nor does he seek to understand the theological language of the Peruvian episcopate, its limits and its intuitions. Another element is the lack of serious studies of the episcopal magisterium in order to find out whether it reflects similarities to the language of the *vota*.

Despite those limitations, Klaiber gives a judgment on the overall content of the *vota*. For him, "the bishops' proposals give the impression that it is a preparation for the council of Trent, which dealt primarily with discipline and the clarification of concepts, or for a regional synod of bishops, and not for an ecumenical council of the whole Church in the twentieth century."[222] At

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[218] Alberigo, "El anuncio del concilio," 43-52.

[219] José Oscar Beozzo, "Introducción," in *Cristianismo e Iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II,* ed. José Oscar Beozzo (San José: DEI, 1992), 15.

[220] Jeffrey Klaiber, "Perú," in *Cristianismo e Iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II,* ed. José Oscar Beozzo (San José: DEI, 1992), 153-163.

[221] Klaiber, "Perú," 161-162.

[222] "Las propuestas de los obispos dan la impresión de que se trata de una preparación para el concilio de Trento, que se ocupó principalmente de la disciplina y la clarificación de conceptos, o para un sínodo regional de obispos, no para un concilio ecuménico de toda la Iglesia en el siglo XX". See: Klaiber, "Perú," 162. Klaiber simplified his assessment of Trent considering it as a disciplinary and conceptual council. Klaiber does not make a difference between the council of Trent and the Roman centralised interpretation of Trent, the Tridentinism. See: Wim François and Violet Soen, "450 Years Later. Louvain's Contribution to the Ongoing Historiography on the Council of Trent," in *The Council of Trent: Reform and Controversy in Europe and Beyond (1545-1700). Vol I. Between Trent, Rome and Wittemberg*, ed. Wim François and Violet Soen (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2018), 7-25.

this point, it is essential to consider that the prelates were raised in a Tridentine and Vatican I atmosphere and that they were educated under the anti-modernist paradigm. However, Klaiber's critical balance is based on a post-Vatican II interpretation of the Peruvian Church history. Hence, it is necessary to prepare a detailed study of the *vota* to understand the prelates' theological and pastoral ideas, their ecclesial and pastoral concerns, and the expression of the ecclesial context contained in their proposals.

The study of the other Latin American *vota* follows Klaiber's approach. Only Fortunato Mallimaci proposed a system to categorize the Argentinian *vota* between "canonical" and "pastoral" *vota*. The first ones are related to the reform of canon law, the condemnation of communism, the proclamation of new dogmas, and questions about disciplinary and canonical issues. Many of them were moulded according to the ecclesiology of Pius XII. Even more, the canonical *vota* usually listed many suggestions, but they did not display much interest in context, and they could be considered doctrinal-juridical proposals. The second group are the pastoral *vota* which advocated profound changes within the Church and took into account the local context. They are also concerned about the theological, institutional and pastoral changes in the Church practice.[223]

Mallimaci's methodological approach seems to be convenient for analysing the *vota*. However, the division of the "wishes" between canonical and pastoral proposals also corresponds to Fouilloux's approach to the *vota*. On one side, the pastoral proposals match with John XXIII's objectives for profound pastoral and theological changes. On the other side, the canonical proposals, which fit the majority of the Argentinian *vota*, depict the doctrinal and disciplinary concerns to only change the "form" of the Church's daily life.[224] Hence, the division is also questionable because, as was the case of Fouilloux's analysis of *vota*, it seems to advance the separation of the conciliar Fathers among the majority and minority.

Therefore, Mallimaci and Klaiber assessed the *vota* from a post-Vatican II perspective, namely according to the renewal or resistance to Vatican II ecclesiology. This division, recovered by Fouilloux's three-block schema, also is set within the classical interpretation of the *vota*. There are *vota* that desire to reinforce the Roman mindset in the Church while there are *vota* that match the objectives of John XXIII. Nevertheless, the Hispanic American *vota*, which include the Peruvian ones, are more complex pieces that cannot be classified as intransigent, canonical or pastoral but as an episcopate's complex portrait regarding the Church context and episcopal mindset. Hence, a new approach is needed to explore the *vota et consilia*, sent by the Peruvian bishops and prelates, as a source that portrays an ecclesial mosaic between a traditional understanding of the Church and the requests for ecclesiological and pastoral renewal.

2. The *Vota* of the Peruvian Episcopate and their Assessment of the Situation of the Church

The Peruvian prelates sent 27 answers to respond to the request made by cardinal Domenico Tardini. The *vota* represented 29 prelates because the archbishop of Lima sent a joint proposal with his two auxiliary bishops, José Dammert Bellido and Fidel Tubino Mongilardi. Four *vota* came from the four main archdioceses of the country, Lima, Arequipa, Cusco and Trujillo, eleven from dioceses, seven from prelatures and five from apostolic vicariates. Out of twenty-nine prelates, six were not bishops but priests in charge of the prelatures of Ayaviri,

[223] Fortunato Mallimaci, "Argentina", in *Cristianismo e Iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II,* ed. José Oscar Beozzo (San José: DEI, 1992), 106.
[224] Mallimaci, "Argentina", 106.

Caravelí, Huari, Sicuani, Tarma and Yauyos. Only the prelate of Moyobamba Martin Elorza Legaristi was the titular bishop of Baliana. Twenty-four *vota* were written in Latin, two in Spanish and one in Italian. The *vota* written in Spanish were sent by Nemesio Rivera Meza, bishop of Cajamarca, and Martín Elorza Legaristi, prelate of Moyobamba. Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicochea, the Opus Dei prelate of Yauyos, wrote his *votum* in Italian. The prelate of Moyobamba dedicated his *votum* to the use of Spanish in the liturgy. It was written in Spanish, which maybe was an affirmation of the validity and importance of his proposal.

Of 36 prelates, seven did not send any answer. For instance, it is not clear why the bishop of Ayacucho did not send his *votum*. The diocese of Huacho was vacant because his bishop Nemesio Rivera Meza was transferred from Huacho to Cajamarca on 28th January 1960. He replied as bishop of Cajamarca. Finally, the bishop of Piura, Carlos Alberto Arce, took office in May 1959, and he was in charge of the organisation of the Sixth National Eucharistic Congress, which took place in August 1960. Maybe, these circumstances complicated the writing of Arce's *votum*. Four more prelates did not send their *vota*: the prelate of Juli, the apostolic vicars of Pucallpa and Yurimaguas, and the apostolic prefect of San Francisco Javier. In his *votum*, the prelate of Sicuani, Father Nevin Hayes, excused himself for his delayed answer because the postal service was deficient in missionary regions.[225] Maybe Hayes' reason was also valid for the other prelates. The postal service did not work well in the missions, and it was possible that the prelates did neither receive the Roman request nor were able to send their *vota*. The nuncio did not send his *votum* either.[226] Finally, it is not clear why the Pontifical and Civil Faculty of Theology of Lima did not send its *votum*.[227]

2.1. New Criteria for the Study of the Peruvian *Vota*

The study of the *vota* requires new criteria. The analysis should abandon the logic of how the *vota* fitted John XXIII's objectives or not and depict *avant-la-lettre* the majority and minority conciliar division. Hence, I propose a general classification of the Peruvian *vota* using four categories of analysis and one category to gather the complaint *vota*. The latter contains four "wishes" that refer to bishops' and prelates' complaints regarding the shortage of clergy and the spread of Protestantism without including any proposals. These complaints are similar to a *cahier de doléances* that contains the episcopal perspective of the problems that the Church faced. For instance, the *votum* of Ignacio Arbulú Pineda, bishop of Huánuco, only contains a general complaint concerning the scarcity of clergy and the lack of priestly vocations. Also, Teodosio Moreno, bishop of Huaraz, and the prelates Martín Elorza (Moyobamba) and Ignacio de Orbegozo (Yauyos) introduced their *vota* with a complaint.

The four analytical categories are doctrinal-canonical, pastoral, liturgy and adaptation. Each category refers to the type of justification used in the *votum*. It is possible to find many

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[225] AD I, II, VII, 520.

[226] According to Fouilloux, "the most assiduous in replaying" were nuncios and other diplomats. Out of the total numbers of diplomats, 91,8% replied. In the second place were residential bishops with 87,2%. See: Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 99. However, a possible explanation for the absence of the nuncio's *votum* is that the nuncio Francesco Lardone was transferred from Peru to Turkey in June 1959. The new nuncio Romolo Carboni, who assumed his position as nuncio in Peru in September 1959, had sent his *votum* as Apostolic Delegate in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania on 4th September 1959.

[227] The Faculty belongs to the archdiocese of Lima. It was separated from the National University of San Marcos at the beginning of the 20th century during the secularisation of the university. The Faculty never joined the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru, which was founded in 1917. Besides, it seemed that Tardini's letter arrived to the Pontifical Catholic University instead of the Faculty of Theology. AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 259, fasc. 7, "Risposta alla lettera da parte delle università cattoliche."

categories in one episcopal *votum*. The first category, the doctrinal-canonical, refers to proposals which justifications come from juridical, disciplinary and doctrinal reasons. The second category is the pastoral, which justifications refer to the evangelisation, mission and ecclesial action in the world. The third category is the liturgy which gathers the "wishes" regarding the liturgical changes and adaptation to local circumstances. The fourth category is adaptation which reasons address the necessity to change costumes and practices in the Church.

The doctrinal-canonical category (89) is predominant, followed by liturgy (45), pastoral (31) and adaptation (12). The prevalence of the doctrinal-canonical category is related to an idea of theology and the Church. The dominant ecclesiology was shaped by the jurisdictional and doctrinal primacy of the Roman pontiff and a clerical understanding of the Church in tension with Pius XII's encyclical *Mystici corporis Christi*. Published in 1943, the encyclical attempted to harmonize the *societas perfecta* paradigm with the theme of the Mystical Body. According to Hahnenberg, the invisible and the visible dimensions of the Church are one and the same: "the spiritual community of Christ's body *is* the institutional, hierarchically-ordered society."[228] Hence, the doctrinal-canonical proposals of the Peruvian *vota* enhanced the reform of canon law and other canonical rules to improve pastoral care, change the discipline and advance the Church's development. The ecclesiology implied a doctrinal and canonical understanding of the Church as a hierarchical-ordered society.

The four analytical categories gather large groups of proposals that can be divided into twenty-eight subcategories of specific topics for the council, considered important by the Peruvian bishops and prelates. These topics are analysed using the four analytical categories: doctrinal-canonical, pastoral, liturgy and adaptation. The twenty-eight subcategories are the following: breviary, canon law, Church, Church image, clergy shortage, clerical clothing, condemnation, council, diaconate and lay ministry, discipline, discipline of the sacraments, divine office, ecumenism, episcopate, laity and lay movements, liturgical miscellanea, Marian dogma, mass, mission, modern technology, parish, priesthood, Protestantism, religious congregations, Saint Joseph, seminary, vernacular and world affairs. For the analysis of the Peruvian *vota*, each of the subcategories is studied, taking into account each one of the four analytical categories. Thus, it is possible to illustrate the complexity of the Peruvian proposals for the council.

Table 9. List of bishops and prelates and the analytic categories considered in the Peruvian *vota*

		Analytical Categories				
Prelates	**Complaint**	**Doctrinal-Canonical**	**Pastoral**	**Liturgy**	**Adaptation**	**Total of analytical categories**
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón, archbishop of Arequipa		4		4	1	**9**
Nemesio Rivera Meza, bishop of Cajamarca		4	1	1	1	**7**
José Benavides Morriberón, bishop of Chachapoyas		4		1	1	**6**
Daniel Figueroa Villón, bishop of Chiclayo		2		3		**5**
Carlos Jurgens Byrne, archbishop of Cusco			2	1		**3**
Florencio Coronado, bishop of Huancavelica		5				**5**

[228] Edward Hahnenberg, "The Mystical Body of Christ and Communion Ecclesiology: Historical Parallels," *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 70 (2005), 11.

Mariano Valdivia y Ortiz, bishop of Huancayo		2	2	1		**5**
Ignacio Arbulú Pineda, bishop of Huánuco	1					**0**
Teodosio Moreno Quintana, bishop of Huaraz	1	4	2	1		**7**
Alberto María Dettmann y Aragón, O.P., bishop of Ica		2	1	4		**7**
Juan Landázuri Ricketts, archbishop of Lima - José Dammert Bellido and Fidel Tubino Mongilardi, auxiliary bishops		6	1	1		**8**
Julio González Ruiz, bishop of Puno		3	2	6	2	**13**
Alfonso Zaplana Belliza, bishop of Tacna		6	8			**14**
Federico Pérez Silva, archbishop of Trujillo		2		2	1	**5**
Luciano Metzinger, prelate of Ayaviri		1				**1**
Federico Kaiser, prelate of Caravelí		1		1		**2**
Marco Libardoni O.S.I., prelate of Huari		3		1	1	**5**
Martín Elorza Legaristi, prelate of Moyobamba	1			1		**1**
Nevin Hayes, prelate of Sicuani		3		4		**7**
Antonio Kühner y Kühner, prelate of Tarma		1		3		**4**
Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicochea, Opus Dei, prelate of Yauyos	1	2	5	1		**8**
Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda, apostolic vicar of Iquitos		5	2	2	1	**10**
Javier M. Ariz Huarte, apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado		6		2	1	**9**
Valeriano L. Arroyo, apostolic vicar of Requena		5	2			**7**
José Dámaso Laberge O.F.M., apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas		3				**3**
León de Uriarte Bengoa, apostolic vicar of San Ramón		11	1	2	3	**17**
Alcides Mendoza Castro, auxiliary bishop of Abancay		4	2	3		**9**
		89	**31**	**45**	**12**	**177**

Table 10. Analytical categories and subcategories

Analytical categories / Subcategories	**Doctrinal-Canonical**	**Pastoral**	**Liturgy**	**Adaptation**	**Total**
Breviary			8		**8**
Canon Law	4	1			**5**
Church	3		1		**4**
Church image				1	**1**
Clergy shortage	1				**1**
Clerical clothing				9	**9**
Condemnation	1				**1**
Council	3				**3**
Diaconate and lay ministry	5	7			**12**

Discipline	4	2			**6**
Discipline of the Sacraments	10				**10**
Divine Office			6		**6**
Ecumenism	5				**5**
Episcopate	17		2		**19**
Laity and lay movements	3	9	3		**15**
Liturgical miscellanea			6		**6**
Marian Dogma	6				**6**
Mass			4		**4**
Mission	1				**1**
Modern technology				2	**2**
Parish	2	2			**4**
Priesthood	10	5			**15**
Protestantism	2				**2**
Religious congregations	5	2			**7**
Saint Joseph	1				**1**
Seminary	5				**5**
Vernacular			15		**15**
World affairs	1	3			**4**
Total	**89**	**31**	**45**	**12**	**177**

2.2. Breviary

Five bishops and three prelates coming from mainly rural dioceses and prelatures recommended the reduction of the breviary. All these proposals belong to the analytical category of the liturgy. The bishops and prelates argued mostly for the same reason: the shortage of clergy affected the time dedicated to its mission; hence a long breviary impeded the priests from doing much more pastoral work.[229] Besides, Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón, archbishop of Arequipa, and Carlos Jurgens, archbishop of Cusco, deemed that the reduction of the breviary could avoid the guilty conscience of many priests. And Ignacio de Orbegozo, prelate of Yauyos, argued that many priests sinned because of the omission of reciting the breviary. On the other hand, the bishop of Puno, Julio Gonzáles Ruiz, envisaged the reduction of the breviary as a manner to adapt it "to the rhythm of modern life" (*cum modernae vitae rythmo*).[230]

Despite the common argument with reference to the shortage of clergy and the impact on it on the priests' pastoral commitments, there are nuances among the proposals considering the notion of the clergy, its obligation and the idea of sin.

2.3. Canon Law

There are a total of five proposals regarding canon law. Four are part of the doctrinal-canonical category, and one belongs to the pastoral category. The doctrinal-canonical *vota* focused on the reform of the canon law. For instance, José Benavides Morriberón, bishop of Moyobamba, recommended gathering canonists to elaborate a new canon law according to the times.[231] Three other doctrinal-canonical proposals requested more specific changes in canon law,

[229] AD I, II, VII, 491 (Leonardo Rodríguez, Arequipa), 493 (Nemesio Rivera, Cajamarca), 496 (Carlos Jurgens, Cusco), 504 (Alberto Dettmann, Ica), 508 (Julio González, Puno), 518 (Marco Libardoni, Huari), 521 (Antonio Kühner, Tarma), 524 (Ignacio de Orbegozo, Yauyos).
[230] AD I, II, VII, 508.
[231] AD I, II, VII, 494.

like the canons regarding the parish priests' life, the Lenten penances and the offspring of mixed marriages.[232]

Finally, the pastoral-oriented *votum* regarding the canon law came from Carlos Jurgens (Cusco), archbishop of Cusco, a mainly rural jurisdiction. Jurgens requested that the priests grant the consent to laypeople to baptise without asking each time for the Ordinary's permission. According to the bishop, many souls would benefit from it. The prelate's concern was related to the shortage of clergy in the rural zones of the archdiocese, where the peasant communities lived. Moreover, some peasant communities only received the visit of a priest once a year. Perhaps, Jurgens was thinking of the peasants trained by the Maryknoll Fathers as rural catechists.[233] It was a manner to respond in pastoral terms to the rural situation of the archdiocese.

2.4. Church

Three doctrinal-canonical and one liturgical *vota* refer to the topic of the Church. Nevin Hayes, the prelate of Sicuani, advocated the solemn definition of the concept of the Church as "Mystici Corporis."[234] Two doctrinal-canonical proposals deal with the episcopal institutions in service for the Church. For instance, León de Uriarte Bengoa, apostolic vicar of San Román, supported the idea that every ten years, each ecclesiastical province should gather in a Provincial Council; and every five years, an episcopal conference. Alcides Mendoza Castro, auxiliary bishop of Abancay, proposed the model of the Latin American Episcopal Council (CELAM) for the universal Church.[235] Finally, León de Uriarte encouraged that to hold the unity of the Church, at least in the Western Patriarchy, the liturgical prayer, the divine office, the breviary and the mass should be uniformised.[236]

The other two doctrinal-canonical proposals only moved in the field of ecclesial organisation, while León de Uriarte's *votum* aimed attention at the importance of liturgy for the unity of the Church. Although the three last proposals did not address the issue of ecclesiology, they illustrated issues of concern among the episcopate, like the ecclesial organisation and unity, which were developed by the Council. It is remarkable that only Hayes, an American Carmelite, proposed an ecclesiological definition for the Church.

2.5. Church image

This *votum* matches with the analytical category of adaptation. The vicar León de Uriarte de Bengoa (San Ramón) explained that "the procedure of the Congregation of the Holy Office, in my view, is excessively tough and, sometimes, inhuman." According to the vicar, "the proceeding manner is resisted by our contemporary legal process." For these reasons, León de Uriarte wished a clement and merciful Holy Mother Church with fair judicial examination and fair punitive actions.[237] The vicar's position exemplified a desire for renovation within the

[232] AD I, II, VII, 492 (Leonardo Rodríguez, Arequipa), 507 (Juan Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops José Dammert and Fidel Tubino, Lima), 517 (Friedrich Kaiser, Caravelí).
[233] AD I, II, VII, 496. In 1954, the Maryknoll Fathers began the programme of rural catechists in Puno. The catechetical programme became an example for other Latin American rural areas. After Vatican II, in 1967, the programme was dismantled in order to promote a direct contact with indigenous communities for priests and sisters, without an intermediary. See: Fitzpatrick-Behrens, *The Maryknoll Catholic Mission*, 94-114.
[234] AD I, II, VII, 520.
[235] AD I, II, VII, 532, 534.
[236] AD I, II, VII, 531-532.
[237] AD I, II, VII, 531.

Church, albeit the bishops and prelates failed to develop this aspiration in translucid theological terms.

2.6. Clergy Shortage

Most of the mentions about the clergy shortage are complaints about the situation of the mission and parish life. Only Teodosio Moreno Quintana, bishop of Huaraz, proposed a doctrinal-canonical-oriented *votum* that claimed that parents and priests should promote priestly vocations during the catechetical instruction.[238]

2.7. Clerical Clothing

One archbishop, six bishops and one prelate suggested the adaptation of the clerical clothing to contemporary times. Most of them proposed the reform of the soutane for a clerical collar or another simplified clerical clothing.[239] Julio Gonzáles Ruiz (Puno) went as far as proposing that the clergy outside the priestly work could wear lay clothing.[240] The topic of clerical clothing found its justification in the need to adapt the priestly life to contemporary thought and circumstances. This position was defended by Marco Libardoni, the Italian prelate of Huari, and Javier Ariz Huarte OP, the vicar of Puerto Maldonado.[241]

2.8. Condemnation

Julio Gonzáles Ruiz (Puno) was the only bishop who demanded the condemnation of communism "with which Catholic doctrine cannot be put together" (*quae cum Doctrina Catholica componi nequeunt*).[242] Most likely, behind this position was the presence of leftist groups in the region.[243] These groups severely criticised the privileges of the Catholic Church in the region and accused her of promoting poverty and ignorance among indigenous communities. Besides, the leftist groups had coincidences with Adventists and liberals against the Catholic Church. All of them advocated for the right to education for indigenous people.[244] Hence, communism was considered a serious menace to Catholic activity in the region.[245]

2.9. Council

Alfonso Zaplana Bellida, bishop of Tacna, included in his *votum* a section titled "Synodi Nationales praeparatorii ad Concilium Oecumenicum." Zaplana suggested convening a national synod, presided over by the bishops and prelates, to prepare the ecumenical council. For Zaplana, the synod would gather the bishops, prelates, apostolic vicars, and the apostolic prefect. The synod should meet in Lima, under the presidency of the archbishop primate. However, Zaplana only mentioned that priests and delegations of diocese and prelature should gather. He

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[238] AD I, II, VII, 503.
[239] AD I, II, VII, 491 (Leonardo Rodríguez, Arequipa), 493 (Nemesio Rivera, Cajamarca), 494 (José Benavides, Chachapoyas), 525 (Angel Rodríguez, Iquitos), 527 (Javier Ariz, Puerto Maldonado).
[240] AD I, II, VII, 509.
[241] AD I, II, VII, 518, 527.
[242] AD I, II, VII, 508.
[243] Rénique, *La batalla por Puno*, 35-154.
[244] Vilchis, "Anarquitas y educación," 23-47.
[245] It is interesting to note that Rodríguez Ballón (Arequipa), who wrote a letter condemning communism, did not call for a conciliar anathema.

did not clarify the composition of boards and did not mention the other territories and why he did not consider to invite priests and missionaries of vicariates and apostolic prefecture.

The issues for the national synod would be the uniformity of the liturgy, the daily Eucharist, and the unity of faith as the main issues for the synod. For the bishop, the synod should elaborate on the conclusions of the meeting, *relationes* and presentations.[246] Zaplana was the only bishop who considered the preparation for the council as a more collegial experience that involved at least the clerical estate of the archdioceses, dioceses and prelatures. Besides Zaplana's *votum*, Antonio Kühner (Tarma) suggested admitting every language of the world in the council.[247] For Kühner, the use of vernacular in the council might be a way to deal with the lack of knowledge and mastery of Latin.[248]

2.10. Diaconate and Lay Ministry

The *vota* about the diaconate and lay ministry fall under the pastoral and doctrinal-canonical categories.[249] The seven vota under the pastoral category cluster proposals aimed primarily at care and assistance in the sacramental ministry and the administration of the temporal goods of the Church. Two prelates also included the shortage of clergy as a reason for the restoration of married deacons.[250] For instance, Juan Landázuri Rickets and his auxiliary bishops proposed that married deacons and subdeacons would be in charge of the catechesis, the administration of baptism and the Eucharist and the administration of the temporal goods of the Church.[251] Nemesio Rivera, Alberto Dettmann and León de Uriarte shared Landázuri's position about the married deacons.[252] De Uriarte also suggested the instauration of deaconesses that fulfil deacons' activities.[253]

Of the six doctrinal-canonical proposals, three defended canonical-theological research on the status of the diaconate and new lay ministries, and two rejected the married diaconate. Among the formers, Teodosio Moreno (Huaraz) and Federico Pérez (Trujillo) agreed with the deacons' administrative roles in the Church, but they saw these functions as clerical ones reserved for celibate deacons. Moreno preferred non-ordained religious than married deacons and Pérez was worried about the faithful's scandal regarding married deacons performing Church work.[254]

José Benavides (Chachapoyas) advocated that members of the Catholic Action could be instructed in parts of the office of the sacred ministers that were compliant with the laity's

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[246] AD I, II, VII, 511-512.
[247] AD I, II, VII, 521.
[248] Claire Maligot, "Le latin des évêques de Vatican II à partir de leurs *vota* antépréparatoires. Monolinguisme de droit; plurilinguisme de fait," *Hypothèses* 1/19 (2016): 321-331. The author recalled that Latin was an "acquired language," not mastered by the bishops, which may have limited their ability to express themselves.
[249] The bishops and prelates who sent pastoral proposals were Nemesio Rivera Meza (bishop of Cajamarca), Alberto María Dettmann y Aragón OP (bishop of Ica), Juan Landázuri Ricketts (archbishop of Lima) and his auxiliary bishops José Dammert Bellido and Fidel Tubino Mongilardi, Alfonso Zaplana Bellizza (bishop of Tacna), Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicochea (prelate of Yauyos), Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda (apostolic vicar of Iquitos) and León Uriarte de Bengoa (apostolic vicar of San Román). The bishops and prelates who sent doctrinal-canonical proposals were Teodosio Moreno (bishop of Huaraz), Federico Pérez Silva (archbishop of Trujillo), Lucien Metzinger (prelate of Ayaviri), Ignacio de Orbegozo (prelate of Yauyos) and Javier Ariz Huarte (apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado).
[250] The two prelates were Alfonso Zaplana (Tacna) and Ignacio de Orbegozo. See: AD I, II, VII, 511, 523.
[251] AD I, II, VII, 506.
[252] AD I, II, VII, 493, 504, 532.
[253] AD I, II, VII, 532.
[254] AD I, II, VII, 503, 513-514.

secular nature.[255] On the other side, based on the shortage of clergy, De Orbegozo (Yauyos) proposed the possibility of granting a canonical order to the office of sacristan. Ariz (Puerto Maldonado) recommended discussing in the council the possibility of admitting vocations to major orders like deacons and subdeacons.[256] These prelates sought to find canonical and theological solutions for the lay ministry to cope with the shortage of clergy.

Finally, the French Sacred Heart prelate Lucien Metzinger was concerned about how to give the laity an ecclesiological place in the Church. He claimed a sort of ordination like the diaconate that makes laypeople participate in the authority and grace of the Church.[257] Metzinger's statement was based on his rural missionary experience. Besides, the Maryknoll missionaries did pastoral work with peasant communities. They raised some questions about the role of the laity within the structure of the Church because many of them had ecclesial duties.

In his *votum*, Metzinger remarked that many laypeople work in catechesis with children and adults. They also play a role in the administration of ecclesiastical temporal goods and parishes. In the prelature, according to the 1959 *Annuario pontificio,* there were only seven diocesan priests and three religious priests.[258] However, Metzinger's proposal did not mention the "penuria Cleri" as a reason for the sort of ordination for laypeople. The main issue was the necessity to reflect on the lay position in this kind of missionary reality. For him, the diaconate seemed the solution because it involved laypeople in the authority and grace of the Church.

2.11. Discipline

The discipline appertained to the moral and practical dimension of the Christian life. Two pastoral *vota* regarding the discipline referred to the fostering of Riccardo Lombardi SJ's movement for a "mondo migliore" (Teodosio Moreno, Huaraz) and the debate on the relevance of prohibiting the reading of the Protestant Bible (Julio González, Puno).[259] In the case of Puno, from the beginning of the 20th century, Adventist and Protestant Churches were established in the region, gathering communities in the city and the rural areas.[260]

Four proposals in the realm of discipline endorsed changes in canon law. The first one regarded the preparation of a new Index of indulgences; the second one suggested fixing days of fasting and abstinence to avoid the faithful's bad conscience; the third one rejected contraception methods, and the fourth one recommended that the public repentance of heresy and masonry would be enough to receive the Holy Sacrament.[261]

2.12. Discipline of the Sacraments

Under this category, there are ten doctrinal-canonical *vota* to improve the conditions of marriage (8) and penance (2). Daniel Figueroa (Chiclayo), Juan Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops (Lima), and Ignacio de Orbegozo (Yauyos) sent recommendations asking for the reform of the law regarding marriage. Thus, Figueroa proposed the revision of CIC canon 1094. The

[255] AD I, II, VII, 494.
[256] AD I, II, VII, 523, 526-527.
[257] AD I, II, VII, 516.
[258] AP 1959, 737.
[259] AD I, II, VII, 503, 508. The movement "Mondo migliore," born in Italy, emphasised the role of the Church as servant of the Kingdom of God. See: Raffaele Iaria, *Verso un mondo migliore. Riccardo Lombardi. Chiesa, mondo e regno di Dio* (Milan: Ancora, 2018).
[260] Fonseca, *Misioneros y civilizadores*, 89-90.
[261] AD I, II, VII, 492 (Leonardo Rodriguez Ballón, Arequipa), 495 (Daniel Figueroa Villón, bishop of Chiclayo), 514 (Federico Pérez Silva, Trujillo), 533 (León de Uriarte Bengoa, San Ramón).

norm established that the validity of marriage only occurred in the presence of the bishop, or the parish priest or a delegated priest. Figueroa asked to grant the civil marriage a canonical status when the marriage did not have the presence of the ordained minister presence.

Likewise, Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops requested clarification of who can grant marriage dispensation or dissolution due to "impotence." On marriage, they also solicited the revision of CIC canons 1087 and 1136[262] about marriage violence to promote harmonic cohabitation and the authority to grant the possibility of marriage by delegation.[263] And De Orbegozo, considering the rural condition of his jurisdiction, proposed the revision of CIC canon 1098, which only considered the marriage sacrament with wedding witnesses as valid. Due to the shortage of clergy, the reform would eliminate "the plague of cohabitation" (*la piaga del concubinato*).[264] The same *votum* was proposed by the vicar of San Ramón León de Uriarte. He suggested that civil marriage "solemn and legally celebrated between Christians could have a sacred effect and likewise of a sacrament."[265]

Florencio Coronado's *vota* on marriage contained only doctrinal-canonical proposals. They linked the situation of marriage with the Church-State relationship that was understood by the bishop of Huancavelica from a very traditional perspective. In the first *votum*, Coronado denounced the problem of having two marriage systems in Peru: civil marriage, regulated by the State, and religious marriage, the Catholic sacrament administered by the Church. He blamed civil marriage for the loss of authority and dignity of the Catholic marriage. This situation affected the people in rural areas. The second *votum* related to the former. Coronado complained against the 1934 law of absolute divorce[266] because it contradicted the canon law and morality. Hence, he suggested the celebration of a concordat between the State and the Church to save the value of Catholic marriage.[267]

On the penance, Landázuri and his auxiliaries sent another proposition in favour of a reform of canon law . It had to do with the extension of the time period granted to a priest to confess in a different diocese than his without being obliged to renew it every three days. The prelates also included a request for a clearer doctrine on penitence in the cases in which people remained for a long time without the benefice of the sacrament because they only received a priest once a year. Ariz, vicar of Puerto Maldonado, also added that priests could confess in any diocese without affecting the episcopal authority.[268] This request corresponded to the shortage of clergy in the rural areas.

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[262] Canon 1087 declared the marriage arranged by the use of exterior violence invalid, while canon 1136 recognized an invalid marriage when the person under violence consents to the marriage. The canons allowed many forms of surreptitious violence.

[263] AD I, II, VII, 508. Julio González, bishop of Puno, also proposed the preservation of the "sanctity of married life" not only from divorce but from all abuses that can occur in married life. The intrafamily violence in peasant communities was a common subject in rural areas. For instance, the Jesuit José Ramón González-Écija arrived to Quispicanchi (southern Cusco) in 1974. He was surprised of the fact that many peasants requested him to store a whip in the cupboard of the sacristy. He later discovered the logic. The whip stored in the sacristy sanctified the instrument in order to beat their wives and children. He worked many years to change this mentality. In: Interview with Father José Ramón González-Écija S.I. made by the author (Andahuaylillas, Cusco, 26th August, 2017).

[264] AD I, II, VII, 495, 507, 523-534.

[265] AD I, II, VII, 532. Luis Lituma Portocarrero, the canon of Lima and consultor during the Preparatory phase, shared the same canonical and theological opinion regarding the sacramental validity of civil marriage. See: Chapter 3.

[266] Carmen Julia Cabello, *Divorcio y jurisprudencia en el Perú* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1999), 32-34. Since 1934, new divorce legislation allowed the couple to get divorced by mutual agreement.

[267] AD I, II, VII, 497.

[268] AD I, II, VII, 507, 527.

2.13. Divine Office

The six Divine Office "wishes" belong to the category of liturgy. The prelates advocated for the simplification of the Divine Office appealing to the scarcity of clergy and the pastoral work of priests.[269] Only Mariano Valdivia Ortiz, whose *votum* mainly concerns the improvement of the clergy's spiritual life, suggested that the Divine Office should include the Matins and Lauds and also one hour meditation on the Doctrine and Life of the Lord.[270]

2.14. Ecumenism

Four bishops sent proposals that echoed John XXIII's concern on Christian ecumenism. However, three of them understood the ecumenical aim as unionism, that is to say, the return of Protestants and Orthodox into the Catholic Church.[271] For instance, Alfonso Zaplana (Tacna) considered the council as an opportunity for the return of dissidents and heretics by removing the accidental elements from faith, morals and obedience. This removal process should be a sort of concession for reunion. Hence, the council could mainly focus on the unity of the faith.[272] In the same vein, Angel Rodríguez (Iquitos) advised that converted Protestant ministers, very well educated and gifted with virtues, could be ordained, even if they were married.[273]

Alcides Mendoza (Puno) advised to establish a special commission to study the first and fundamental doctrines to pursue the union of the Christian communities (*Christianarum Confessionum unio assequatur*). Similarly, José Benavides (Chachapoyas) recommended that the council should establish a commission of prudent prelates where Orthodox and Protestant moderators could be invited to discuss together.[274]

All the ecumenical proposals fit into the doctrinal-canonical category because they unveiled the Peruvian bishops' understanding of the desire of John XXIII and the ecumenical questions. Accordingly, the bishops sought to resolve the problem via Unionism or the establishment of study commissions. The former was the classical approach, while the latter implied letting the door slightly open to doctrinal dialogue with other Christian communities.

2.15. Episcopate

There are nineteen *vota* referring to the episcopate, seventeen doctrinal-canonical and two liturgical. All of them regard the episcopal authority. Seven prelates send doctrinal-canonical proposals that demanded the revision of the religious exemption,[275] and more authority over the

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[269] AD I, II, VII, 504 (Alberto Dettmann, Ica), 507 (Juan Landázuri and his auxiliary bishops, Lima), 515 (Federico Pérez Silva, Trujillo), 520-521 (Nevin Hayes, Sicuani), 533 (Alcides Mendoza, Abancay).
[270] AD I, II, VII, 500.
[271] See Peter De Mey, "Johannes Willebrands and the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions (1952-1963)" in *The Ecumenical Legacy of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands (1909-2006)*, ed. Adelbert Denaux and Peter De Mey (Leuven, Paris, Walpole MA: Peeters, 2012), 49-77.
[272] AD I, II, VII, 510, 512. Zaplana also added that "1,300,000,000 hominum qui in Dominum Iesum Christum credunt Catholici, Apostolici et Romani sunt 500,000,000, scilicet paulo magis quam tertia pars. Nonne optabilius reliqua *in Fidei unitatem* redigere *hoc in Concilio Oecumenico?*"
[273] AD I, II, VII, 525.
[274] AD I, II, VII, 494 (José Benavides), 534 (Alcides Mendoza).
[275] The exemption is the complete or partial release of the religious congregations and institutes from the authority of the bishops and prelates, and the placing of them under the authority of their general superior. See: Sägmüller, Johannes Baptist, "Exemption," *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 5. New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1909, accessed on 1st Aug. 2022, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/05706a.htm.

administration of their jurisdiction and the priests.[276] On the authority over the religious congregations, most of the bishops demanded just more authority and some of them added some details. For instance, Mariano Valdivia (Huancayo) requested that the ordinary should have access to information regarding the administration of the temporal goods, the properties and other economic information of the religious institutes.[277] The missionary bishops and prelates, Marco Libardoni, Javier Ariz, José Laberge, León de Uriarte and Alcides Mendoza demanded more authority to order the religious men and women to support the mission and to collaborate with the local clergy and parish.[278]

Nemesio Rivera, Mariano Valdivia, Alberto Dettmann and Alcides Mendoza claimed more authority over the priests and their territories.[279] The proposal of Rivera summed up very well these "wishes." He requested the nuncio to allow him to quickly resolve the difficulties and install the right procedures in the dioceses and the right to manage parish properties. He added that the Holy See should grant more authority to local ordinaries.[280] The *vota* demanding more authority for the local ordinary reflected a canonical-juridical idea of the bishop as mainly an administrator of his territory.

Finally, Daniel Figueroa Villón, bishop of Chiclayo, demanded that the bishop should have the authority to modify the Paschal Triduum and the vigil of 31st December according to the needs of the dioceses.[281] Figueroa introduced, whether consciously or not, one of the important questions of liturgical reform: where should liturgical reform be discussed, and who should implement these reforms: the Roman Curia, each local bishop or the conference of bishops? Figueroa's *votum* shows the increasing importance of the local episcopal conferences and local bishops in a possible process of implementing liturgical reform.

2.16. Laity and Lay Movements

The "wishes" regarding the laity and lay movements are organised in nine pastoral, three doctrinal-canonical and three liturgical proposals. The pastoral *vota* came from bishops and prelates of missionary areas who demanded to get the laypeople and lay movements involved in the missionary work. Thus, Alfonso Zaplana, Ignacio de Orbegozo and Alcides Mendoza recommended incorporating lay missionaries, including married laypeople, in the pastoral work. They should receive a solid formation.[282] In the same vein, the bishops and prelates suggested that lay associations like Catholic Action, Legion of Mary, Third Orders and Confraternities should receive doctrinal and moral formation to prepare them to the apostolic work. For Valdivia, these groups should follow a formation like a novitiate, while Zaplana and De Orbegozo proposed to educate for lay apostolate and send laypeople where the clergy lacked.[283]

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[276] The bishops and prelates were Nemesio Rivera (Cajamarca), Mariano Valdivia (Huancayo), Alberto Dettmann (Ica), Marco Libardoni (Huari), Javier Ariz (Puerto Maldonado), León de Uriarte (San Ramón) and Alcides Mendoza (Abancay).
[277] AD I, II, VII, 500.
[278] AD I, II, VII, 518, 527, 530, 532, 534. Laberge also demanded that monks should be entirely under episcopal authority. Thus, the bishop could send them to infidels in missionary territories. Mendoza also requested that the canons should be obliged to have parish responsabilities.
[279] AD I, II, VII, 500, 504, 533.
[280] AD I, II, VII, 493. Rivera demanded that "parish priests are not more than the bishops" on parish property administration ("[…] que no sean los párrocos más que los Señores Obispos en este particular").
[281] AD I, II, VII, 495.
[282] AD I, II, VII, 511, 522, 534.
[283] AD I, II, VII, 500-501 (Mariano Valdivia), 511 (Alfonso Zaplana), 522 (Ignacio de Orbegozo), 525 (Angel Rodríguez). The latter recommended to establish *ad experimentum* lay men institute for the apostolate.

The doctrinal-canonical proposals addressed juridical and ecclesiological themes. Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón (Arequipa) suggested getting together the statutes of the different pious institutions to avoid confusion among the faithful.[284] The latter issue was prepared by the prelate of Sicuani Nevis Hayes who proposed the precise and coherent definition of the status and function of the laity in the Mystical Body.[285]

The liturgical wishes proposed by Alberto Dettmann (Ica) and Julio Gonzáles (Puno) fostered the major engagement of the faithful in the Mass through the knowledge of the Scriptures, the exposition of the Holy Sacrament and the absolution of venial sins with the formula "Confiteor" and the reception of the Sacred Sacrament.[286]

2.17. Liturgical Miscellanea

The liturgical miscellanea gathered different aspects concerning the liturgical renewal to simplify the rituals. The bishops proposed the simplification of the language of rubrics, the formulas of sacraments and the gathering of the liturgical rubrics and decrees in one collection.[287] Likewise, Nevis Hayes also added to adapt the activities to be done during feast days, and Alcides Mendoza suggested to unify the rituals, the order of Mass and the divine office in the entire Church.[288]

2.18. Marian Dogma

A recurrent doctrinal-canonical proposal was the call to grant the Virgin Mary the title of universal mediatrix. The cult of Mary had become central in the Catholic world since the 19th century. The suggestion of a new Marian dogma was, probably, a manner to reinforce the aura of holiness of the Catholic Church in an unstable and aggressive modern world. This proposal followed the Catholic dynamic against the modern world since the 19th century, and this *votum* was very present in requests from "Latin" Churches such as Argentina, Chile or Colombia.[289]

In Peru, five prelates demanded that the council would declare the dogma of Mary as universal mediator: Rodríguez Ballón, archbishop of Arequipa; Hayes, prelate of Sicuani; Rodríguez Gamoneda, apostolic vicar of Iquitos; Ariz Huarte, apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado; and De Uriarte Bengoa, apostolic vicar of San Ramón. The latter also claimed for the dogmatic declaration of Mary as "true Spiritual Mother of all humankind by the will of the her redeeming Son Jesus Christ" (*per voluntatem Filii sui Iesu Christi redemptoris est vere mater spiritualis totius generis humani*).[290]

2.19. Mass

Considering the missionary conditions of their jurisdictions, two prelates and two apostolic vicars prepared liturgical proposals regarding the celebration of the Eucharist. These *vota* responded to the rural circumstances of the missions. Friedrich Kaiser, the German prelate

[284] AD I, II, VII, 492.
[285] AD I, II, VII, 520.
[286] AD I, II, VII, 504, 508.
[287] AD I, II, VII, 492 (Leonardo Rodríguez), 494 (José Benavides), 509 (Julio González).
[288] AD I, II, VII, 521, 534. Mendoza also added that the diocesan priests and religious men should wear the same clothing.
[289] Fouilloux, "La fase antepreparatoria," 110. For instance, in the Chilean *vota*, also five bishops requested the Marian dogmatic declaration, see: Salinas, "Chile," 132.
[290] AD I, II, VII, 492, 520, 525, 526, 531.

of Caravelí, and Nevis Hayes requested the reform of the section of the "Proprium de Tempore"[291] of the Roman Missal and the introduction of more New Testament texts on Sunday and holy days when attending mass was obligatory, respectively.[292] Both prelates agreed that these changes could benefit the knowledge of the faithful regarding the Christian doctrine and the life of Jesus Christ.

Similarly, the apostolic vicars Angel Rodríguez (Iquitos) and Javier Ariz (Puerto Maldonado) demanded, respectively, that the faithful should receive communion outside the mass if they observe the Eucharistic fast, and the faithful should fulfil the annual obligation of communion by receiving Eucharist once a year, either at the beginning or the end of the year.[293]

2.20. Mission

The bishop vicar of San José del Amazonas Joseph Laberge began his doctrinal-canonical proposal by recalling the Franciscan commitment to the vicariate and the vocation of the Order for the Kingdom of Christ, and the expansion of the Gospel. Laberge proposed that the ecumenical council defines clearly the missionary works and the conditions and qualities to define the missionary work. For the vicar, the concept of the mission was so much extended with the result that pious work, as well as utilities and services of dioceses and parishes within Catholic regions, were also considered to be part of the missionary work. The problem was that the apostolate among non-believers was declining because of this confusion.[294] For the prelate, it was inappropriate to use the term mission for both the work among the faithful and the evangelization of non-Christians. According to the vicar, the missions were only the work among infidels in non-Catholic regions.

Laberge's understanding of missionary work was very limited and entered into crisis during the sessions of Vatican II, where the notion was expanded and re-signified along with the idea of the Church and its pastoral commitment to the world.

2.21. Modern Technology

The proposals about modern technology fit into the category of adaptation. These "wishes" demanded changes to improve the liturgical services in the Church. Julio Gonzáles (Puno) requested the admission of "lux sic dicta electrica" in the temple because it referred to the Splendour of the Eternal Light.[295] Similarly, Federico Pérez (Trujillo) requested the use of playback devices for voice and music in regions where the parish priest had 10 to 20 communities annexed to the parish. The request sought to benefit the faithful's attendance to Sunday and feast mass.[296]

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[291] "The *Proprium de tempore* begins with the first Sunday of Advent and ends with the last Sunday after Pentecost. It includes, after Advent, the parts assigned for the Christmas season (six Sundays); Septuagesima, three weeks; Lent, six weeks; Paschal time, fifty days; Pentecost, and the twenty-four Sundays after. Most of the Sundays comprising this cycle, and often weekdays, have special Offices which composed the *Proprium de tempore*." See: Cabrol, Fernand. "Proprium," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia,* Vol. 12 (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1911), accessed on 1st August 2022, http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12481a.htm.
[292] AD I, II, VII, 517, 520.
[293] AD I, II, VII, 525, 527.
[294] AD I, II, VII, 530.
[295] AD I, II, VII, 509.
[296] AD I, II, VII, 515.

2.22. Parish

Four "wishes", two doctrinal-canonical and two pastoral, regarding the parish are found in the Peruvian *vota*. The pastoral proposals were sent by Carlos Jurgens (Cusco) and Alcides Mendoza (Abancay) who asked for authorisation to use portable altars without a time limit to attend to the spiritual needs of the faithful in rural areas.[297] The two doctrinal-canonical proposals were prepared by Florencio Coronado (Huancavelica). His *vota* on the parishes were related to pecuniary issues. He began with a complaint that the terrible distribution of goods in every nation also takes place in the ecclesiastical territories and also in dioceses and parishes. In the case of his diocese, Coronado asserted that it had only "four houses." He demanded a more equitable distribution of temporal goods among dioceses and parishes in every local Church.[298]

The bishop also requested that the Holy See grants the Dioceses the administration of earthly goods of Confraternities (*Cofradías*), which had the administration and usufruct of goods. Behind this proposal, Coronado probably considered the diocesan economic difficulties produced by the encroachment of ecclesiastical goods by indigenous communities and civil power. It seems that the financial situation was a significant concern for the bishop. For him, the properties of "Cofradías" may help the ecclesiastical finances. The prelate was the only one who mentioned this situation in a *votum* as a real challenge for local parishes and their sustainability over time.

Nevertheless, many of the "ecclesiastical goods" encroached on by indigenous communities were community lands which the diocese of Huancavelica registered as its own in the 1940s.[299] From the 1960s onwards, the land occupation and the claim for an agrarian reform became a widespread indigenous' social agenda in the Peruvian Southern Andes, which menaced the rural properties of the Andean churches.

2.23. Priesthood

The priesthood topic gathers ten doctrinal-canonical and five pastoral proposals. The doctrinal-canonical *vota* addressed mainly juridical changes to improve the priests' mission and discipline. Among the doctrinal-canonical "wishes," five bishops from rural territories requested the common life for priests to protect their celibate and avoid moral relaxation.[300] The bishops Nemesio Rivera (Cajamarca) and José Benavides (Moyobamba), both from mainly rural dioceses, even demanded to "mitigate" the law of ecclesiastical celibacy. Benavides also added that the law of celibacy should be adapted to the local situation.[301]

For their part, Teodosio Moreno (Huaraz), together with Juan Landázuri and his auxiliaries (Lima), proposed to consider fair sustenance for clergy. Landázuri and his auxiliaries also recommended the creation of a common fund with alms and other donations collected by the faithful and to permit priests to subsist with their profane profession and inheritances.[302]

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[297] AD I, II, VII, 496, 533.
[298] AD I, II, VII, 499.
[299] Robert Peñares and Wilfredo Quinto Paquiyauri, "Movimientos campesinos en la región de Huancavelica 1960-1980" (Licenciate Thesis, Universidad Nacional de Huancavelica, Huancavelica, 2014), 58. From the second half of the 1950s, the politization of the indigenous peasants was demonstrated with occupation of lands. See: María Lourdes Murri, "Los movimientos campesinos de la sierra peruana: una mirada desde la decolonialidad," *Millcayac. Revista Digital de Ciencias Sociales*, VI, nº 10 (2019): 101-124.
[300] AD I, II, VII, 498 (Florencio Coronado), 508 (Julio González), 510 (Alfonso Zaplana), 518 (Marco Libardoni), 525 (Angel Rodríguez).
[301] AD I, II, VII, 493, 494.
[302] AD I, II, VII, 503, 506-507.

Moreover, Moreno referred to the secularisation of religious priests who have been judged for a grave cause. Moreno requested that before those priests were admitted to any other diocese, they must follow the novitiate again during an appropriate time (*congruum tempus*).[303]

The pastoral "wishes" deal with recommendations to improve the priests' pastoral work. Two *vota* were concerned about the care of the clergy. The first was sent by Mariano Valdivia (Huancayo), who proposed that the clergy should once a year do eight-day spiritual exercises and every five years thirty-day spiritual exercises.[304] The second, prepared by Alfonso Zaplana (Tacna), recommended establishing retirement homes and hospitals for elderly clerics.[305] The three next "wishes" sought to improve the clergy's pastoral action. Thus, Julio González (Puno) demanded the right for the priests to grant the sacrament of confirmation to people "in articulo mortis."[306] Alfonso Zaplana suggested effacing the mass stipend, and Valerio Arroyo (Requena) proposed that the spiritual and intellectual education of Catholics was led forth by priests.[307]

2.24. Protestantism

There were two doctrinal-canonical *vota*, written by the vicars Javier Ariz (Puerto Maldonado) and Valeriano Arroyo (Requena), that explicitly mention the menace of Protestantism. The former expressed his concern about the spread of "dissident sects," which he had complained in a letter to Aniceto Fernández of invading the Amazonian territory.[308] Ariz considered that it was possible to redirect Protestants of "good faith" to the Catholic Church. While, the latter was concerned about the expansion of Protestantism in the Hispanic-American nations. Arroyo proposed the union of all Catholic faithful to extend Catholicism and restore its splendour in the region.[309]

2.25. Religious Congregations

The seven *vota*, two pastoral and five doctrinal-canonical, regarding the religious congregations came mainly from bishops and prelates of missionary areas, prelatures and apostolic vicariates. The only exception was the bishop of Tacna, Alfonso Zaplana. Two pastoral concerns regarding the religious congregations arrived from Peru. The first found its justification in the shortage of clergy and demanded that monks and contemplatives nuns should be included in the pastoral activities of the Church. The second warned the superiors to take care of the missionary vocations of seminarians, giving them the best training that foster their missionary call.[310]

The five doctrinal-canonical *vota* gather very diverse requests. For instance, Libardoni (Huari) proposed a better distribution of religious people, priests and economic goods in the missions. On the missions, Arroyo (Requena) suggested that provincial procurators were instituted in the national missions to promote the correct execution of missionary tasks. These provincial procurators were integrated in the Religious Order Procurator of the national mission.

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[303] AD I, II, VII, 503. Moreno did not explicit the meaning of "grave cause."
[304] AD I, II, VII, 499.
[305] AD I, II, VII, 510-511.
[306] AD I, II, VII, 509.
[307] AD I, II, VII, 510, 529.
[308] See: Chapter 1.
[309] AD I, II, VII, 526, 528.
[310] AD I, II, VII, 511 (Alfonso Zaplana), 528 (Valeriano Arroyo).

It was a manner to centralise the missionary government of the religious orders. He also asked for the regular evaluation of all missions to find a timely remedy.

Laberge (San José del Amazonas) also demanded that the council would establish suitable rules (*regulas aptas*) for an efficient and universal missionary vocation within the religious institutes and monastic congregations to apply in missionary territories. Finally, concerning the internal organization of religious congregations, the Franciscan vicar León de Uriarte (San Ramón) requested the simplification of the rite for temporal and permanent vows for female and male religious.[311]

2.26. Saint Joseph

From a canonical-dogmatic perspective, the vicar of San Ramón, León de Uriarte suggested the declaration of Saint Joseph as the putative father of Jesus, the true husband of the Virgen Mary, head of the Holy Family, and after Jesus and Mary, prince of all saints.[312]

2.27. Seminary

The five doctrinal-canonical proposals refer to education in seminaries, and they were prepared by three bishops. Alfonso Zaplana only recommended severely reinforcing education in Seminaries. However, the vicars Rodríguez (Iquitos) and Arroyo (Requena) proposed concrete suggestions for seminarian formation. The former endorsed the reformation of seminaries according to the minds of Pius XI's encyclical *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii* (1935) and Pius XII's apostolic constitution *Sedes Sapientiae* (1956), and the incorporation of psychologists in the priestly formation houses, both secular and religious ones. The latter recommended that missionary priests should have a solid theological and philosophical formation. Thus, the seminaries of theology with their Augustinian-Bonaventurean tradition should not only be a place where future priests become acquainted with a method of argumentation but also with sapiential sources.[313] Arroyo, as a Franciscan bishop, seemed to echo pleas for a theological *réssourcement* based on the Church Fathers and medieval theology.

2.28. Vernacular

Thirteen prelates of twenty-nine advocated for the use of the vernacular in the liturgy. Of all of them, only Martín Elorza Legaristi, prelate of Moyobamba, demanded the use of vernacular for the whole liturgy (mass, sacraments and rituals) because "in the primitive Church the liturgy was in vernacular to reach all the faithful." The reason for his concern was the current situation of a region "attacked by Protestant propaganda." Elorza described that "the use of an unknown language in the liturgy is one of the weapons they [Protestants] employ to attack the Catholic Church." [314] Even though the prelate's reasoning was in line with an advanced idea of liturgical reform, he also intended to protect the faithful from Protestantism by offering Church liturgy to the faithful in the vernacular.

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[311] AD I, II, VII, 518, 528-529, 532.
[312] AD I, II, VII, 531.
[313] AD I, II, VII, 510, 525, 528.
[314] AD I, II, VII, 519. "El rico contenido de las oraciones y hasta de las exhorataciones, lecciones, epístolas y Evangelio que van dirigidos a los mismos fieles, caen en vacío y quedan sin sentido, si no hay alguien que les explique, por hablárseles en lengua para ellos desconocida. En la primitiva Iglesia la liturgia era en lengua vulgar, al alcance de los creyentes."

Five bishops and prelates exclusively mentioned the use of vernacular in the administration of sacraments.[315] Figueroa (Chiclayo) and Ariz (Puerto Maldonado) argued that the reason was to improve the faithful's understanding of the sacraments. Five other prelates requested the translation into the vernacular of the sacraments and parts of the mass. The prelates coincided that the readings and the first parts of the mass should be translated.[316] Kühner (Tarma) asserted that the mass ritual should be adapted to the "understanding and sentiment of the local people," and Federico Pérez (Trujillo) argued that Latin was an unknown language in Latin America.

Finally, Nevis Hayes (Sicuani) recommended the preparation and approval of a translation into the vernacular of the Catholic rites for every single nation, primarily for South America. Besides, Alcides Mendoza (Abancay) explicitly asked for a translation into Quechua, the main indigenous language of the Peruvian Andes, of the biblical readings and the rites of the mass.[317]

2.29. World Affairs

Teodosio Moreno (Huaraz) was the only bishop in South America who expressed his concern about racism in the continent. He asked in his pastoral *votum*: "is it suitable to remind the unity of the human race because of the damage produced by the segregation, that is to say, the systematic separation between black and white human beings in the civil society?"[318] De Orbegozo (Yauyos) also sent two pastoral *vota* expressing a general appreciation for the international role of the Church. He claimed that Church representatives should participate in the study and resolving of the problems of underdeveloped countries. Moreover, the Church representatives could be members of Institutes which have been commissioned to the missions.[319] It seems that Orbegozo wanted to put the spotlight on his Institute, the Opus Dei, and its missionary model of perfect and complete obedience to the prelate.

Landázuri and his two auxiliary bishops prepared one doctrinal-canonical *votum,* including three recommendations related to pastoral care and the public image of the Church. The first was the creation of a Roman congregation with laymen truly experts (*viri vere experti*) who could advise about the conditions of life on the continent or, as an alternative, the endowment of more faculties of the Pontifical Commission for Latin America. The second was the creation of regional offices for the service of the community, such as universities for the clergy and the laity, the press, the cinema, the radio, and other areas. The third was the elaboration of new norms for the collaboration between secular and religious clergy, laws to engage secular and religious clergy for the promotion of the common good and to promote the partnership between both clergies.[320]

2.30. The Category of Complaint

The category of complaints gathers the perspective of the bishops on the main problems facing the Church. These problems were the shortage of clergy and the spread of Protestantism.

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[315] AD I, II, VII, 495 (Daniel Figueroa), 503 (Teodosio Moreno), 504 (Alberto Dettmann), 508 (Julio González), 527 (Javier Ariz).
[316] AD I, II, VII, 492 (Leonardo Rodríguez), 515 (Federico Pérez), 521 (Antonio Kuhner), 525 (Angel Rodríguez), 532 (León de Uriarte).
[317] AD I, II, VII, 520, 534.
[318] AD I, II, VII, 503.
[319] AD I, II, VII, 522-524.
[320] AD I, II, VII, 506.

Ignacio Arbulú (Huánuco), Teodosio Moreno (Huaraz) and Ignacio de Orbegozo (Yauyos) began their *votum* denouncing the shortage of clergy as the main problem for the Church and its pastoral work and mission. For De Orbegozo, all his recommendations were based on this affirmation,[321] and, Martín Elorza (Chachapoyas) argued that the spread of Protestantism was a reason for the liturgical reform.

The most representative *votum* of this category was sent by Ignacio Arbulú, bishop of Huánuco. The proposal is a general complaint concerning the scarcity of clergy and the lack of priestly vocations. For Arbulú Pineda, "the celebration of the council is for us necessary, mainly in the current tempestuous times in which the evil spirit manifests itself in many ways."[322] He described the hard work for priestly vocations and its permanent failure, and even worse, many young priests left. Due to this situation, he cannot fulfil his episcopal duty because "in the Father's vineyard, there are no evangelical workers […] nothing can be done. No apostolate … no Catholic Action."

Because of this situation, the bishop asked about the validity of CIC canon 1353, which indicated that the parish priests and priests must work with children who show signs of an ecclesiastical vocation. Consequently, for the bishop, the council had to deal with this challenging situation to "resolve these important ecclesiastical questions."[323] Arbulú's conception of the Church was very clerical and hierarchical. Without the clergy, it was not possible to sustain the Church. There is no mention of the possibility of the laity's collaboration with the Church apostolate.

3. Conclusion

The use of new criteria for the analysis of the Peruvian *vota* shows that the classical study and classification of them are not that satisfactory for understanding the theological and pastoral particularities of the Catholic Church in Peru. It is necessary to put aside the classical analysis of the *vota* based on the criteria of John XXIII's objectives for the council or the theological division in the aula between the majority and minority.

There are three factors to consider for the study of the Peruvian *vota*. The first is the context of renewal, although the weight of the veiled censorship during the pontificate of Pope Pius XII,[324] influenced many of the *vota*. The tension between renewal and tradition appeared, for instance, in the *vota* regarding the liturgy. The second is that Cardinal Tardini sent a letter proposing subjects for the council, such as doctrine, the discipline of the clergy and Christian people and other issues. This letter suggested an outline for the bishops' and prelates' *vota*. Tardini's suggestions also exposed an idea of theology as mainly canonical and doctrinal reflection and the goal of a council as a synod to reassure and readjust the doctrine. The third is that Pope John XXIII called an ecumenical council and the renovation of the Code of Canon Law.

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[321] AD I, II, VII, 522. "Le più grandi e gravi difficoltà per il ministero e l'apostolato nei territori di missioni - de iure vel de facto - derivano, come e ben noto, dalla scarsità del clero e dalle numerose esigenze dei fedeli che, per tale motivo, non possono essere soddisfatte. Avendo presenti tali esigenze e considerando il suddetto stato di fatto, passo a proporre alcune idee e suggerimenti, che, convenientemente vagliati e discussi, potrebbero forse offrire il modo di sopperire, in qualche misura, alle attuali difficoltà."

[322] AD I, II, VII, 501. "Celebratio Concilii nimis quam necessaria est nobis, praesertim in his aerumnosis temporibus in quibus spiritus malignus multimodis se ostendit." Arbulú's assertion seems similar to § 36 of the first *De Ecclesia* of Vatican II: 'De crisi et vera notione auctoritatis'. See: "Draft of a Dogmatic Constitution on the Church (1962)," accessed on 1st August 2024, https://jakomonchak.files.wordpress.com/2013/07/draft-of-de-ecclesia-chs-1-11.pdf.

[323] AD I, II, VII, 502.

[324] Alberigo, "El anuncio del concilio," 21, 34.

Regarding the first, there were no objectives outlined from the beginning, while the latter also impacted many *vota*.

Consequently, the main historiography and Klaiber's balance of Peruvian *vota* do not correspond to its complexity and particularity. Therefore, I have sought to entangle the classification of the *vota*. It is necessary to move from the analysis of the situation from a post-Vatican II outlook to a historical-theological categorization based on the themes proposed by the episcopate and the reasoning behind them. The reasoning is represented in the four analytical categories: doctrinal-canonical, pastoral, liturgy and adaptation. These categories are related to twenty-eight themes proposed to the council by the Peruvian bishops and prelates. Eighteen subcategories fall under only one of the analytical categories, nine subcategories fall into two analytical categories, and one subcategory gets into three analytical categories.[325] However, there were different reasons that a bishop or a prelate exposed in requesting one of the subcategories of analysis.

For instance, in the 15 requests for the vernacular, which fall into the liturgical category, there were different reasons. There were apologetic reasons (the spread of Protestantism), theological concerns (the involvement of the faithful in the celebration of the sacraments and the mass,) and practical considerations (Latin was an unknown language in Latin America). Similarly, the *vota* regarding the subcategory of the diaconate and lay ministry, which gets into the doctrinal-canonical and pastoral categories, also had different motivations. For instance, some bishops found the pastoral consequences of the shortage of clergy as a reason for married deacons. On the other hand, Metzinger, the prelate of Ayaviri, demanded a canonical and theological inquiry for the lay ministry. The same was the case of the subcategory of the laity, which falls under the doctrinal-canonical, pastoral and liturgical categories.

Therefore, the Peruvian *vota* shed light on the complexity of the Church situation from the perspective of the episcopate. While in Western Europe, the debate between the *nouvelle théologie* and the Roman school was at the spotlight of the theological debates, in many Latin American Catholic Churches, the new socio-political problems, the spread of Protestantism and the fear of communism shaped the concerns of the lay movements and of the episcopate since the 1950s. At the same time, together with the lay movements and the episcopal openness to new challenges, in many apostolic vicariates, prelatures and dioceses, there were more traditional concerns. Protestantism, the evangelisation of infidels and the threat of communism were issues of concern. The persistence of an anti-modernist mindset cohabited with the renewal emerging from pastoral experiences, doctrinal and canonical demands for renewal and the commitment of laypeople to ecclesial issues. Two ecclesial worlds were going hand in hand in Peru on the eve of the Council.

The *vota* depict a Church portrait which was diverse such as the different theological, juridical, pastoral and contextual of the Peruvian episcopate. This local Church portrait gives a new perspective for the understanding of the diversity of the Church and the country prior to Vatican II. Furthermore, the episcopal *vota* display clear ideas about the profile of some local prelates. Likewise, the prelates reflected the Church situation, between the renewal and the apologetic styles for pastoral care. Therefore, the *vota*, being an assessment of the Peruvian Church from an episcopal perspective, were also the portrait of a Church in an unfolding process of pastoral and ecclesial renewal.

[325] See: Table 10.

CHAPTER III. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PERUVIAN HIERARCHY DURING THE PREPARATORY PHASE OF VATICAN II

On 5th June 1960, during the Feast of Pentecost, Pope John XXIII issued the motu proprio *Superno Dei,* which marked the end of the antepreparatory phase and the beginning of the preparatory period. *Superno Dei* recalled the image of a "new Pentecost" because, for John XXIII, the council should be a new phase in the Church's life with a renewal coming directly from the Holy Spirit[326] and it should promote the "restauratio et renovatio universalis Ecclesiae."[327] For the Pope, the pastoral was the hermeneutical key to understand the preparatory period and the conciliar work itself.[328] According to the Pope's desire, the preparatory phase incorporated bishops and prelates from different countries as a clear sign of the catholicity of the Church.[329]

The Holy See invited different prelates from Peru throughout the preparatory phase to fulfil different assignments. The two main Peruvian protagonists of this preparatory period were the archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts, and the canon of the Cathedral of Lima, Luis Lituma Portocarrero, who were involved in the preparatory conciliar work. Both were officially invited to be part of preparatory commissions. Archbishop Landázuri was appointed as a member of the Pontifical Central Preparatory Commission (CPC), while canon Lituma was assigned as a consultor of the Preparatory Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments.

Another two Peruvian prelates were involved in this phase by preparing reports to preparatory commissions. They were not members or consultor of any commissions but they were invited. Cardinal Gaetano Cicognani, president of the Commission on the Sacred Liturgy, sent a request to the episcopal conferences regarding the situation of their liturgical commissions. The questionnaire was prepared by José Dammert Bellido, auxiliary bishop of Lima and secretary of that commission, in March 1961. The second person was the Jesuit priest Ricardo Durand, apostolic visitor of seminaries in Peru, who was invited as a reporter for the Commission on the Seminaries, Studies, and Catholic Education. His task was to prepare a *votum* regarding spiritual formation and discipline in seminaries.

This chapter analyses the participation of the Peruvian prelates in the preparatory phase to shed light on their theological and doctrinal background and their idea of pastoral and Church renewal. This study begins with the contribution of Luis Lituma Portocarrero to the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments. The second part studies the reports of Ricardo Durand and

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[326] Antonino Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina o annunciare l'evangelo. Il dibatitto nella Commissione centrale preparatoria del Vaticano II* (Genova: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1992), 5-6.

[327] Quoted in Joseph Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio durante la preparación," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II,* vol. I, eds. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 1999), 158.

[328] Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 158. Through *Superno Dei nutu*, John XXIII created ten commissions which mostly corresponded to the Roman Congregations, except for the Preparatory Commission for the Lay Apostolate. He also established three secretaries: the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, the Secretariat for Press and Media, and the Administrative Secretariat. See: Alberto Melloni, dir., *Vatican II. The Complete History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), 58-59. The correspondence between the preparatory commissions and Curial offices produced power plays. Each commission pursued to elaborate a draft which confirms the doctrinal and disciplinary definitions proposed in the previous years. Hence, as Melloni asserts, "seventy drafts and documents were produced that claimed to standardize all the material with which the Roman Curia had been engaged over the years."

[329] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 4. The distinction among the members and consultors who lived in Rome and outside the city was problematic. For instance, Felici spoke of the members and consultors from outside Rome as "membra honoraria." Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 163.

José Dammert to two Preparatory Commissions. The third section examines the participation of archbishop Landázuri in the Central Preparatory Commission. The chapter ends by retrieving the main doctrinal, canonical, and theological ideas behind the intervention of the Peruvian prelates in the preparatory period of Vatican II.

1. The Canon Luis Lituma Portocarrero, Consultor of the Preparatory Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments

The Preparatory Commission *De disciplina sacramentorum* began its sessions on 10th November 1960. The commission organised six sessions between November 1960 and March 1962.[330] The Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments was presided over by Cardinal Benedetto Aloisi Masella, prefect of the Sacred Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacraments. The secretary of the commission was the Spanish Jesuit Raimundo Bidagor.[331] The preparatory commission had 25 members and 15 consultors, of whom 16 lived in Rome, and 40% were members of the Roman Curia. The commission also had 15 members who were part of the Roman congregation. One of the consultors was the German Jesuit Karl Rahner.

According to the *Quaestiones Commissionibus Praeparatoriis Positae*,[332] the commission received five topics to debate. The first issue was *De confirmatione,* related to extending the bishop's faculties to administer confirmation. The second, *De poenitentia,* referred to extending the jurisdiction to confession and how to deal with reserved sins. *De ordine* was the third topic and dealt with the restoration of the minor orders and the diaconate, and the appropriate age for minor orders. In *De matrimonio* were discussed the reduction of procedures for marriage and the impediments to marriage. Finally, *De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt* was related to the problem of priests who had left the ministry.[333] For every session, one of the members or consultors prepared an exposition of the themes entrusted to the commission.[334]

Among the commission's consultors was the Peruvian canon of the Cathedral of Lima, Monsignor Pablo Luis Felipe Lituma Portocarrero. He was born on 29th August 1908 in the province of Huancabamba, Piura, northern Peru. In 1929, he started his studies in Canon Law at the Pontifical Gregorian University, where he obtained the title of Doctor in 1932. During these years, he lived in the Pontifical Latin American College and was ordained in Rome on 25th October 1931.[335] Lituma also received a doctorate in Sacred Theology at the Faculty of Theology of Lima. He spoke Italian and French.

After his studies, Lituma served as vicar in parishes in northern Peru, Tambo Grande and Paita (Piura), then part of the diocese of Trujillo. In 1936, the authorities of the Pontifical Catholic University of Peru invited him to teach and to be responsible for the chaplaincy of the Educational School of the University. Lituma then became a professor at the Catholic University (1936-1951,

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[330] The plenary sessions were on 10th-17th November, 1960; 27th February-24th March, 1961; 4th-11th May, 1961; 10th-23rd October, 1961; 29th January-8th February 1962; and, 12th-17th March, 1962.

[331] Diccionario Biográfico electrónico, "Ramón Bidagor," in http://dbe.rah.es/biografias/19846/ramon-bidagor. Bidagor was consultor of the Congregation for the Discipline of the Sacrament since 1939, and also consultor of other Roman congregations. He was also professor at Pontifical Gregorian University. Because of his profile, Bidagor was considered to be a theologian according to the Roman mindset.

[332] The *Quaestiones* contained the main topics for the elaboration of the schemata. They were prepared by the Antepreparatory Commission and sent to the commissions chairs.

[333] Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 174; Melloni, dir., *Vatican II. The Complete History*, 68.

[334] Maria Paiano, "Il rinnovamento della liturgia: dai movimenti alla chiesa universale," in *Verso il Concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962)*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (Genova: Marietti, 1993), 139.

[335] APCPL, Nº 1576: Lituma Portocarrero, Pablo Luis.

1954-1959) and the Faculty of Theology of Lima (1941-1961). He also taught at different public and private schools in Lima. He was a lecturer in canon law, religious and sociological institutions, introduction to philosophy and moral philosophy of education, moral theology, and ecclesiastical history.[336] In Lima, he was acknowledged for his profound erudition and kindness and proximity with his pupils.[337]

Apart from his intense educational labour, he worked as a member of the archdiocesan curia of Lima. In 1938, he was admitted as a member of the Chapter of the Cathedral of Lima as *beneficiatus*. In 1940 he got the position of *canonicus magistralis,* and in 1951 he became *cantor*.[338] During this period, Lituma became an active counsellor of the archdiocese. The canon also had the position of *defensor vinculi* between 1941 and 1943. The job consisted of the defence of the indissolubility of marriage during the process of dissolution. Between 1942 and 1960, Lituma was also *censor librorum* in the archdiocese of Lima. On the eve of the council, he was also the diocesan examiner.

Because of his reputation, Lituma was also consultor of the Apostolic Nunciature in Peru, and the Holy See granted him with the honorific offices of domestic prelate of Pius XII (1952) and Apostolic Protonotary (1955).[339] The canon published many books on moral education for school and university students, and he also translated into Spanish the book of the Belgian Jesuit Arthur Vermeersch intitled *Catecismo del matrimonio cristiano según la Encíclica Casti Connubii* (Lima: Sanmartí, 1937).[340] The topic of marriage became one of his expertises during his years in Peru.

In September of 1960, Monsignor Lituma was invited to be part of the preparatory phase as consultor of the Preparatory Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments. At that moment, he was a well-known priest with many disciples among the clergy all over the country, one of them was José Dammert Bellido, auxiliary bishop of Lima.[341] Lituma sent his personal information to the preparatory commission in April 1961.

On 13th December 1960, the Commission secretary, Raimundo Bidagor asked him for a proposal on *De forma extraordinaria celebrationis matrimonii*.[342] The theme dealt with the problematic relationship between civil marriage and religious marriage. By 27th April 1961, the Peruvian consultor submitted his *votum* on *De forma celebrationis matrimonii*. After arriving in Rome, on 6th November 1961, he also presented two brief reports on the subject of *De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt*. Therefore, Lituma participated, at least, in the third meeting of the Preparatory Commission.[343] His report on *De sacerdotibus* was signed in Vatican City on 6th

[336] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1054, fasc. 4, "Status personalis" di Luis Lituma Portocarrero; José Dammert Bellido, "Bronces en el tiempo. Veinticinco años de sacerdocio de Mons. Lituma," *El amigo del clero*, nº 1577 (1956), 275.
[337] Dammert Bellido, "Bronces en el tiempo," 275.
[338] Due to the Spanish colonial heritage, the Cathedral chapter in Peru had between 11 and 12 canons. The "cantor" or "chantre" did not have the obligation to sing and to direct the Cathedral choir. For that role, a "sochantre" was appointed.
[339] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 1054, fasc. 4, "Status personalis" di Luis Lituma Portocarrero.
[340] The book was first published in Bruges in 1931 with the title "Catéchisme du marriage chrétien d'après l'encyclique 'Casti connubii'." Vermeersch was professor at the Gregorian University and was the main drafter of the encyclical "Casti connubii." Probably, Lituma met Vermeersch during his study period at Rome.
[341] Dammert Bellido, ""Bronces en el tiempo. Veinticinco," 276.
[342] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 1056, fasc. 5, "Corrispondenza con i Membri e Consultori della Commissione (1960)."
[343] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 1056, fasc. 6, "Corrispondenza con i Membri e Consultori della Commissione (1961-1962)".

November 1961. Lituma was present in Rome together with the archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts in November 1961.

1.1. The Report on *De forma extraordinaria celebrationis matrimonii* (April 1961)

The *votum*, written in Spanish, was published under the title "On the celebration of the sacrament of matrimony out of danger of death, but not in case of necessity."[344] The report is mainly a canonical discussion on the pertinence of CIC canon 1098 that considered, under danger of death, valid and licit Catholic marriage contracted before the witnesses alone without the presence of a priest.[345] Lituma began defending the right to choose the marriage as a fundamental right rooted in the "dignity that the human being has received from God."[346] This fundamental right of every human being is the core of Lituma's stance in favour of the marriage contracted before the witnesses alone.

After presenting a long history of CIC canon 1098, Lituma proposed three questions regarding the canon: 1. Should the marriage contracted before witnesses alone be preserved?; 2. In what kind of circumstances?; and 3. Are there any exceptions?[347] The answer to the first question was positive. For Lituma, it was necessary to maintain the marriage contracted before the witnesses alone. The circumstances considered in the second inquiry should be maintained when a priest is absent for more than one month, as it was established by canon 1098. The answer to the third question excluded the equation between civil marriage and religious marriage, which was typical of the Peruvian ecclesiastical tradition.[348]

Lituma's reasons were based on sociological data and the socio-ecclesial reality. The sociological data pointed to the increase in world population measured by the United Nations and the imbalance between this increase and the number of priestly ordinations. Besides, because of the spread of laicism, paganism, atheism and communism, the priestly and religious vocations were declining in the entire world. On that account, according to Lituma, the impossibility of marrying before a priest or a vicar would become common. Hence, Lituma feared that the number of cases of moral impossibility to marry would increase in the future. The only manner to avoid this situation was to expand the circumstances when a marriage contracted before the witnesses alone was valid and licit.[349]

The social-ecclesial reality referred to Peru and Latin America, where most rural towns only received a priest once a year. According to Lituma, this situation explained the lack of canonical marriages, which was not the case of civil marriages celebrated before civil authorities and witnesses in rural areas. However, for the Peruvian canon, those civil marriages could be recognised as religious under an explicit canonical disposition that safeguards the Church's

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[344] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración del sacramento del matrimonio fuera del peligro de Muerte, pero no en caso de necesidad," in Pontificia Commissio de Sacramentis Praeparatoria Concilii Vaticani II, *Quaestio IV De Matrimonio. 5. De forma celebrationis matrimonii* (Roma, 1961), 76-81.

[345] CIC 1917, c. 1098: "Si haberi vel adiri nequeat sine gravi incommodo parochus vel Ordinarius vel sacerdos delegatus qui matrimonio assistant ad normam canonum 1095, 1096: 1° In mortis periculo validum et licitum est matrimonium contractum coram solis testibus; et etiam extra mortis periculum, dummodo prudenter praevideatur eam rerum conditionem esse per mensem duraturam; 2° In utroque casu, si praesto sit alius sacerdos qui adesse possit, vocari et, una cum testibus, matrimonio assistere debet, salva coniugii validitate coram solis testibus."

[346] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración," 76.

[347] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración," 77.

[348] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración," 78.

[349] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración," 78.

authority on sacraments. He recommended making the civil marriage canonically valid and licit by preparing a special ceremony and adding a prayer. The canon was aware of the fear and resistance of some bishops about this canonical disposition, but the rural reality and the lack of priests were situations that had to be addressed.[350] Hence, for Lituma, reality and pastoral necessity prevailed over the canonical ideal.

1.2. The Reports on *De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt* (November, 1961)

On 6th November 1961, canon Luis Lituma Portocarrero prepared two reports – also written in Spanish – for Raimundo Bidagor, secretary of the commission.[351] The first one was about priests who had left the priesthood because of concubinage. The second report was on the civil marriage of priests and its impact on the priestly concubinage. Lituma's reports had canonical and disciplinary propositions, both focusing on the priesthood. However, they were based on the situation and pastoral needs of the priests. Like in the previous report, the reality and pastoral care fostered the reform of canon law and ecclesial discipline to address the new socio-ecclesial challenges.

1.2.1. The Report on the Priests Who Have Left the Priesthood.

Lituma began with an assessment of the clergy's morality. He acknowledged that there was no serious study on the topic. According to him, much information was produced by inexact sources such as gossip ("habladurías y chismes"), racial prejudice, and outlined imperialism.[352] For Lituma, the clergy concubinage "is not a pandemic," but he proposed six socio-ecclesial reasons to explain it. The first relates to the loss of the clergy's economic, political, and social status in towns and villages. Many members of the clergy received lower incomes than other professionals.

Lituma's second reason was a clerical argument. He recognized that the "increase of the democratic awareness and of people's own rights" had changed Peruvian society. It influenced the aspiration of women of lower origin to have a profitable marriage. If she "falls," that is, if she gets pregnant without being a married woman, the family looks for a dignified solution. Additionally, Peruvian laws promote responsible paternity. Lituma's position seems to demonstrate that, because of the mentality changes in Peruvian society, a priest had to leave the priesthood if he got involved in a relationship. Lituma's clerical position unfolded his concern about how social change may affect the possibilities of reconciling "fallen" priests with the Church.

For Lituma, a third reason was the social effects produced by new roads among towns. According to him, it was easier to go from one place to another, be identified as a newcomer, and recognise an immoral situation. The fourth reason was the local sensationalist press, which always highlighted the scandal. The fifth reason was the spread of Protestantism, which made the "fallen

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[350] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1063, fasc. 4. "Acerca de la celebración," 80.

[351] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt". There are two reports in the fasc. 4: 1. "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero presenta al M.R.P. Raimundo Bidagor secretario de la Pontificia Comisión de la Disciplina de los Sacramentos para la preparación del Concilio Ecuménico II Vaticano. Fue hecho en la Ciudad del Vaticano, el 6 de noviembre de 1961" (4 p.), and; fasc. 2. "Matrimonio civil de sacerdotes" (2 p.). It is unclear why Lituma wrote his reports in Spanish. He studied Canon Law in Latin at the Gregorian University (Rome) but probably eventually lost his ability to write in Latin.

[352] For Lituma, the "racial prejudice and outlined imperialism" were critical points because they impeded to see the virtues of the Peruvian clergy. AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 1.

priests" more vulnerable. The Protestant pastors usually blamed the cohabitant parish priests. The sixth reason was the better supervision of bishops because of the establishment of new dioceses and prelatures. For Lituma, more prelates seemed to mean more episcopal supervision. Besides, missionaries and members of the Catholic Action could also supervise priests. For the canon, these were valuable tools to correct a priest's misbehaviour.

The second section of the report focused on some hypotheses to understand the social causes of the phenomenon of married priests. The first hypothesis was the disconnection between the priestly formation and the Latin American character. Lituma highlighted that "each person has his own mentality, his own psychology, and most seminary professors are totally unaware of it."[353] The canon continued that some prohibitions and educational styles were inadequate to "our nature." For these reasons, Lituma recognised that "today's pedagogues insist with reason on the use of differential psychology." For him, using a new educational and psychological approach could improve priestly formation according to the local mindset.

The second point was the lack of a profound Christological formation. Lituma asserted that seminaries should foster the "infinite treasure of Christ's love to everyone." This recommendation seems to spotlight the need for a more spiritual formation. He suggested that a profound spiritual experience of Christ could save priests from sinful situations.[354] The next hypothesis was the lack of formation in the spirit of prayer. For Lituma, the seminarians must be taught that prayer is not complicated. They should repose in the affective prayer, in the simple colloquium.[355]

The fourth and fifth hypotheses were the social condition that surrounded the priestly ministry. The first was the moral and physical abandonment of the clergy. Lituma affirmed that "if God does not fulfil the soul, the person searches how to do it with the earthly loves." At the same time, Lituma considered the hostility of the social environment against celibacy. Many contemporary arguments against celibacy implied commentaries such as "the perfect male abstinence is impossible," "he who does not live his sexuality is not normal," or "having a woman is a natural option." Besides, the press, the radio, the TV, the daily talks, and the soap operas fostered the pleasures of the senses.[356] The previous situations directly impacted a daily test for priestly chastity in an environment of solitude.

Therefore, the canon highlighted the lack of spiritual fraternity between priests. He said that they did not share the spirit of mutual support, mutual care, joint surveillance, and accompaniment. Hence, many Peruvian prelates proposed a common life for priests, mainly the ones who attended rural parishes. Finally, Lituma mentioned the lack of a paternal heart of some prelates. This last hypothesis was very critical towards the bishop's attitudes. The canon affirmed that "the princely conception must give room to a more pastoral and paternal conception."[357] He

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[353] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 2. Highlighted in the original.

[354] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 2-3. Lituma affirmed that "[…] si se llegase a penetrar los corazones de una profundísima confianza en la Rendención, en el poder de la gracia, aún en los momentos de tempestad horrenda, otra habría sido la suerte de tantas almas."

[355] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 3.

[356] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 3.

[357] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 3. "Cuesta verlos; qué difícil es abrirles el alma. Qué difícil que oigan, aconsejen, cambien de puesto, corrijan a tiempo, con prudencia, con energía, pero, con dulzura. Una mayor comprensión entre

concludes the second section with a harsh criticism against the racial explanation for clergy concubinage. He said: "if race explains the 'falls' of Latin America, what does explain the brimming immorality of many people of the white race?"[358]

The last section of the report proposed "remedies" before the "misterium [sic] iniquitatis" of concubinage. The prominent treatments were the cultivation of theological virtues, the tender love for Christ, the reverence for the Eucharist, and the absolute surrender to the maternal love of the Virgin Mary. Lituma considered the education of future priests as the right manner to apply the remedies. According to him, priestly education requires six conditions. The first was that education had to be adapted to the culture and character of each people. In Latin America, he explained, a predominance of a more passional, emotional, and sentimental life existed. The second was to adapt education to the lonely condition of priests. He recalled that when he was a parish priest, he usually took two days to meet his peers in another parish. The third remedy was Christological education, which meant both an intellectual and affective understanding of the mystery of Christ. The heartbeat of a seminary should beat at the same rhythm as Christ's heart. The fourth was that education had to be based on the spirit of prayer or the "lovely closeness with Christ."

The fifth remedy criticized the uniformity of the formation of seminarians, like mass production. Lituma was very critical of the uniform and universal priestly education, which did not consider the local conditions of the Church. He asserted that seminarian education should not "delete the personality of the young seminarian." The formation should teach how to face the difficulties of priestly life.[359] Every seminarian should pray like Jesus during the Last Supper: "I do not ask you, Father, that you take them all out of the world, but that you deliver them from evil."[360]

The report ended with three final recommendations for the prelates. The first was that the freshly ordained should be under the surveillance and care of a senior priest, at least for the first five years. The prelate should avoid pastoral risk situations for the new priests. The second was that the bishop himself must be an experienced pastor. The bishop should also have been on the "front lines." The canon continued: "Obviously, one can be a magnificent general and supreme strategist without ever having been on a battlefield, but who has not been in the trenches, who has not advanced crawling on the earth, under a grenade fire, who has not suffered from hunger, the thirst, the dirt, the mud, in the front line this person does not understand many things. The Pastor cannot be a mere bureaucrat. Many situations seem to be solved between books and reports, with apparent solutions, but not real ones."[361] The canon concluded with a final recommendation that

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los Prelados y su clero se impone. La concepción principesca debe ceder a la concepción pastoral y paternal."

[358] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 3.

[359] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 4.

[360] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," .4. Jesus' prayer was a personal adaptation of Lituma: "NO TE PIDO, PADRE, QUE LOS SAQUES DEL MUNDO, SINO QUE LOS LIBRES DEL MAL."

[361] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero," 4: "Evidentemente se puede ser un magnífico general y sumo estratega sin haber estado jamás en un campo de batalla, pero quien no ha estado en las trincheras, quien no ha avanzado reptando sobre la tierra, bajo el fuego granado, quien no ha sufrido el hambre, la sed, la suciedad, el lodo, en el frente de batalla no entiende muchas cosas. El Pastor no puede ser un burócrata. Entre libros y papeles se puede resolver seriamente muchas cosas, con solución aparente, pero no real."

prelates should dedicate more time to talk intimately with their priests. Hence, Lituma considered that pastoral visits "must be necessarily not the pastor's triumphal parade."[362]

The canon was critical of the traditional role of bishops as canonical administrators, which often meant the spiritual and pastoral abandonment of priests. Lituma was proposing a pastoral understanding of the prelates' role in the diocese and their concern for the priests who left the ministry. Lituma seemed to prefer an experienced pastor over a doctrinal and canonical expert bureaucrat, and to have a more preventive programme rather than a punitive one regarding the situation of priests.

1.2.2. The Report on the Civil Marriage of Priests

Lituma's report on priests' civil marriage was a two-foil note on the impact of civil marriage on the priestly concubinage. Since 1936, the Peruvian civil code did not forbid the civil marriage of ordained ministers. For him, the civil code had a twofold effect on priestly concubinage. The first effect was that it impeded the concubinage for two reasons. On the one hand, before the 1936 law, a priest could not commit himself to marriage, but after the civil law, many women could claim to get married. Hence, most priests preferred to avoid marriage and, of course, concubinage. On the other hand, if the woman is underage – or is already over 18 years old – the family obliges the priest to marry the "fallen" woman. Some families even resorted to violence for this purpose.

The second effect of the 1936 civil marriage law was that it fostered priestly concubinage. According to Lituma, many women in love with priests hoped to improve their social situation with civil marriage. Besides, for the woman's parents, it would help repair the sacrilegious scandal. Finally, for some priests, who are tempted and impassionate, civil marriage was the manner to satisfy their "sinful orientations."[363]

For the Peruvian canon, the situation of married priests was deplorable because of ex-communication, the forfeiture of the priesthood, and their sinful condition. To worsen their position, the priests could not get divorced without the woman's consent, and many of them were tempted to apostatise from the faith. The latter usually became Protestant pastors. Finally, the canon considered that especially the first ten years of the priesthood, when priests were between 24 and 34 years, were particularly dangerous for them. However, some cohabitant priests were over 40 years old.

The Peruvian consultor proposed two canonical reformations and one pastoral recommendation to address the situation of priestly concubinage and the married priests. First, Lituma asked for the amendment of canon 2388 §1 and canon 2254 of the CIC 1917. According to c. 2388 §1, the marriage of a priest immediately implied the excommunication *latae sententiae* for both the priest and his wife. [364] Lituma complained that c. 2388 was unfairly applied only for the woman who gets married to the ordained minister *in sacris*. In many cases, the priest was not

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[362] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Informe que Luis Lituma Portocarrero,"4.

[363] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Matrimonio civil de sacerdotes," 1.

[364] Canon 2388 §1 Clerici in sacris constituti vel regulares aut moniales post votum sollemne castitatis, itemque omnes cum aliqua ex praedictis personis matrimonium etiam civiliter tantum contrahere praesumentes, incurrunt in excommunicationem latae sententiae Sedi Apostolicae simpliciter reservatam ; clerici praeterea, si moniti, tempore ab Ordinario pro adiunctorum diversitate praefinito, non resipuerint, degradentur, firmo praescripto can. 188, n. 5.

excommunicated. Lituma's second proposition was that in cases where the separation of the "pseudo-marital partnership" was impossible, the absolution from the ex-communication for the priests, according to canon 2254, should be allowed.[365]

As a pastoral recommendation, Lituma requested the commission to consider that the conception of a new child, which is "an act of God creator," generates a paternal-filial relationship. This kind of relation is founded on natural law. God has established that children's education is the parent's responsibility. Moreover, contemporary psychologists have studied the psychical traumas produced by the absence of one of the parents. Therefore, canon law must consider the fact of the "pseudo-marriage," as Lituma named this situation, should educate the offspring together while keeping the chastity.[366] For him, the marriage of fallen priests was "pseudo-marriage" because its validity was in suspense due to the canonical regulations.

1.3. Pastoral Care as Adaptation of the Canon Law and the Ecclesial Discipline

Lituma's reports are based on a social and psychological approach to the problem of civil marriage and priestly concubinage. For instance, Lituma considered the use of differential psychology to adapt the formation of seminarians according to the Peruvian social and human reality. The Catholic Church had an ambiguous relationship with psychology, but for a very well-educated priest such as Lituma, it could be a valuable tool to enrich and solidify the Church.[367] Lituma's social considerations went even further than that. Lituma was a clever observant of social changes in Peru, and he elaborated some preliminary conclusions which were included in his reports. For instance, the increase in population, the change in the women's situation and the new media were situations that should be considered in any canonical and disciplinary reform to improve pastoral care.

For the canon, the situation of women was changing in marriage and society, civil marriage displaced the social role of religious marriage, and family honour was still significant in Peruvian society. Hence, Lituma's perspective on the issue was a combination of pastoral and canonical perspectives. He feared the scandal of the faithful and, at the same time, recognised the necessity for changing the ecclesiastical discipline and canonical regulations. Lituma considered that many traditional roles were changing; hence the Church should adapt to the new situations. The prelates should be pastors with their priests, while canon law should have a more merciful approach with the cohabitant priests, their partners and children. In some ways, Lituma followed the pastoral intuition of John XXIII's council but without proposing significant theological and doctrinal changes and trying to keep the ecclesial prestige in society.

Lituma's report were probably discussed during the preparation of the schema *De sacerdotibus lapsis* of which the third chapter was *De cura praestanda sacerdotibus qui defecerunt*.[368] The schema ratified celibacy and praised its value as a manner to "be configured to

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[365] Canon 2254 §3 Quod si in casu aliquo extraordinario hic recursus sit moraliter impossibilis, tunc ipsemet confessarius, excepto casu quo agatur de absolutione censurae de qua in can. 367, potest absolutionem concedere sine onere de quo supra, iniunctis tamen de iure iniungendis, et imposita congrua poenitentia et satisfactione pro censura, ita ut poenitens, nisi intra congruum tempus a confessario praefiniendum poenitentiam egerit ac satisfactionem dederit, recidat in censuram.

[366] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1060, fasc. 4, "De sacerdotibus qui defecerunt." "Matrimonio civil de sacerdotes," 2. Lituma used the word "pseudo-cónyuges" to refer to the cohabitant priest and his partner.

[367] On the use of psychology for Catholic priestly training and pastoral before the Council, see Benjamin Ziemann, *Encounters with Modernity. The Catholic Church in West Germany, 1945-1975* (New York, Oxford: Berghahn, 2014), 220-265.

[368] For the complete schema, see: AD II, III, I, 548-557.

Christ."[369] Chapter three of the schema included "Notae," which developed the consequences that resulted from these withdrawn priests' decisions. Some of them, after getting married, entered Protestant communities and communist parties, causing "grave detriment against their eternal salvation and causing scandal to the faithful." For the schema, the main explanation of such grave behaviours was that these presbyters had been "psychopathica affecti."[370] Hence, the schema incorporated Lituma's care for the ecclesial prestige and the fear of scandal but not his more pastoral approach to discipline and canonical regulations regarding the fallen priests.

The schema emphasised the "psychoses" or psychological disorders and the "morbos psychicos" or physical disorders as the two leading causes for the withdrawal of priests. An extract from the *votum* of the Italian Franciscan Roberto Zavalloni,[371] who also was consultor of the Commission, was added to broaden the position of the schema.

Zavalloni recommended that priests affected by "psychoses" and "morbos psychicos" should not get married to solve their disorders. He based his position on psychological and psychiatric opinions as Lituma did in his *votum*.[372] The "Notae" ended with a final proposition that the Sacred Apostolic Penitentiary could be "clement" and grant the dispensation of celibacy to priests who had withdrawn. Especially if the priests have done "irreparable" wrongdoings, like getting married and having children. The dispensation should take into account the national customs.[373] On this issue, Lituma's *votum* also asked for the consideration of national customs and asked dispensation for married priests with children. This was a more pastoral or "clement" perspective to address the problem of priests who withdraw.

2. Two Contributions to the Work of the Preparatory Commissions: the Questionnaire on Liturgy and the Report on the Seminaries

The work of the preparatory commissions not only counted on their members and consultors but also involved other Catholic actors. Many preparatory commissions also requested the expertise of theologians and canonists outside the preparatory commissions. This resulted in an important effort made by some preparatory commissions to have a more complete view of the Church in preparation for a more representative text in view of the council. The preparatory commissions commanded theologians and canonists to prepare reports on particular topics to have more substantial information in drawing up the schemata. Although most responses kept a traditional and juridical understanding of the Church, because of the regional perspectives, they contributed to a more comprehensive vision of the Church. These answers participated in the general juridical and doctrinal environment but interpreting from local perspectives.

In January 1961, the Preparatory Commission *De sacra liturgia* sent out a questionnaire of eighteen questions to the episcopal conferences, which declared to have a liturgical commission. The Peruvian Episcopal Conference was one of them. Its episcopal commission for liturgy was installed in January 1961. One month later, the Preparatory Commission *De seminariis, de studiis et de educatione catholica* requested nine *periti* from different regions to write a report on the situation of the discipline and the spiritual education of their local seminaries. The Peruvian expert was the Jesuit Ricardo Durand Flórez, apostolic visitor of seminaries in Peru.

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[369] AD II, III, I, 548.
[370] AD II, III, I, 554.
[371] For a brief biography of Roberto Zavallini OFM, see: Pequeña enciclopedia franciscana, "Zavalloni, Roberto," in http://www.franciscanos.org/enciclopedia/ penciclopedia_x.htm. Zavallini was also professor of psychology at La Sapienza and of pastoral psychology at Lateran University.
[372] AD II, III, I, 556.
[373] AD II, III, I, 556-557.

2.1. The Answers to the Questionnaire of the Preparatory Commission *De sacra liturgia*

On 25th January 1961, cardinal Gaetano Cicognani, president of the Preparatory Commission *De sacra liturgia*, sent an eighteen-issue questionnaire to the presidents of episcopal conferences, which included in their structure a liturgical commission. From Latin America, the episcopal conferences of Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay had a national liturgical commission. In Ecuador, there was a diocesan liturgical commission. These institutions were contacted by the Preparatory Commission on Sacred Liturgy.[374] Archbishop Landázuri, then President of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference, answered the request on 11th February, explaining that a Liturgical Commission had been recently installed in the yearly Assembly of the Peruvian Bishops of January of that year. The members of the Liturgical Commission were Pablo Ramírez Taboada, bishop of Huacho; Ignacio Arbulú Pineda, bishop of Huánuco; Fidel Tubino Mongilardi and José Dammert Bellido, both auxiliary bishops of Lima. The latter, Dammert, had been elected as the Secretary of the Commission.[375]

The Questionnaire was addressed to the presidents of the liturgical commissions. It included four sections regarding the structure of the commission, the activities of the commission, the national and regional liturgical actions, and information on diocesan liturgical commissions. The Questionnaire was intended to collect very detailed information on the situation of the liturgy at a local level. The Preparatory Commission also inquired about the existence of internal liturgical norms, directories and bilingual rituals. In addition, it requested information about liturgical publications and journals, international and national liturgical congresses, liturgical associations (Centres, Secretariats or Institutes), the existence of liturgical groups such as Altar boys, Women's associations, and schools for children's choirs.

The questionnaire structure reflected a hierarchical and institutional idea of the Church because it implied that all liturgical activities, actions and publications might be recognised and overseen by the episcopal commission of liturgy. Additionally, the Preparatory Commission also inquired about the local episcopal commission's internal norms, directories, instructions and rituals.

The questionnaire also displayed an institutional and traditional idea of liturgical renewal. This is because the questions unfolded a two-tiered understanding of liturgical renewal. The first level was the intellectual approach to liturgical renewal associated with liturgical publications, academic associations, and national and international liturgical congresses. The second tier was the general reception of intellectual liturgical renewal identified with women's groups, altar boys, schools for children's choirs, and other parish associations. This traditional understanding of liturgical renewal corresponded to the main example of liturgical renewal coming from Europe.[376]

In March 1961, José Dammert, as Secretary of the Liturgical Commission, sent a response to the questionnaire. Because the Episcopal Commission for Liturgy had been established in January 1961, the document had short answers.[377] The Liturgical Commission did not have a statute; however, Dammert reported some liturgical actions taken by the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. The first assignment of the Liturgical Commission was the preparation of a "Mass

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[374] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 3, "Commissioni episcopali e Copie del Questionario (8.II.1961)."
[375] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 5, "Commissioni episcopali: Landázuri."
[376] On the liturgical renewal, see Alcuin Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy: the Principles of Liturgical Reform and their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2015).
[377] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 1364, fasc. 9, "Risposte Commissioni Liturgiche: Perù, José Dammert Bellido," ff. 256-258.

Directory" to be submitted for approval to the 1962 Episcopal Assembly. Moreover, the Commission members agreed to send to the Sacred Congregation of Rites the local liturgical calendar with the celebration of Peruvian Saints and Blessed. In the same report, the Liturgical Commission asked for authorization to use the vernacular in some parts of the Mass "for the benefit of the people," as the one granted by the Holy Office in 1960 to the Argentinian Church.[378]

Dammert noted that only the Archdiocese of Lima had a Liturgical Commission, a Sacred Music Commission and a Sacred Art Commission. They were established by the Archdiocesan Synod of Lima in1959 and had supervision roles on the topics of liturgy, sacred music and sacred art.[379] For instance, the Liturgical Commission had the purpose of channelling, promoting and fostering the whole liturgical movement in the Archdiocese, but also to avoid any possible deviation from the liturgical sense and the regulations given by the Holy See.[380] The other two commissions were in charge of preparing regulations on sacred music and art. They also had the responsibility of overseeing the right performance of sacred music and the care of the artistic, archaeological and historical heritage of the Church.[381]

Regarding the reception of the liturgical movement among the faithful, Dammert pointed out the regulations given by the Archdiocesan Synod. They focused mainly on the establishment of children's choirs and altar boys in the parishes. These initiatives were also intended to promote priestly vocations among children and young men. The Synod regulation also proposed the promotion of religious popular songs to stimulate "the Christian people's faith and piety."[382] Dammert remarked that the regulations on liturgical topics promulgated by the Archdiocesan Synod were also valid in other ecclesiastical jurisdictions of Peru.[383]

The answers to the Questionnaire prepared by José Dammert revealed that the Archdiocese of Lima was the only jurisdiction with three commissions related to the liturgy. The archdiocesan regulations were also applied in other ecclesiastical jurisdictions. This situation was an ecclesial echo of the political and socio-economic centralism of Lima as the capital of Peru. For instance, the members of the Commission "ad hoc," created by the Peruvian Episcopal Conference in 1959, regarding the bilingual ritual was composed of well-known members of the clergy of Lima: José Dammert, the auxiliary bishop of Lima, and the presbyters Pablo Vera MSpS, Bernardo Weber MSC, and Carlos Alvarez-Calderón Ayulo.[384]

A second piece of information extracted from Dammert's response pointed out to a sort of importance of collegial decisions within the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. As Dammert mentioned, the Liturgical Commission, commissioned by the Episcopal Conference, had asked for authorization to use the vernacular in some parts of the Mass and had sent the local liturgical calendar for approval to the Roman Congregation of Rites. Hence, regarding disciplinary, canonical and liturgical changes for the entire Peruvian Catholic Church, the Episcopal Conference played the role of a decision-making instance. This habit showed a hierarchical vision of the Church but also a degree of "collegiality" in the decision-making process on canonical, disciplinary and liturgical issues. This episcopal custom was promoted by Juan Landázuri, archbishop of Lima, during his interventions as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission.

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[378] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 256.
[379] Arquidiócesis de Lima, *XVIII Sínodo Arquidiocesano 1959* (Lima: Talleres Mercagraph, 1960), 49-50.
[380] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 258.
[381] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 258.
[382] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 257.
[383] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 258.
[384] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1364, fasc. 9, f. 256.

2.2. Ricardo Durand Flórez's Report *De disciplina et institutione spirituali in Seminariis*

On 2nd February 1961, cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, president of the Preparatory Commission *De seminariis, de studiis et educatione catholica*, requested nine experts a *votum* on the discipline and the spiritual education in seminaries.[385] The nine experts were Hilario Alcini (Italy), Joseph Varani (Brazil), Othoni Motta (Brazil), José Salazar (México), Adelmo Machado Calvalcanti (Brazil), Ramiro Vargas Cacho (México), Ezequiel de la Isla (México), Joseph Schröffer (Germany) and Ricardo Durand Flórez SJ (Peru). All of them were apostolic visitors to their local seminaries. Because of this position, they were considered reliable sources. Hence, cardinal Pizzardo requested them their deliberation, suggestion and proposal on the topics of discipline and spiritual education.[386]

Ricardo Durand Flórez, the Peruvian Jesuit invited by the Preparatory Commission, was a very active priest in the Peruvian ecclesial milieu. Durand entered the Society of Jesus in Spain in 1934. He studied Classical Humanities, Philosophy and Theology at the Faculty of Theology of San Miguel in Buenos Aires, Argentina. Ordained priest in 1948, he returned to Lima in 1951 to take on pastoral work in education. From that year to 1966, the year he was appointed archbishop of Cuzco, Durand was responsible for the Pontifical Missionary Works and the Eucharist Crusade, both assignments addressed to children and young people.[387] It is unclear when Durand received his nomination as an apostolic visitor of seminaries; hence there is no information if he visited any seminary before or during the preparation of his *votum*.

Durand's three-page report, signed in Lima on 11th April 1961, developed the author's ideas on the importance of adequate discipline and spiritual education in the seminaries for the promotion and improvement of priestly vocations. The main concern was the lack of priests and adequate priestly vocations. Hence, it is possible to identify two sections in the report. They explore, first, the situation of discipline and spiritual education and the need for reform to improve the priestly vocations and, second, the possible positive results of implementing reforms on the priestly vocations and the social challenges for seminarians.

The report starts by pointing out that there are many regulations on the topics issued by the Popes and the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities of Studies, of which cardinal Pizzardo was the Prefect. Durand remarked on the importance of the apostolic exhortation *Menti nostrae*, issued by Pius XII on 23rd September 1950, as an important document on spiritual education and disciplinary regulations.[388] Although there were important regulations on the topic, as an apostolic visitor, Durand found that the main problem was related to the practical application of these regulations by superiors of seminaries and bishops.[389]

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[385] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1131, fasc. 2, "Pareri, suggerimenti inviati da alcuni visitatori di Seminari."
[386] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, 1 busta 131, fasc. 2. Letter from Cardinal Pizzardo to the Apostolic Visitors of Seminaries.
[387] Monseñor Ricardo Durand Flórez S.J., 1917-2004, accessed 19th January 2023, https://mardelcallao1756.webcindario.com/ tercerobispo.html.
[388] The apostolic exhortation *Menti nostrae* on the sanctity of priestly life addresses the sanctity, the service, the regulations and difficulties of priestly life. The exhortation contains Pius XII's reflection on the importance of priestly vocation, the secular challenges and recommendations for reaching sanctity. The document was a laudation of the priesthood and its importance for the life of the Church. See: Pius XII, *Menti nostrae* on the sanctity of priestly life (23rd September 1950), accessed on 15th January 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/apost_exhortations/documents/hf_p-xii_exh_19500923_menti-nostrae.html.
[389] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1114, fasc. 2, "De institutione spirituali et de disciplina," f. 235.

To address this difficulty, Durand recommended the selection of excellent superiors and spiritual fathers who "truly guide and not divert." He also suggested to adapt the formation for superiors and spiritual priests under the regular supervision of the Sacred Congregation in order to stimulate, support and assist them. In case the Sacred Congregation was not able to carry this control, it could be done by an apostolic visitor in permanent coordination with the Sacred Congregation. Two concerns were in Durand's mind regarding this problem. The first was that, according to him, this situation should be addressed immediately in regions where the number and quality of candidates for the priesthood were of concern. Above all, work with children and young men who had the seeds of a priestly vocation should be diligently nurtured. A second concern related to the fact that, due to the lack of priests, there were many candidates who were not suitable for the priesthood, but were nevertheless admitted to the seminary.[390] Hence, Durand did not promote the filling of seminaries but rather a gradual and methodical work with children and youth vocations based on quality.

The second section of the report began by remarking that it is important that bishops define suitable promoters of priestly vocations. In the case of Peru, Durand noticed that the Christian religious life of families, frequently not well constituted, hampered the maturation of the seeds of vocations for the priesthood. Besides, there was not enough parish personnel to promote vocation among the children of parish schools and catechism. Hence, according to Durand, it was impossible to meet the present and future needs of the Peruvian Church.[391]

As a solution, Durand proposed that each seminary should have a rector, prefects in charge of different areas like the economy, and a promotor of vocations. In areas where there was no seminary, the first step should be to have a "true promotor of vocations" in order to make a true selection of candidates which would influence the consolidation of discipline and spiritual formation of the seminaries.[392]

In conclusion, Durand warned, following *Menti nostrae*, that the main menaces coming from society were also inserted in seminary life. These menaces overthrew the sacrifices of the gospel of Christ, oriented toward heretic action and facilitated the failing of chastity. Therefore, Durand recommended an undeviating formation in fundamental criteria on social matters. He foresaw a "tough ideological war for our priests in the future." Hence, the Peruvian expert considered that it was not enough to stress the "negative aspects" , like the refutation of errors coming from Marxists and other adversaries, but also the positive exposition of "the true social doctrine of the Church." Consequently, future priests should be learned to drink from all apostolic actions, mainly the social ones and the evangelical doctrine. Besides, they should live in intimate union with Christ in the Church, his body.[393]

Durand's report revolved around the main Catholic concern in Latin America: the lack of priestly vocations and the shortage of priests. Hence, the Peruvian expert focused on the importance of following the regulations issued by the Holy See for seminaries and the role of the promoter of vocations. He proposed a traditional solution for a historical problem without considering the context.

It is not clear when Durand was appointed as an apostolic visitor of seminaries, but apparently, he did not incorporate any information about his visits in his report. The only mention of the Peruvian situation of the clergy seemed to be a consensus among the Peruvian hierarchy,

[390] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1114, fasc. 2, "De institutione spirituali et de disciplina," f. 235.
[391] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1114, fasc. 2, "De institutione spirituali et de disciplina," f. 236.
[392] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1114, fasc. 2, "De institutione spirituali et de disciplina," f. 236.
[393] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1114, fasc. 2, "De institutione spirituali et de disciplina," f. 236-237.

as it is learned from the *vota*. Finally, none of the nine reports sent to the Preparatory Commission seemed to have been used in the process of drafting the schema *De sacrorum alumnis formandis*, which chapters two and three deal respectively with spiritual education and the discipline in seminaries.[394] None of these reports, including Durand's, were quoted in the notes to each chapter. However, the recommendation to institute an apostolic visitor of the seminaries, also made by Durand, is found in the schema *De sacrorum alumnis formandis* collected in the *Analyticus conspectus*.[395]

3. The Participation of Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima, in the Central Preparatory Commission[396]

With the motu proprio *Superno Dei*, the Pope erected the Pontifical Central Preparatory Commission for Vatican II (CPC), which he was to preside over. However, the Pope never presided. Its secretary was Pericle Felici, a member of the Roman Curia since 1947. The principal tasks of the CPC were to coordinate the work of the preparatory commissions, analyse and evaluate their results, and prepare a rule for the council.[397] The CPC began its work in June 1961 in Rome, when the preparatory commissions had already prepared many schemata. The Central Preparatory Commission held seven sessions between June 1961 and June 1962.[398]

During the sessions, many CPC members complained that the commission work was not coordinated enough with the other commissions and secretariats. The reasons for their criticism were different. The first was that the meetings dealt with particular canonical and disciplinary issues instead of theological topics. A second argument was that the members discussed similar or identical problems, mainly canonical issues, two or three times because the schemata came from different commissions without coordination. Finally, according to the plenary, many topics were not appropriate for a council because they were suitable for the canon law revision.[399]

Despite the lack of clear orientation of the CPC work, the commission was a preparatory laboratory of the theological debates during the first session of Vatican II.[400] The debates which took place in the CPC meetings displayed the different theological positions at Vatican II. Some of the future Council Fathers were very critical of many schemas prepared by the preparatory commissions. Among them were cardinals Bernardus Johannes Alfrink, Julius Döpfner, Josef Frings, Franz König, Paul-Émile Léger, Achille Liénart, Giovanni Battista Montini, Léon-Joseph Suenens, Patriarch Maximus IV Saigh, and Archbishop Denis Hurley. On the other side, the main supporters of the schemata, who had a more Roman mindset, were cardinals Michael Browne, Alfredo Ottaviani, Cardinal Ernesto Ruffini, Giuseppe Siri, and Archbishop Marcel Lefebvre.

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[394] AD II, III, II, 79-122. Chapter 2 (pp. 87-96) and chapter 3 (pp. 96-102).
[395] AD II, III, II, 83, 86 (note 19).
[396] I have published an article on the participation of Juan Landázuri at the CPC, see: Rolando Iberico Ruiz, "Searching for Ecclesial Compromise: The Role of Juan Landázuri Ricketts, Archbishop of Lima (Peru), during the Preparatory Phase of Vatican II (1961-1962)," *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. 109, nº 4 (2023): 724-749.
[397] Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 159.
[398] The sessions were held on 12th-19th June 1961; 7th-17th November 1961; 15th-23rd January 1962; 20th-27th February 1962; 26th March – 3rd April 1962; 3rd-12th May,1962; and, 12th-20th June 1962.
[399] Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 162-163. During the preparatory phase, there was not a clear orientation about what to expect from the revision of canon law. Maybe, for this reason, many schemas included canonical items.
[400] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 334-339.

In the middle of the two defined groups was the majority of the members of the CPC, whose theological and canonical positions were expressed in brief or long observations or *animadversiones* during the debate. Komonchak affirmed that the alliances of this majority with one of the two main positions depended on the topics covered during each session.[401] The archbishop of Lima, Juan Landázuri Ricketts, tended to vote in favour of the defenders of the critical position regarding the schemata. However, he also supported views in favour of the schemas in order to create a balanced perspective on the coming reforms.

Archbishop Landázuri was involved in the first, second, fifth, and sixth sessions of the CPC. The archbishop submitted his response for the first session because he could not attend. He participated in the congregations of the second, fifth, and sixth sessions held in Rome. However, for the third and fourth sessions, which Landázuri did not attend, he did not submit any observations. It is not clear why the archbishop did not prepare his observations. In the CPC congregations, after the discussion, the members of the CPC submitted their *animadversiones* and *suffragria,* where they displayed their canonical and theological stances regarding the schemas. In his *animadversiones* and *suffragia*, Landázuri delineated his theological and canonical standpoint defending a gradual renewal of the Church and her structures.

3.1. A Training Period: the Participation of Archbishop Landázuri Ricketts in the First and Second Sessions of the CPC (12th-19th June and 7th-17th November 1961)

Archbishop Landázuri had few interventions for the first and second sessions. The archbishop of Lima did not attend the first session, but he sent his answer written in Latin to the questionnaire prepared for that session.[402] The questionnaire had canonical inquiries on different topics, such as who had the right to participate in the council, the voting system, the council's language, and other topics.[403] Because of his canonical formation, Landázuri proposed juridical answers for the questionnaire which were coherent with the Code of Canon Law of 1917, but the archbishop, in some interventions, recommended adapting the canonical regulation to the new reality of the Church.

For instance, for the question on who had the right to attend a council, Landázuri agreed with CIC canon 223 § 1.[404] Paragraph 2 of canon 223 asserted that the right of deliberative vote for titular bishops depended on the bull of convocation. However, many members of the CPC agreed to invite the titular bishops to maintain the tradition of the last two councils.[405] Landázuri pointed out that titular archbishops and bishops had a deliberative vote and were members and consultors of the CPC and the preparatory commissions.[406] Hence, he considered that, alongside

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[401] Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 284-85.

[402] AD II, II, I, 393-395.

[403] AD II, II, I, 21-22. The questionnaire included the following questions:

1. Who else has the right to be invited to the Council? What should their faculties to vote be?
2. What should be the criteria to select theologians and canonists for the council?
3. Who should take part in the conciliar commissions? What should be the criteria?
4. How to moderate the discussion *in aula*? How to organize the voting?
5. What should be the criteria to validate voting?
6. What should be the technical tools to make the use of Latin easier?
7. What kind of recording should be used for the debate?

[404] According to canon 223 §1, the members who had a deliberative vote at a council were cardinals, patriarchs, primates, residential archbishops and bishops, abbots and prelates *nullius*, and general superiors of orders exempt from priests. The

[405] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 21.

[406] Many of the members of the Roman curia were titular archbishops and bishops such as Pericle Felici, titular archbishop of Samosata.

titular bishops, the prelates with jurisdiction, such as apostolic vicars, apostolic prefects, and apostolic administrators, should also be invited.

Landázuri also supported the idea of calling other members of the Church. He proposed six groups: 1. The advisors and secretaries of the Roman congregations who should have a deliberative vote; 2. The nuncios, internuncios, and apostolic delegates who were bishops; 3. The prelates who have ordinary jurisdiction, though they were not bishops; 4. The general superiors of orders and congregations, regardless of the number of members and works; 5. The members and consultors of CPC and preparatory commissions, even if they did not have episcopal dignity; and 6. The rectors of Catholic universities and athenaeums, at least those who were priests.[407] Landázuri was not the only CPC member who proposed calling other groups. At the end of the discussion on the first question, 25% of the plenary favoured calling non-Catholic observers, and 15% were in favour of inviting laypeople as observers and consultors.[408] However, at this stage, it was missed the inclusion of women, at least religious women.

Landázuri's answer to the question dealing with the procedure of discussions *in aula* and voting retrieved his idea of Church politics.[409] Landázuri recommended fifteen minutes per intervention, which could be the report of a particular group within the *aula*. For the commission and plenary sessions, the council president should elect one speaker to expose the voting report but one should always offer the floor to a speaker from a minority group who could disclose a report of the minority voting. Hence, Landázuri considered it crucial that the minority position be expressed and pondered.[410] The Peruvian archbishop also answered the criteria for valid voting. For him, the plenary session voting should have 75% approval, while in conciliar and special commissions, 66% would suffice. According to tradition, if a necessary majority could not be reached, the Pope would have the *sanior pars* to decide the voting.[411] This proposal was close to the Grand Penitentiary cardinal Arcadio Larraona's report, claiming that the Pope should approve the franchise.[412]

Landázuri attended the second session in Rome. During the second session, the CPC dealt with two formal preparatory issues and eight schemata. The issues were about the presence of non-Catholic observers at the council and the new formula for the profession of faith. Eight schemas had been submitted by three preparatory commissions. The second session also established the procedure for voting: *placet*, *non placet* and *placet iuxta modum*. The *placet* of one schema required two-thirds of votes, considering the possibility of papal objection. In contrast, the *placet iuxta modum* was a sort of approval with many remarks proposed by the members and consultors. A reformulation of the schema was required before a second voting. Finally, a *non placet* returned the schema to the commission for re-elaboration.[413]

The questions on the non-Catholic observers and the new formula for the profession of faith were the critical issues at stake in the second session. On the first topic, and like the majority, Landázuri supported cardinals Augustin Bea's and Amleto Cicognani's views on non-Catholic

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[407] AD II, II, I, 393.
[408] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 27.
[409] AD II, II, I, 394.
[410] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 40. The same position was shared by Samorè who was secretary of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs; Zerba who was secretary of the Congregation for the Sacraments; and Bartoccetti who was secretary of the Supreme Tribunal of the Apostolic Signatura.
[411] The *sanior pars* was a juridical expression to refer to a victory that could also be based on the moral, juridical and doctrinal authority of the Roman Pontiff.
[412] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 45-46. Larraona also recommended the voting system of Vatican I: *placet*, *non placet*, and *placet iuxta modum*.
[413] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 55-56.

observers without distinguishing between both positions. Cardinal Augustin Bea proposed to invite two or three observers from large non-Catholic communities. The observers could attend preparatory sessions and the meeting of conciliar commissions.[414] Cicognani's *relatio* had a traditional vision of the problem of ecumenism. He recalled that Protestants and Orthodox were invited to Vatican I, but they rejected Pius IX's invitation, which included as the first requirement the recognition of the papal authority. Nevertheless, the cardinal considered the council an opportunity to reinforce contact with non-Catholics.[415] Landázuri added to his observation that Ottaviani's position should be taken seriously.[416] Landázuri probably longed for a calm debate on the subject concerning the ecclesiological and canonical meaning of non-Catholic observers in a council. On the issue of the new formula, Landázuri did not include any observation and only suggested sending the formula back to the Theological Commission, which should assess the entire *animadversiones*.[417]

The schema *De fontibus revelationis* produced a debate around the freedom of scientific research.[418] Bea considered the schema very defensive. It seemed to be a judgment against the scientific research of biblical scholars. During his *relatio*, Bea quoted Pius XII to advocate his position.[419] Ottaviani asserted that there were Catholic exegetes who scandalized even the Protestants with their research.[420] Landázuri did not participate in the debate, but his voting was *placet iuxta modum* in which he agreed with Bea's observations and Ottaviani's reply. It seems that Landázuri tried to make a balance, in this case, between the freedom of scientific research and the magisterium perspective.

The Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People submitted seven schemata to be discussed.[421] The change from the dogmatic and doctrinal language to the domain of discipline and pastoral was evident. In general, the schemata had a juridical-disciplinary approach with a lack of ecclesiological reflection, because any theological questions

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[414] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 61. Bea's report was in line with John XXIII's goal for a council as an ecumenical synod.

[415] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 62. After consultation, Pius IX issued *Iam Nos Omnes* on 13th September 1868, to address the Protestants that the council was an occasion to consider the Catholic Church as the true home, to recognise the Papal authority and their doctrinal mistakes. See: John O'Malley, *Vatican I. The Council and the Making of the Ultramontane Church* (Cambridge, MA, London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018), 114-115.

[416] AD II, II, I, 490-491. Ottaviani believed that the issue was not ready to be solved in the preparatory phase.

[417] AD II, II, I, 521. On the debate on the formula, see: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 67-77. There were many objections against the formula. For instance, cardinal Alfrink, archbishop of Utrecht, remarked the rigid style of this juridical-doctrinal faith system. More than twelve members were worried about the lack of clarity of the doctrinal relationship between the pope and the bishops. Most of them also objected that the formula put at the same level doctrinal and canonical conciliar declarations and papal encyclicals.

[418] For a description of the debate, see: Karim Schelkens, *Catholic theology of Revelation on the Eve of Vatican II. A Redaction History of the Schema* De fontibus revelationis *(1960-1962)* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2010), 234-244.

[419] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 87-88, footnote 93. Bea also proposed to Ottaviani the collaboration of the SCUF in the preparation of the schema. Ottaviani rejected Bea's offer.

[420] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 89. "Sed quando exegetae ita procedunt ut etiam praetergrediantur fines, sicut quidam protestantes dixerunt: 'quidam exegetae catholici hodie ante nos procedunt, ultra ea, quae nos ipsi admittimus'." See: AD II, II, I, 549. Ottaviani's allusion to Protestants seems to be a rhetorical strategy to reinforce his position in favour of monitoring Catholic exegetes.

[421] The schemata were *De distributione Cleri*; *De Clericorum vitae sanctitate*; *De habitu et tonsura clericali*; *De paroeciarum provisione, unione, divisione*; *De obligationibus parochorum*; *De Officiis et Beneficiis eclesiasticis deque bonorum ecclesiasticorum administratione*; and *De patrimonio historico et artistico ecclesiastico*.

were exclusively the work of the Theological Commission.[422] The ecclesiological model of *societas perfecta* was the basis of these schemata.

Cardinal Pietro Ciriaci, president of the commission, presented the *relatio*. The schema *De distributione Cleri* addressed the problem of the distribution of the clergy. As a solution, the schema proposed establishing an "extra-diocesan prelature" to prepare priests for the service of every diocese in the country. The prelature would have no territory, but the prelate would have the right to erect seminaries. The seminarians would be incarnated under this prelature, the "National and Regional Missions."[423] The commission's proposal coincided with the request by Opus Dei to cardinal Tardini in 1960 for a prelature *nullius* as a juridical frame for its work. Ciriaci, cardinal protector of Opus Dei since 1961, supported the idea of a prelature *nullius* for the Opus Dei.[424] Landázuri reacted against the proposition of an "extra-diocesan prelature" because of the canonical problem of the incardination of priests and the relationship between the ordinary and the "extra-diocesan" prelate. His canonical concern displayed an ecclesiological issue regarding the role of bishops within a Church.[425]

The schema *De habitu et tonsura clericali* introduced the change in clergy habits, such as the use of clerical collars and the abolition of tonsure. The Peruvian archbishop agreed with the spirit of the schema. He defended the change, but it should be introduced carefully and progressively. Landázuri agreed with the observation about the authority of episcopal conferences to establish regulations on those changes.[426] Regarding the schemata *De paroechiarum provisione, unione, divisione*, *De obligationibus parochorum*, *De officiis et beneficiis ecclesiasticis deque bonorum ecclesiasticorum administratione* and *De patrimonio historico et artistico ecclesiastico*. The schemata mainly dealt with canonical provisions to improve the pastoral service of the priests, the priests' income and the administration of ecclesial goods.[427] The general vote of Landázuri was *placet iuxta modum*.

On *De paroechiarum provisione*, Landázuri endorsed the opinion of the Master General of the Dominican Michael Browne, who defended the right of religious exemption.[428] After the discussion on the schema *De obligationibus parochorum*, Landázuri agreed with cardinals Valerian Gracias (Bombay, India), José Garibi Rivera (Guadalajara, Mexico) and Albert Gregory Meyer (Chicago, USA). These cardinals prepared mainly canonical observations, for example, on what would be the right time for holidays.[429] On *De officiis et beneficiis ecclesiasticis*, Landázuri shared the Fathers' concerns about the priests' economic situation and the need to support them

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[422] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 91-92.
[423] AD II, II, I, 564; Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 93-94. Marco Libardoni, prelate of Huari, was also concerned about the distribution of clergy in Peru.
[424] "6. Solicitud, en 1962, de revisión del estatuto jurídico," in *El itinerario jurídico del Opus Dei. Historia y defensa de un carisma*, Amadeo de Fuenmayor *et al*., accessed 20th January 2023, https://opusdei.org/es-es/article/6-solicitud-en-1962-de-revision-del-estatuto-juridico/. In 1962, Alvaro del Portillo was elected secretary of the Conciliar Commission for Religious presided over by Cardinal Ciriaci. See: Julián Hérranz, "Mons. Alvaro del Portillo y el Concilio Vaticano II," *Romana. Boletín de la Prelatura de la Santa Cruz y Opus Dei* 58 (2014), accessed 20th January 2023, https://es.romana.org/58/estudio/.
[425] AD II, II, I, 592. Cardinal Josef Frings recommended the elimination of the "prelature" paragraph (AD II, II, I, 586).
[426] AD II, II, I, 640. Landázuri's *animadversio* was identical to his vote *placet iuxta modum* (AD II, II, I, 650).
[427] For a summary of the debate, see: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 100-101.
[428] AD II, II, I, 668,
[429] AD II, II, I, 674-675, 683.

financially.[430] Finally, Landázuri also supported the *animadversio* of Cardinal Alfredo Silva Santiago (Concepción, Chile) on *De patrimonio historico et artistico ecclesiastico,* which proposed that Catholic universities should promote centres for researchers on sacred art and historical heritage of the Church.[431] This support was in line with the Archdiocesan commission of Sacred Art, erected in 1959 in Lima to promote and protect religious art.

The second session was a moment of recognition and training for Landázuri. He experienced the diversity of the Church. According to his own pastoral and theological position, he tried to gather different opinions on his observations and votes. However, considering the need for a change in doctrinal and pastoral terms, Landázuri supported the critical stances of many members of the CPC. The only limit for any renewal was its speed. Therefore, a gradual renovation was needed to avoid the faithful's scandal and the damage to the Church's image. Landázuri's interventions in the fifth and sixth sessions illustrate his theological and canonical position regarding his expectations for a reforming council.

3.2. Reforming with the Episcopal Conferences: Landázuri's Intervention in the Fifth Session of the CPC (26th March – 3rd April 1962)

When Juan Landázuri arrived at the fifth session, he was recently created cardinal by John XXIII. During the fifth session, two themes were relevant in the discussion: the schema *De sacra liturgia* and the seven schemata prepared by the Commission *De missionibus*. The schema *De sacra liturgia* was discussed in five congregations.[432] Landázuri's votes were for each section of the schema *placet iuxta modum*. During the debates on *De sacra liturgia*, the Peruvian archbishop endorsed various CPC members' observations favouring the liturgical adaptation.

For the discussion of the preface and chapter one, the Peruvian cardinal endorsed the observations of cardinals Browne, Giuseppe Ferretto, and Ernesto Ruffini.[433] Ferretto showed scepticism regarding the liturgical change because the "innovations on sacred rites" could be against the ecclesiastical traditions and canon law. For him, the schema clashed with canons 2 and 1257 of the Code, which kept its mandatory force over any attend to reform the liturgy. Ferretto also remarked that the desire to foster Bible reading could collide with the faithful's religious culture.[434]

Ruffini was critical in many details, such as the use of the term *progressus*, which should be changed for *adaptatio* or *recognitio*. Without quoting canon 1257, he also warned for the risk of granting the authority to the episcopate to adjust the liturgy.[435] On the other side, Browne positively assessed the schema. For him, the schema "clearly appears useful for the renovation of the liturgical life."[436] As a canonist, Landázuri supported Ferreto's and Ruffini's observations

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[430] AD II, II, I, 708. Landázuri endorsed the observations of Cardinals Enrique Plá y Deniel (Toledo, Spain), Léger (Montreal, Canada) and Larraona regarding the priest's income. See: AD II, II, I, 692-694.
[431] AD II, II, I, 723.
[432] The order of discussion of the schema *De Sacra Liturgia* was as follows: *Proemium* and chapter first *De principiis generalibus ad S. Liturgiam instaurandam atque fovendam* (first congregation), *Proemium* and chapter second *De Sacrosancto Eucharistia mysterio* (second congregation), chapter third *De Sacramentis et Sacramentalibus* (fourth congregation), chapters fourth *De officio divino* and fifth *De anno liturgico* (seventh congregation) and chapters sixth *De sacra supellectile*, seventh *De musica sacra* and eighth *De arte sacra* (twelfth congregation).
[433] AD II, II, III, 94.
[434] AD II, II, III, 64-65. Canon 2 asserts that the Code did not include provisions on rites, ceremonies, and liturgical books. Canon 1257 clearly expressed that the Holy See had exclusive authority on the approval of liturgical books and the regulation of the liturgy.
[435] AD II, II, III, 68-69. Ferretto was also concerned about the term *progressus*.
[436] AD II, II, III, 77.

because they emphasized the canonical limitation for the liturgical renewal. However, he acknowledged the importance of renewing the liturgy. For Landázuri, this apparent entrapment between the limitation of the Code and the need for reform was progressively unravelling during his participation in the CPC sessions.

During the second congregation, Landázuri's observations revealed his ideas of Church reform and the importance of the pastoral context in his ecclesiology. For Landázuri, the renewal came from the hierarchy and the institution towards the faithful; in other words, it came from reforming structures and laws to foster pastoral care. This juridical and hierarchical vision of the Church was commonplace for most Catholic bishops and prelates then. Notwithstanding, pastoral changes should be done but carefully and gradually because they could affect the faithful.

For the debate of chapter two, Landázuri highlighted that the schema was "praiseworthy" because it was concise, insightful, and prudent. It was also "related to this day's liturgical longings."[437] However, again, he noticed a discrepancy between chapter two and canon law. While the chapter emphasized the "active participation" of the whole assembly, the priest and the faithful as a whole, canon 1248 highlighted the dimension of the "passive listening" of the faithful in the mass. The canon 1248 referred to the obligation to "listen to the mass" on certain prescribed days.[438] Landázuri agreed with the new liturgical development of "active participation," and considered that canon 1248 should be revised according to the new liturgical theology. Therefore, according to the Peruvian cardinal, to preserve ecclesial coherence, the schema's approval should lead to reforming the canon law and other general Church laws.[439] The consequences of this liturgical renewal were that more faithful would have a more active, conscientious, and pious participation in the sacrifice of the Mass.[440] Landázuri favoured the liturgical schema, but also the revision of canon law according to the new liturgical ideas.

In chapter three, Landázuri exposed an objection. The archbishop recognised that the schema responded to the desire for reform expressed by many bishops and liturgists because the secular conditions had changed the people's pastoral needs. However, he was afraid that the proposals for reforming the Roman Rite for the Latin Church could harm some people's and regions' pastoral conditions and costumes. Hence, the Council should only propose general criteria on this topic. Besides, the Council should let the episcopal conferences reform the Roman Rite according to the local situations and send them to the Holy See for approval.[441] Although, Landázuri feared a general reform of the rite, he supported the core idea that the episcopal conferences might have more authority to propose local-adapted reforms for the liturgy.

Landázuri's stance in favour of the episcopal conference indirectly acknowledged local Churches' identity and traditions. During the debate of the last three chapters of *De sacra liturgia*, Landázuri again supported the positions in favour of a significant role of episcopal conferences in the liturgical reformation. Endorsing cardinals Paul-Émile Léger's and William Godfrey's *animadversiones*, Landázuri defended that the episcopal conferences could adapt the liturgical

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[437] AD II, II, III, 124.

[438] Landázuri remarked on the first sentence of canon 1258: *Festis de praecepto diebus Missa audienda est*. The faithful were invited to listen to the Mass.

[439] AD II, II, III, 124-25.

[440] AD II, II, III, 124-125. Landázuri's vote was *placet iuxta modum*. He claimed for the revision of n. 47 concerning the mass stipend in case of concelebration. He also endorsed the observations of cardinals Frings and William Godfrey concerning n. 47 on the concelebration stipend. Frings also claimed that the concelebration meant the unity of mass; hence it is not possible to split the stipend. See: AD II, II, III, 118, 121-122, 139.

[441] AD II, II, III, 305.

vestments and objects.[442] For Landázuri, the defence of a more active function of the episcopal conference probably was associated with his role as president of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. As President, he favoured collegial declarations of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference on key issues related to the socio-political situation of the country.[443]

Another issue was the use of Latin. *De officio divino* kept Latin as the official language of the Divine Office but proposed that the episcopal conferences could suggest the use of vernacular language.[444] On one side, Alfrink stood for translating the divine office into the vernacular, not as a desire for novelty but to fulfil it with more attention and devotion. On the other side, cardinals André-Damien-Ferdinand Jullien, Godfrey, and Ottaviani supported Latin as the official language of the Church.[445] Like many CPC members, Landázuri desired a new and short version of the Divine Office considering priests' pastoral work in contemporary times. In his observation, he endorsed cardinal Jullien's "wise opinion."[446] Jullien favoured the reform of Divine office but disagreed with the possibility of vernacular language. He wondered: "do not the new priests learn vernacular languages other than their own? Why do they not learn Latin?"[447] Landázuri endorsed a prudent renovation of divine office: reduction of it but keeping the Latin as a sort of bulwark of Tradition.

During the fifth session, the Preparatory Commission for the Missions also submitted schemata. Regarding the reforms, Landázuri agreed with the importance of the role of episcopal conferences for an adapted renewal of the ministry, discipline, and pastoral. The missionary schema *De disciplina cleri* proposed the permanent diaconate, even for married men, and a more active involvement of lay people in missionary jurisdictions. The schema also considered that on these issues, the episcopal conferences should have authority.[448] The Peruvian cardinal recommended being cautious about the implementation of the permanent diaconate. He considered that the Holy See should undertake it directly or allow some regional and national episcopal conferences to deal with this topic *ad experimentum*.[449]

A second schema *De sacramentis ac de Sacra Liturgia*, in accord with the Commission for the Sacred Liturgy, proposed the diversity of rites, the use of the vernacular, and adaptation to local customs with the approval of the episcopal conferences.[450] Landázuri endorsed the *animadversiones* of cardinals Francis Spellman, Oswald Gracias, Ruffini, and monsignor Marcel Lefebvre. These members emphasized the importance of accommodating the sacramental discipline to contemporary times.[451] Gracias and Lefebvre insisted on the importance of adapting sacramental practices to local culture in missionary territories for pastoral reasons. However, Gracias affirmed that adapting to local culture should be done like in the origins when pagan symbols were incorporated into the sacraments. At the same time, Lefebvre recommended that any modification of the sacramental rites should also be done for the entire Latin Church when it

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[442] AD II, II, III, 490. Godfrey proposed the episcopal conference to avoid bishops' "individual peculiarities" regarding liturgical reforms. See: AD II, II, III, 481-82.
[443] For instance, the Peruvian Episcopal Conference prepared three statements on the socio-political crisis in Peru in 1958, 1961, and 1963. See: RIPUCP. Departamento Académico de Teología. *Voces peruanas del Vaticano II. Documentos del Episcopado Peruano*, accessed on 27th December 2023, https://repositorio.pucp.edu.pe/index/handle/123456789/124161.
[444] AD II, II, III, 317-23.
[445] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 196, footnote 49.
[446] AD II, II, III, 363.
[447] AD II, II, III, 354. "Et sane novi sacerdotes nonne discunt linguas vernaculas alias quam suam propiam? Cur non discunt latinam?"
[448] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 201.
[449] AD II, II, III, 245.
[450] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 201.
[451] AD II, II, III, 380-85.

was possible in order to serve the unity of the liturgy in the Latin rite. He also criticized the authority of the episcopal conferences on liturgical adaptation and proposed, instead, the authority of provincial or regional councils.[452] Landázuri endorsed these opinions in favour of an episcopal body, whether it may be a provincial or regional council or an episcopal conference, to discern any ecclesial renewal adapted to local circumstances. He also agreed to adjust the sacramental rite to the local situation of a mission, while trying to maintain the unity of the Latin rite.

3.3. The Reform as a Compromise: the Participation of Cardinal Juan Landázuri in the Sixth Session of the CPC (3rd-12th May 1962)

On 2nd February 1962, Pope John XXIII issued the motu proprio *Consilium diu* establishing the opening of the Council on 11th October 1962. The pressure on the preparatory commissions and the CPC increased. As Indelicato mentioned, a tsunami of schemata arrived during the sixth and seventh sessions of the CPC. In addition, many members and consultors believed that most of the schemas were not pertinent to a council.[453] For the sixth session, a total of nineteen schemata were dropped off by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses, the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People, the Theological Commission, the Commission for Religious, the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments and the Commission for the Oriental Churches. This section focuses mainly on Landázuri's position towards pastoral and doctrinal change through the schemata prepared by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses and the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments, and the debate on *De Ecclesia*.

The schemata prepared by the Commission for Bishops and the Government of Dioceses contained an implicit ecclesiological and pastoral approach. The first part of the schema *Praecipuae de animarum cura quaestiones* developed doctrinal principles and applicable rules for the pastoral office of the bishops.[454] According to Landázuri, the schema was laudable but required some additions, like the observations made on the pastoral care of workers, which was a "major question of today's times."[455] The Peruvian cardinal agreed with Liénart's observations regarding the pastoral work. For the French cardinal, pastoral care for workers was a crucial ecclesial commitment in the cities. The workers were a challenging pastoral target for the Church; hence Liénart recommended organizing workers' communities at parishes.[456]

Landázuri's emphasis on pastoral work expressed his concern regarding the social and economic changes in Lima and Peru. The proposed schema was an opportunity to introduce a local pastoral situation into a larger debate on the bishops' pastoral duty. Based upon his pastoral experience during the Mission for Lima, Landázuri held the importance of attending to the new social situation as a crucial commitment for the Church in his times. As he affirmed, the most important and urgent task for the Church was the social situation.[457]

In the same schema, Landázuri also recommended the canonical observations made by cardinal Francesco Roberti[458], who defended the existence of the Cathedral Chapter and the gradual process of adapting this institution to the contemporary situation. Roberti considered that the Cathedral canons could have the roles of episcopal advisers, diocesan consultors, and parish

[452] AD II, II, III, 383, 385.
[453] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 216.
[454] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 220.
[455] AD II, II, III, 717.
[456] AD II, II, III, 700-01.
[457] Landázuri, "Discurso de clausura," 249.
[458] AD II, II, III, 717.

priests.[459] Landázuri's agreement with Roberti displayed his notion of renewal of ecclesial structures. For him, it implied a process of updating and simplifying the canonical roles of canons and bishops to fulfil the mission of the Church. In this sense, his rejection of the schema *De praevia librorum censura errorumque prohibition*, dropped by the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People, was understandable. This document explained the Church's right and duty to censorship and interdiction of books and spectacles. Landázuri voted *non placet* with the recommendation to send the schema to the doctrinal commission.[460]

The second part of the same schema, *Praecipue*, contained chapters concerning the pastoral care of marriage, aeronautics, migrants, tourists, and Christian faithful "infected by communism." The debate was intense on the last topic because it dealt with social justice. Cardinal Gian Battista Montini requested an ecclesial assessment of the motives for the attraction of communism among Christians and non-Christians. For him, the social doctrine of the Church lacked a concrete application. Alfrink also added that the social doctrine needed a substantial commitment of Christians to social justice. Moreover, Catholics who supported social injustice fostered the attraction for communism.[461] In line with his episcopal ministry, Landázuri recommended carefully considering Montini's and Alfrink's observations on social pastoral and social justice.[462]

The most relevant debate revolved around *De Ecclesia*. In view of the sixth session, the Theological Commission sent the first six chapters of the schema.[463] Landázuri did not propose any theological idea but his observations referred to other CPC members who were more trained in theology and canon law. Thus, for chapters one and two, Landázuri's suffrage was *placet iuxta modum*. He claimed a careful re-assessment of the observations of cardinals Julius Döpfner, König, Bea, and Ruffini.[464] The three first prelates claimed an ecumenical perspective for the schema, mainly when chapter two refers to the non-Catholic baptised people. For instance, Döpfner distinguished between the non-Catholic baptised and Catholic baptised. The former were partially members of the Church, while the latter were complete and perfect Church members.[465] Bea remarked that the schema should be sent to a mixed commission formed by the Theological Commission and the SCUF.[466] Ruffini, on his side, observed topics regarding the Old Testament images of the Church and the role of the Blessed Virgin Mary as "the most distinguished member of the Mystical Body of Christ, which is the Church."[467]

The debate about chapters three and four referred to episcopal theology. Landázuri's vote was a *placet* for both chapters, but he requested that the new manuscript should ponder and

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[459] AD II, II, III, 710.
[460] AD II, II, III, 860. Other CPC members rejected the schema. For instance cardinals Montini and Frings remarked that the task of the Church (*munus Ecclesiae*) was evangelisation and that the Church should educate the faithful's conscience. AD II, II, III, 856-58.
[461] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 228. The encyclical *Mater et magistra* on Christianity and social progress (15th May 1961) in its nº 34 maintained the condemnation of communism and any form of Socialism.
[462] AD II, II, III, 757, 783.
[463] The chapters discussed were: chapter It *De ecclesiae militantis natura*, chapter II *De membris ecclesiae militantis eiusdemque necessitate ad salutem,* chapter III *De episcopatu ut supremo grado sacramenti ordinis et de sacerdotio*, chapter IV *De episcopis residentialibus*, chapter V *De statibus evangelicae adquirendae perfectionis*, and chapter VI *De laicis*. For a description of the schema *De ecclesia* (chapters 1 to 6), see: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 242-47.
[464] AD II, II, III, 1032.
[465] AD II, II, III, 1004-16.
[466] AD II, II, III, 1012-16.
[467] AD II, II, III, 1000-02

incorporate all the cardinals' observations.[468] Most of the interventions were critical of the juridical and doctrinal subordination of the bishops to the Pope. Cardinals Frings, Ruffini, König, Confalonieri, Alfrink, and Maximos IV pointed out the episcopal collegiality as a model for the relationships between the bishops and the Pope.[469] This position concurred with Landázuri's stance in favour of a more active role of the episcopal conferences and episcopal bodies.

For chapter six on the laity, Landázuri voted *placet iuxta modum*. Landázuri proposed that a new version of the chapter should consider the opinion of the Commission for the Lay Apostolate. The Peruvian archbishop also requested to consider the *animadversiones* of cardinals Giuseppe Siri, Giuseppe Pizzardo, Ruffini, Léger, König and Suenens, and archbishop Franjo Šeper.[470] On one side, Ruffini, Siri, and other prelates criticised the concept of lay universal priesthood because it could become a parallel priesthood regarding the ministerial priesthood. On the other side, Léger, König, Suenens, and other prelates considered the schema an opportunity to emphasise a positive and ecumenical definition of the laity regarding the question of the "separated brethren." Hence, it could be the recognition of the ecclesial role of laypeople. Finally, Šeper also affirmed that the Catholic world expected Vatican I to be completed with a new theology of bishops and theology of the laity.[471] Landázuri endorsed all those opinions to express his search for a compromise. According to his idea of gradual reform, the contribution of laypeople was undeniable and deserved recognition within the Church. However, this recognition should not question the ministerial priesthood that Landázuri seemed to understand merely as a sacramental function.

The sixth session was for cardinal Landázuri a moment to concur with the other members that the conciliar themes should deal with the doctrinal and theological reforms. Thus, Landázuri joined the opinions in favour of sending many schemata to the commissions for the reform of the code of canon law of the Latin and Oriental Catholic Church.

The Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments sent five schemas concerning marriage. Like many other CPC members, the Peruvian cardinal considered the schemata inadequate for a council. For *De impedimentis ad matrimonium*, *De matrimoniis mixtis* and *De processu matrimoniali*, Landázuri suggested discussing the issues of those schemata and other similar ones in the Commission for the Reform of the Code of Canon Law.[472]

A similar opinion had Landázuri for *De consensu matrimoniali* which contained many canonical issues which were not proper for a council but for a commission for the renewal of canon law. He also endorsed cardinal Fernando Cento's and Monsignor Vittorio Bartoccetti's recommendation to avoid easy access to the dissolution of marriages. This kind of situation produced a severe scandal among the faithful.[473] Landázuri probably recalled the 1958 scandal in Lima produced by president Manuel Prado Ugarteche, who obtained the dissolution of his marriage from the Holy See. Immediately afterwards, he contracted a Catholic marriage presided over by the auxiliary bishop José Dammert. Outside the temple, Catholic women dressed in black protested. Landázuri avoided presiding over the ceremony.[474]

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[468] AD II, II, III, 1076.
[469] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 251-53.
[470] AD II, II, III, 1110.
[471] AD II, II, III, 1101, 1104.
[472] AD II, II, III, 1213, 1276. Pizzardo was concerned that inappropriate topics such as male impotence would be discussed in the council. Other members advised to send the normative part of the schema to the commission for reform of canon law. Bea considered that the ecumenical dimension of mixed marriages should be study in a mixed commission. See: Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 258-59, footnotes 91 and 93.
[473] AD II, II, III, 1255-56.
[474] "Juntos después de la muerte," *La República* (Lima, 13th February 2005).

The Commission for the Oriental Churches submitted its last three schemata to be discussed in the sixth session. For Landázuri, the schema *De facultatibus Episcoporum* had many disciplinary topics more suitable for the Commission for the Oriental Canon Law than for a conciliar debate. Hence, Landázuri supported the observations of Browne and Ruffini, who considered that many topics could be part of the renewal of canon law.[475] After the discussion on *De catechismo et catechetica institutione*, Landázuri proposed that the schema should be the base for *Catechismo universali pro Ecclesia Latina*.[476] A summary of doctrines was not suitable for a council. The closing of the sixth session also marked Landázuri's final participation in the preparatory phase. He returned to Rome in October 1962 for the opening of the Second Vatican Council.

Landázuri showed a doctrinal and juridical understanding of the Church and her renewal without neglecting theology and doctrinal development. He supported the tendency for adaptation, which he mainly understood as canonical and doctrinal transformation with implications on pastoral care. At the same time, he supported the ideas of prudent adaptation regarding ecclesiological changes like universal priesthood. Hence, the Peruvian cardinal was a man of the middle and compromise. Landázuri's involvement during the preparatory stage expressed a cautious openness to the renewal and adaptation of the Church. This frame of mind was crucial during the conciliar period.

4. Conclusion

The preparatory phase involved four members of the Peruvian hierarchy. Archbishop Juan Landázuri and the canon Luis Lituma were active members of the preparatory commissions, while bishop José Dammert and the Jesuit Ricardo Durand only prepared reports for the preparatory commissions. These Peruvian clergymen displayed in their participation and reports their canonical and doctrinal vision of the Church, the manner to implement reforms and their understanding of an ecumenical council. As the chapter analyses, each of them contributed to the preparation of the council from the perspective of a peripheral Church.

In the first place, Luis Lituma, consultor of the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments, prepared three brief reports for the commission on the issues of the canonical status of civil marriage and the situation of priests who withdrew from the ministry. The Canon showed a very practical understanding of pastoral care in order to preserve the morality and the faith of the faithful. Thus, in the case of religious marriage, for Lituma, the pastoral necessity prevailed over the canonical ideal of a marriage. However, in the case of fallen priests, he displayed a more clerical approach combining it with a spiritual and psychological perspective. Besides, he was also concerned about the affiliation to Protestantism or communism of some married priests. Hence, he never thought of the option that one can be a priest and married, as happened in Protestant Churches.

Lituma was critical of reducing the role of bishops to canonical administrators, because these profiles meant the spiritual and pastoral abandonment of priests and seminarians. The consultor seemed to prefer an experienced pastor over a doctrinal and canonical expert bureaucrat and to have a more preventive programme rather than a punitive one regarding the situation of priests. In sum, Lituma mixed a pastoral and clerical approaches to the critical realities of marriage and fallen priests.

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[475] AD II, II, III, 1283, 1287.
[476] AD II, II, III, 1301.

José Dammert Bellido, as Secretary of the Liturgical Commission of the CEP, prepared a response to the Commission *De sacra liturgia*. One remarkable aspect relates to the importance of collegial decisions within the Peruvian Episcopal Conference. As Dammert informed, the Liturgical Commission had asked as an episcopal body for authorization to use the vernacular in some parts of the Mass. Therefore, the Episcopal Conference played the role of a decision-making instance for disciplinary, canonical and liturgical changes that could affect the entire Peruvian Catholic Church. This habit showed a hierarchical and episcopal vision of the Church authority but also a degree of "collegiality" in the decision-making process on canonical, disciplinary and liturgical topics. Juan Landázuri Ricketts retrieved this episcopal custom during his supportive and critical interventions as a member of the Central Preparatory Commission.

On his side, Ricardo Durand S.J. shared the general apprehension about the shortage of clergy and the lack of priestly vocations. Hence, he emphasised the importance of selecting a good promotor of vocations and reinforcing discipline and spiritual education in seminaries. Durand favoured virtuous and solid vocations to the priesthood; thus, he proposed to focus on the children and youth vocational pastoral. Remarkably, he never seemed trapped by the despair of the lack of suitable priests for the Church. Although the lack of priestly vocations, if one candidate lacked talent, he was to be rejected. However, Durand's report gives the impression of a document for the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities of Studies rather than a *votum* for being discussed in council for ecclesial renewal.

Cardinal Juan Landázuri, a member of the CPC, experienced the theological and canonical diversity of the Church during his participation in the CPC. The archbishop had an interesting role that showed his idea of ecclesial renewal. For him, the renewal of the Church should be a gradual process of changing the canonical and disciplinary structures. In his concept of the Church, Landázuri considered that ecclesial renovation came from top to bottom, from structures to faithful. Hence, Landázuri endorsed many times different positions in the CPC in order to make a compromise of different stances. For instance, during the debate on *De Liturgia*, Landázuri was quite conservative about the liturgical adaptation. He also considered changing the canon law according to the new liturgical proposals. On the other hand, for the debate on *De ecclesia*, Landázuri supported Bea's criticism against the apologetic and traditional style of the schema. Therefore, the archbishop of Lima favoured ecclesial renewal in many areas, even ecclesiological, but the renovations should be done gradually and adapting the canonical structure of the Church. He preferred a gradual process of change not to affect the faithful and the Church structure so radically.

One significant position of Landázuri was in favour of the role of episcopal conferences as institutions to mediate and regulate any change in the local Church. As president of the CEP, his stances revealed, on one side, a hierarchical and institutional vision of the Church and, on the other side, the recognition of the value of "collegial" decisions and processes on renewal themes. Landázuri preferred the reach of doctrinal and canonical compromises, mainly in agreement with his episcopal partners. Hence, in his *animadversiones*, he supported the documents and interventions which gave the episcopal conferences a role of discernment and implementation of reforms in the local Church. This vision combined a kind of collegiality and respect for the local church and its customs without denying the universality represented by the Holy See.

In sum, these four members of the Peruvian Church contributed to the preparatory period of Vatican II with their theological and canonical formation. The study of their contribution sheds light on the complexity of a marginal hierarchy of the Catholic Church. Ideas such as the primacy of practical and pastoral over the ecclesial ideal, defended by Lituma with a clerical bias, and a

sort of *avant-la-lettre* collegiality, promoted by Landázuri and Dammert showed how local context and the reception of the European theological debate shaped the pastoral practice, doctrinal ideas and canonical positions of the episcopate and educated members of the clergy in Peru. This complex and diverse ecclesial character was the common ground of the Peruvian episcopate who arrived at the Second Vatican Council in October 1962.

SECOND PART. THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE IN THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL (1962-1965)

CHAPTER IV. THE PERUVIAN EPISCOPATE'S REACTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE CHURCH DOCTRINE AT VATICAN II

The development of the doctrine of the Church during the conciliar years impacted the doctrinal and theological experience of the Peruvian episcopate. The Peruvian bishops and prelates reacted to the new developments in different manners. This chapter explores how the Peruvian bishops theologically and ecclesially assumed the doctrinal development *ad intra*, that is to say regarding the notion of liturgy, revelation and ecclesiology. Through their arguments against and in favour of and their networks of resistance and support for the conciliar developments, the bishops and prelates from Peru manifested their concern and position towards the doctrinal and theological developments taking place at Vatican II. The chapter studies the theological and doctrinal contents of the Peruvian episcopate's interventions and *modi* during the debates and drafting processes of the conciliar documents regarding liturgy, revelation and ecclesiology.

The reactions of the Peruvian episcopate were complex and diverse because of their theological training, their level of openness to doctrinal and theological developments, their local ecclesial situation and their occasional networks forged in the *aula* during the debates. Hence, through the discussion on liturgy, revelation and ecclesiology, it is possible to identify the main theological ideas behind the resistance and support to the conciliar developments, and the meaning of the networks organised at Vatican II. They shed light on a different kind of intertextuality, which not only refer to the autonomy of the texts and their relationship between them during the drafting history, but also to intertextuality as a process in which the Peruvian bishops and prelates brought their theological and doctrinal ideas and knowledge into the debate and included them in their interventions and *modi*. And how they resignified the ecclesial magisterium, and the conciliar development. They also carried into the debates the development taken place at Vatican II like the notion of collegiality, the call to holiness and the nature of the Church. All of their doctrinal ideas were shaped during the debate on *De Ecclesia*.

The chapter is divided in three sections. The first analyses the resistances and adaptation to the new doctrinal ideas on liturgy and revelation. For many Peruvian Fathers, their desire of a vivid participation of the faithful in the celebration of sacraments, mainly the Eucharist, coincided with the notion of liturgical reform discussed at Vatican II. Many of their interventions related to the pastoral concerns of participation and the fulfilment of liturgy of the hours. On the opposite side, the notion of revelation showed the theological division among the Peruvian episcopate. A group of them supported a classical idea of revelation as a propositional transmission of doctrine while another group agreed with the personalist idea of God's self-revelation to the human being.

The second and third section studies the development on ecclesiology taking place during the debates on *De Ecclesia* and the documents related to episcopate, priests, religious people and laity. During the drafting process of these documents, *De Ecclesia* gained a prominent place as a key document for the redactional history of the other documents on the Church members. It is remarkable to see the intertextual relationship between *De Ecclesia* and other documents proposed by Peruvian bishops and prelates who read *De Ecclesia* according to their different theological interpretation of Vatican II.

Therefore, the study of the Peruvian reactions through endorsement of and resistance to the developments of the Church doctrine illustrates how the conciliar experience was displayed through the complex and diverse participation of the Peruvian episcopate during the process of doctrinal development on liturgy, revelation and ecclesiology.

1. The Debate on *De Sacra Liturgia* and *De Divina Revelatione*: Adapting and Resisting Doctrinal Development

1.1. A Liturgical Reform of Pastoral Interest

In the summer of 1962, the future Council Fathers received the first seven schemata from the CPC, which included in fifth place the constitution *De Sacra Liturgia*. On 15th October 1962, the Council of Presidents decided to begin the work of the Council with the debate on the liturgy first.[477] The preparatory schema on the liturgy had arose from the "liturgical movement" encouraged also by Rome.[478] The liturgical movement defended the restoration of the traditional liturgy, freeing it from its Baroque and Roman practices, in order to revive the spiritual value and the active participation of the liturgy.[479]

Hence, on one side, many ideas like the active participation in the liturgical celebrations and simplification of the rites, advocated by the liturgical movement, were already shared by a large number of Council Fathers. As it has been showed, in many Peruvian *vota*, the simplification of rites and the active participation in the liturgical celebrations were topics of concern for apologetic reasons, like the growth of Protestantism, or pastoral reasons, to increase the feeling of belonging among the faithful. For many Peruvian Fathers, the support of the preparatory schema *De Sacra Liturgia* was a connatural reaction because it agreed in substance with their own vision of liturgical reform.

Besides, following the will of John XXIII, every general congregation began by the celebration of the weekday mass and the rite of the enthronement of the Gospel. These weekday masses were celebrated not only according to the Roman rite but also to the Eastern Catholic rites. For many Fathers, like the Peruvian ones, it was the first time that they saw different Catholic rites and different languages employing to celebrate the mass.[480] For these Fathers, including the Peruvian group, the weekday masses showed that the use of living languages did not lessen the sense of the sacred and did not debase the Catholic dogma and doctrine.[481]

During the first session, the debate on *De Sacra Liturgia* lasted from 22nd October to 13rd November, 1962. In the Fourth General Congregation, on 22nd October, Ferdinando Antonelli OFM, of the Congregation of Rites, presented the *Relatio* in which he advocated the schema because of the necessity to improve and adapt the liturgical books, texts and rites, and the pastoral

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[477] Andrea Riccardi, "El tumultuoso comienzo de los trabajos," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer período y la primera intersesión (octubre 1962-septiembre 1963)*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 72-73. The Council of Presidents were divided between a majority favouring the debate on the liturgy first (Tisserant, Liénart, Frings, Ruggini, Alfrink) and a minority against that idea (Gilroy, Caggiano, Spellman, Pla y Deniel).

[478] Alberto Melloni (dir.), *Vatican II. The Complete History* (New York: Paulist Press, 2015), 134. Pius XII legitimized the liturgical movement in the encyclical *Mediator Dei* (1947), introducing reforms like the Triduum and the Easter Vigil.

[479] On the liturgical movement, see: *What Is the Liturgical Movement?* (London: Burns and Oates, 1964); Maria Paiano, "Il rinnovamento della liturgia: dai movimenti alla chiesa universale," in *Verso il Concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962). Passaggi e problemi della preparazione conciliare*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Alberto Melloni (Genova: Casa Editrice Marietti, 1993), 67-140; Alcuin Reid, *The Organic Development of the Liturgy: the Principles of Liturgical Reform and Their Relation to the Twentieth-Century Liturgical Movement Prior to the Second Vatican Council* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press, 2005).

[480] On the impact of the daily Eucharist at the Council, see: Peter De Mey, "The Daily Eucharist at the Council as Stimulus and Test Case for Liturgical Reform," *Questions Liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy* nº 95 (2014): 28-51.

[481] Melloni (dir.), *Vatican II. The Complete History*, 117-118.

demands of the times they were living in.[482] The latter topic expressed also the concern of having faithful who were more active participants in the liturgy, not just as viewers, including the vernacular as a means to reach this objective. Besides, Antonelli linked the schema with the pontifical support of the liturgical reform by Pius X, Pius XII and John XXIII.[483]

During the general congregations, six Peruvian Fathers made individual interventions and, additionally, three Peruvian prelates joined the intervention of Anton Reiterer MCCJ, Italian missionary bishop of Lyndenburg (South Africa). The Peruvian interventions were in consonance with the majority of discussed topics during the debate: the vernacular, the role of episcopal conferences and bishops in liturgical reform, the reform of the breviary, Missal and rite, and the administration of sacraments.[484] However, their interventions sprang mainly from pastoral concerns related to different contextual challenges like missions, rural areas, shortage of priests, and other topics. They were really connected to their daily life missionary contexts, but these interventions were expressed in canonical and doctrinal manners.

The first Father who intervened in the *aula* was Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts on 23rd October. He gave his *placet in genere* to the schema because it responds well to the adaptation of the Sacred Liturgy to the current needs of the clergy and the Christian people.[485] The Cardinal quoted the schema emphasising the legitimate progression (*progressio*) of the liturgical reform and the importance of preserving the "substantial unity of the Roman rite" with the "legitimate variety and adaptation to diverse groups, people, and mainly, missionary areas". He agreed with the importance of adaptation but also he considered the "substantial unity of the rite" as important topic.

Landázuri's observation focused on the number 21 which granted the singular Ordinaries, of a province or a region, and also the national episcopal conferences faculties to regulate the divine cult like administration of sacraments and sacramentals, processions, liturgical language, sacred music and arts, and other topics. For Landázuri, the limits of these faculties should be clarified because the expression *actis a Sancta Sede recognitis* could be interpreted in diverse modes. Also for the number 22 regarding the liturgical adaptation to missions, Landázuri also claimed for clear limits of the episcopal conferences to innovate on this subject.[486]

The question of the granting of faculties on liturgical matters to bishops and episcopal conferences was a battleground for the Fathers. For Cipriano Vagaggini OSB,[487] who played a significant role in the drafting of *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, the faculties were a "great innovation because they establish the bases for a decentralisation in the liturgical field".[488] Cardinals Ruffini and Browne rejected the idea as inappropriate while the African episcopate defended the faculties for the missionary context.[489] In contrast, Landázuri's position at that time was in clear continuity with the need to reach compromises at the reform level. As he expressed in his intervention,

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[482] Mathijs Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer periodo y la primera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Peeters: Salamanca, Sígueme, 2002), 115-116. The Prefect of the Congregation of Rites and president of the Preparatory Commission for Liturgy, Cardinal Arcadio María Larraona CMF, replaced Annibale Bugnini CM, secretary of the Commission, for Antonelli because the former was considered a progressive.
[483] Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," 116-117.
[484] Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," 120.
[485] AS I, I, 375.
[486] AS I, I, 375-376.
[487] For a precise biography of Cipriano Vagaggini, see: Maria Paiano, "Vagaggini, Cipriano" in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, volume 97 (2020), accessed on 3rd July, 2024, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cipriano-vagaggini_(Dizionario-Biografico)/
[488] Antoine Wenger, *Vatican II. Première session* (Paris: Éditions du Centurion, 1963), 85.
[489] Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," 124-131.

changes in the liturgy to accommodate it to the demands of our time must avoid immoderate variations and possible deviations.[490]

After Landázuri, Gregorio Olázar Muruaga CP, vicar of Yurimaguas, centred his intervention on number 33 which expressed that under certain reasons the baptism, confirmation and first communion could be allowed outside the parish. He indicated that the schema wording smells more like an exhortation when in fact it is a command. Olázar Muruaga wanted to stress that parishes were not the only place to teach and administer the sacraments. As a Passionist missionary bishop, Olázar pointed out the role of religious women and men in the Christian instruction of children in schools, and the place of churches run by religious, which were not parishes.[491] Hence, the vicar bishop concluded that he did not agree that the activity of some workers in the vineyard of the Lord be restrained.[492]

The German prelate Antonio Kühner y Kühner MFSC (Tarma) prepared a written proposition for the Liturgical Commission related to chapter II of the schema: *De sacrosancto Eucharistiae mysterio*. His observation was based mainly on his pastoral experience as a missionary prelate, which underpinned his recommendations to the commission. The *Consideratio fundamentalis* remarked that "almost the entire religious practice of the large part of faithful (in Peru) was limited to the holy mass."[493] Therefore, Kühner focused his written intervention on "sufficient instruction" (*antemissa* and *mensa verbi*) and "sufficient prayers" (*in canone* and *mensa sacrificii*).

For the first part, the prelate proposed the organisation of different kind of masses. On Sundays and feast days, the *antemissa* should always include a short compendium of the sacred history of the Old Testament and the principal instructions from the New Testament. Likewise, the fundamental truths of the catechism should be drawn out from the Epistles, the Gospel and the remaining of the mass proper. Kühner was imagining an *antemissa* as a setting for Christian liturgical instruction. Thus, for the daily mass (*missa ferialis*), Kühner proposed to broaden and deepen the theme explained in the Sunday mass for the benefit of the piety and zeal of the faithful, so that they may be guided to a life of perfection and apostolate.[494] Therefore, the vernacular "is necessary for the *Antemissa*."[495]

For the second part on the simplification of the liturgical ceremonies, Kühner presented a new *consideratio fundamentalis* defending the simplification because: a) the simple people with insufficiently education (in the missions: in the Peruvian highlands and Amazonian region) do not understand those ceremonies; b) the educated people (mainly living in cities) in general do not have time and strength for long ceremonies; and c) our time is serious and sober, also in liturgical taste.[496] The prelate proposed substantial changes for the *missa lecta*, *missa cantata*, *missa solemnis* and *missa pontificalis*.[497] These changes should stimulate that the faithful could understand and participate in the mass, and that the celebration should be meaningful for their Christian life.

In the same vein, Alcides Mendoza Castro (Abancay) agreed with the "pastoral praxis" of the schema, however he proposed some observations regarding baptism and penance. About the baptism, Mendoza recommended to add to number 50 "that everyone who was working in the

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[490] AS I, I, 376.
[491] AS I, I, 642.
[492] AS I, I, 642. "Ideo, ne videamur alicuius operarii activitatem coartare in vinea Domini."
[493] AS I, II, 242.
[494] AS I, II, 242. Kühner also recommended for the *missa proprie dicta* to continue all the common Christian prayers. For the *missa cycli temporalis* to prefer the proper of the Saint of everyday.
[495] AS I, II, 242.
[496] AS I, II, 242.
[497] AS I, II, 242-243.

parish ministry should receive the faculty to baptise adults without the permission of the ordinary, because the Sacraments are for the sake of human beings and not for the sake of episcopal curias."[498] This faculty had been granted to some countries, like in Peru. The bishop also proposed for the universal Church that the blessing of the baptismal water should be adapted to the local context. It is not possible to require the infusion of holy chrism and holy oil in water for every baptism.

About the penance, Mendoza recommended to simplify the absolution formula to express the essence of the sacrament, because of the shortage of priests in many regions. He proposed nothing more than: *Ego te absolvo ab omnibus peccatis tuis in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen*.[499] Mendoza's two observations were rooted in his pastoral background as a bishop of a main rural diocese. However, his approach only concentrated more on the clergy's needs and the administration of sacraments rather than in the liturgical reform. Mendoza's concern on the administration of sacraments was also shared by Olázar Muruaga, who in a written intervention, proposed that nuns could administrate the communion because of the shortage of clergy.[500]

On 9th November, Landázuri intervened again on chapter four regarding the Divine Office. The Peruvian Cardinal proposed observations to the redaction of the chapter from a canonical and pastoral perspective. Thus, Landázuri pointed out the inconsistency between numbers 72 (b) and 73, because the former introduced new prayers for the necessities of the world and the Church in the Office, while the latter commanded reducing the prayers. He also highlighted number 73 because it obliged the Divine Office to the "residential chapters" which was a confusing term and even at variance with the Code of Canon Law, that used "Cathedral chapters and college."[501]

Alongside to these redactional observations, Landázuri expressed his pastoral concern on the amount of time for the choral services, because the shortage of clergy in some regions required priests, and also canons, to offer themselves in the work of the apostolate. Hence, a reduction of the compulsory daily choral services should be conceded.[502] Finally, the archbishop praised the solution concerning the minor hours, which provided for a certain flexibility in praying them. Landázuri quoted his intervention at the CPC to underline the importance of this compromise solution which was not "extreme", i.e. opting for the suppression of the minor hours, but on the contrary adapting them to the circumstances of the contemporary life of the clergy.[503]

The Spanish vicar Buenaventura León de Uriarte OFM (San Ramón) had sent two written interventions. As a traditionally trained theologian, Uriarte defended the unchangeability of the mass and the Divine Office. He based his position on the fact that the Holy Spirit sets the bishops to guide the Church of God, and the episcopal ministry being primarily spiritual, the holy mass and the Divine Office were among these spiritual means. The reduction of the holy mass in its essence and of some hours of the Divine Office to make room for other works was against the tradition as it was expressed by the Fourth Council of Lateran (1215), Saint Ambrose, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and the Acts of the Apostles 6, 2-5.[504]

Uriarte had the view that the world was divided into a spiritual and a material dimension, so if the Church wanted to obtain the spiritual victory, it had to foster spirituality. According to a

[498] AS I, II, 320.
[499] AS I, II, 320.
[500] AS I, II, 375-376. For the distribution of communion, Olázar also recommended a short formula. Thus, instead of "Corpus Domini sit tibi in vitam aeternam", "Corpus Christi. Amen."
[501] AS I, II, 407.
[502] AS I, II, 408.
[503] AS I, II, 408.
[504] AS I, II, 218.

traditional view, the Divine Office was the battlefield par excellence of the ordained ministers against the temptations that lead away from divine praise.[505] Therefore, for the Franciscan vicar, the spiritual role of bishops and priests was fulfilled through the mass and the Divine Office and their essential nature must be maintained.[506]

On the debate on chapter four, three Peruvian prelates joined the written observation of Anton Reiterer MCCJ, the Austrian bishop of Lydenburg (South Africa). The Peruvian prelates were the French Lucien Metzinger SSCC (Ayaviri), the American Nevin Hayes O. Carm. (Sicuani) and the Italian Mario Libardoni OSI (Huari). Following their apostolic office and "in the name of their priests," the observation proposed changes to "make the Breviary a more efficient source for their spiritual life and apostolate."[507] Their list of proposals recommended to separate the psalms and prayers (*imprecationes*) in the Breviary, to reduce the morning prayer, to use the vernacular because for many priests it was necessary, to change the structure of the Breviary to make it a "fruitful and delightful source" for the spiritual life and apostolate of the priests. Finally, the prelates proposed to reduce the Eucharistic fast because many priests in their apostolate celebrated three Sunday masses, including assemblies and penances. Therefore, this rule affected their good health and their apostolic work.[508]

A final written consideration was sent by Uriarte to chapter eight on sacred art. He stressed the importance of sacred art in the history of the Church and its adaptability to each era. Uriarte pointed out that in present times it is necessary for experts to identify artistic errors and to be wary of new art (*ars nova*). Although the vicar recognised the importance of adapting art to each culture of the people, it was important to distinguish between profane art and sacred art, ancient art and modern art. Hence he proposed the creation of commissions on sacred art at different levels (dioceses, provinces, regions, national and international) bringing together experts from the laity and the secular and religious priesthood. Therefore, every Church should be built under the guidance of art experts and with episcopal approval, because only in this way would the Church be truly artistically and technically the house of God and the house of prayer.[509]

The debate of 1962 displayed that for many Fathers, including some Peruvian Fathers, the debate was a prolongation of the doctrinal and canonical demands proposed in the *vota*. The Peruvian Fathers' main concern arose from the pastoral challenges of their jurisdictions related to liturgical and sacramental celebration, rather than from the discussion on the theology of the liturgy and its impact on the ecclesial form intended by the Council. For many Latin American bishops, the discussion on *De Sacra Liturgia* showed the prevalence of the pastoral practices over the theological considerations.[510] However, cardinals like Josef Frings' and Francis Spellman's interventions also had the shape of a *votum* demanding dispensation of the Office in Latin for pastoral reasons.[511]

For the Peruvian Fathers, the impact of liturgical life on priests and faithful – understood mainly as the administration of sacraments and sacramental, the celebration of the Eucharist and the compulsory of the Divine Office for priests – alongside to the role of the episcopal conference on liturgical reform occupied their heeds. The former because the Peruvian Fathers looked after new structures for a simple and meaningful liturgical life, and in that sense, they shared the main

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[505] Mariano Casas Fernández, *Catedral de Salamanca. Corazón de una ciudad universal* (Salamanca: ArtiSplendore, 2021), 98-102.
[506] AS I, II, 218.
[507] AS I, II, 560.
[508] AS I, II, 561.
[509] AS I, II, 700-701.
[510] Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," 139.
[511] Lamberigts, "El debate sobre la liturgia," 141-142.

goals of the liturgical movements. Besides for Landázuri, who was president of the CEP, the role of the episcopal conferences in the liturgical renewal was pastorally convenient, but it needed to be clarified the canonical terms.

Therefore, the pastoral was a benchmark for the interventions of the Peruvian episcopate during the 1962-debate on *De Sacra Liturgia*. However, the Peruvian bishops and prelates had also theological frameworks behind their observations as it was expressed by the Spanish vicar Uriarte and the juridical ecclesiology of Landázuri, who was worried about the concordance between theology and canon law.

In 1963, during the first intersession, the Council Fathers were allowed to send their written emendations to the Liturgical Commission and sub-commissions. After the revision by the Liturgical Commission, during the second session, the schema was put to a vote during the general congregations. Then, the Fathers had the right to send *modi* with their observations and critiques to the schema.[512]

José Dammert Bellido (Cajamarca) was the only Peruvian bishop who prepared an observation to the schema during the intersession period. He sent a seven-item observation whose axis was the pastoral criterion and the authority of bishops in the liturgical reform, two topics that had already been on the mind of the Peruvian Fathers who intervened during the first conciliar period. Thus, Dammert pointed out for numbers 12 (*Vita liturgica in seminariis*) and 14 (*Institutio musica*) of the schema that all liturgical formation given in seminaries should have a pastoral objective and not encourage a "liturgical 'erudition' which then has no application in priestly ministry."[513] For the teaching of sacred music because, according to Dammert, seminaries abused "polyphonic choirs to the detriment of musical training for pastoral life."[514]

Dammert also considered the necessity to adapt the liturgical reform to the special conditions of Latin America and the missionary regions (number 31, *Vita liturgica in diocesi*). Coming himself from a predominant rural jurisdiction, he considered "pastorally" convenient that on great liturgical celebrations like the Triduum and the Corpus Christi feast, the priests should attend their parishes instead of being congregated with their bishop. Likewise, for number 43 (*Praeceptum Missae festivae*), due to the shortage of clergy, Dammert proposed that Sunday and festive masses may be observed by the faithful attending Saturday mass and first vespers. On number 73 (*Obligatio divini Officii*), the bishop proposed a dispensation from the minor hours for priests on Sunday and feast days because on those days the peasants gather in the parish to receive baptism and other sacraments.[515]

On the authority of bishops to adapt liturgical customs to local contexts, Dammert proposed that the bishop should have the power to order that the churches and oratories of nuns follow the diocesan calendar - and not their Congregation's - especially on Sundays and feast days of obligation in order to serve the majority of the faithful (number 14, *Liturgica institutio et actuosa participatio populi*). Similarly, considering the nations from the Southern hemisphere, Dammert proposed that the episcopal conference or the local bishop may have the authority to adapt the liturgical calendar to the local seasons. For instance, since Lent always falls in summer during the holydays time, the penitential rite could be moved to Advent, in winter season. The

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[512] Reiner Kaczynski, "Hacia la reforma litúrgica," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen III. El Concilio maduro. El segundo periodo y la segunda intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2006), 173-175.

[513] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1384, fasc. 35, f. 1. "Osservazione di José Dammert Bellido, vescovo di Cajamarca."

[514] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1384, fasc. 35, f. 1.

[515] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1384, fasc. 35, f. 1.

same was true for the Easter and Pentecost, which fall in autumn, so it was not possible to emphasise the spring character of the liturgy.[516]

At the beginning of the second session, the schema *De Sacra Liturgia* was substantially the definitive text. The Council had thus laid the foundations for a renewal of the liturgical theology and liturgical pastoral in the Church, and the *modi* presented during this period had little impact on the final drafting of the future constitution.[517] The Peruvian Fathers joined chains of *modi* signed by large groups of Fathers. The *modi* signed by the Peruvian bishops and prelates were on chapters three and four of the schema.

On chapter three, the bishops Alcides Mendoza, Alberto Dettmann (Ica), Erasmo Hinojosa (Piura), Julio Gonzáles (Puno), Luis Arroyo (Requena), Florencio Coronado (Huancavelica), Mario Cornejo (aux. Lima) and José Dammert, and the prelates Redento Gauci (Chuquibamba) and Edward Fedders (Juli) adhered the position that the vernacular could be admitted in the administration of sacraments and sacramentals according to number 36.[518] They also supported the deleting of the following lines which proposed to preserve the use of Latin as a manner to protect the form of the sacraments, with the exception of the marriage.[519] The use of vernacular in the administration of sacraments and sacramentals had a clear pastoral benchmark, as the demand to delete the second part of the paragraph which kept the use of Latin. On the opposite side of this pastoral position, Fidel Tubino (aux. Lima) demanded to eliminate the ninth emendation related to the episcopal permission granted to laypeople to administrate sacramentals in particular occasion.[520]

On chapter four *De officio Divino*, there were minimal propositions. Alcides Mendoza signed a *modus* for number 89 c) that suggested to replace in some circumstances the hour by a spiritual reading of the Scriptures.[521] On the contrary, in his signed *modus*, the Spanish prelate Florentino Armas OAR (Chota) insisted on the compulsory character of the minor hours, for all clergy.[522] Two other *modi* were sent with suggested changes of terms.[523]

The different *modi* provoked a debate inside the Liturgical commission which worked on them during October and November, 1963. For instance, the *modi* signed by the Peruvian Fathers on the use of vernacular for the administration of sacramentals were accepted in the final redaction of the Constitution. These *modi* joined a large trend in the *aula* in favour of the vernacular. The Commission accepted those *modi* and also kept the possibility of laypeople as administrators of sacramentals.[524] On the Divine office, the German historian J.A. Jungmann, a great connoisseur of the liturgy, coincided with the possibility to reduce the hours and have the spiritual reading of the Scriptures. His position, based on the history of liturgy, was resisted by the French liturgists

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[516] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1384, fasc. 35, ff. 1-2.
[517] Kaczynski, "Hacia la reforma litúrgica," 175.
[518] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 150, fasc. 4, f. 86; fasc. 5, ff. 90, 106; fasc. 6, ff. 12, 22, 94, 111, 119, 120; fasc. 8, f. 21. Article 36 regulates the use and translation into the vernacular for the administration of the sacraments when it was useful for the faithful, see: AS I, IV, 273-274.
[519] AS, II, II, 551.
[520] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 151, fasc. 12, f. 76. Many *modi* signed by Italian, Spanish and Mexican Fathers, included in the fascicle, were also against this possibility. For the ninth emendation, see: AS II, II, 570-571.
[521] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 152, fasc. 8, f. 34.
[522] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 152, fasc. 6, f. 53.
[523] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 152, fasc. 15, f. 106 (Edward Fedders); AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 153, fasc. 3, ff. 58 (Alcides Mendoza), 68 (Carlos Jurgens). Also the Spanish prefect Antonio de Hornedo SJ (San Francisco Javier del Marañón) proposed to allow the use of pontifical to apostolic prefectures: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 153, fasc. 17, f. 45.
[524] Kaczynski, "Hacia la reforma litúrgica," 195. These modifications were approved by the *aula* in November, 1963.

in the Commission.[525] In this aspect, the pastoral criterion of Mendoza coincided with Jungmann's knowledge of liturgy.

For the Peruvian Fathers who participated in the debate, the liturgical reform was a key opportunity to adapt the liturgical regulations from a pastoral point of view to the needs and context of Peru, Latin America and the missionary regions. These adaptations were understood as promoting the participation of the faithful in the sacraments and sacramentals, and granting greater freedom of action to priests in a missionary context. There were, of course, the first signs of resistance to change, as shown by the *modi* signed by Florentino Armas and Fidel Tubino. Nevertheless, the Constitution on the Sacred Liturgy *Sacrosanctum Concilium* was well received by the Peruvian Fathers when it was approved by the Council and promulgated by Pope Paul VI on 4th December, 1963.

1.2. On the Divine Revelation: Resistance and Adapting to the Doctrinal Changes.

The document on divine revelation generated an intense debate from the very first moment it was introduced at Vatican II during the first session in 1962. The debate put in collision different understandings of God's revelation and its consequences for the Church and her relationship with the world. Between 14th to 21st November, the Council faced for the first time a harsh clash on the dogmatic issue of revelation which included the oral revelation (Christ's preaching), its transmission (Tradition and Scripture) and the function of the magisterium.[526] In the first session, the debate on *De fontibus revelationis* was important in the construction of the opposed difference between a doctrinal and pastoral orientation of the Council.[527]

The schema *De fontibus revelationis* was the summary of the theology and dogmatics developed in the long history of the anti-Protestant controversies and the scholastic restoration prior to Vatican II.[528] The title of the schema was a doctrinal manifest for the two-sources theology of revelation which was at the centre of the theological debate. The resistance against the doctrinal positions of the schema emerged the days before the beginning of the debate among the Fathers, the *periti* and theologians.[529] The interventions of the Peruvian Fathers were very limited, due to

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[525] Kaczynski, "Hacia la reforma litúrgica," 190,

[526] Giuseppe Ruggieri, "El primer conflicto doctrinal," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer periodo y la primera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 225.

[527] Giuseppe Ruggieri, "La discussion sullo *schema constitutionis De fontibus revelationis* durante la I sessione del concilio Vaticano II," in *Vatican II commence… Approches Francophones*, ed. Étienne Fouilloux (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, 1993), 315-328. The discussion on *De fontibus* caused some bishops, such as the Brazilian and French bishops, to look for alternatives to the schemata prepared by the CPC. Thus, Congar put the Brazilian bishops in contact with Mgr. Volk and Edward Schillebeeckx's analysis of *De fontibus* circulated among many bishops.

[528] On the different understanding of revelation prior to Vatican II, see: Schelkens, *Catholic Theology of Revelation*, 24-55; Ormond Rush, "Some Pre-Conciliar Background to *Dei Verbum*. The Neo-Scholastic Manuals and Their Implied Models," in *Vatican II After Sixty Years. Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts, Antonia Pizzey and Karim Schelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2023), 47-66; Karim Schelkens, "'Throwing the Faith to Relativism?' On Understanding Scripture, Tradition, and Authority in the Long Run to Vatican II," in *Vatican II After Sixty Years. Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts, Antonia Pizzey and Karim Schelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2023), 67-84.

[529] The resistance to the schema took the form of theological critiques written by Edward Schillebeeckx and Karl Rahner, and also was prepared in the meetings of different bishops from CELAM, Africa, Asia, Europa and North America. Furthermore, Rahner and Joseph Ratzinger began the drafting of an alternative schema as early as 15th October, 1962. See: Riccardo Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio. La redazione della costituzione 'Dei Verbum' del Vaticano II* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1998), 105-128; Ruggieri, "El primer conflicto doctrinal," 228-239.

their limited theological training in the doctrinal debate on revelation. Some of them joined in collective interventions, and Landázuri was the only Father to participate twice, in 1962 and in 1963. The *modi* become, for a group of Peruvian Fathers, the tool to show their doctrinal position during the drafting of the schema, between 1964 and 1965.

Before the beginning of the first session, on 27th August, José Dammert sent a short observation on *De fontibus revelationis*. Together with priests Alfonso Castañeda and José Dávila, "the best prepared of the secular clergy of this diocese," Dammert prepared a two-item commentary.[530] First, he recommended, for bishops who unknowledge the contemporary theological movements and burdened with work, to add a brief "exposition of reasons" on the necessity and urgency of the constitution. In his opinion, the statements of Trent, Vatican I and the magisterium of recent popes were sufficient.[531]

Secondly, with regard to article 25 (*De versione latina Vulgata*), Dammert considered that a new Latin version of the Scriptures, prepared by the Biblical Institute under the supervision of the Pontifical Biblical Commission, should be launched as a basis for translation into the vernacular languages. Dammert therefore confirmed that "the Tridentine declaration and the clarifications of the Roman Pontiffs are sufficient."[532] Thus, for Dammert, and probably for many bishops, the schema did not break new ground in pastoral or doctrinal terms. Thus, Dammert did not only recognise the slight openness to translation opened up by Pius XII's *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943), but also remained faithful to the Trent doctrine which declared the Vulgate as the point of reference for the delineation of the canonical text.[533]

The criterion of the pastoral functionality of the schema became increasingly important during the first debate in 1962. On 14th November, *De fontibus revelationis* was introduced by Salvatore Garofalo, member of the Preparatory Theological Commission, who defended the schema from the accusations of a lack of pastoral character. However, the schema, according to him, provided the foundation of the pastoral which is always a concise and clear doctrine.[534] Besides, Garofalo situated the schema within John XXIII's desire that the Council should defend and promote the Catholic doctrine.[535] Therefore, from the beginning the pastoral benchmark – an aspiration of Pope John – became one of the pivots of the discussion.

Consequently, the intervention of Cardinal Landázuri during the 22nd General Congregation – and being the only Peruvian Father who participated in this first debate – addressed the theme of the pastoral character of the schema. Although, he acknowledged the "true doctrine" proposed by the schema, he also asserted that it was not possible to maintain the foundation of the proposed schema for four principal reasons. In the first reason, Landázuri began asserting that "it is affirmed that the schema is vehemently scholastic, doctrinal" which had its "qualities and defects," and, hence, this can be disputed endlessly. However, "one is a dogmatic decree, another is an exposition of the truth for the people."[536] After introducing his first idea,

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[530] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 753, 240, fasc. 1, f. 6, 16.
[531] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 753, 240, fasc. 1, f. 6, 17.
[532] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 753, 240, fasc. 1, f. 6, 17.
[533] On this topic, see: Oliver Dy, "Latin Vulgate vs. Original Texts: The Changing Norms in Choosing and Prioritizing the Biblical Source Texts of Translation. A Study on the Historical Reception of Trent and Vatican II in the Production of the Catholic Vernacular Bible" (doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Theology and Religious Studies, 2017), 4-8, 271-284. On the effect of *Divino afflante Spiritu*, see: Mathijs Lamberigts, "De encycliek 'Divino Afflante Spiritu' (1943). 75 jaar erkenning door Rome van de kritische bijbelstudie," *Ezra. Bijbels Tijdschrift* 40 (2018): 119-125; John R. Donahue, "A Journey Remembered: Catholic Biblical Scholarship 50 Years after *Divino Afflante Spiritu*," *America* 18 (1993): 6-11.
[534] Ruggieri, "El primer conflicto doctrinal," 240.
[535] Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 132.
[536] AS I, III, 170.

Landázuri observed that the pastoral objective desired by the Pope for the Council was neglected by the schema and, also, this objective did not mean that every sentence of the schema should be pastorally oriented. The pastoral aim, for the Cardinal, indicated a clear exposition of the doctrine for the faithful.[537]

At the dogmatic level, Landázuri defended the unicity of the revelation. For him, the discussion on the unity or twofold character of the sources of revelation was of less importance. He agreed with the substantial idea of the unity of revelation: "the word of God, which has revealed to us the knowledge of God and the divine thing; however it is one revelation through two means."[538] Thus, he joined Cardinal Frings' statement that "in the order of being it is one source of revelation, in the order of knowledge it is a twofold source."[539] Therefore, the Peruvian Cardinal continued, the title of the schema should be changed directly to *De revelatione*, because the word "source" was reserved itself to revelation.[540] Finally, his fourth reason pointed out that the schema was not mature (*maturus*) for discussion because a council should not impose an irreformable doctrine.[541]

Without being a radical rupture with the doctrine of the schema,[542] Landázuri's intervention was a critique of the lack of pastoral "style" of *De fontibus revelationis*. He joined the majority's critique about the scholastic style and the alienation of the schema from the Pope's objectives, and he also proposed a new title *De revelatione* to underline the unity of the revelation. Thus, Landázuri participated, in a certain sense, in the innovative stance related to the theology of revelation, alongside with the Central and Northen European episcopates.[543]

Because of the difficulty of the debate, the Council of Presidents decided to put the continuation of the debate to vote. The vote to adjourn the debate received 1368 votes to 822 to hold the debate. However, it did not reach the minimum of 1473 votes according to the conciliar regulation. Therefore, the debate was called to an end by John XXIII on 21st November, 1962. The Pope's decision proposed a redrafting of the schema with members of the Secretariat for the Unity of Christians, and answering the objective of the Council: how to present the doctrine of revelation to the world of today. The pastoral character of the schema was placed at the centre of the critique, as the Pope himself asserted, and this represented a major change in the doctrinal outlook of the Council and the Church.[544]

John XXIII erected the mixed commission *De revelatione* which worked from December 1962 until March 1963.[545] During this first intersession, José Dammert sent a less provocative

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[537] AS I, III, 170.
[538] AS I, III, 170.
[539] AS I, III, 171.
[540] AS I, III, 171.
[541] AS I, III, 171.
[542] Xavier Rynne described Landázuri's intervention, as well as Meyer's, as "had nothing concrete to offer in the way of an expedient". Landázuri, Rynne asserted, was congratulated by Ottaviani. See: *Letters from Vatican City. Vatican Council II (First Session): Background and Debates* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Company, 1963), 160-161. Also Burigana stated that Landázuri gave a "positive judgement" on the schema, see: *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 155. These interpretations overlook Landazuri's aim of criticising the lack of pastoral style. While he did not break with the doctrine of the schema – a sign of his eagerness to compromise – he took a position in favour of a new style for the Council documents and opted for a theology of one source of revelation.
[543] Ruggieri, "El primer conflicto doctrinal," 251.
[544] Ruggieri, "El primer conflicto doctrinal," 251-253.
[545] On the mixed commission *De revelatione*, see: Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 171-253; Jan Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide en el intervalo. La 'segunda preparación' y sus adversarios," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer periodo y la primera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 355-361.

suggestion, but it demonstrated the changes in his theological and doctrinal mindset. The chapter one was still described as too scholastic without considering the "deeds of revelation" (*hechos de la revelación*). The relationship between Scripture and magisterium was "too cold" or too old-fashioned, hence Dammert recommended to take into account the "compendium" sent by episcopal conferences (Austrian, Belgian, and others).[546] Dammert complemented his proposals with the recommendations coming from the pontifical magisterium of Benedict XV and Pius XII on the promotion of the reading of Scripture to the faithful.[547]

During the first intersessional period, discussion of the schema, entitled *De revelatione*, did not lead to a compromise solution. Therefore, the schema was not included on the agenda of the second session in 1963, but Paul VI's closing address of 4th December 1963 signalled the need for the Council to address the issue of divine revelation.[548] During the second intersession, the sub-commission *De divina revelatione* took charge of the drafting of a new schema. Its work lasted until 30th September, 1964, when a new schema, *De divina revelatione*, landed into the aula in the 91st General Congregation.[549]

During the second intersession, on 19th February, arrived the observations of Ignacio Arbulú Pineda (Huánuco). The bishop, after consulting different groups of "bishops, canons, parish priests and also laypeople from various professions," exposed his suggestion on the doctrine of the sources of revelation. Arbulú considered it "convenient to avoid definitive conclusions, in order to attract more and better the 'fratres separatos' (according to the mind and spirit of John XXIII)."[550] His ecumenical position led him to suggest the creation of "permanent conciliar commissions" – in the post-conciliar period – to study the dogmatic question of revelation in-depth, with time and calm. Eminent Protestant theologians should also participate in these commissions. The results of these commissions should be the base for a "future Council" with the active participation – not only as observers – of all the separated Churches in order to come together to final conclusions together.[551]

Arbulú concluded regarding the sources of revelation that the Council should say that the "Source of Revelation is *Sacred Scripture* and *Tradition* is a subsidiary science, connected and inseparable from Sacred Scripture," i.e. "Traditio ancilla Sacrae Scripturae est, possumus dicere..."[552] Therefore, for the Peruvian bishop, the debate on the twofold sources of Revelation was misleading and should be removed from the Council. For the bishop, the schema needed more ecumenical ways of expressing the doctrine of Revelation, and Protestant theologians should be involved in its formulation. Arbulú's remarks came late, because they were clearly addressed to *De fontibus*.[553] However, his ecumenical reasoning was surprising to say the least coming from a bishop from a semi-rural area of Peru, Huánuco.

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[546] AS III, III, 827. According to Burigana, the "compendium" was the schema Rahner-Ratzinger, which was distributed during the first session, see: *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 248.
[547] AS III, III, 827. Dammert quoted the encyclicals *Spiritus Paraclitus* (1920) and *Divino afflante Spiritu* (1943). The observation was signed in Cajamarca on 14th July and received by the Doctrinal Commission on 25th July, 1963, see: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 762, 272, fasc. 1, f. 17.
[548] Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 237-245; Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 361.
[549] For a history of the drafting of *De divina revelatione* during the second intersession, see: Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 254-307.
[550] AS III, III, 801-802. Arbulú's observation was written in Spanish.
[551] AS III, III, 802. For Arbulú, Ecumenism was the *unione cordium* of all believers in Christ – not yet a doctrinal union, which was to promote a common front against modern atheism.
[552] AS III, III, 802.
[553] Because of its content, Burigana placed Arbulú's observation in the first intersession, see: *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 253. Nevertheless, the document was not received by the sub-commission until 19th February, 1964, see: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 762, 272, fasc. 1, f. 88. Arbulú's observations were included in a letter

The debate of the third session on *De divina revelatione* took place between 30th September to 6th October. During the discussion, only Landázuri had an intervention, on behalf of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference, and five Peruvian Fathers joined other Fathers' observations presented in the *aula*. The latter, the collective statements, exhibit the doctrinal and theological positions endorsed by the Peruvian Fathers which could be linked to their origin, theological training and stance regarding the debate on issue of revelation. Therefore, together with the *modi*, all these interventions and proposals show the evolution of the debate and the degree of involvement of the Peruvian Fathers and what kind of the theological and doctrinal stances they supported on the delicate and crucial topic of revelation.

One of the first interventions came from Cardinal Julius Döpfner (Munich and Freising) who spoke on behalf of 78 German-speaking and Scandinavian bishops, among them the German Prelate Friedrich Kaiser (Caravelí, Peru). Döpfner agreed with the schema because it further developed the nature of divine revelation, the Scripture and the Tradition. He also praised the fact that the schema did not enter into the debate on the material insufficiency of Scripture and the relationship between Scripture and Tradition. This decision motivated theological research. He also favoured the emphasis given to Scripture in theological reflection and pastoral work as a central norm for the Church.[554]

Döpfner remarked that the schema underlined the unity of the *depositum fidei*, which was handed down through Scripture and Tradition. Thus, the German cardinal proposed set aside the idea of the two sources of revelation and to emphasise the unity of revelation.[555] He continued replying the relator Frane Franić (Yugoslavia), from the minority position on the Tradition,[556] that his historical argumentation regarding the Tradition was correctly founded but it could be better interpreted in different manner by theologians.[557] The observation included a list of propositions for the schema. From them, on chapter one, article four, the Cardinal recommended to follow the doctrine on the history of salvation coming from *De Ecclesia*, and he proposed a new redaction of article five. Instead of repeating the Vatican I formula of faith, the schema should introduce a more biblical notion of faith which tied with the pastoral purpose of the Council.[558] Döpfner concluded by affirming that the Council could eliminate the difficult terminology on the relationship between Scripture and Tradition, "thus being the word of our Council completion, and by no means derogatory, of the Council of Trent."[559]

Landázuri, who spoke on behalf of 45 Fathers of the CEP, also praised the schema and the work of the Commission *de fides et moribus*. He shared the ideas of the new schema and proposed five observations. On chapter one, Landázuri claimed to maintain the assertion that revelation was comprised in words and deeds, because some exegetes, focusing only on the literal sense of revelation, rejected and neglected the acts and deeds (*gesta et res*) enclosed in revelation.[560] He also pointed out that the manifestation of God in the nature itself should be clarified. According to him, the schema should distinguish between natural revelation and

written by Sebastian Tromp SJ to Cardinal Augustin Bea SJ of 20th March, 1964, see: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1464, fasc. 4.

[554] AS III, III, 145.

[555] AS III, III, 145.

[556] The Doctrinal Commission instructed archbishop Frane Franić with presenting the minority report on the topic of Tradition, see: Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 308-313.

[557] AS III, III, 146.

[558] AS III, III, 146.

[559] AS III, III, 147. *Sic esset locutio nostri Concilii complementum, minime derogatio, Concilii Tridentini*.

[560] AS III, III, 185-186.

positive supernatural revelation, because the latter included properties and exigences. Hence, the schema should highlight the superiority of the positive supernatural revelation of God.[561]

In his final remark on chapter one, Landázuri proposed to change the expression "The Christian economy will never pass away," because it was not absolute true. Quoting *De Ecclesia*, the Peruvian cardinal recalled that after the earthly economy follows the heavenly economy, which is the definite Christian economy.[562] Hence, the proposition tried to recognise the link between both moments of the history of salvation with the absolute primacy of the heavenly economy of salvation.

In the second chapter, Landázuri qualified the eighth article (*De Sacra Traditione*) - which was a novelty in the schema - as a better description of the divine tradition. He pointed out that in the article, it is necessary to carefully separate the elements coming from the Church, not only the human ones, from those belonging to supernatural revelation. It seems necessary, Landázuri said, that the Doctrinal Commission should be able to express precisely the distinction between tradition of divine origin and tradition of ecclesiastical origin.[563] The intervention ended by adding that the interpretation of Scripture and Tradition was the duty (*munus*) of "the living and infallible Magisterium of the Church, whose supreme authority in the only name of Jesus Christ, was constituted in his Church."[564]

On the discussion on chapters four and five, four Peruvian Fathers joined three interventions. The auxiliary bishop of Fulda, Eduard Schick spoke on behalf of Scandinavian and German-speaking bishops, including among the latter the prelate of Caravelí Friedrich Kaiser MSC. The statement praised both chapters because they represented real progress in the doctrinal explanation of Scripture and in the collaboration between exegetes and commission members. Schick had been professor of New Testament exegesis at the Philosophical and Theological College in Fulda.[565]

Schick recommended the use of the scientific methods. A good example was the instruction of the Pontifical Commission of Biblical Studies *Sancta Mater Ecclesia* (14th May 1964) that explained the "principles of a healthy hermeneutics of the Sacred Gospels." Thus, the contemporary exegetical methods were not merely enemies of the Christian and Catholic faith, but they were tools to confirm and light up the faith. Furthermore, because "God received, speaking to human beings through the Scriptures, truly human flesh and voice, so that the Scriptures exist as the true word of God in truly human words."[566] Hence the use of contemporary exegesis was founded on the incarnate mystery of Scripture as the word of God unfolding in human words.

A final praise was on the ecumenical perspective of the schema on revelation. Schick pointed out that the schema fixed the value of the Sacred Scripture for the entire Christian people and the entire Church. After the compliment, the auxiliary bishop only added two theological corrections to chapter six. He proposed to change the expression "under the guidance of the Magisterium" (*sub ductu magisterii*) to "under the watchful care of the Magisterium" (*sub*

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[561] AS III, III, 186. Landázuri proposed to add to article 3, lin. 9 the following words in italics: "Deus in Verba sua omnia creavit, et *ita* in ipsa rerum natura perenne sui testimonium hominibus ostendit. *Insuper autem*, inde ab initio…". For the reference in the schema, see: AS, III, III, p. 72.
[562] AS III, III, 186. Landázuri proposed "Oeconomia ergo Christiana *praesens* usque ad consummationem saeculi durabit…," instead of "Oeconomia christiana nunquam praeteribit."
[563] AS III, III, 186-187.
[564] AS III, III, 187.
[565] For a short biography of bishop Eduard Schick, see: Bistum Fulda, "In memoriam Bischof Eduard Schick," accessed on 15th July 2024, https://www.bistum-fulda.de/bistum_fulda/presse_medien/liste_pressemeldungen/2006/2006_01/bpd_2006_2/bpd_20060214_Bischof_Schick_memoriam.php.
[566] AS III, III, 310.

vigilantia magisterii). For him, it was not the task of the magisterium to carry out exegetical research, but to watch over it.[567]

Bishop Alcides Mendoza signed the intervention of William Philbin, bishop of Down and Connor (Northen Ireland), who spoke on behalf of 30 Fathers. Philbin had been professor of dogmatic theology at Maynooth since 1934 until his nomination as bishop, and also contributed to the Irish Theological Quarterly and the Irish Ecclesiastical Record.[568] He exposed some reservations about the doctrine of inerrancy and historicity of the Scriptures, and the critical methods for the study of Scriptures.

First, Philbin called for a clear affirmation of the absolute truth of not only his deeds and teachings, but of all that the Gospels transmitted about Jesus.[569] Second, the Irish bishop questioned the limitation of the veracity of the Gospels to the deeds and words of Jesus. To make his point, he mentioned that the Gospel of Luke in its preface included the doctrine of Mary's virginity.[570]

Philbin continued on the subject of truth. For him, the theories of literary genre of the Gospels must be treated with proportion and fairness while preserving the factuality and objectivity of the Gospels. He found many ambiguities in relation to contemporary critical methods derived from the human sciences. These must be addressed as a primary task of the Council as custodian of the deposit of faith. While article 23 of the schema recognised the authority of the magisterium, it considered that the work of exegetes could help to mature the Church's judgement.[571] For Philbin, this assertion was a completely ambiguous statement. Therefore, taking a more traditional interpretation, he concluded that the interpretation of the Gospels should rely more on the universal and ordinary magisterium and less on the methods of contemporary critical sciences.[572]

The Spanish vicar Javier Ariz OP (Puerto Maldonado) and the Peruvian bishop Mariano Valdivia (Huancayo) joined the observation of Eduardo Martínez González, bishop of Zamora (Spain). The Spanish bishop, specialised in Sacred Scripture, who published exegetical studies on the Gospel readings for Sundays and feasts,[573] centred his intervention on three important topics: inspiration, inerrancy and the condescension of God.[574] Divine inspiration was based on the fact that God is the principal author of all Scripture. The hagiographer is the instrumental and secondary author of the whole of Holy Scripture, inspired by God as the first cause. As a secondary author he is neither an inanimate nor an irrational instrument, although with limitations, he acts according to his own nature, rational and free. It can therefore be admitted that the inspired and the uninspired are intermingled.[575]

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[567] AS III, III, 311.
[568] Ambrose Macaulay, "Philbin, William Joseph," in *Dictionary of Irish Biography*, accessed on 15th July 2024, https://www.dib.ie/biography/philbin-william-joseph-a7312.
[569] AS III, III, 314. Philbin proposed changing the expression "Evangelia vere tradere quae Iesus … reapse et fecit et docuit" to "*ea* esse vera *quae* Evangelia de Iesu *tradunt*" (Chapter five).
[570] AS III, III, 314.
[571] AS III, III, 315. Article 23 of the schema, see: AS III, III, 103.
[572] AS III, III, 316. Philbin recommended the addition to article 23: "In Evangeliis interpretandis prae oculis habendae sunt non tantum methodi scientiae criticae hodiernae, sed etiam ordinarium et universale magisterium, quo Ecclesia saepius de historicitate eventuum in Evangeliis narratorum mentem suam infallibiliter exposuit."
[573] Rafael Ángel García Lozano, "La diócesis de Zamora durante el Franquismo," *Studia Zamorensia*, vol. XI (2012): 149. Martínez, as a bishop, published a 885-page book *Estudios exegéticos sobre los Evangelios dominicales y festivos* (Zamora: Editorial Universidad Laboral, 1955).
[574] AS III, III, 355.
[575] AS III, III, 355-356. Martínez followed his argumentation on the authorship of the Scripture quoting St Thomas Aquinas, from whom he also drew the notion of inerrancy.

Martínez agreed with article 11 on the notion of inerrancy, which was in line with the mind of the Fathers, theologians, the Biblical Commission, the Roman Pontiffs, mainly Leo XIII (*Providentissimus*), Benedict XV (*Spiritus Paraclitus*) and Pius XII (*Divino afflante Spiritu*). In this line of continuity, and on the historicity of Scripture, Martínez proposed to leave to the exegetes, following the sound and complete rules of hermeneutics, the study and assessment of the truth of the principal and instrumental things that an author wanted to transmit.[576] The Spanish bishop was interrupted by the moderators. Hence, he added to his intervention a list of written recommendations which were mainly exegetical analyses of Scripture quotes.[577]

At the end of the 1964 debate on revelation, the Peruvian Fathers intervened on the following topics: the relationship between Tradition and Scripture, the notion of inerrancy and the use of critical methods for exegesis. The support of the Peruvian Fathers for one of the observations was linked to doctrinal affinity with the Father speaker and to national and congregational ties. Thus, on the above-mentioned issues, the moderate position prevailed in general, with some differences. For example, on critical methods, Philbin, supported by Mendoza, preferred the magisterium for biblical interpretation rather than contemporary methods. In contrast, Schick, together with Kaiser, and Martínez, with Ariz and Valdivia, encouraged the use of critical methods to study the Scriptures. The former even defended the methods because of the "incarnate mystery of Scripture as the word of God unfolding in human words." Related to the interpretation, there were different understanding of the Scriptures inspiration. For Philbin and Martínez, supported by Mendoza, Valdivia and Ariz, God was the author of the Scriptures; hence, the interpretation was always limited by the magisterium. On the other side, for Schick, endorsed by Kaiser, God inspired the hagiographer who wrote down what was revealed. Thus, it was necessary the biblical exegesis for a better interpretation of the Scriptures.

After the debate in the *aula*, the schema returned to the sub-commission *De divina revelatione*. By 20th November, the schema *De divina revelatione* was sent again to the Council Fathers, to consider it for voting.[578] However, Pericle Felici, secretary of the Council, informed the Fathers that they had the opportunity to prepare their observations until 31st January 1965, and the discussion and vote would take place during the next session. Felici's communication seemed to be a manoeuvre to give the traditionalist group of bishops an opportunity to intervene on *De divina revelatione* by adding a statement in favour of the constitutive Tradition.[579] During the third intersession, the decision was taken to vote and suspend all debate. Thus, the *modi* were the only means of intervening in the schema. In this way, the more complex issues were the main object of the *modi*. The issues were the following: (1) Relationship between Tradition, Scripture and the magisterium; (2) The inspiration and truth of Scripture; and (3) The historicity of the Gospels. All of them persisting topics of the doctrinal conflict since 1962.[580]

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[576] AS III, III, 357.

[577] AS III, III, 358-359. On the exegetical analysis of Mt 13:13; Lk 13:21 quoted in article 8 (chapter two), Martinez rejected the interpretation that the Church was like the woman who introduces the leaven (the living tradition in the Church) into the dough (humanity). For him, the text spoke of the Kingdom of Heaven, a theme proper to Mt, which was not so much eschatological as primarily the Kingdom of God present in this world, i.e. the pilgrim Church in the world. Hence the leaven is the Church, whose virtue is transforming the dough, humanity, into excellent bread.

[578] Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 354-361.

[579] Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 360-361. Felici's communication is in AS III, VIII, 551.

[580] Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 365-366; Christoph Theobald, "La Iglesia bajo la palabra de Dios," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen V. Un Concilio de transición. El cuarto período y la conclusión del Concilio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2008), 257-258, 262.

After the beginning of the fourth session, on 14th September 1965, the schema *De divina revelatione* was put to the vote on 20th, 21st, and 22nd September. During this period, a large number of *modi*, 1498, had to be treated by a small commission, which between 22nd and 30th September examined and reduced the *modi* to 208 proposals, of which 28.8% dealt with chapter two.[581] The Peruvian Fathers joined different *modi* addressing the preface, chapters one, two, three and five. The majority of their *modi* also addressed chapter two and dealt with the difficult doctrinal issues of revelation. Among the six Peruvian Fathers, only Julio González was Peruvian by birth, while the other five were 4 Spanish and 1 Italian missionaries.

Table 11. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De divina revelatione*

Peruvian Father	Preface	Chapter One	Chapter Two	Chapter Three	Chapter Five	Total nº of *modi* per Father
Antonio De Hornedo SJ	1	2	4	3	2	**12**
Valeriano Arroyo OFM		2	4		2	**8**
Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda, OSA			2	1	2	**5**
Marco Libardoni, OSI			1			**1**
Javier Ariz OP				1	1	**2**
Julio Gonzáles Ruiz, SBD					1	**1**
Total nº of *modi* per section	**1**	**4**	**11**	**5**	**8**	**29**

For the preface, De Hornedo signed a *modus* proposing the addition of the Council of Trent next to the mention of Vatican I. The *ratio* explained that this addition was to state the "truth of the matter" and the mind of John XXIII.[582] The addition of Trent responded to the concern expressed about the continuity and permanence of the doctrine on revelation and its consequences with regard to the three questions mentioned above.[583] The proposed formula was meant to underline that the schema followed in the "footsteps of the Councils of Trent and Vatican I," which could mean both the permanence of a doctrinal idea of revelation or also the anchoring in the tradition of the personalist notion of revelation.[584]

Valeriano Arroyo and De Hornedo joined together two different *modi* on chapter one. The first one objected the idea of the expression *verba gestaque* without indicating that the *gesta* (deeds) were explicitly manifested by the words of God himself. Only the word of God can be believed, but interpretations of the deeds can be made by human beings. Therefore, "this interpretation being a human construct (in the extreme: 'theology'), it is not, however, the word of God."[585] The second one proposed a confusing observation. It asked for deleting the expression "quo homo se totum libere Deo committit" which followed the sentence: "Deo revelanti praestanda est oboeditio fidei…" According to the reasoning, the word "faith" is always together

[581] Theobald, "La Iglesia bajo la palabra," 265.
[582] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 213, fasc. 1, f. 81. The *modus* was also signed by Pedro Arrupe SJ, General Superior of the Society of Jesus, and Marcel Lefebvre. The *modus* is dated 2nd August 1965, but was not studied until September 1965. The proposition was considered in the final drafting of *Dei Verbum*.
[583] Theobald, "La Iglesia bajo la palabra," 262.
[584] On the Models of Revelation, see: Avery Dulles, *Models of Revelation* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1992); Gerald O'Collins, *Fundamental Theology* (New York: Paulist Press, 1981), 53-61.
[585] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 213, fasc. 2, ff. 61 (Arroyo), 93 (De Hornedo).

with hope and love, following Saint Paul.[586] Hence, if the schema admits of a truly dogmatic progress, it has to present the expression: faith, hope and love.[587] From these *modi*, the Fathers believed that there were a difference between doctrine and theology, the latter being the battleground of disputes, the former referring to the strict and faithful following of tradition.

The *modi* signed by the Peruvian Fathers on chapter two concentrated on the Tradition, its transmission and its relationship with the Scripture and magisterium. On the notion of Tradition, a first *modus*, supported by De Hornedo and Arroyo, proposed a new wording of article 7 which pointed out the importance of the orality of the apostolic Tradition. If it were put in writing, its transmission would include a human interpretation and therefore could not be the object of faith.[588] A second *modus* on the same matter (in article 8), signed by Arroyo, De Hornedo and Rodríguez, proposed to change the phrase "crescit enim tam rerum quam verborum traditorum perception" to "crescit veritatum traditorum perceptio." The perception "of things handed down" (*rerum traditorum*) already belonged to interpretation, for it was not the word of God, but a human construct.[589]

On the relationship with the magisterium, one *modus* claimed to include the expressions "intelligentia" and "sub ductu Magisterii." The former to point out that it is the understanding of Tradition that increases, not Tradition itself. The second to emphasise the duty (*munus*) of the magisterium in increasing the understanding of Tradition in the Church.[590] A *modus* on the relationship between Tradition and Scripture stated that there are "revealed truths, which cannot be known in Scripture alone, so that the word of God may be known to us." The *ratio* asserted that the statement belonged to the doctrine and not to the theology (*quaestio disputata*).[591] On the same topic of concern, the Italian prelate Libardoni joined a *modus* for article 9 which asserted that "the whole of Catholic doctrine cannot be verified from the Sacred Scripture."[592]

Chapter three on the inspiration and interpretation of Sacred Scripture. Two *modi* signed by De Hornedo on article 11 recalled to erase the term "salutarem" that qualified "veritatem,"[593] because it restricted and implied that the Scriptures only have inerrancy in supernatural matters. Besides, this idea was refused by the magisterium in the encyclicals of Leo XIII's *Providentissimus* and Pius XII's *Divino afflante Spiritu*.[594] This point was part of the debate in the Commission, as Tromp rejected the term "veritas salutaris" for the same reason. According to him, the expression narrowed the scope of the truth of Scripture and made God appear to be a "liar."[595] A *modus* on article 12 regarding the interpretation of Scripture wanted to emphasise the

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[586] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 213, fasc. 5, ff. 7 (Arroyo), 50 (De Hornedo).
[587] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 213, fasc. 5, ff. 7 (Arroyo), 50 (De Hornedo). "Si progressus dogmaticus vere admittitur, ultimus sensus praeferendus est."
[588] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 214, fasc. 1, ff. 54 (De Hornedo), 88 (Arroyo). The *modus* proposed to change the phrase "ab Apostolis, qui in praedicatione orali, exemplis et institutionibus ea tradiderunt quae sive ex ore, conversatione et operibus Christi acceperant, sive a Spiritu Sancto suggerente didicerant," to "ab Apostolis, qui et praedicationem Christi nobis trasmiserunt et Eius opera, Spiritu Sancto suggerente, sunt interpretati."
[589] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 214, fasc. 3, ff. 237 (Arroyo), 272 (De Hornedo), 274 (Rodríguez).
[590] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 214, fasc. 3, f. 67 (Arroyo); fasc. 4, f. 53 (De Hornedo). The *modus* proposed to change the phrase "Haec quae est ab Apostolis Traditio sub assistentia Spiritus Sancti in Ecclesia proficit," to "Huius, quae est ab Apostolis, Traditionis *intelligentia* sub assistentia Spiritus Sancti et *sub ductu Magisterii semper* in Ecclesia proficit" (article 8).
[591] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 215, fasc. 1, ff. 38 (De Hornedo), 40 (Rodríguez), 93 (Arroyo).
[592] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 215, fasc. 2, f. 151.
[593] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 215, fasc. 4, f. 120; AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 216, fasc. 2, f. 47.
[594] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 215, fasc. 4, f. 120.
[595] Theobald, "La Iglesia bajo la palabra," 270. Following a proposal of Gérard Philips the expression "veritas salutaris" was changed to "veritatem quam Deus nostrae salutis causa litteris sacris consignare voluit." For the debate, see: Burigana, *La Bibbia nel Concilio*, 415-430; *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard*

primacy of the supernatural criteria to interpret the Scripture over the role of the exegetes. Thus, according to *Divino afflante Spiritu*, the Council preserved "true nature" of the Catholic exegesis.[596]

The historicity of the Gospels was another crucial issue in the debate. On article 19, *Evangeliorum indoles historica*, the *modus* requested to change the wording of the first lines of the article.[597] The emphasis was placed on the truth and historicity of the Gospels. The former should not be reduced to the earthly life of Jesus. The latter wanted the introduction of the adjective "historicam," in fidelity to the magisterium established in *Divino afflante Spiritu*, the *Monitum* of the Holy Office (20th June 1961) and the Instruction of the Pontifical Biblical Commission (21st April 1964). The proposals were intended to curb the many ambiguities and exegetical audacity.[598] Similarly, a second *modus* related to article 19 proposed to introduce the term "historicam" or "vere historicam narrationem" to describe the Gospels. The *modus* highlighted the absolute historicity of the Gospels.[599]

The debate and the *modi* showed the difficulty to overtake the conflict between the main positions on revelation: the doctrinal perspective of Vatican I and the personalist perspective.[600] Hence, this conflict continued through the *modi* during September 1965. The *modi* endorsed by the Peruvian Fathers clearly belonged to the group which suspect the developments in the theology of revelation. They were certainly set on the grounds of Vatican I perspective which remarked a doctrinal definition of Tradition, the role of magisterium in the interpretation of revelation, the absolute true and historicity of the Gospels and the limits of contemporary exegetical methods.

These *modi* built up their stances on magisterial documents mainly *Divino afflante Spiritu* to defend their doctrinal positions. In that sense, the requests of the *modi* were inserted in the long tradition of the Catholic Church doctrine. Hence, the best manner to continue the allegiance to the Catholic doctrine was to express the truths with the same literary style and formulation. This traditional understanding of the Church and of doctrine was a permanent touchstone and a watershed for the Council Fathers, also the Peruvian ones. Thus, the *modi* revealed the weight of nationality in the position taken, mainly among the Spanish and Italian. These two nationalities were, mainly, defenders of a traditional view of Catholic doctrine and resisted the renewal. Among the Peruvian Fathers who joined a *modus*, there were four Spanish, one Italian and one Peruvian. Their doctrinal positions represented the main stances among the Spanish and Italian episcopates during the Council.

Philips, Secrétaire-adjoint de la Commission doctrinale. Texte néerlandais avec traduction française et commentaires par Karim Schelkens (Leuven: Maurits Sabbebibliotheek Faculteit Godgeleerheid. Uitgeverij Peeters, 2006), 151-154.

[596] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 216, fasc. 3, f. 56 (Rodríguez), 66 (Ariz), 145 (De Hornedo).

[597] The *modus* proposed the change of the phrase "Sancta Mater Ecclesia firmiter et constantissime tenuit ac tenet quattuor recensita Evangelia vere tradere quae Iesus Dei Filius, vitam inter homines degens, ad aeternam eorum salutem reapse et fecit et docuit (cf. Act. 1, 1)" to "Sancta Mater Ecclesia firmiter et constantissime *credidit et credit quattuor recensita Evangelia iuxta veritatem fidemque historicam (cf. EB 560) trader Omnia facta et dicta quae in ipsis continentur (cf. Instruct. 21, 4, 1964 AAS 56 [1964]*."

[598] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 217, fasc. 3, f. 79 (Rodríguez), 88 (Arroyo), 132 (De Hornedo).

[599] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 217, fasc. 4, f. 124 (De Hornedo), 127 (González Ruiz); fasc. 5, f. 6 (Arroyo), 65 (Rodríguez), 88 (Ariz).

[600] Theobald, "La Iglesia bajo la palabra," 264.

2. The Debate on *De Ecclesia*: Reactions and Resisting the Developments on Ecclesiology

The drafting history of *Lumen gentium* began in the preparatory phase, but its main development happened during the conciliar years, between 1963 and 1964. In the beginning, the Theological Commission prepared two dogmatic schemata: the first was *De Ecclesia,* and the second was *De Beata Maria Virgine*. During the debate and drafting of *Lumen gentium*, many complex topics emerged in the discussion, such as episcopal collegiality and the role of the Roman Pontiff, the priesthood of the believers, the significance of religious vocations for the Church, and the place of *De Beata* within the major schema *De Ecclesia*.[601] Enthusiastic, doubtful and resistant responses were commonplace for many Fathers who followed those ecclesiological developments during the conciliar years.[602] These attitudes were also shared by the Peruvian Fathers, some of whom participated during the drafting history of *Lumen gentium* through their interventions during the conciliar and the intersession periods, joining to other episcopal statements and networks, and, of course, the preparation of *modi*.

On 23rd November 1962, the schema *De Ecclesia* was distributed among the Fathers. The 11-chapter schema was a corporate-juridical conception of the Church with the intention to be a comprehensive document covering every juridical and doctrinal aspect.[603] The debate ran from 1st to 7th December with 77 interventions. There were two main positions. A group of Fathers, led by the Central European bishops, criticised the schema for its juridical and corporative understanding of the Church. Another group, mainly coming from Italy, Spain and the Curia, agreed with the juridical ecclesiology and the identification of the Roman Church with the Mystical Body of Christ.[604] In parallel, Gérard Philips, a Louvain theologian, prepared alternative chapters for *De Ecclesia*, which had four chapters: on the mystery of the Church, the hierarchy and especially the episcopate, the people of God and especially the laity and the religious.[605]

During the first session of 1962, no Peruvian Father participated in the debate nor submitted any observation. Probably most of the 34 Peruvian Fathers got to know the doctrinal and theological atmosphere of the main theological stances on ecclesiology and began to take doctrinal positions regarding the schema. As Congar asserted regarding the first session: "The episcopate has discovered itself. It has become aware of itself."[606] For instance, after the end of the first session, Cardinal Juan Landázuri, archbishop of Lima, declared to the press that the Church should adapt herself to the evolution of times which also requires her renovation.[607]

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[601] The complexity of the drafting of *Lumen gentium* can be consulted in the *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips*, see: Leo Declerck, "Introduction," in the *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philips, Secrétaire-adjoint de la Commission doctrinale. Texte néerlandais avec traduction française et commentaires par Karim Schelkens* (Leuven: Maurits Sabbebibliotheek Faculteit Godgeleerheid. Uitgeverij Peeters, 2006), VIII-XVI.

[602] A history of *Lumen Gentium* is found in the second, third and fourth volumes of the *History of Vatican II*, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo.

[603] For a presentation of the schema, see: Giuseppe Ruggieri, "El difícil abandono de la eclesiología controversista," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer período y la primera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 270-281.

[604] Ruggieri, "El difícil abandono," 308-321. A brief history of the Philips schema, see; Santiago Madrigal Terrazas, "El Vaticano II en los *cuadernos conciliares* de G. Philips," *Razón y Fe* vol. 259, nº 1326 (2009): 262-270.

[605] Ruggieri, "El difícil abandono," 281-286.

[606] Quoted in Giuseppe Alberigo, "'Aprender por sí mismo': La experiencia conciliar," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen II. La formación de la conciencia conciliar. El primer período y la primera intercesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2002), 524.

[607] *El amigo del clero*, nº 1651 (1962), 450-454.

During the first intersession, two Peruvian bishops sent their observations on *De Ecclesia* and its relationship with *De Beata*. Their *animadversiones* joined many other suggestions and alternative schemata that arrived at the Commission *De doctrina fidei et morum*, which was in charge of drafting *De ecclesia*. In the month of July 1963, José Dammert Bellido, bishop of Cajamarca, and Elías Olázar Muruaga, apostolic vicar of Yurimaguas, independently prepared *animadversiones*. Dammert prepared two *vota*, one on *De ecclesia* and another on *De Beata Maria*, and Olázar only on *De Beata*.

Dammert prepared two brief observations, one on collegiality and another on *De Beata*. Regarding episcopal collegiality, Dammert pointed out three ideas. The first was his proposal for a deeper development of the theology of episcopal collegiality. Thus, he remarked that the "order of the bishops" (*ordo Episcoporum*) in which the bishops are incorporated by the consecration in unity with the successor of Peter, is the successor of the "College of the Twelve." Second, Dammert proposed to answer how the episcopal college united with the Roman Pontiff should exercise ordinary power over the Church. Third, he required clarification on the power of episcopal assemblies, local councils and patriarchates.[608] As a lawyer and canonist, Dammert's concerns focused on the juridical exercise of the ordinary power of the episcopal college and the Pope, and the juridical authority of episcopal assemblies. For Dammert, secretary of the Peruvian Episcopal Conference (1957-1962), the role of the episcopal conference was crucial to implement reforms in local Churches. Like Landázuri, he was interested in the doctrinal and canonical authority of the bishops' conference in a national jurisdiction.

In the same vein, Dammert's position on *De Beata* expressed his agreement with the theological stances of the main Central European bishops. He supported the incorporation of *De Beata* within *De Ecclesia* following the proposed text by Chilean Cardinal Silva Henríquez "annotationes genericae in schema constitutionis dogmaticae de Ecclesia."[609] On the contrary, the Spanish vicar Olázar, who had a great Marian devotion,[610] seemed not to be aware of the debate around the integration of *De Beata* into *De Ecclesia*. On the Marian schema, Olázar proposed doctrinal observations, such as the avoidance of the definition of the death of the Virgin Mary.[611]

The commission worked on *De Ecclesia* during three phases: 1. February-March 1963; 2. April-May 1963; and 3. July-September 1963.[612] It is not possible to establish the reception of the three Peruvian *vota* in the commission, but it is feasible to determine which theological trends they belonged to. On one side, Dammert disclosed his position on the theological developments of the Council, such as collegiality, that fostered the reform of the Church. Hence, Dammert's concern for collegiality and episcopal assemblies expressed his tuning with the theological development taking place during the first conciliar session. On the other side, Olázar represented a more classical understanding of a council, only concerned about doctrinal and canonical definitions. Later, the vicar joined the resistance to some theological-doctrinal developments of *De Ecclesia*, like episcopal collegiality.

During the last phase of the intersession, taking Mgr. Albert Prignon's suggestion, the Belgian Cardinal Suenens proposed to the Commission the modification of the schema. He asked for introducing the chapter *De populo Dei in genere* between chapter one, on the mystery of the

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[608] AS II, I, 646.
[609] AS II, III, 708.
[610] Pasionistas Perú, "Monseñor Elías Olázar," (6th December 2018), accessed 22nd July 2024, https://misionerosporsiempre.wordpress.com/2018/12/06/monsenor-elias-olazar/
[611] AS II, III, 758.
[612] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 361-379.

Church, and the third, on the hierarchical constitution of the Church.[613] This recommendation was fundamental in the emergence of the conciliar ecclesiology, which included among the people of God, the bishops, the laity and the religious. However, Suenens' proposal was only accepted after an intense and lengthy tug-of-war with Cardinal Ottaviani on 15th October 1963.[614]

The second session began on 29th September 1963. General Secretary Felici announced the new regulatory norms urging the Fathers to prepare collective statements to avoid repetition. The Peruvian bishops joined 14 collective statements. The rule also required the Fathers to submit a summary of their intervention to the secretariat three days in advance.[615] The debate on the dogmatic schema *De Ecclesia*[616] began on 1st October 1963. The "Philips schema" was voted the same day as a sort of plebiscite to become the base text for the discussion and re-elaborations. The schema received 2231 valid votes out of 2301 Fathers.[617] After the approval of the schema, the debate on each chapter began.

A group of Peruvian bishops participated in the debate on chapters two, three and four. Between 1st and 4th October, the introduction and chapter one *De Ecclesiae mysterio* were discussed. In parallel, Cardinal Suenens supported the idea of incorporating *De Beata* as a final chapter of *De Ecclesia*, while Philips was in charge of editing the schema *De Beata.*[618] This suggestion, together with the introduction of chapter *De Populo Dei*, was accepted by the Doctrinal Commission in October.[619]

From 4th to 16th October, the Fathers discussed chapter two *De constitutione hierarchica Ecclesiae et in specie de episcopatu*, which dealt with the disputed issues of episcopate, collegiality and diaconate. During those days, 119 discourses and 56 written interventions were presented. The chapter included the crucial topic of collegiality, which produced multiple reactions. The chapter also had one page and a half on the presbyterate, which was considered a glaring lacuna. The schema had no word on the crucial issues such as celibacy, formation, relation with bishops and other ones, which occupied many of the episcopal *vota* in the antepreparatory phase. A second theme was the restoration of the diaconate as a permanent degree of the sacred orders. The approach to the diaconate generated polemics among Fathers, who considered this type of diaconate as a key to opening the marriage for priests and other Fathers who considered

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[613] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 378; 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 (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 103-105. It was Mgr. Prignon who suggested the division of chapter III *De populo Dei et de laicis* in two parts: *De populo Dei* and *De laicis*. Cardinal Suenens endorsed the idea and was supported by Philips and the Belgian theologians.

[614] Cardinal Ottaviani's resistance to the new order of the chapters prolonged the decision until 15th October, when he announced to the Doctrinal Commission that Paul VI had approved the chapter *De populo Dei*, but that he would have preferred to see *De hierarchia* before *De populo Dei*. See: Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal," 106-109; Francisco Gil Hellín, *Concilii Vaticani II synopsis in ordinem redigens schemata cum relationibus necnon Patrum orationes atque animadversiones. Constitutio dogmatica de Ecclesia Lumen Gentium* (Rome, Città del Vaticano: Pontificia Universitas Sanctae Crucis, Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1995), XXVII.

[615] Alberto Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo período. El gran debate sobre la Iglesia," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen III. El Concilio maduro. El segundo período y la segunda intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2006), 55.

[616] The *Schema constitutionis dogmaticae de Ecclesia* is found in AS II, I, 215-281. The schema had the following chapters: I *De Ecclesiae mysterio*, II *De constitutione hierarchica Ecclesiae et in specie de episcopatu*, III *De populo Dei et in speciatim de laicis*, and IV *De vocatione ad sanctitatem in Ecclesia*.

[617] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 56. The schema was already being modified. The chapter on the People of God had taken form and a new chapter on the religious was planned. Besides, the vote meant the end of the preparatory schema *De Ecclesia*.

[618] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 61; Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal," 124-125.

[619] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 67.

it as a solution to the lack of clergy.[620] Hence, the debate on chapter two produced back-and-forth positions among the Fathers. This situation formed also the occasion for Peruvian interventions in the discussion.

On 8th October, Cardinal Landázuri presented his intervention. He started mentioning his agreement with the title "Dogmatic" for the document without lacking the practical and pastoral ideas of the constitution.[621] The main topic of his discourse was the restoration of the diaconate, which was a crucial issue for the archbishop and the Peruvian episcopate. The diaconate was a dogmatic and pastoral question because of the priestly vocation and celibacy issue. He exposed some reasons in favour of the restoration, such as incorporating as deacons lay people working in the apostolate or separated brethren converted to Catholicism and not allowed to become priests. The latter one was his "ecumenical argument" (*argumentum oecumenicum*).[622] Despite these perspectives, Landázuri considered that the restoration of the diaconate was necessary and because it was a very serious matter, the episcopal conferences should be involved in this process.

On chapter two, four Peruvian prelates signed five collective statements. The bishops Mariano Jacinto Valdivia (Huancayo) and Florencio Coronado CSsR (Huancavelica) supported the observations on the diaconate prepared by prelates Manuel Talamás Camandari (Ciudad Juárez, Mexico)[623] and José Clemente Maurer CSsR (Sucre, Bolivia),[624] respectively. Both statements joined Latin American prelates that supported the restoration of diaconate for married men due to the great pastoral necessities of Latin American rural areas. A common necessity was the lack of parish priests in rural areas. Talamás and his peers proposed that the married deacons should be proven men and come from exemplary marriages.[625] In his observation, Maurer also added to the pastoral needs a theological reason. For him and his co-signatories, all the members of the Church must represent Christ who "do not come to be served but to serve," and, mainly, the deacon as an ordained minister should witness the humility of Christ, the High Priest. Hence, the restoration of diaconate would make the Church into a "signum sensibile et instrumentum regni Dei." Maurer and his peers recommended the foundation of theological faculties for laymen "in Urbe et aliis civitatibus" to well educate the future deacons.[626]

Antonio Kühner, M.F.S.C., prelate of Tarma, joined three statements led by German-speaking bishops. On 7th October 1963, two statements were prepared and signed regarding the collegiality and episcopacy. The first one was led by Paulus Rusch, apostolic administrator of Innsbruck (Austria), on behalf of the German and Austrian episcopal conferences, and supported the collegiality of the episcopal body. Rusch argued that collegiality was not a dogmatic "novelty." It is also found in the Scripture and the history of the ancient Western and Eastern Church. Hence, collegiality came "ex iure divino."[627] The statement concluded by proposing to maintain the article 16 of the schema that declared that the entire episcopal college, with the Pontiff as an undivided body, was trusted the full and supreme power over the universal

[620] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 75.
[621] AS II, II, 314.
[622] AS II, II, 315-316.
[623] AS II, II, 450-453. The statement was signed by eight bishops: five from Venezuela, one from Argentina, one from Mexico and one from Peru.
[624] AS II, II, 410-414. The statement was signed by 14 Redemptorist bishops, prelates and apostolic vicars from different missionary areas like Thailand, Brazil and Paraguay.
[625] AS II, II, 450.
[626] AS II, II, 411-412.
[627] AS II, II, 478.

Church.[628] Paragraph 16 was completely changed during the redactional process, but the theological meaning was preserved in paragraph 22 of LG.[629]

The second statement was led by Joseph Höffner, bishop of Münster, who proposed to clarify a terminological confusion. Article 14 of chapter two used the terms "threefold power" (*triplex potestas*), referring to the three offices (*munera*) of teaching, sanctifying and governing.[630] Höffner argued three reasons in favor of the collective position. The first was that the theological tradition distinguishes a twofold power, of order and jurisdiction. The second was that the tripartition in the power of teaching, sanctifying and governing was a 19th-century theological development.[631] Besides, the notion of "tria munera Christi et Ecclesiae" was a reception of 18th-century Lutheran theology and is not found in the Scriptures. The third explained that the office (*munus*) or the service, was the manner of concretizing the power (*potestas*). Hence, the minister of the sacrament of penitence displays the "munus sanctificandi" that puts in practice the power of order and jurisdiction. Finally, the statement also defended the idea that the episcopal college always and necessarily includes the Roman Pontiff. [632] The article 14 was eliminated and finally the final version of LG opted for the notion "tria munera" that connected the offices with the episcopal consecration.

Kühner MFSC and Kaiser MSC joined the collective observations prepared by Eduard Schick, auxiliary bishop of Fulda (Germany) on chapter two. Schick spoke on behalf of German-speaking Fathers and the Scandinavian conferences of bishops regarding the lack of the theology of the local Church and presbyterate. Schick, expert in New Testament theology, analysed the term "ekklesia" in the Pauline epistles. He recalled that the term refers to the Christian community of a city. Hence, theologically speaking, the Pauline "ekklesia" was not an administrative section of the Church but the manifestation and representation of the universal Church. Therefore, the bishop asserted that the schema lacked the fundamental idea that the universal Church is always and everywhere represented by the local Churches. The statement concluded by proposing that this ecclesiological foundation should be considered together with the parish and its pastoral office. This observation was shared by other statements and was incorporated in article 28 of the 1964-schema.[633]

The debate continued with the chapter three "De populo Dei et speciatim de laicis." There was a general consensus on making the People of God the theme of chapter two before the chapters on the hierarchy and the laity.[634] However, the debate in the *aula*, which lasted eight general congregations, was complex because the doctrinal positions were not reduced to be in favour or against the change. There were interventions in favour like Wojtyla's who endorsed the change because it was a necessary introduction before the definition of the hierarchy and the affirmation of its service to the People. In a more advance position, Larraín and Silva Henríquez not only defended the change but asked for the recognition of the *koinonia* as an essential character of the people of God and its *tria munera Christi* shared by all its members. Both Chilean

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[628] AS II, I, 235. "N. 16. Romanus Pontifex habet in Ecclesia per se plenam et universalem potestatem; collegium Episcoporum autem, quod collegio Apostolorum in magisterio et regimine pastorali succedit, imo in quo corpus apostolicum continuo perseverat, una cum Capite suo Romano Pontifice, et numquam sine hoc capite, indivisum subiectum plenae et supremae potestatis in universam Ecclesiam creditur."
[629] Gil Hellín, *Concilii Vaticani II*, 202-229.
[630] AS II, I, 233. "N. 14. [De Episcopatu ut sacramento]. Dominus Iesus, pastor et episcopus animarum nostrarum (1 Pt. 2, 25), potestatem authentice docendi et gubernandi in Ecclesia ita instituit, ut arcto vinculo coniungeretur potestati sanctificandi quae in sacramento ordinis confertur."
[631] AS, II, II, 522.
[632] AS, II, II, 522-223.
[633] AS III, I, 225-227, 255-259.
[634] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 84.

Fathers insisted that the *tria munera* should be developed again in the chapters on the hierarchy and on the laity. On the opposite side, Siri and Ruffini were concerned about the confusion between the priesthood of the People of God and hierarchical priesthood.[635]

Kühner also signed a collective statement led by Joseph Schröffer, bishop of Eichstätt (Germany), dedicated to chapter three. The collective statement gathered 69 German-speaking Fathers who agreed with the chapter. The Fathers supported the importance of the notion of "People of God," although the concept should be more exalted within the schema together with the recent state of the art about the Church.[636] They also requested more attention to the laity and the idea of universal priesthood. The latter was not a sacramental idea but essentially referred to the prophetical dimension of the community.[637] Finally, the Fathers recommended correcting the opposition between hierarchy and people because the hierarchy belongs to the people of God.[638]

The Spanish vicar Javier Ariz OP signed the statement on chapter three prepared by Rafael Gonzalez Moralejo, auxiliary bishop of Valencia (Spain). This group of undersigned bishops met at the Pontifical Spanish College. The statement highlighted the universal missionary nature of the Church. However, after consulting lay auditors, they considered the need to adapt the "right doctrine" (*recta doctrina*) to the contemporary world.[639] The lay auditors remarked that the style and the discourse of the schema were far from the modern mind. The schema also did not explore the importance of hope and love in the exposition of the doctrine of the Church. Hence, the statement recommended including the idea that the Church is a continuation of Christ's work displaying the ways for true liberty and dignity for the entire humanity. Hence, the Church should accompany the poor and ignorant people, people in pain, and others suffering misery and indigence.[640] Finally, the statement supported a new structure for the schema and the necessity to answer the question "Church, what do you say about yourself?" (*Ecclesia, quid dicis de te ipsa?*).[641]

Fidel Tubino, auxiliary bishop of Lima, prepared a written observation on article 25 "De vita salutifera et apostolica laicorum" (chapter three).[642] Although Tubino agreed with the three activities of lay apostolate, he recalled that "the foundation of the potential for the apostolate is not in the nature of the activity but in the Christian dignity of the agent" because the apostolate redounded in the Catholic Church herself.[643] Tubino also recommended using the term "distinctionis", referring to the civil and religious spheres, instead of "separatio."[644]

For many Fathers, the discussion of chapter four "De vocatione ad sanctitatem in Ecclesia," meant the opportunity to propose a specific chapter on religious men and women, and to remark the special place of religious people within the Church.[645] One Peruvian Father prepared an individual observation, and seven collective observations were supported by Peruvian Fathers. The Spanish Jesuit De Hornedo prepared a written observation. For him, the essence, function and mission of the religious status in the Church had not been properly considered in the chapter.

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[635] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 85-86.
[636] AS II, III, 70.
[637] AS II, III, 71.
[638] AS II, III, 72.
[639] AS II, III, 235-236.
[640] AS II, III, 236-237.
[641] AS II, III, 237.
[642] AS II, I, 260-61. N. 25 proposed three activities of the lay apostolate: 1) The spread of religious values in the world; 2) The dissemination of moral values in the world; and 3) The witness of truth and charity through the exercise of secular profession and works.
[643] AS II, III, 553. Tubino's observation was signed on 1st November 1963.
[644] AS II, III, 553.
[645] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 94-96.

The prefect wanted the chapter to affirm that the religious vocation was an excellent status in its own right compared to the laity's and secular priests' spiritualities.[646] De Hornedo deplored the silence on these topics and, mainly, on the three evangelical counsels, which were the substance of the religious life. For pastoral and practical reasons, the Church should foster religious vocations, giving them a clear status in the schema, concluded De Hornedo. He quoted Pius XII's speech to the General Congress on the State of Perfection (1950).[647]

Four collective observations prepared by Fathers belonging to religious orders received the support of Peruvian Fathers. In different ways and with some nuances, all of these statements asked to remark on the specific manner of the sanctity of religious vocation. Jean-Baptiste Janssens S.J., Superior General of the Society of Jesus, and Luciano Rubio OSA, Prior General of the Order of St Augustine, pointed out that the evangelical counsels were not included in the chapter. Janssens claimed that religious life was a superior identification with Christ in the Church. Hence, the schema failed to describe the religious state according to the ecclesial momentum (*momentum ecclesiologicum*), remarking its value of sign and testimony (*valor ecclesiologicus*) and finding a proper place in the Church (*locus in Ecclesia*).[648] On his proposition, Rubio wanted that the schema highlighted the evangelical origin of religious state, the necessary vow of poverty, and the sanctity proper to this state.[649] As a Jesuit prelate Antonio de Hornedo joined the Janssens' observation, while Florentino Armas OAR joined Rubio's observation. Both prelates were Spanish missionaries in Peru.

Likewise, Pacifico Maria Luigi Perantoni OFM, archbishop of Lanciano e Ortona (Italy), added that the religious people participated in the holocaust of the redemptive work of Christ for the salvation of the Church and the entire world. Perantoni pointed out the importance for the Church of the religious people's evangelical counsels, because they promoted the missions and the spread of the Gospel, Also St. Therese of Liseux, being a cloistered nun, was declared Patroness of the missions by Pius IX.[650] The Italian archbishop had the support of the following Franciscan Peruvian bishops: Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón OFM (archbishop of Arequipa), Valeriano Arroyo OFM (apostolic vicar of Requena), José Dámaso Laberge OFM (apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas) and Buenaventura León de Uriarte OFM. (apostolic vicar of San Román).

Similarly, the Minister General of the Order of Friars Minors, Augustine Sépinski OFM, proposed to change the topic of the chapter to the perfect followers of the evangelical counsels (*iis qui consilia evangelica profitentur*). This proposal was the result of an agreement of the General Superiors taken in 14th October 1963. Hence, the chapter should be focused on the identity of the religious.[651] The Franciscan Cardinal Juan Landázuri Ricketts, member of the Conciliar Commission of Religious, joined the statement, together with other General Superiors and 20 Fathers.

Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda OSA, the Spanish apostolic vicar of Iquitos, joined the observations prepared by the Colombian titular archbishop, Juan Manuel González Arbeláez. He focused his statement on number 30 of chapter four regarding the manner of the sanctity of presbyters. González proposed to add the parish work as a high manner of sanctity that

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[646] AS II, IV, 152-153.
[647] AS II, IV, 154. See also: Sacra Congregatio de Religiosis, *Congressus generalis de statibus perfectionis*, 4 vol. (Rome: Pia Società San Paolo, 1952-1953).
[648] AS II, IV, 227.
[649] AS II, IV, 309.
[650] AS, II, IV, 60-62. On 10th January 1964, Perantoni was elected third vicepresident of the Conciliar Commission on Religious Life.
[651] AS II, IV, 72-73.

participated in the episcopal apostolate.[652] The Colombian prelate explained how the parish priest's service of charity was similar to the bishops' apostolate displaying sources from Scriptures, liturgy, the Fathers and the general practice of the Church. Hence, González and the signatories demanded the recognition of the parish priest as a ministry of sanctification.[653]

The archbishop of Cusco, Carlos Jurgens Byrne CSsR and Alcides Mendoza joined the written observation of Josef Maria Reuss, auxiliary bishop of Mainz (Germany). The observation proposed a correction to avoid equalizing the terms "chastity" and "virginity." The schema assertion should be corrected from "virginitas propter regnum caelorum" to "caelibatus propter regnum caelorum." For Reuss and the undersigned Fathers, celibacy was a grace specially granted by God and belongs to the Kingdom of God because human being in a special way unites himself to God himself.[654]

A final written observation, "Demands of many Fathers" (*Plurimorum patrum postulata*), was signed by more than 100 Fathers, among them 17 Peruvian Fathers belonging to different religious orders.[655] The observation proposed to place chapter four or within the chapter "De mysterio Ecclesiae" or "De populo Dei." There were three reasons: (1) The intimate connection of the topics; (2) the application of the general principles of chapter four to every category of faithful, and (3) the call to holiness was not exclusive to religious people.

The Fathers also demanded to broaden and clarify the call to holiness to bishops and presbyters, who have a different status compared with the laity, and also to married people. Regarding religious people, the written statement asked for a special chapter *de religiosis* prepared by a mixed commission composed of the members of the commissions *de fide et moribus* and *de religiosis*. According to the Fathers, the issues of the proposed chapter should be divided into (1) an inquiry into the special place that religious people have in the Church, (2) the particular function of religious in the Church in the current situation, and (3) all the aspect regarding the religious life in the Church.[656]

At the end of the second session, chapters two and four were at the centre of the debate because of the topic of collegiality, and the identity and ecclesial place of religious people. The Peruvian Fathers showed their division in doctrinal positions, and how these stances were grouped in different networks.

During the intersession of 1964, in February, Arbulú Pineda, who did not attend the second session, submitted an *animadversio*, written in Spanish, on different aspects of the 1963 schema *de Ecclesia*. Arbulú's observation was divided in two sections: a doctrinal part and a practical part. The doctrinal section focused on the permanent diaconate and primate-episcopal college relationship. The bishop rejected the married deacons despite acknowledging the shortage of clergy. He proposed to ordain religious brothers from orders like Jesuits, Salesians, etc.[657] On

[652] AS II, IV, 34.
[653] AS II, IV, 34-35.
[654] AS II, IV, 306-307.
[655] AS II, IV, 355-59. The following Peruvian prelates signed the statement: Juan Landázuri Ricketts OFM (archbishop of Lima), Federico Pérez Silva (archbishop of Trujillo), Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón OFM (archbishop of Arequipa), Valeriano Arroyo OFM (apostolic vicar of Requena), Florencio Coronado (bishop of Huancavelica), Alberto Dettmann OP (bishop of Ica), Buenaventura León de Uriarte OFM (apostolic vicar of San Román), Martín Fulgencio Elorza Legaristi CP (prelate of Moyobamba), Julio Gonzales Ruiz SDB (bishop of Puno), José Dámaso Laberge OFM (apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas), Elías Olázar Muruaga CP (apostolic vicar of Yurimaguas), Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda OSA (apostolic vicar of Iquitos), Florentino Armas OAR (prelate of Chota), Redento Gauci O. Carm. (prelate of Chuquibamba), Lucien Metzinger SSCC (prelate of Ayaviri), Damian Nicolau Roig TOR (prelate of Huamachuco) and Antonio de Hornedo SJ (apostolic prefect of San Francisco Javier del Marañón).
[656] AS II, IV, 355.
[657] AS III, I, 555.

the primate-episcopal college relationship, Arbulú only noted that the infallibility of the Pope could be exercised in "common-union" (*común-unión*) with the Bishops. Playing with the closeness of the terms "common-union" and communion, Arbulú asserted that a situation like that could approach the Catholic Church to the Orthodox Church (that is called by the bishop "Schismatic") and the Anglican Church.[658]

The practical part was a suggestive large list of items dedicated to disciplinary and structural changes to improve the work of the Church.[659] Hence, Arbulú proposed the internationalization and decentralization of the Roman curia, the participation of all the bishops through the presidents of the episcopal conferences in the election of the Pope,[660] the reduction of the pontifical pomp preferring the "pastoral of humility," the suppression of apostolic nunciatures, the reduction of very little bishoprics, and the invitation of men and women of different creeds. The practical part of Arbulú showed a shared ground of reforms of ecclesial discipline and structure to give the Church a renewed authority in the world and a greater sense of belonging for the faithful.

Two collective written observations included the signature of Peruvian Fathers. These statements commented on the new schema *De Ecclesia*,[661] sent to the Fathers in July 1964. The Curia member, titular archbishop Dino Staffa prepared an observation which was signed by a large number of Fathers among them Florentino Armas OAR, prelate of Chota. The statement criticised the use of Vatican I doctrine to defend the episcopal collegiality and the authority of the bishops. For Staffa and the undersigned Fathers, the schema wrongly quoted Vatican I because the cite corresponded to the French bishop Henri Maret's intervention. Maret defended the episcopal collegiality and the power of divine origin also received in the consecration by the bishops, successors of the Apostles.[662] However, Maret's stances were rejected by Vatican I because only Saint Peter Apostle received the keys of Heaven from Jesus himself who gave him the absolute power and authority over the entire Church, including the apostles.[663]

Therefore, according to the signatories, if the Roman Pontiff should exercise its authority collegially with other bishops, his primacy would not be valid. Additionally, the doctrine of the Fathers, ancient ecclesiastical writers, Doctors of the universal Church, and Roman Pontiffs indicated that the source of the bishops' jurisdiction is in Saint Peter.[664] For all these reasons,

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[658] AS III, I, 555-56. The bishop indicated that he was following the juridical-dogmatic ideas of the Spanish theologian Ignacio Jimenez Urresti, who in 1962, published *El binomio Primado-Episcopado. Tema central del próximo concilio Vaticano II* (Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer).

[659] AS III, I, 556-59. Arbulú proposed reforms the following topics: Roman Curia, papal election, pontifical court, apostolic nunciature, episcopate and new invitation for the council.

[660] AS III, I, 556. Arbulú criticized the exclusivity of cardinals as electors because it was a way to exclude the role of the episcopate in the election of the universal pastor of the Church. It also affected the ecumenical dimension of the papal election.

[661] The *Schema constitutionis dogmaticae de Ecclesia* is found in AS III, I, 158-374. The schema had the following chapters: I *De Ecclesiae mysterio*, II *De populo Dei*, III *De constitutione hierarchica Ecclesiae et in specie de episcopatu*, IV *De laicis*, V *De universali vocatione ad sanctitatem in Ecclesia*, VI *De religiosis*, VII *De indole eschatologica vocationis nostrae ac de nostra unione cum Ecclesia caelesti*, and VIII *De Beata Maria Virgine Deipara in mysterio Christi et Ecclesiae*.

[662] AS III, I, 778. Henri Louis Charles Maret (1805-1884), titular bishop of Sura and dean of the Faculty of Theology at Sorbonne University, was convinced that the Church needed to reconcile itself with science, democracy, and other modern institutions. He was an active cleric in the renewal of the theology of Gallicanism that favoured the episcopalism and the authority of the councils. During Vatican I, Maret was a fervent opponent to papal infallibility. See: John O'Malley. *Vatican I. The Council and the Making of the Ultramontane Church* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2018), 98-101, 126-127, 206-207.

[663] AS III, I, 779. "[…] absolutam dependentiam apostolorum a Petro."

[664] AS III, I, 779.

Staffa and his peers, requested not to insert in the schema the doctrine of immediate origin of the bishops' jurisdiction, and the doctrine of the college of bishops as a full and supreme subject of power in the Church.[665] Staffa's observation contains the main position against collegiality and the episcopal authority of jurisdiction, which emerged during the third session resisting the approval of *Lumen gentium*.

A collective statement of a group of Council Fathers was signed by twelve Peruvian Fathers belonging to religious orders.[666] The group of Fathers recommended to change the order of the chapter to highlight the call to holiness of the entire people of God. The first alternative was to move the chapter five *De vocatione* to chapter III.[667] This solution was supported by 680 Fathers, among them cardinal Frings and monsignor Florit, who spoke on 30th September 1963. The second alternative was to change the order as follow: chapter four *De laicis*, chapter five *De religiosis*, and chapter six *De universali vocatione ad sanctitate in Ecclesia*. The second solution wanted to avoid the impression that the call to holiness was mainly reserved for religious people. Besides, the order of chapters was not logic: chapters one and two dealt with general questions, chapters three and four covered category of ecclesial persons, chapter five dealt with a general question, and chapter six was focused again in a category of ecclesial person.[668] Finally, the signatory Fathers recommended to expose the ecclesiological value of the sacrifice of religious life associated with the sacrifice of Christ for the Church.[669]

The third session was the occasion of the promulgation of the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen gentium*. Gérard Philips prepared a voting plan for the new draft of the schema *De Ecclesia*. No discussion was considered before the voting plan, except for chapters seven and eight that remained to be discussed. This situation angered the bishops who opposed collegiality,[670] among them many Peruvian Fathers. However, after voting for each chapter, the Fathers had the opportunity to submit their *modi* to make specific observations regarding paragraphs and phrases of the text.

The debate on chapter eight *De Beata*, between 16th to 18th September, produced many reactions among the Fathers who also submitted a huge number of *modi*. For *De Beata*, the Peruvian Fathers prepared two individual observations, joined two *vota*, five collective statements and sent 59 *modi*. On 17th September 1964, De Uriarte OFM proposed the title "Maria Mater Iesu," as the only and essential evidence given by the Holy Spirit. According to the Spanish vicar, Mary was also "Mater Messiae, Mater Verbi Incarnati, mater Redemptoris, Mater Mediatoris, Mater Salvatoris, Mater Christi, Mater Dei" and, as consequence, "Mater Ecclesiae," "Mater Orthodoxorum," Mater Protestantium," "Mater Mahometanorum et omnium hominum etiam non

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665 AS III, I, 780.

666 AS III, I, 788-792. The Peruvian Fathers were Julio Gonzales Ruiz SDB (bishop of Puno), Buenaventura León de Uriarte OFM (apostolic vicar of San Román), Elías Olázar Muruaga. CP (apostolic vicar of Yurimaguas), Edward Fedders MM (prelate of Juli), Lucien Metzinger SSCC (prelate of Ayaviri), Javier Ariz Huarte OP (apostolic vicar of Puerto Maldonado), John Conway McNabb OSA (prelate of Chulucanas), Antonio Kühner MFSC (prelate of Tarma), Florentino Armas OAR (prelate of Chota), Redento Gauci, O. Carm (prelate of Chuquibamba) and Antonio de Hornedo SJ (apostolic prefect of San Francisco Javier del Marañón).

667 AS III, I, 788-89.

668 AS III, I, 789.

669 AS III, I, 790.

670 Joseph Komonchak, "Hacia una eclesiología de comunión," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer período y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 49-51.

christianorum."[671] Hence, the Council should admit the title "Maria Mater Iesu," and change the title of chapter eight to *De Maria Matre Iesu*.[672]

Another Spanish vicar, Olázar Muruaga C.P, sent an observation. He supported the idea of conferring to the Virgin Mary the title of Coredemptrix based on the principal cause, God, and the ministerial cause, Mary in the service of the redemptional work of God. He rejected the two main arguments against the definition. For him, the argument of the lack of theological maturity was insufficient, while the argument of the separation between Christians was superficial.[673] Olázar also joined the short collective statement prepared by Stanislao Amilcare Battistelli, bishop of Termao e Atri (Italy), requesting the title "Mediatrix."[674]

Kaiser MSC joined the collective statement of Julius Döpfner, archbishop of Munich and Freising, which agreed with the "solid and pacific Mariology" of chapter eight. They recommended to avoid the "quaestiones vere disputatae," and proposed specific redactional changes like adding "quamquam et ipsam credentem et peregrinantem, appellarunt" to the expression "Deiparam."[675] Their desire was not to obscure the singular role of Virgin Mary but to show to the "separated brothers" that Catholic Mariology derive from the doctrine of the Mystical Body.[676]

The archbishop Carlos Jurgens and the bishops Mendoza and Arbulú Pineda signed two observations, one prepared by cardinal Bernardus Johannes Alfrink, archbishop of Utrecht (The Netherlands), and the other by Hermann Volk, bishop of Mainz (Germany). Alfrink and the signatories proposed a minimalistic approach because the chapter should deal with the faith of the Church in the Virgin Mary. Because of the pastoral aim of the Council, they rejected the title "mediatrix." The title generated confusion among Catholics and also among "our separated brothers."[677] Volk, who also signed Alfrink's statement, proposed the title Mary, mother of the faithful as an alternative for the title Mother of the Church and Coredemptrix.[678]

There were two *vota* prepared by Stefan Wyszyński, archbishop of Warsaw (Poland), which received the support of Joseph Dámaso Laberge OFM, the apostolic vicar of San José del Amazonas, and Arroyo OFM. The first *votum* proposed a short addition "quae ceteroqui tractatum de Ecclesia omnino transcendit" referring to the doctrine of Mary exposed in chapter eighth.[679] In a second *votum*, the Polish prelate proposed to place chapter eight after chapter one "De Ecclesiae mysterio."[680] Both *vota* were not considered for the final redaction of *Lumen gentium*.

After the discussion of *De Beata*, it was the moment of chapter three, which was voted on between 21st to 30th September. These voting sessions were intensely lived by the opponents of collegiality. However, the votes revealed that few than 15 per cent of the Fathers shared the reservations of the opponents of collegiality. These latter used the strategy of *modi* as a way to delay the schema.[681]

The "war of *modi*" on the schema, as the strategy is called by Komonchak, followed the voting regulation. If a chapter received two-thirds approval by adding the *placet iuxta modum* votes to the *placet* votes, then to be considered fully approved, the *modi* must be evaluated by the

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[671] AS III, I, 523-24.
[672] AS III, I, 524.
[673] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 368, f. 67.
[674] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 369, f. 83.
[675] AS III, I, 449.
[676] AS III, I, 450.
[677] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 369, ff. 96-105. Alfrink's statement was signed by 122 Fathers.
[678] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 369, ff. 106-110.
[679] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 370, f. 14
[680] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 781, fasc. 370, f. 15
[681] Komonchak, "Hacia una eclesiología," 82-84.

Doctrinal Commission. Hence, the Fathers who were opposed to collegiality prepared a set of *modi*, written and distributed them. Most *modi* included a textual change proposal, the reason for it, and a place for signature.[682]

The Peruvian Fathers who signed the most the *modi* were Antonio de Hornedo (49), Florentino Armas (27), Javier Ariz and Elías Olázar (22), Valeriano Arroyo (14), Redento Gauci (13), Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda (13), Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón (13), and Luis Sánchez-Moreno (10). Like the interventions during the debate in the *aula*, the majority of *modi* addressed chapter three: 92 *modi* out of 202. The *modi* for chapter eight on *De Beata* also gathered 59. In the case of chapter three, all of the *modi* resisted the conciliar formula of the episcopal collegiality. The *modi* proposed adding, changing or deleting words and phrases in the wording of specific paragraphs of chapter three to always save the supreme primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

Table 12. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De Ecclesia*

	Modi on De Ecclesia (1964)							
	Chapter II	Chapter III	Chapter IV	Chapter V	Chapter VI	Chapter VII	Chapter VIII	Total
Bishop/Prelate	Number of times	Number of times	Number of times	Number of times	Number of times	Number of times	Number of times	
Lucien Metzinger, SSCC	1							1
Redento Gauci, O. Carm.		1	2		3		7	13
Florentino Armas, OAR		19			3	3	2	27
Javier Ariz Huarte, OP		18		1	3			22
Antonio de Hornedo, SJ		18	1	2	5	6	17	49
Elías Olázar, CP		11	1		3		7	22
Luis Sánchez-Moreno Lira		10						10
Valeriano Arroyo, OFM		14						14
Ignacio de Orbegozo		1						1
Juan Landázuri Ricketts, OFM			1		3			4
Julio González Ruiz, SDB				1	3			4
Damian Nicolau Roig, TOR					3			3
Dámaso Laberge, OFM					3			3
John McNabb, OSA					2			2
Edwards Fedders, MM						1		1
Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda, OSA							13	13
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón, OFM							13	13
Total	1	92	5	4	31	10	59	202

On chapter two, the French prelate of Ayaviri Lucien Metzinger joined a *modus* on article 17 (*De indole missionaria Ecclesiae*). It proposed to consider the role of local Churches in the missionary task of the universal Church and to relate it to the schema *de activitate missionali Ecclesiae*. The role of local Churches was related to the authority of the local hierarchies based upon the college of the Apostles.[683]

For chapter three, a total of 1053 *modi* were submitted. A technical sub-commission within the Doctrinal Commission reduced them to 242 *modi*. The "war of *modi*" was mainly focused on the topic of collegiality and produced the first papal intervention to avoid the "distrust" on chapter three.[684] This resistance to this chapter ended in the preparation and insertion of the *Nota explicativa praevia* into the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen gentium*, as a manner to incorporate the concerns of the *modi*.[685] For chapter three, eight Peruvian Fathers signed a total

[682] Komonchak, "Hacia una eclesiología," 86-87. The schema *De Ecclesia* is found in: AS III, I, 158-375.
[683] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 156, fasc. 5, f. 40.
[684] Komonchak, "Hacia una eclesiología," 89-91.
[685] Luis Antonio Tagle, "La 'semana negra' del concilio Vaticano II (14-21 de noviembre de 1964)," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer período y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 383-409; Umberto Betti, *La dottrina sull'episcopato del Concilio Vaticano II. Il capitolo III della Costituzione dommatica* Lumen gentium (Roma: Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum, 1984), 302-308; Jan Grootaers, *Primauté et collegialité. Le dossier de Gérard Philips sur la Nota Explicativa Praevia (Lumen gentium, Chap. III)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, Peeters, 1986).

of 92 *modi*. A group of *modi* focused on canonical topics like the demand that chapter three should indicate the kind of jurisdiction over the faithful of the Abbots and Prelates, who are not bishops.[686] However, the majority focused on the doctrinal issues.

On the papal primacy, Antonio de Hornedo proposed to change the expression "qui cum successore Petri, Christi Vicario" to "qui sub Petri successore, Christi Vicario." The prefect pointed to the doctrine of Vatican I on the primacy, later explained at length by Leo XIII's encyclical *Satis cognitum*. Hence, his proposal aimed at correcting the wording to avoid any ambiguity.[687] De Hornedo also signed a *modus* on article 20 to highlight the papal primacy. The wording "Petro ut primo Apostolorum concessum" required to be changed for "ut primo Vicario / ut omnium christianorum Patri / ut totius Ecclesiae peregrinantis visibili Capiti." According to De Hornedo, this suggestion followed the doctrine that the full and supreme power over the universal Church was given by the Lord to Peter and his successors. He again cited Vatican I and *Satis cognitum* in support of this doctrinal stance.[688]

On the notion of apostolic college, Javier Ariz and Florentino Armas were two of 138 who signed a *modus* asking to add at the end of article 18 on episcopal college that "the Council, longing to maintain its pastoral character, has not attempted to resolve questions freely investigated among Catholic theologians up to this time."[689] Furthermore, the Peruvian Fathers Gregorio Elías Olázar, Javier Ariz, Florentino Armas[690] and Luis Sánchez-Moreno joined a large modus signed by 252 Fathers.[691] The *modus* proposed to change the phrase of article 19, "quos Apostolos ad modum collegii instituit, cui ex iisdem electum Petrum praefecit," to "quos Apostolos ad instar Collegii seu coetus stabilis instituit cuique Petru praesse voluit." The main reasons were that there is not a college of apostles properly speaking, and that St Peter was not chosen as head of the college from among the apostles at the time of the constitution of the college, but before. Hence, they proposed to change the word "manner" (*modus*) to "resemblance" (*instar*) to nuance the theological value of the college of apostles.[692]

On the episcopal consecration (article 21), the Peruvian Fathers adhered to different *modi* which objected that (1) the episcopal consecration fully conferred the function (*munus*) of sanctifying, teaching and governing;[693] and, (2) episcopal consecration granted membership in the episcopal college.[694] On the first issue, the Fathers rejected the extension of magisterial and juridical power given in episcopal consecration. This topic was considered as a *quaestio disputata*. In scholastic reasoning, the efficacy of the sacrament was linked to its own sacramental form (*forma proprie sacramentalis*), and episcopal consecration does not mention magisterial and jurisdictional power. For them, unless the text be corrected, it contradicted Pius XII's magisterium (*Mystici corporis*, *Ad Sinarum gentes* and *Ad Apostolorum Principis*) and John XXIIII's speech of 15th December 1958.[695]

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[686] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 1, ff. 27 (Redento Gauci), 38 (Florentino Armas).
[687] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 3, f. 88.
[688] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 9, f. 25. Almost the same *modi* were signed by Armas, Ariz and Sánchez-Moreno, see: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 10, ff. 17, 77; fasc. 11, f. 77.
[689] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 2, ff. 27, 105.
[690] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 6, ff. 25, 39, 137.
[691] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 157, fasc. 6, ff. 25 (Olázar), 39 (Ariz), 137 (Armas); fasc. 7, f. 62 (Sánchez-Moreno).
[692] In the final draft of *Lumen Gentium*, the expression "a stable group" (*seu coetus stabilit*) was added to article 19.
[693] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 158, fasc. 2, ff. 29 (Ariz), 126 (Armas); fasc. 3., ff. 25 (Arroyo), 62 (Ariz), 76 (Armas); fasc. 5, ff. 46 (Orbegozo) 62 (Olázar); fasc. 6, f. 16 (Sánchez-Moreno).
[694] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 158, fasc. 7, ff. 50 (Armas), 59 (Ariz); fasc. 8, ff. 47 (Olázar), 61 (Sánchez-Moren); fasc. 12, f. 3 (Olázar)
[695] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 158, fasc. 3., ff. 25 (Arroyo), 62 (Ariz), 76 (Armas).

On the second topic, the *modus* rejected the connection of episcopal consecration to the membership of the episcopal college. The *modi* remarked that the belonging to the college required always the communion with the Roman Pontiff. De Hornedo joined the two issues in his *modus*. Sharing the same reasoning, De Hornedo supported his doctrinal position on Vatican I documents and the *Relatio* of Bishop Federico Maria Zinelli on *Pastor Aeternus*,[696] who declared that the jurisdiction, granted to the bishops through the Pope, was a undefined topic.[697] The prefect also questioned the automatic membership of a bishop to the college with the consecration because it does not belong to the sacrament form. Thus, the bishop, according to Trent, only assumed the authority of the Roman Pontiff and under his authority (Denzinger 968), as it was also said in the CIC 1917 (art. 108, n. 1): "the Sacred Hierarchy consists, in terms of jurisdiction, of the Supreme Pontiff and the subordinate Episcopate." Hence, the membership to the episcopal college was only a theory without satisfactory theological proof.[698]

The Peruvian Fathers signed *modi* on article 22 on *De Collegio Episcoporum eiusque Capite* which addressed (1) the legitimacy of the episcopal college, and (2) the relationship between the Roman Pontiff and the college of bishops. The first topic, once again considered a *quaestio disputata*, contested the divine right (*iure divino*) to collegiality because there was no evidence of the divine establishment of the apostolic college.[699] Moreover, it has not been demonstrated that the episcopal ministry must be exercised collegially. Therefore, collegiality falls within the scope of ecclesiastical law.[700]

On the second issue, the Peruvian Fathers supported the papal primacy trying to limit the wording referring to collegiality and apostolic college. Many proposals emphasised the authority and independence of the Roman Pontiff regarding the episcopal college. Thus, De Hornedo proposed to change the expression "cum Collegii Capite atque membris" for "cum Capite atque membris collegii," and also recommended citing the definition of Vatican I of canon "On the force and reason of the primacy."[701] Other *modi* also persisted in the full and supreme power of the Roman Pontiff and his independence regarding the college and any collegial action, and also, the absolute dependence of the college to the Pope.[702] As in other *modi*, reference was made to Vatican I. Finally, different *modi* recommended to emphasise the divine commission of Saint Peter received from the Lord.[703]

The Peruvian Fathers also supported 109 *modi* on chapters four (5), five (4), six (31) and eigth (59). The *modi* displayed the main trends on the interventions and written statements. For instance, on chapter five "de vocatione ad sanctitatem," De Hornedo proposed to differentiate the

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[696] O'Malley, *Vatican I*, 214-222.
[697] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 158, fasc. 12, f. 31 (De Hornedo).
[698] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 158, fasc. 12, f. 31 (De Hornedo).
[699] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 159, fasc. 3, ff. 9 (Sánchez-Moreno), 116 (Olázar); fasc. 4, ff. 76 (Ariz), 101 (Armas), 149 (Arroyo). Ariz, Armas and Arroyo supported their *modus* in the *votum* prepared by the Pontifical Biblical Commission: "From the Scripture itself, there is no proof […] In fact, it can be admitted that the apostles may be erected into a College, but it is excessive to draw a perfect parallelism between the apostolic college and the episcopal college, as the text of the schema made."
[700] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 159, fasc. 2, f. 49 (De Hornedo).
[701] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 159, fasc. 6, f. 69; fasc. 7 (De Hornedo), ff. 44 (Armas), 94 (Arroyo), 115 (Ariz); fasc. 8, f. 8 (De Hornedo). Armas, Arroyo and Ariz directly proposed the elimination of the entire phrase.
[702] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 159, fasc. 9, ff. 6 (Ariz), 14 (Arroyo); fasc. 10, f. 17 (Armas); fasc. 12, ff. 17 (De Hornedo), 26 (Olázar), 79 (Sánchez-Moreno); fasc. 13, f. 9. (Olázar). Olázar proposed to change the word "collegium" for "corpus."
[703] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 160, fasc. 1, ff. 28 (Olázar), 95 (Armas), 154 (Arroyo), 157 (Ariz), 235 (Sánchez-Moreno), 255 (De Hornedo); fasc. 2, f. 82 (Sánchez-Moreno). For instance, the recommendation to add the word "unum" in the phrase "Dominus unum Simonem ut petram et clavigerum Ecclesiae posuit."

call to holiness for the different members of the Church, highlighting the particular exercise of sanctity of religious.[704] In the case of the *modi* regarding chapter four *de religiosis*, they pointed out the centrality of the evangelical vows of the religious profession, according to the example and doctrine of Jesus Christ, as the perfect Christian life.[705] On *de religiosis* (chapter six), a *modus* petitioned to add to article 44 that baptismal grace is completed by religious consecration in evangelical vows.[706] Finally, on chapter eight, *De Beata*, the Peruvian Fathers highlighted the Marian virtues indicating her role in the redemption.[707]

The core of the war of *modi* was mainly focused on chapter three related to the episcopal college, the relationship between the Roman Pontiff and the college, and collegiality. At the end of the debate on *De Ecclesia*, the processing of the *modi* and the papal intervention, the vote was overwhelming positive. Thus, the Dogmatic Constitution *Lumen gentium* was approved in the 26th General Congregation on 19th November 1964 and promulgated by Paul VI on 21st November. *Lumen gentium* provoked a long debate which tested the doctrinal and theological differences among the Fathers. The Constitution quickly became a kind of yardstick for the other conciliar documents still being drafted.

The individual and collective interventions and the *modi* shed light on the Peruvian Fathers' doctrinal and theological reaction to the conciliar development on ecclesiology. This diverse and complex conciliar experience is displayed through the episcopal networks forged during the discussion of *De Ecclesia* and the kind of theological postures on disputed issues (*quaestiones disputatae*).

The episcopal networks show the diversity of theological attitudes of the Peruvian Fathers. During the intersession 1963, Dammert, bishop of Cajamarca, sent an individual observation where he supported the archbishop of Santiago (Chile), Raúl Silva Henríquez's alternative schema. Both were active members in the CELAM. In the 1963 session, many Peruvian prelates joined the collective statements prepared by the superiors of their religious orders or a bishop belonging to their order. For instance, the Jesuit Antonio De Hornedo joined his Superior General Jean-Baptiste Janssens, and four Franciscan bishops of Peru signed the Italian Franciscan archbishop Pacifico Perantoni's observation. It is important to remark that these religious order networks worked to prepare observations on the ecclesiological situation of the religious state.

There were also networks forged according to national origins and doctrinal affinities. In 1963, on chapter three, the German speaking statements gained the support of Friedrich Kaiser and Antonio Kühner, both German missionary prelates in Peru. It was also the case for the Spanish document prepared by Rafael Gonzáles which was signed by Javier Ariz OP. In 1964, the doctrinal affinity networks were very active, mainly to oppose or discuss the topic of collegiality and *De Beata*. The episcopal collegiality provoked many reactions. During the 1964 intersession, Dino Staffa, a prominent opponent of collegiality, prepared a note with the support of many Fathers, among them the Spanish prelate in Peru Florentino Armas.

In the session of 1964, the "war of *modi*" gathered many Fathers around the doctrinal opposition to collegiality. Thus, Florentino Armas, Antonio De Hornedo, and Javier Ariz are found together signing the same *modi* with the main faces and supporters of the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum* like Marcel Lefebvre, Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, Antonio Castro Meyer,

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[704] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 163, fasc. 11, ff. 9, 15.
[705] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 163, fasc. 15, ff. 40, 43, 57; fasc. 16, f. 32, 124; fasc. 17, ff. 15, 38, 45, 48.
[706] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 164, fasc. 2, ff. 33 (De Hornedo), 53 (Laberge), 121 (McNabb), 129 (González).
[707] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 165, fasc. 19, ff. 67 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 110 (De Hornedo); fasc. 20, ff. 41 (Gauci), 59 (Rodríguez Ballón), 88 (Rodríguez Gamoneda); fasc. 21, f. 13 (Olázar).

Aniceto Fernández, among others. In Peru only the opponents to collegiality participated in the "war of *modi*."

The observations for *De Beata* in the intersession and the session of 1964 provoked two different theological positions. On one side, a minimalist approach to Mariology for ecumenical and ecclesiological reasons was defended by the German prelate Kaiser and the Peruvian bishops Carlos Jurgens (Cusco) and Alcides Mendoza (Abancay). On the other side, the Spanish Franciscan apostolic vicars Buenaventura León de Uriarte (San Ramón), Elías Olázar (Yurimaguas) and Valeriano Arroyo and the Canadian Franciscan Joseph Dámaso Laberge (San José del Amazonas) supported the doctrinal title of Mediatrix. They held a maximalist Mariology position, probably for devotional reason rather than theological arguments.[708]

The whole drafting process of *Lumen gentium* shows the complexity of the theological stances, canonical positions and devotional reasons which played a role in the diversity of understandings and approaches to the ecclesiology among the Peruvian Fathers. Thus, there were interventions coming from a traditional understanding of the Church, like the predominant canonical notion of ecclesiology, the absolute primacy of the Pope over the Church, or the superiority of religious vocation as full participation in Christ's redemptive work. Thus, the supporters of the latter were Spanish prelates like Florentino Armas or Antonio De Hornedo as well as Peruvian bishops coming from religious orders like the archbishops Juan Landázuri (Lima) and Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón (Arequipa).

There was also another group which advocated for new ecclesiological developments as collegiality and a theology of the presbyterate and the local Churches, ideas originating from Northern European background as was the case of the German prelates Kaiser and Kühner. But also, Dammert and Arbulú Pineda, Peruvian bishops, defended collegiality and the renewal of the ecclesiology. Finally, there were also intermediate positions like Landázuri's stance on diaconate. He agreed with its restoration, without defining himself in favour or against married deacons, but only involving the episcopal conferences.

The importance of *Lumen gentium* is demonstrated by the fact that most of the Peruvian Fathers, compared to other conciliar documents, participated in the debate through individual or collective interventions or *modi*. The different moments of the debate show the different ecclesiological positions among the Peruvian Fathers. They supported theological positions in favour of collegiality, episcopal authority and local ecclesiology. In contrast, the resistant group, through their interventions and *modi*, proposed to read the development of the *De Ecclesia* in a normative dialogue with Vatican I, the papal magisterium, the canon law and other ecclesial documents. Hence their traditional understanding of Tradition was at the heart of their ecclesiological stance. For them, the Tradition was a sort of repository of doctrinal teachings of the Church not found in the Scriptures.[709] These Fathers also rejected many developments such as collegiality or episcopal consecration and the threefold office because these issues were still *quaestiones disputatae*, i.e., theological topics under investigation. For these resistant Fathers, the ecclesiological developments of *Lumen gentium* could break the monolithic unity of authority, tradition and truth.[710] Nevertheless, at the time of the approval of *Lumen gentium*, most of the

[708] It was the case of Cardinal Suenens who, despite asking for the incorporation of the *De Beata* into *De Ecclesia*, , in his intervention of 17th September 1964 criticised the minimal role of the Virgin Mary "under the pretext and appearance of Christocentrism." Henri de Lubac described this intervention as a "worthy of a leader of the Legion of Mary: activism and Mariological simplism." See: Lamberigts and Declerck, "The Role of Cardinal," 130-132. Philips received the intervention as a sort of personal attack, see: *Carnets conciliaires de Mgr Gérard Philip*, 130.
[709] Rush, "Some Pre-Conciliar," 59-60;
[710] Schelkens, "'Throwing the Faith to Relativism?'," 70-71

Peruvian Fathers supported the new Dogmatic Constitution because they advocated the reform and adaptation of the Church.

3. The Debate on the Church Members: Episcopate, Presbyterate, Laity and Religious Life

The Peruvian Fathers participated in the debate on the members of the Church. The members of the Church – the bishops, the presbyters, the religious people and the laypeople – received different attention depending the pastoral experience or the doctrinal concern of the Fathers. Different pastoral and doctrinal issues emerged from each theme and, because of the debate and the subsequent approval of *Lumen gentium*, they put each theme in relation to the document on the Church.

For the Peruvian Fathers, the interrelationship between *De Ecclesia*, during its drafting and also after its approval, and the other documents was a theological reference in the redrafting of the documents because the theological impact and the need for a coherent conciliar corpus. However, there were different interpretations according to the Fathers' understanding of the Church, her doctrine and their own pastoral concerns. It is also important to note that each schema also had its own drafting history from the preparatory phase to the final approval, including the reduction to propositions according to the Döpfner Plan of 1963.[711] The debate on the schemata therefore had a winding history and reflected the diverse and complex doctrinal and pastoral concerns of the Peruvian Fathers, as well as their understanding of the Church and its members.

3.1. For a New Theology of the Episcopate

The Commission for Bishops and the Governance of the Dioceses drafted two schemata for the decrees *De episcopis ac de dioecesium regimine* and *De cura animarum*. By January 1963, both schemata were ready for discussion. Nevertheless, only *De episcopis* reached the *aula* during the second session. *De cura animarum* received the attention of José Dammert, who in July 1963 prepared a critical *animadversio* to the schema because of its lack of pastoral realism. Dammert contrasted the schema and its appendices with the Latin American reality. He pointed out the impossibility of applying canon law in many regions of the continent. He also indicated that many parishes, especially those in rural dioceses, comprised between 30 and 40 villages and constituted more missionary centres than parishes.[712] Thus, Dammert contrasted the ideal of pastoral and parochial service proposed by the schema with the Latin American reality. Hence, the schema required a different approach, based on the challenges of concrete pastoral work of the Church. Finally, the schema *De cura animarum* was incorporated into *De episcopis* following the plan of the Belgian canonist Willy Onclin.[713]

The debate on the schema of the decree *De episcopis* began on 5th November 1963. This first schema avoided any theological questions on the issues of episcopal collegiality and the full

[711] On the Döpfner Plan, see: Evangelista Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen III. El Concilio maduro. El segundo período y la segunda intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2006), 304-308.
[712] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 119, fasc. 1, f. 37. Dammet's *Annotationes pro schemate DE CURA ANIMARUM* was written in Spanish.
[713] Mathijs Lamberigts, "Willy Onclin, Louvain Canon Lawyer, Peritus at Vatican II," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, vol. 100, nº 3-4 (2024): 581-621.

authority conferred by episcopal consecration.[714] It was the consequence of the appropriation by the Preparatory Theological Commission of the doctrinal themes. Hence, *De episcopis* dealt with the canonical question and pastoral work of the bishops, while *De Ecclesia* dealt with the theology of the episcopate.[715]

The debate lasted from 5th to 15th November 1963. The reaction to the schema divided the *aula* between a first group which defended it and a second group which criticised the schema because its excessively canonical approach and poor pastoral perspective. The latter group recommended a redrafting of the schema to include collegiality and the sacramentality of the episcopate, according to *De Ecclesia*.[716]

José Dammert joined the observation of Pablo Correa León, bishop of Cúcuta (Colombia) and member of the Conciliar Commission *De episcopis*, who spoke on behalf of 60 Latin American Fathers. As a member of the Commission, Correa León denounced that the Commission had acted against the regulations of the Council.[717] The bishop acknowledged the many innovative proposals to the CIC to reinforce the authority of the bishops and to facilitate the exercise of the episcopal duty. However, Correa proposed to give a right place to the disciplinary and canonical regulations related to episcopate. Citing Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis*, Correa asserted that the law of the Church was necessary for the human condition of the pilgrim Church, yet the doctrinal principles of the duties and status of bishops were to be drawn from the *De Ecclesia*. Therefore, he recommended to bring together in the schema the canon law and the doctrine.[718] The Colombian bishop concluded, on behalf of the Latin American bishops, with two ideas. The first was that the disciplinary aspect of the schema should include the pastoral care of souls in order to be in accord with the pastoral dimension of the Council. The second proposal recommended that the bishops be granted the faculties necessary for the exercise of the duties of doctor, Pontiff and rector, excluding the faculties reserved to the Roman Pontiff.[719]

The Peruvian archbishop Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón sent a general written observation. The archbishop expected an inquiry on the ideal profile of the residential bishop, the dioceses, the pastoral government; however, the schema dealt with the relationship between the bishops and the Roman curia, the status of the coadjutor and auxiliary bishops, the national and international episcopal conferences, and other topics. Hence, Rodríguez Ballón's first recommendation was to join in one schema the two schemata *De episcopis* and *De cura animarum*.[720] He pointed out the silence of the schema on ecumenical councils, the episcopal college and the relationship with the Roman Pontiff, and the consequences of collegiality at the level of government (its impact on the

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[714] Joseph Famerée, "Obispos y diócesis, y los medios de comunicación (5-25 de noviembre 1963)," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen III. El Concilio maduro. El segundo periodo y la segunda intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2006), 119-120. Cardinal Paolo Marella, a member of the Commission *de episcopis*, was in charge of the *relatio*. He subtly identified the supporters of collegiality and episcopal consecration with the schismatics of Pistoia.

[715] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 410-411.

[716] Famerée, "Obispos y diócesis," 120. The schema *De episcopis* of 1963 can be consulted in AS II, VI, 364-392.

[717] AS II, IV, 462.

[718] AS II, IV, 463-464. Correa rejected the accusation of schismatics of Pistoia affirmed by Cardinal Marella: "quia nullus nostrum schimastica Pistoriensium suspicione dignus putandus est."

[719] AS II, IV, 464.

[720] AS II, IV, 543-544. Rodríguez Ballón proposed a list of pastoral and canonical topics that the new schema should incorporate. For instance, the schema should treat the themes of the residential bishops, the pastoral duty in the dioceses and the government, the magisterium and sanctification duty of the bishop, the duty and authority over all apostolate in the dioceses, the relationship between the bishops and other episcopal organizations like the national synods, national and international episcopal conferences and the Roman curia.

Congregations of the Roman Curia). He concluded recommending to incorporate the theology of the episcopate of the constitution *De Ecclesia*.[721]

De Uriarte also prepared a written observation on chapter one which was in reality a general exposition of his idea of the episcopate and its role in the Church. First, the vicar put the basis of his theological position: the bishops' faculties come from the Holy Spirit who charge them to conduct the Church. Certainly, the vicar highlighted that the Roman Pontiff was the first among the bishops, as head of the Church of God and Vicar of Christ. Thus, every legitimately consecrated bishop in communion with the bishops and the Roman Pontiff was a member of the body of bishops (*corpus episcoporum*). This body of bishops had the task of evangelising, sanctifying and pastoring, was successor to the college of the apostles (*collegium apostolorum*) and in unity with the Roman Pontiff had supreme and full power in the universal Church.[722]

Therefore, the vicar proposed that the bishops be part in the election of the Pontiff who is the head of the Church of Christ, one with the universal college of bishops (*cum universo collegio episcoporum*) which represents the Church. They belonged to the college, residential bishops and titular bishops; it was enough that they are bishops placed by the Holy Spirit to govern the Church of God.[723] For the vicar, in an ecumenical council, as a "group or body of bishops" (*coetus vel corpus episcoporum*) of the whole universal Church, each bishop participated not as delegate but by divine right. The same was the case for national, regional and provincial councils and episcopal conferences. In all of these institutions, each bishop participated by divine right under the authority of the Roman Pontiff. Therefore, every bishop in charge had the perfect and complete right, the divine right to govern the Church of God, in a diocese or jurisdiction, commissioned by the Pontiff.[724]

Regarding the episcopal conferences, Landázuri president of CEP and on behalf of 36 Peruvian Fathers, and Dammert, secretary of CEP, recalled that the groups or conferences of bishops (*episcoporum coetus seu conferentiae*) were a logical evolution of the organizational discipline of the Church. The conferences, asserted the cardinal, were necessary to be incorporated in the law of the Church. Thus, Landázuri proposed canonical recommendations regarding the plenary and provincial councils and the episcopal conferences which should be better sent to the Commission for the revision of the Codex of Canon Law.[725]

About the juridical force of the decisions taken by a episcopal conference, Landázuri observed two limitations: (1) the monarchical nature of the bishops in the government of a dioceses, and (2) the supreme authority of the Pontiff over the Church, and under whom were the bishops. Hence, the decisions of a bishops' conference could restrict the freedom of action between the Pontiff and a bishop.[726] For the Cardinal, the issue was important because it was also important to have greater uniformity on a number of issues, especially those linked to the relationship with civilian power. He therefore proposed that decisions approved by a quarter to a fifth of the members of the bishops' conference and recognised by the Holy See should be binding.[727]

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[721] AS II, IV, 544.
[722] AS II, IV, 665.
[723] AS II, IV, 665. De Uriarte affirmed that the election of a Pontiff would be a truly democratic act because the bishops represent the entire Church. This procedure did not mean the denying of the monarchical character of the Pontifical office.
[724] AS II, IV, 665-666.
[725] AS II, V, 46-47. For instance, Landázuri proposed to delete the obligation to call a provincial council every ten years because the human life changed. Thus, that institution should be convoked when it be necessary to revise the ecclesiastical discipline and the apostolate means.
[726] AS II, V, 47.
[727] AS II, V, 47-48.

Dammert coincided on the canonical concern about the decisions of an episcopal conference regarding the Holy See and the authority of a local bishop. He therefore called for a deepening of the theological principles of the local Church. The schema understood the diocese as a unity founded on an ecclesiology that saw the universal Church as a composite of all the local Churches. In other words, the diocese was not a true local Church. Therefore, the schema must be drawn up according to the ecclesiological doctrine still under discussion in the *De Ecclesia*, which stresses that the mystery of the Church was first and foremost in the local Church.[728] For Dammert, the universal Church can be defined as "the Communion of local Churches, in which the unity is made through charity and is founded in the Eucharist, is kept by the college of bishops under the jurisdictional primacy of the Pope."[729]

Dammert's definition of the universal Church shows his support to the ecclesiological development of *De Ecclesia*.[730] From this definition, the bishop affirmed that the episcopal conferences were "the communion of local Churches" (*communio Ecclesiarum localium*). Hence, the organisation, the deliberative role and the decisions coming from an episcopal conference should be considered under the light of the theology of the local Churches and universal Church.[731] Thus, the episcopal conference must be drawn of the spirit of the ecclesiology of communion and of the common good of the faithful. Therefore, the role of the episcopal conference needed to be evaluated under the light of the ecclesiological developments, because the basis of the authority of conferences should be the nexus of communion and pastoral connections of local Churches.[732] Dammert's intervention clearly invited a profound theological enquiry into the role of the episcopal conferences in the Church, as a sign of the ecclesiology of his time that was being forged in the conciliar *aula*.

Minor interventions were also prepared by the Peruvian Fathers. The prelates Gauci and Armas joined the intervention of João Ferreira OFM, apostolic prefect of Portuguese Guinea (Africa), who spoke on behalf of 20 bishops, three prelates, two abbots and six prefects. Ferreira pointed out that the schema did not specifically address the issue of prefects and apostolic administrators who were ordinaries without being bishops. He proposed that the issue be reserved for a new juridical framework.[733] Similarly, the Passionists missionary bishops, Elorza Legaristi (a prelate) and Olázar Muruaga (vicar) also requested that prelates and vicars who received the episcopal consecration should have the same rights of a residential bishop.[734] They were probably considering that although CIC 1917 recognised to the vicars and prefects the same rights and faculties of a residential bishop within their territories (c. 294), in case of a conflict with a religious congregation regarding the mission, vicars and prefects were limited by the authority of the religious Superior (c. 296).

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[728] AS II, V, 83. This is the only intervention by Dammert written in Latin. The bishop proposed to include in the drafting of a new schema the following issues: (1) the Eucharist as common good of the Church, (2) the charity, peace and harmony between local Churches, (3) the collegiality of the episcopate, and (4) the office of the Roman Pontiff who guard the charity among the local Churches.

[729] AS II, V, 83. "Communio Ecclesiarum localium, in quibus unio per caritatem facta et in Eucharistia fundata, conservatur per collegium episcoporum sub primate iurisdictionali Papae." Dammert continued his exposition showing his supporting of the development of *De Ecclesia*.

[730] Dammert explained the Trinitarian origin of the Church and the theological principles of mystery. He asserted, quoting the Scripture, that the local Church is truly and perfectly the Church of Christ. AS II, V, 83-84.

[731] AS II, V, 84. For Dammert, in the ecclesial scenario of his time, the episcopal conferences were the successors of the old provincial councils and synods.

[732] AS II, V, 85.

[733] AS II, V, 233-235.

[734] AS II, IV, 852, 884.

On a different kind of concern, Dammert also composed a list of various proposals such as considering abolishing cathedral chapters, adding a paragraph in the outline on the contribution of CELAM and the General Secretariat of the African Episcopate, the right of auxiliaries to participate fully in episcopal conferences and the granting of *Propaganda Fide*'s faculties to missionary bishops, at least in Latin America.[735] Dammert was more concerned about simplifying the Church structures and making it more globally, considering the regional ecclesial organisations.

In the third session, the schema *De pastorali episcoporum munere in Ecclesia* – the result of the fusion of the schema *De episcopis* and *De cura animarum* – had three chapters with controversy issues.[736] In chapter one, the episcopal ministry was founded in the sacramental ordination and affirmed the full and supreme authority of the college of bishops. Chapter two dealt with the religious exemption and chapter three increased the authority of the decisions made by episcopal conferences.[737] Only the German prelate Kaiser MSC intervened in the *aula*, and the 11 Fathers undersigned 49 *modi*, 19 on chapter one, 26 on chapter two and four on chapter three.

Kaiser began by asserting that the pastoral care of souls was not possible without the work of priests. The prelate insisted on the poor distribution of clergy in the universal Church, and with priests being agents of the bishops, it was necessary to maintain the seminaries. He concluded – taking up the theological terms of the ecclesiological discussion of the time – that bishops all over the world recognised their collegial responsibility (*collegialem suam responsabilitatem*) on the issue.[738] Their intervention was disconnected from the central themes of the schema and focused on the lack of priests for mission. This concern, already expressed in the *vota* in 1959, corresponded to the rural and precarious situation of the prelature he was in charge of, in the southern highlands of Peru.

In contrast to Kaiser's speech, the *modi* signed by Peruvian Fathers did have a connection to the schema debate. On chapter one, a group of bishops asked to qualify the notion of the consequences of sacramental ordination on membership of the body of bishops (*corpus episcoporum*). To this end, they cited the *De Ecclesia* in order to distinguish between divine law and ecclesiastical law. Membership in the College of Bishops would be a right decided by the Council.[739] For his part, Nevin Hayes – who sent several *modi* – called for clarification of the role of the so-called Permanent Council of Bishops and its relationship to the Roman Curia.[740] He also asked to change the verb "exoptare" to "mandare/decernere" to express that a Council does not "greatly desire" but rather "ordains/decides" as an expression of the unity of the bishops with the Supreme Pontiff.[741] Finally, it is interesting to note two radically opposed positions on listening to the laity on Church issues (*rebus Ecclesiae*) at the level of the dicasteries. On the one hand, Ariz opposed the "imprudent laicisation of Church government," since the laity can only be heard on issues related to the world (politics, society and economy). On the other side, Hayes again

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[735] AS II, IV, 849-850. The proposals made by Elorza, Olarza and Dammert were incorporated in the *Emendationes a Concilii Patribus scripto exhibitae super schema Decreti De episcopis ac de dioecesium regimine*, see: AS II, IV, 397, 408, 409, 417, 420, 434, 464. The *Emendationes* were distributed among the Council Fathers on 5th November 1963.

[736] The schema is found in AS III, II, 22-44.

[737] Komonchak, "Hacia una eclesiología," 91.

[738] AS III, II, 90-91.

[739] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 185, fasc. 4, f. 5 (De Hornedo), fasc. 5, f. 66 (Cornejo), fasc.. 6, f. 93 (Dammert).

[740] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 189, fasc. 2, f. 52.

[741] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 189, fasc. 2, f. 93. Hayes proposed to change the expression "Exoptant autem Sacrosancti Concilii Patres…" to "Mandat autem Sacrosancta Synodus" (article 9). In this manner, the Council avoids any doubts on the text.

demanded that the Dicasteries "must be taken over by the laity." It was not enough for them to be heard, for they were true members of the Church, of the People of God.[742]

Chapter two dealt with the relationship between the religious and the bishop. Thus, Landázuri asserted that diocesan priests were "secular" and "religious" priests who were assigned to the diocesan apostolate. In his *modus*, Hayes insisted on the same idea affirming that all priests are co-operators with the bishop in pastoral care. Therefore, it was important to emphasise the "collegial cooperation" (*cooperationem collegialem*) between the secular and religious clergy. It was necessary, the *modus* concluded, that the decree be adapted to the *De Ecclesia*.[743] On the same subject, a group of bishops called for a distinction between public worship activities and apostolic activities (proper to religious orders). Only the former fell under the authority of the bishops and not both. Furthermore, it was important to apply the principle of subsidiarity with regard to the right and responsibility of adults in the apostolate as laid down in *De apostolatu laicorum*.[744]

Finally, the *modus* on bishops' conferences in chapter three addressed a number of issues. Nemesio Rivera signed a *modus* requesting that nuncios and apostolic delegates not be included in the bishops' conference.[745] Hayes called in his *modus* for titular bishops engaged in the ministry of souls to participate in episcopal conferences. Cornejo's *modus* called for a decision made by a bishops' conference to have a two-thirds majority of the total number of bishops, even if some of them were absent at the time of the vote.[746]

Table 13. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De pastorali episcoporum munere in Ecclesia*

Peruvian Father	Chapter one	Chapter two	Chapter three	Total
Nevin Hayes	8	9	1	**18**
Antonio de Hornedo	2	5		**7**
Mario Cornejo	4		1	**5**
José Dammert	4			**4**
Javier Ariz	1	3		**4**
Nemesio Rivera		1	1	**2**
Alcides Mendoza		1	1	**2**
Juan Landázuri		1		**1**
Valeriano Arroyo		1		**1**
Joseph Laberge		4		**4**

[742] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 189, fasc. 3, f. 30 (Ariz), 45 (Hayes).
[743] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 190, fasc. 8, f. 14 (Landázuri), f. 20 (Hayes).
[744] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 192, fasc. 2, ff. 6 (Ariz), 34 (Laberge), 41 (Hayes); fasc. 3, ff. 120 (De Hornedo), 126 (Roig).
[745] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 193, fasc. 3, f. 130. Rivera sent an individual *modus* on episcopal retirement in which he proposed the age of 70. Probably thinking of his own situation, Rivera criticised forcing a bishop to resign without being investigated by the Church. See: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 190, fasc. 1, f. 57. During the Council, a group of bishops asked to integrate the nuncios as full members of an episcopal conference. After the Council, the incorporation of the nuncios into an episcopal conferences was part of the debate. The Consistorial Congregation left the decision to each bishops' conference. For an early analysis on this issue, see: Julio Manzanares Marijuan, "Las Conferencias episcopales hoy. Configuración jurídica y fundamentos doctrinales," *Revista española de derecho canónico*, vol. 25, n. 71 (1969): 325-372.
[746] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 193, fasc. 5, ff. 10 (Hayes), 21 (Cornejo).

Damian Roig		1		**1**
Total	**19**	**26**	**4**	**49**

3.2. From *Sacerdos* to *Presbyter*? The Debate on the Priests and Their Education

At the beginning of the Council, the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People drafted *De clericis* which was sent to the Fathers in March 1963.[747] Dammert and the two Peruvian Opus Dei bishops Sánchez-Moreno and De Orbegozo sent their remarks. From his pastoral experience, Dammert proposed on the exhortation about the distribution of clergy that

> "It would also be convenient and opportune to exhort the Ordinaries that receive priests to prepare the place and conditions of work according to the capacity and mentality of their homeland of origin; to give them a special orientation so that they can adapt more easily to their new position; and as far as possible to make them work as a team with the indigenous priests so that there is no difference in the methods of apostolate nor hateful comparisons."[748]

From his perspective, Sánchez-Moreno highlighted the necessity of a specialised pastoral for the universities and in every cultural and scientific aspect of society. He also agreed with the idea of national and international seminaries, whose graduates can be sent on missions to Churches according to their needs.[749] De Orbegozo gave his *placet in genere* to the schema. He recommended the use of mortification and penance means to make able the sanctity of life and the efficacity of the pastoral action. The prelate also pointed out the necessity of priestly vocations for the mission.[750]

De clericis was re-drafted with all the observations with the title *De sacerdotibus* and was reduced to 12 propositions according to the Döpfner Plan with a new title, *De vita et ministerio sacerdotali*. The word "sacerdos" instead of "presbyter" indicated that the propositions dealt with all the stages of priesthood: bishops, presbyters and deacons. This schema of 12 propositions was discussed in the third session alongside with the "Message of the Councill to All Priests of the World."[751] The latter received only Dammert's observation which built up on the development of *De Ecclesia*. While praising the idea of a Message, Dammert considered that the writing style was not adapted to "the critical spirit that reigns among priests in today's world will not be welcomed, for they will say that the bishops have defended their rights in order to establish

[747] The schema is found in AS III, IV, 825-849.
[748] AS III, IV, 893. Dammert signed his observation in Cajamarca on 12th July, 1963.
[749] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1341, fasc. 31, 2, f. 28. The observations were signed in Chiclayo on 8th September, 1963.
[750] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1341, fasc. 31, 2, f. 29. The observations were signed in San Vicente de Cañete on 20th September, 1963.
[751] Norman Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo (*Ecclesia ad extra*)," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer periodo y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 320-322. The schema can be consulted in AS III, IV, 225-240.

'episcopal polity'(*episcopalismo*)."[752] The Message was discarded at the end of the session of 1963 when the Fathers recommended extending the schema of propositions.[753]

Only five Peruvian Fathers participated in the debate on the *De vita et ministerio sacerdotali*. They focused on disciplinary and theological questions in dialogue with the doctrinal developments taken place in the Council and the structure of the schema. On the disciplinary dimension, Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón indicated the necessity for a more just distribution of the clergy, mainly in Latin America, which was facing the menace of Protestantism, communism and others. Besides, he agreed with the national and international societies for missions but they should promote the local vocations.[754] Julio González Ruiz, demanding a new drafting of the schema, proposed a revision of the discipline on the exercise of commercial activity by clerics. He recommended that the local ordinary could review the issue in the local context. He concluded by stating that the changes should be incorporated in the reform of the CIC.[755]

On the theological side, Luis Sánchez-Moreno agreeing with the schema, raised theological observations using language in the debate on schema XIII. However, the use of the language of the future *Gaudium et spes* advocated a traditional understanding of the priesthood. Thus, he used the term "signa temporum," in which Christ speaks, and "signa Dei," in which God's continuous and operative presence in the history and life of the Church was manifested.[756] Sánchez-Moreno recommended to discern priestly life and ministry amidst the signs of the times. These signs called for a necessary renewal of priestly ministry on three levels.

The first was a greater closeness of priests to human beings so that priests may understand and appreciate the problems and challenges of the human community. In this way, priests would be able to raise the community more uprightly and easily to the supernatural order. Priests, like Jesus on the road to Emmaus, must make those who are wavering feel their supernatural hope, i.e. their function was to lead human beings towards the supernatural.[757]

The second was a greater awareness of the pastoral needs of God's people. The priest – "who is the voice of Christ" and doctor of souls – had the obligation to be strongly involved in the study, to know the signs and symptoms well, to formulate a diagnosis and to propose specific and necessary remedies for social problems. The third was greater flexibility and specialisation of organisational structures and forms. The problems of the contemporary world require the creation of flexible bodies (*corporum mobilium*) of priests prepared to respond to the challenges, especially those coming from the intellectual and working-class spheres.[758] In general, Sánchez-Moreno agreed with the outline but emphasised the need for further development of the theology of the priest.

Following the steps of Sánchez-Moreno, Antonio De Hornedo sent a list of critical theological observations to the priesthood of all believers developed in *De Ecclesia*. The prefect postulated that the affirmation of the Council of Trent on priesthood be incorporated to balance the generous statement of Vatican II on the common priesthood of the faithful. His critical

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[752] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1346, fasc. 3. Dammert send his recommendations to Monsignor Casimiro Morcillo, archbishop of Zaragoza, on 30th November. Dammert recommended a more fraternal approach because the priests were "our collaborators who are in the outposts of evangelisation," and the use of the term "presbyter". He also suggested to highlight the priesthood of Christ "so that it may appear more clearly that bishops and priests are His ministers, for He is the only Priest and the only source of our priesthood."
[753] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 322.
[754] AS III, IV, 261-262. He rejected the idea of a foreign vicariate or prelature, independent of dioceses, which would train priests for the missions.
[755] AS III, IV, 961-964.
[756] AS III, IV, 415.
[757] AS III, IV, 416-417.
[758] AS III, IV, 417-418.

position tried to safeguard the primacy of the ordained ministers. He also called for a clear distinction between the common natural virtues common to all the Christian faithful and the natural virtues proper to the ministers of Christ. De Hornedo concluded his writing with various recommendations, such as adding that the spiritual exercises were recommendations of the Pontiffs and of canon law. Or that newly ordained priests should be under the direction and supervision of another priest.[759]

A final collective intervention led by Fernando Gomes dos Santos, Archbishop of Goiânia, Brazil, and joined by Mario Cornejo, rejected the schema because, it was argued, priests deserved their own document like that of bishops and laity. The *animadversio* called for a change in the paternalistic tone and the use of theological and pastoral language as in other schemata. In addition, it was pointed out that a theology of the priest was missing. Gomes dos Santos concluded with a list of proposals for the secretariat such as recognising priests as participants in the threefold office of Christ, priestly, prophetic and pastoral. Also that the relationship between bishops and priests should be that of friends (*non servos sed amicos vocat*).[760]

After the first debate on *De ministerio et vita sacerdotali*, between 12th and 17th November 1964, the schema *De institutione sacerdotali* was presented in the *aula*.[761] The schema dealt with the education for the priesthood and its organisation. Mendoza Castro joined the intervention of Paul Joseph Schmitt, bishop of Metz (France), who proposed three observations. The first emphasised the importance of giving an education in the firmness of faith. The life in seminaries were artificial; hence, Schmitt recommended to test the future priests sending them to region where the faith was declining. The second proposed an education for a missionary faith. The curriculum should include not only the scholastic but historical theology and also practical sciences such as psychology, pedagogy and sociology.[762] The formation environment should also consider the listening and dialogue among the seminarians and their teachers. The third called for a grounded priestly formation in the true faith of the Church. The entire local Church had a responsibility in the priestly formation because, the Church was missionary: all the faithful had a responsibility in their own formation as a missionary of the Church.[763]

For Schmitt, the three observations implied a new kind of seminary, not apart for the faithful daily life, but in the midst of the world. The seminarians should participate in the pastoral milieu of parish priests and laypeople. Therefore, the bishop concluded that (1) the priestly formation should be open to the necessities of the contemporary human being, (2) the seminarian should develop an ability for individual study, and (3) a new *ratio studiorum* should be prepared in collaboration with laypeople and parish priests.[764]

In the same vein, Zaplana Bellida supported the intervention of Antonio Añoveros Ataún, bishop of Cádiz and Ceuta. The bishop highlighted that the schema lacked the conciliar style. For him, each episcopal conference should accommodate and adapt the norms and dispositions of priestly formation.[765] He proposed a list of recommendations so that moderator and teachers of seminaries could be trained for their work with solid doctrine, pastoral experience and spiritual

[759] AS III, IV, 564-566.
[760] AS III, IV, 420-421, 423-424.
[761] The schema of propositions is found in AS III, VII, 498-502.
[762] On this issue, a group of Fathers pushed for the recognition of St Thomas Aquinas as the preeminent authority for the priestly formation, see: Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 336-337; Joseph A. Komonchak, "Thomism and the Second Vatican Council," in *Continuity and Plurality in Catholic Theology: Essays in Honor of Gerald A. McCool, S.J.*, ed. Anthony J. Cernera (Fairfield, CT: Sacred Heart University Press, 1998), 53-73.
[763] AS III, VIII, 27-29.
[764] AS III, VIII, 29.
[765] AS III, VIII, 30-31.

and pedagogic principles. Also, in regions with a large number of vocations, a regional seminary should be erected, which also gathered seminarians from different dioceses. The seminarians should also study humanities and sciences as part of their formation.[766] Both interventions clearly stated for a more open and comprehensive vision of the priestly formation, which focused on a good relationships with other members of the Church and the needs of the contemporary human being.

During the debate, Julio Gonzáles SDB and José Dammert sent a written observation each. Gonzáles prepared a *modus* related to the liturgical formation for future priests. The bishop recommended to place the course of liturgy among the principle one because the priests in their pastoral work should show liturgy as the source and summit of the entire life of the Church. Thus, all courses should be linked to the paschal mystery of Christ and the history of salvation.[767] Dammert proposed to the preface a change of the expression "a certain primary principles" to "principal norms." For Dammert, the schema should not propose "universal principles" because they were "insufficient for the formation of priests at this time."[768] After the debate, the schema was voted and approved by a large majority: 2076 in favour and 41 against. Because of this, the Commission only made minor changes to the schema during the intersession.[769]

After the debate of 1964, the schema on the priesthood went back to the Commission where the title changed to *De ministerio et vita presbyterorum*. In the schema emerged new controversial issues such as celibacy, priestly spirituality and the different dimensions of priesthood, between worship and mission.[770] In the fourth session of 1965, the schema of the decree was presented in the *aula* for further discussion. The debates showed the different understanding of the priesthood according to the geographical and cultural contexts of the Fathers.[771] All the interventions revealed that among the Fathers was established a general idea of the crisis of the priesthood. They offered two mainly perspectives: priests' liturgical and cultic role and the missionary purpose of priesthood. The two points of view were not completely opposed.[772] The Peruvian Fathers prepared three individual interventions and joined eight collective statements. Their interventions addressed the following topics: the challenges of priesthood, the priests' cultic and liturgical role, the missionary roles of priesthood, the spiritual life, and the relationship between bishops and priests.

Kaiser joined the observation of Julius Döpfner, who spoke on behalf of 65 German-speaking and Scandinavian Fathers. For the German Cardinal, the schema had improved substantially. However, there was still an insufficient style and no mention was made of the problems of today's priests and how they could be overcome. It also calls for a distinction between the sanctity of the priest and the sanctity of religious life. He concluded by stressing the need to insist on the problems of the ministry and life of priests today.[773]

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[766] AS III, VIII, 31-32.
[767] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 209, fasc. 2, 131.
[768] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 210, fasc. 4, 4.
[769] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 338. The schema, entitled *Optatam totius*, was definitively voted and approved during the fourth session.
[770] Riccardo Burigana and Giovanni Turbanti, "La intersesión: preparando la conclusión del Concilio," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer período y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 520.
[771] Mauro Velati, "Completar la agenda del Concilio," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen V. Un Concilio de transición. El cuarto período y la conclusión del Concilio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2008), 224-225.
[772] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 226-227.
[773] AS IV, IV, 764-767.

On the challenges, the observation of Romano Arrieta Villalobos, bishop of Tilarán (Costa Rica) pointed to the problem of the distribution of clergy. Peruvian bishop Alcides Mendoza supported this concern, which he had already expressed earlier. The bishops noted that "in some regions, abundant priests are shepherding and defending the flock of Christ, while in other places, the sheep are in tears, victims of the rapacious wolves of ignorance, superstition, proselytising and injustice."[774] Their approach was certainly clericalist and close to the liturgical and cultic perspective of the priest's role in the Church.

Cardinal Landázuri supported the cultic and liturgical dimension of the priesthood. He praised the schema and agreed with the emphasis on the preaching of the Word, but he encouraged to highlight the central place of the Eucharist in the life and ministry of priesthood. Quoting *De Ecclesia*, article 28, Landázuri reminded that priests had as their sacred ministry the exercise of Eucharistic worship, and that since the priesthood was instituted at the Lord's Supper, the priest acted in a special way in the person of Christ the priest. Finally, the cardinal agreed with the foundation of the evangelical counsels given to the theology of the holiness and sanctification of the priesthood.[775]

The Dominican vicar Ariz sent his written observation which consisted of a list of proposals intended to emphasise the sacred and cultic character of the priest. Thus, for example, Ariz proposed to emphasise that the sacrament of Holy Orders was the perfection of Christian initiation and to declare the doctrine of the office proper to the spiritual paternity of priests over the faithful. On this last point, the vicar pointed out that the schema seemed to dissolve the relations of priests with the laity into mere fraternity (*meram fraternitatem*).[776]

In the same spirit, for Sánchez-Moreno the schema, without denying the missionary spirit, was one of praise because it placed the holy mass at the root and centre of the whole priestly life. For the bishop, the holy mass was the centre and root of the supernatural life and the priestly office related his personal sacrifice to the sacrifice of Christ.[777] After basing ministry and priestly life on worship, Sánchez-Moreno included a list of disciplinary and canonical propositions which should be sent to the Pontifical Commission of CIC.[778]

Three Peruvian Fathers joined three different collective observations on the missionary dimension of priesthood. Alcides Mendoza joined the observation of Remi Joseph de Roo, bishop of Victoria (British Columbia, Canada), who spoke on behalf of 133 Fathers. De Roo asserted that the schema maintained a static view of the priest, anachronistic in comparison with today's ecumenical events, the dramatic evolution of the contemporary world and the exceptional demands on the priesthood of the future. Hence, the observation sent a list of ideas to give a more organic unity to the schema. The first was to place the ministerial priesthood in the context of the universal priesthood of the whole Church. The ministerial priesthood sought the service of God's people and was dynamic and missionary. The second emphasised that in the ministry of Christ

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[774] AS IV, V, 160. The bishops proposed the following solutions: (1) Where priestly vocations abound, new types of seminaries should be instituted, depending directly and immediately on the Holy See, so that they may be offered to the bishops of regions where the need for gospel workers is most urgent; (2) Dioceses which have an abundance of candidates, and no space in the seminaries, should offer candidates for adoption to other dioceses; (3) Investigate the number of faithful to whom a priest can be entrusted; (4) Bishops' conferences should set up an office to which priests are offered who can then be sent; and (5) Religious orders and congregations can help effectively. They can send their members where there is a shortage of priests. See: AS IV, V, 161-162.

[775] AS IV, IV, 783-785. The English bishop of Salford, Thomas Holland praised Landázuri's observation, see: AS IV, V, 361.

[776] AS IV, V, 228-230.

[777] AS IV, V, 478.

[778] AS IV, V, 479-480. For example, the bishop asked that priests be granted the right to establish associations, just as it was for the laity in *De apostolatu laicorum*.

was founded the vocation of the whole People of God. In this light, the priesthood was essentially apostolic, in the biblical sense of being sent. De Roo concluded by pointing out not to lose sight of the eschatological and dynamic character of the priesthood, as announcer of salvation to human beings, as minister of the Word, servant of the Eucharist and head and servant of the People of God.[779]

The elected archbishop of Turin (Italy), Michele Pellegrino spoke on behalf of 158 Fathers, including De Orbegozo. Pellegrino, who had been a professor until his appointment as archbishop, introduced the theme of intellectual activity into the ministry and life of the priest as part of his apostolate. Pellegrino asked not only to demand from the priest humility, faithful obedience and vigour in the interior life, but also a clear vision of the problems and the historical realities in which these problems are understood and resolved.[780]

Sergio Méndez Arceo, bishop of Cuernavaca (Mexico), supported by Dammert, began asserting that the schema was better but the articles did not seem to answer to the priestly contemporary conscience. Building up on the missionary dimension, for Méndez, the text was a great opportunity to exhort priests to adapt to the accelerated rhythms of the human condition and to the questions of today's human being. The life of priests demanded an *aggiornamento* in order to renew the missionary activity of the Church. The bishop called for greater attention to the signs of the times. He also called for a review of obedience in the light of the Constitution *Lumen gentium* which pointed out that obedience to superiors was framed in obedience to God himself. Similarly, he asked for a revision of relations with the laity, since they were also instruments of renewal in the Church and of the promotion of Christian life in dioceses, parishes, etc. Finally, on the relations between bishops and priests, Méndez pointed out that the sending of priests was not a matter for the bishops. The language of Méndez's observation shows the reception of the development of the doctrine taken place at Vatican II, like terms as signs of the times and *aggiornamento* or the reference to *Lumen gentium*. The purpose of theses references sought to discuss the schema and raise doctrinal and theological criticisms, according to the pastoral orientation of the Council.

Mendoza joined the statement of Paul-Émile Charbonneau, bishop of Hull (Québec, Canada) on the relationship between bishops and priests. The observation called the attention on the lack of lucidity and theological depth on the nature of obedience. Charbonneau proposed first of all to understand obedience in the ecclesial and existential context. Obedience was not passive submission to the will of the bishop, but above all active communion with the will of the bishop. Hence, he proposed a definition in which obedience was understood as the active communion of the priest' will with the bishop's will, but always in a dependence level. From a sacramental perspective, the Bishop of Hull suggested understanding the relationship in two movements. The first was the downward movement from bishop to priest: the bishop was the immediate source of the mystery of the ministerial priesthood not so much because he consecrates the priest, but by participation in his grace by which they were entrusted as his co-workers. The second upward movement from priest to bishop. The first participates with the bishop fully in the pastoral office and collaboration with him was his real communion.[781]

The Peruvian bishops supported two collective interventions on the spiritual life of the priesthood. José María García Lahiguerra, bishop of Huelva (Spain), spoke on behalf of 194 Fathers, among them Moreno Quintana, De Hornedo, Rivera and Hinojosa. García Lahiguerra was founder of the Congregation of Oblate Sisters of Christ the Priest, a contemplative institute

[779] AS IV, V, 163-167.
[780] AS IV, V, 200-204.
[781] AS IV, V, 167-169.

dedicated to cooperate to the sanctification of priests and seminarians.[782] His more important concern was the spiritual life of priests, hence the schema should propose an ideal of the priestly life and the promotion of evangelical counsels. He remarked the importance of spiritual exercises, the *lectio divina*, the daily mental prayer and the spiritual direction.[783] Similarly, Enrique Pechuán Marin, bishop of Cruz del Eje (Argentina), supported by De Orbegozo, Kaiser, Ariz, highlighted the role of the Virgin Mary in the mystery itself of Christ's priesthood. Although *Lumen gentium* asserted that the Virgin Mary was the mother of all, Pechuán demanded that the Virgin be named in an indeterminate and less generic way as mother of priests. All priests, whether bishops or priests, because they had been tested in renouncing the dedication of a family, had Mary as their mother.[784]

The discussion on the schema on priesthood attracted the attention of the Council Fathers from the very beginning. The Peruvian Fathers were no exception. Faced with a sense of crisis in priestly life and a lack of vocations in a scenario of social and cultural change, demographic growth and missionary expansion, the schema concentrated the Fathers' efforts to propose a vision that would give a new impetus to priestly work.

The Fathers had two visions, the cultic and the missionary. The former was more traditional and the latter more in dialogue with the doctrinal development of the Council. However, the two visions were not irreconcilable, as Mendoza's support for Romano Arrieta and Remi De Roo showed. What was central for the bishops and prelates was that the schema should strengthen the priestly vocation and its role in the Church. The *modi* presented after the debate were a continuation of the debate and sought to adjust and strengthen the schema from various perspectives. The Peruvian Fathers signed a total of 57 *modi*, 10 addressing chapter one, 8 chapter two and 39 chapter three.

Table 14. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De ministerio et vita presbyterorum*

Peruvian Father	Chapter one	Chapter two	Chapter three	Total
Florentino Armas	1	1	2	**4**
León de Uriarte	1	1	5	**7**
Mario Cornejo	3	1	1	**5**
José Dammert	3	1	3	**7**
Javier Ariz	2	1	10	**13**
Juan Landázuri		1	4	**5**
Redento Gauci		1		**1**
Valeriano Arroyo		1	5	**6**
Gustave Prevost			1	**1**
Lucien Metzinger			1	**1**
Damian Roig			4	**4**
Teodosio Moreno			2	**2**
Florencio Coronado			1	**1**

[782] Oblatas de Cristo Sacerdote, "Inicio," accessed on 7th August 2024, https://oblatasdecristosacerdote.com/
[783] AS IV, V, 180-183.
[784] AS IV, V, 194-196.

Total	**10**	**8**	**39**	**57**

There were diverse *modi* addressing chapter one. Armas and De Uriarte signed a *modus* proposing the change of the title to "De ministerio et vita presbyterorum *speciatum diocesanorum*," because the schema mainly dealt with the diocesan presbyters.[785] However, Cornejo stressed that there was no fundamental difference between secular and religious priests, since their ministry was primarily dedicated to the care of souls.[786] In a more theological perspective, Dammert and Cornejo prepared their own two *modi* remarking that the exercise of the hierarchical priesthood flowed and hung on the priesthood of Christ. Therefore, the priesthood of Christ, emanating from the mission of the Father and the anointing of the Spirit, was the only mediation, the only priest between human beings and God. The latter was a fundamental ecumenical reason for understanding the priesthood.[787] Cornejo and Dammert also stressed that the priesthood was instituted by Christ himself, as the Council of Trent taught, and did not emanate from the bishop.[788]

On chapter two, five Peruvian Fathers joined a *modus* against the priests workers. The *modus* argued that the Council could not sanction a method of exercising priestly ministry whose experience, in some cases, had been negative.[789] This attitude of mistrust towards worker priests clearly stemmed from echoing the negative stance of many bishops, rather than from pastoral experiences in Peru. On chapter three, the *modi* focused on two main aspects: sanctity and spirituality, and celibacy. In two different *modi*, Ariz warned that the holiness of Christ's priesthood was not sufficient for the salvation of human beings. The same was true, the vicar affirmed, for the priesthood of priests. Their ordination was not sufficient for their holiness, without including moral and formal merits.[790] Hence, other *modi* recommended the spiritual direction and the spiritual exercises as part of the spiritual care of presbyters.[791]

A group of *modi* addressed the celibacy, although the topic was reserved to himself by Pope Paul VI. Prevost, vicar of Pucallpa, and Metzinger, prelate of Ayaviri, signed a *modus* regarding the celibacy. They rejected the claim that celibacy was already in apostolic practice (*praxis apostolica*), i.e. in the practice of the early Church. They were also opposed to closing the subject definitively, since the matter of celibacy was left to the study of the Pope; thus they asked to change the verbs "approve and confirm" (*comprobat et confirmat*) the law of celibacy, to "does not change" (*non immutat*). In this way, the possibility of revising the disciplinary legislation was left open. The prelates concluded by questioning the exclusive confirmation of the law of celibacy of the Latin rite without mentioning the other disciplines of other rites. These rites were just as ancient, they pointed out, and had deep roots in the New Testament and apostolic practice. The schema was to have a universal character for, "a truly ecumenical Council must speak justly of one [rite] as well as the other [rite]."[792]

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[785] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 230, fasc. 2, ff. 63 (Armas), 117 (De Uriarte).
[786] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 230, fasc. 4, f. 18.
[787] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 230, fasc. 4, ff. 2 (Cornejo), 3 (Dammert). The *modus* was also signed by Emilio Abascal y Salmerón, auxiliary bishop of Puebla de los Ángeles (Mexico).
[788] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 230, fasc. 6, ff. 23 (Dammert), 24 (Cornejo).
[789] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 233, fasc. 1, ff. 146 (De Uriarte), 193 (Landázuri), 213 (Gauci); fasc. 2, ff. 18 (Arroyo), 57 (Ariz).
[790] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 234, fasc. 3, ff. 5, 28.
[791] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 236, fasc. 4, ff. 102 (Landázuri), 155 (De Uriarte), 167 (Arroyo), 229 (Ariz), 258 (Arroyo), 275 (De Uriarte), 355 (Landázuri).
[792] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 234, fasc. 7, ff. 23 (Prevost), 51 (Metzinger). "Concilium vere Oecumenicum debet loqui cum aequitate et de una et de alia."

At the antipodes of Prevost's and Metzinger's theological position, six Peruvian bishops and prelates asked that the schema affirmed that the reason for celibacy consisted in intimate union with Christ: "presbyteri ergo per coelibatum CHRISTO INTIMIUS CONSECRATUR." They rejected the idea that celibacy had the value of "sign and testimony." On the contrary, they defended their position by quoting article 44 of the *De Ecclesia* on chastity and the Kingdom of Heaven and the decree *De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae*.[793] Another *modus* in the same vein was signed by four Peruvian Fathers. It called for the schema to affirm that "the life and ministry of priests strongly urges chastity for the sake of the Kingdom of Heaven." The *modus* stated that reducing the celibacy to "sign and testimony" was against *De Ecclesia* and *De accommodata*. The theological reason for celibacy was more profound than just "sign and testimony", because it meant an intimate union with Christ.[794]

The *modi* supported by the Peruvian Fathers dealt mainly with the nature of the priesthood, holiness and spirituality, and celibacy. Given the timing of the debate, it is possible to observe the theological and doctrinal differences that were also dividing the Peruvian episcopate. However, this is not a radical division, but always flexible, as shown by Alcides Mendoza's support for the two positions for understanding the ministry and the life of the priest, the missionary and the cultic. Likewise, the debate and the *modi* indicate the level of assimilation of the doctrine of *De Ecclesia* and conciliar theology and the various ways of interpreting them to strengthen their doctrinal position.

3.3. Theology of the Laity and the Lay Apostolate

On 25th January 1964, the Commission for the Lay Apostolate received a letter from Cardinal Amleto Cicognani, secretary of State and president of the Coordinating Commission asking to reduce the schema on the lay apostolate to the "essential points and therefore presented in the form of propositions on which the Fathers will vote after short discussion."[795] The schema *De apostolatu laicorum* was reduced from 17 pages and 47 articles to 10 pages and 24 articles. The new schema did not dialogue with *De laicis* chapter of *De Ecclesia* and also transferred to schema XIII (the future *Gaudium et spes*) the section on the social commitment of the laity. Thus, the schema understood the lay apostolate as the response to the Christian demand to obey the precept of charity and had its origin in the sacraments of baptism and confirmation. It was in debt with the preconciliar theology of the laity and the ecclesiological developments of Vatican II. The 1964 schema was a guide for the lay apostolate, as the doctrinal contents on the laity were transferred to the *De Ecclesia*.[796]

After the *relatio* of Franz Hengsbach,[797] bishop of Essen (Germany), the debate on *De apostolatu laicorum* was held between 7th and 13th October. Comparing to *De ministerio et vita*

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[793] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 235, fasc. 2, ff. 46 (De Uriarte), 137 (Roig), 203 (Moreno), 220 (Ariz), 247 (Landázuri), 272 (Arroyo).
[794] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 235, fasc. 3, ff. 37 (Roig), 64 (Arroyo), 70 (Ariz), 134 (Landázuri).
[795] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 330. In the second half of 1963, in coincidence with the Döpfner Plan, Dammert sent a short written observation recommending a more concise wording with the deletion of some accidental articles, see: AS III, IV, 724.
[796] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 332-334; Istvan Csonta, ""From Movement to Document. Vatican II's Reception of the Preconciliar Catholic Action Movement," in *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau. La réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II*, ed. Gilles Routhier, Philippe J. Roy and Karim Schelkens (Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven: Collège Érasme, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, 2011), 193-196.
[797] Since September 2023, allegations for sexual abuse against Bishop Hengsbach have been investigated by an independent Commission in the Dioceses of Essen. See: Felix Neumann, "Ruhrbischof, Kardinal – und Missbrauchstäter? Hengsbachs tiefer Fall" (19th September, 2023), accessed on 9th August 2024,

presbyterorum, which called the attention of the Peruvian episcopate, only three Peruvian Fathers participated in the debate.

Kaiser joined the observation of Heinrich Tenhumberg, auxiliary bishop of Münster (Germany), who spoke on behalf 83 German-speaking and Scandinavian Fathers. The observation criticised the lack of pneumatology on the subject of the necessity of the lay apostolate, for "in the Holy Spirit, the whole apostolate, both of the laity and of the hierarchy, has its theological principle and foundation."[798] Similarly, the notion of apostolate was restricted to hierarchy, because the scope for the lay apostolate was broader than participation or collaboration with the hierarchy in the role of teaching, governing and sanctifying. Tenhumberg also claimed for a less scholarly style and language, and for the education of laity in the apostolate opposing them to the temptations of secularism and atheism.[799] The observation recommended to send the canonical items to the Commission for CIC, and concluded suggesting to listen to the laypeople's proposition.[800]

The Opus Dei Peruvian prelate, De Orbegozo, sent a list of written proposals endorsing, first in the *aula*, Cardinals Ritter's and Suenens' interventions "on the specificity of the lay apostolate and its specific purpose, as well as on the need to firmly defend and effectively protect the original right of association and the actual plurality of forms of association."[801] In this sense, he defended other forms of lay associations like the Opus Dei lay groups, and rejected the exclusivity of the Catholic Action.

De Orbegozo began his proposals stating that "the mission of the Church is to continue, until the end of time, the work of Christ on earth."[802] Thus, "the Church must carry out this mission in various ways through all its members," and "the apostolate of the laity collaborates in this restoration of all in Christ."[803] From this theological basis, De Orbegozo requested that the schema needed to clarify with precision the vocation of laypeople and the form of this "various ways" of apostolate. For him, the reason for the apostolate of the laity was the "consecration of the world" (*consecratio mundi*) which could show the testimony of Christ (*testimonium Christi*) in civil society, in every profession and work, in every social condition and in every time and place.

For all these reasons, the prelate pointed out that chapter four *De formis associativis*, regrettably ignored the apostolate exercised by a personal lay vocation. He also emphasised the importance of freedom of association (*libertas associationis*) beyond the control of the hierarchy. The freedom of action of the lay apostolate was to the very benefit of the hierarchy, which must limit itself to prudent and vigilant coordination in the moral and doctrinal order. The exception was Catholic Action which publicly and manifestly acted on behalf of the hierarchy. The schema should pay attention to other forms of associations of the lay apostolate. For example, in North and South America, which have a large territorial extension, associations such as the confraternities of Christian doctrine, the Legion of Mary, among others, carried out excellent

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https://www.katholisch.de/artikel/47138-ruhrbischof-kardinal-und-missbrauchstaeter-hengsbachs-tiefer-fall.

[798] AS III, IV, 91.

[799] AS III, IV, 91.

[800] AS III, IV, 92.

[801] AS III, IV, 145.

[802] AS III, IV, 146. "Missio Ecclesiae est continuare, usque ad consummationem temporum, opus Christi in terris."

[803] AS III, IV, 146. "Apostolatus laicorum collaborat in illa *instauratione omnium rerum in Christo*." Highlighted in the original.

apostolic work. For the prelates, it was however a danger to impose the Italian Catholic Action model outside Italy.[804]

Also the Opus Dei auxiliary bishop, Luis Sánchez-Moreno sent a written observation. He refused to define the necessity of the lay apostolate for extrinsic reasons (*ob rationes extrinsecas*) such as the penury of the clergy and the lack of Christian spirit in society. On the contrary, the intrinsic reason (*ratio intrinseca*) of the lay apostolate, which was the consecration of the world, should be emphasised. Thus, the very call and apostolic mission of the laity was specified by their actions in temporal structures (*vocatio autem et missio apostolica laicorum*).[805] Sánchez-Moreno also shared the opinion that the schema had a clericalist approach and lacked a doctrinal structure and foundation. For him, the mission of the Church (*missio Ecclesiae*) was not the mission of the hierarchical Church, for the ecclesial mission of the laity (*missio ecclesialis laicorum*) was part of the mission of the Church. It was the task of the hierarchy to orientate through principles of the moral order.[806]

On the canonical and disciplinary dimension, the bishop remarked the lack of knowledge of the social, psychological, professional, family and cultural circumstances of the laity. The schema also had a style of a "handbook of piety" (*manuale pietatis*) instead of insisting on a profound Christian spirit (inner life, sacrifice spirit, humility, etc.). Hence, he wondered "if we are talking about the maturity of the laity, why are the immediate and proper aims of the apostolate only recognised for Catholic Action, and denied to other associations freely constituted by the laity?"[807] Likewise De Orbegozo, the bishop asked that confusion of the term lay apostolate with Catholic Action should be avoided.[808]

Table 15. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De apostolatu laicorum*

Peruvian Father	Chapter one	Chapter two	Chapter three	Chapter four	Chapter five	Chapter six	Total
Luis Sánchez-Moreno	1	1		1	3	1	**7**
José Dammert		2	3				**5**
Antonio De Hornedo			1				**1**
Mario Cornejo Radavero			1				**1**
Fidel Tubino Mongilardi			1				**1**
Javier Ariz					1		**1**
Total	**1**	**3**	**6**	**1**	**4**	**1**	**16**

At the end of the debate, Hengsbach highlighted as pending issues: a harmonisation with the schema *De Ecclesia*; a clearer exposition of the nature, the theological foundation and the aims of the lay apostolate; a greater emphasis on the spirituality and formation of the laity; a greater clarity between the apostolate of the laity and the spiritual permeation of the secular order; and a closer link between the various forms of the apostolate.[809] The three Peruvian Fathers'

[804] AS III, IV, 146-147.
[805] AS III, IV, 374-375.
[806] AS III, IV, 375.
[807] AS III, IV, 375-376.
[808] AS III, IV, 378-379.
[809] Hanjo Sauer, "La Iglesia de los laicos: un descubrimiento del Concilio," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer período y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 248.

interventions fit with the general pending issues of the schema like the theological foundation, the topic of consecration of the world and the various forms of the lay apostolate.

The schema was redrafted and sent to the Fathers in June 1965. According to the Council schedule, the schema was voted on 23rd, 24th and 27th September. After the vote, the Conciliar Commission received the *modi*, some of which sought a formal revision of the text, although with exceptions that also pointed out doctrinal aspects.[810] The Peruvian bishops signed a total of 16 *modi*. Most of their *modi* proposed a revision of the text, which also included nuanced theological changes. For example, Joseph Dammert proposed changing the wording "omne exercitium apostolatus a caritate originem et vim ducere debet"[811] to "Omne apostolatus exercitium caritatis est: maximum mandatum in lege est."[812] For him, apostolic exercise did not have its origin in charity, but was itself charity.[813]

Another wording change with a nuanced theological dimension was proposed by Sánchez-Moreno, who asked to add the word "libertate" to the phrase "et propria *libertate ac* responsabilitate cooperari."[814] The paragraph referred to the cooperation between Christian laypeople with other people in the instauration of the temporal order. The bishop did not include an explanation (*ratio*), but was probably considering that this cooperation with other people was a responsibility of the laity, but that it should always be done freely. A freedom that could perhaps be defined as freedom of conscience. On article 11, *De familia*, De Hornedo, Cornejo and Tubino joined a *modus* asking for a clear drafting proposing to state that the family "has a divine mission as fundamental and vital cell of society." It also included changing the word "extensio ecclesiae" to "sanctuarium ecclesiae," because the family was a Church in herself, and not an extension of her.[815]

Also on article 11, Dammert called for the inclusion of "all men of goodwill" among the advocates of pro-family civil laws. He also called for the education of children and adults to be included among the needs of the family.[816] Dammert considered collaboration on civil and social issues with non-Christians to be crucial, as well as adult education, especially in rural areas, which at that time had a huge educational deficit. For the bishop, adult education was a fundamental right in the contemporary world. It was a request rooted in the rural context of the diocese of Dammert and the need for education and literacy. There were other *modi* which looked for specific changes like Ariz who signed a *modus* requesting the establishment of institutions to carefully prepare the advisor priests of lay apostolate.[817]

The Commission studied and classified the *modi* according to the middle way method, leaving out those *modi* that were unilateral or proposed radical changes to the theological structure.[818] On 10th November, the final draft of the decree *De apostolatu laicorum* was voted. The solemn approval and promulgation of the decree *Apostolicam Actuositatem*, together with

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[810] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 249.
[811] AS IV, II, 322. Dammert's proposal was refused. The complete schema is found in AS IV, II, 305-366.
[812] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 220, fasc. 1, f. 16.
[813] The idea that charity is apostolic engagement with the world was further developed in Liberation theology. See: Gustavo Gutiérrez, *Teología de la liberación. Perspectivas* (Lima: CEP, 2008), 289-318 (Chapter 10. The encounter with God in History).
[814] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 220, fasc. 3, f. 118; AS IV, II, 321-322 (article 7).
[815] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 221, fasc. 2, f. 3 (De Hornedo), fasc. 3, ff. 1 (Cornejo), 5 (Tubino). In the final version of the decree *Apostolicam actuositatem*, the expression "extensio Ecclesiae" was changed to "sanctuarium Ecclesiae."
[816] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 221, fasc. 1, ff. 100, 104. In the final version of the decree, Dammert's wording were added, with the exception of education of adults.
[817] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 223, fasc. 1, f. 49.
[818] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 250.

the Dogmatic Constitution *Dei Verbum*, was held on 18th November 1965 in the Basilica of Saint Peter.

3.4. Adapting the Religious Life for the Church and the Contemporary World

The decree *Perfectae caritatis* has a long history. It began as a schema intitled *De statibus perfectionis adquirendae* in the Conciliar Commission for Religious. To this Commission, Landázuri belonged as a member. During the conciliar years, the schema received the influence coming from the debates on *De Ecclesia*, *De episcopis* and *De missionibus*. In March 1963, because of the Döpfner Plan the schema was reduced to propositions and the term "states of perfection" was rejected.[819] The schema of propositions *De religiosis* – of four pages and 19 items – was not well receive by the Fathers and, during second intersession in 1964, the Commission redrafted a new schema intitled *De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae*.[820] The new schema mainly addressed the necessity of renewal of the religious life. During the third session, this last version of the schema was discussed in the *aula* between 10th and 12th November 1964. The schema presented in the *aula* was still organized as propositions and was not well received by the majority of the Fathers.[821]

Landázuri Ricketts, member of the Commission for Religious, intervened in the *aula*. He began by mentioning that the religious had a theological chapter in the constitution *De Ecclesia*, and were part of the schemata *De pastorali episcoporum* and *De activitate missionali*. He asserted that one would have a schema if these parts were put together. However, the articles 2 and 3 of the schema dealt with a subject of the utmost importance for the Church and the pastoral purpose of the Council: the renewal and adaptation of religious life and discipline to the circumstances of the times.[822]

After acknowledging the good progress on the schema, Landázuri proposed some observations. The first was to maintain the double distinction of religious life between contemplative and active life. Contemplative religious life not only represented the praying Church and gave fruitfulness to the apostolate of the Church, but also revealed the Church in the world. Landázuri also recommended not to indiscriminately require religious to attend to the missionary apostolate, despite the pastoral need and the shortage of clerics. The Cardinal recalled that religious institutes should be "schools of holiness" (*scholas sanctitatis*), as Pius XII said, in order to preserve the fidelity and permanence of the vocation of religious. He concluded by reaffirming the importance of the schema for a renewed adaptation of religious life to the conditions of today's world.[823]

A group of General Superiors of Religious Congregations prepared a written observation. The Peruvian bishop Ramírez Taboada joined the statement, which intended to indicate that religious life consists essentially in the total, immediate and undivided consecration of oneself to God by the profession of the evangelical counsels. Like Landázuri, the Superiors mentioned that two forms of religious life were recognisable in the Church, the monastic-contemplative life and the apostolic-active life.[824] In this way, this group of superiors remained within the classical division of religious life. They called for some changes in the schema, such as a terminological change from "active life" (*vita activa*) to "apostolic-active life" (*vita apostolico-activa*) the

[819] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 433-439.
[820] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 341-343. The schema is found in AS III, VII, 143-157.
[821] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 342.
[822] AS III, VII, 437.
[823] AS III, VII, 437-439.
[824] AS III, VII, 660.

granting of greater canonical powers to Superiors and the clarification of the juridical consequences of assimilation between orders and congregations.[825]

The schema was very important to the Fathers, so after the debate 14,000 *modi* were sent for study to the Commission. The enormous number of *modi* was a reflection of the Fathers' dissatisfaction with the schema and their varied and contradictory perspectives on the issue of religious life.[826] The Peruvian Fathers signed a total of 121 *modi*, which pointed out different and diverse topics, starting with the title, the preface and 15 out of 20 articles.

Discrepancies and different approaches to the issue of renewal and adaptation of religious life were also shared by the Peruvian Fathers. At the level of approaches, Kaiser – founder of the Missionary Sisters of Jesus the Word and Victim in Caravelí (Peru) in 1961 – requested that the expression "accommodated in the Spirit of renewal" (*accommodatae in Spiritu renovationis*) be included in the preface, because "all religious renewal comes from the Holy Spirit."[827] Kaiser wanted to emphasise the pneumatological and spiritual dimension of the process of renewal and adaptation of the religious institutes. From a Church-centred perspective and the uniqueness of the religious vocation, also in the preface, a group of Peruvian Fathers signed a *modus* underlining the unique value of religious life for the Church as an expression of the fullness of the evangelical counsels, a sign of the perfection of the Church and of its apostolate, as a life associated "with Christ in his holocaust."[828]

At the level of discrepancies, a group of Peruvian Fathers wanted to emphasise the role and autonomy of the Superiors as the leaders of the renewal and adaptation process of their religious institutes.[829] Florentino Armas, in the same vein, also emphasised the authority of the Superiors in the whole process of renewal and adaptation. He also proposed a list of six characteristics of Superiors: (1) They had the office of teaching, sanctifying and governing their subjects; (2) Guardians and interpreters of the spirit of their institute; (3) Administrators in the name of God and the Church of the vow of obedience; (4) Supporters of their subjects so that they may be beautiful, fit and healthy members of the Body of Christ; (5) They contribute to the purpose of the Institute, missions, education of the young, etc., and they collaborate with other authorities of the Church who are responsible for the Institute, and groups working for the Kingdom of Christ; and (6) Executors and directors of the adaptation and renewal of their religious Institute.[830]

Kaiser, who also signed the *modus* on the importance of the authority, sent two *modi* on this issue. Completing and nuancing his stance, he demanded that the process of adaptation should involve the religious men and women members of the institute. The German prelate quoted St Benedict's Rule to indicate that cooperation in adapted renovation should not be the mere execution of rules given by superiors. Members of religious institutes should be consulted in the process of renewal and adaptation.[831]

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[825] AS III, VII, 661-662.
[826] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 180.
[827] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 196, fasc. 4, f. 148.
[828] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 195, fasc. 2, ff. 16 (Arroyo), 89 (Fedders), 120 (Laberge), 165 (Rodríguez Ballón), 271 (Olázar), 326 (Roig), 327 (Gauci), 329 (Armas), 332 (Metzinger), 340 (De Hornedo).
[829] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 196, fasc. 6, ff. 25 (Fedders), 87 (Roig), 88 (Gauci), 90 (Armas), 94 (Metzinger), 104 (De Hornedo), 113 (Laberge), 202 (Rodríguez Ballón), 257 (Landázuri), 266 (Olázar); busta 197, fasc. 9, ff. 40 (Kaiser), 103 (Rodríguez Gamoneda).
[830] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 197, fasc. 9, f. 553.
[831] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 197, fasc. 8, f. 362; fasc. 9, f. 311.

Table 16. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae*

Peruvian Father	Title	Proemium	Article 1	Article 2	Article 3	Article 4	Article 5	Article 6	Article 7	Article 8	Article 9	Article 10	Article 11	Article 12	Article 13	Article 16	Article 20	Total
Florentino Armas	1	1	1		1	1	1	1		2			1				1	**11**
Valeriano Arroyo		1				1	1	1		2			1				1	**8**
Edward Fedders		1	1			1	1	1		1			1				1	**8**
Joseph Laberge		1	1			1	1	2		1			2				1	**10**
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón		1	1			1	1	1		2							1	**8**
Elías Olázar		1	1			1	1	1					1				1	**7**
Damian Roig		1	1			1				1			1					**5**
Redentor Gauci		1	1			1	1	1		1			1				1	**8**
Lucien Metzinger		1	1			1	1	1		1			1				1	**8**
Antonio de Hornedo		1	2			1	1	1		1			1					**8**
Juan Landázuri Ricketts		1	1			1	2	1					1			1	1	**9**
Friedrich Kaiser		1	1	3	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	1	3	1	1		1	**23**
Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda				1			1	1					2					**5**
Nevin Hayes						1	1	1										**3**
Total	**1**	**12**	**12**	**4**	**2**	**13**	**15**	**15**	**1**	**15**	**1**	**1**	**16**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**10**	**121**

On the traditional division of religious life into contemplative and active, 12 Peruvian Fathers were in favour of maintaining it. Citing Luke and St Thomas, they also proposed to recognise the value of the contemplative life for the growth of the Church and the salvation of human beings, against the voices who defended the primacy of active life over contemplative life.[832] They agreed with Landázuri's stance on the issue developed in the debate of 1964. Kaiser, again tempering his agreement with the division, recognised the need to overcome the division of religious life into contemplative and active, since consecrated life was born of baptism and was realised in religious profession. In other words, it could be expressed in different ways.[833] On this question, the final draft of the schema proposed five sections to deal with the various forms of religious life: institutes of contemplative life, institutes of active life, monastic life, forms of lay religious life and secular institutes.[834]

The schema was a compromise document between two different doctrinal positions. The first understood religious life in terms of a state of perfection according to Aquinas' theology and canonical provisions of CIC 1917. The second emphasised the freedom, diversity and effective service of religious life to the contemporary world. To reach this aim, the renewal of religious life was necessary.[835] The Peruvian Fathers participated in this compromise because they acknowledged the importance of renewal, while had a traditional vision of religious life within the theology of perfection.

The enormous amount of *modi* were analysed and resolved during the first months of 1965. On 16th September, the schema was distributed among the Fathers, who had many reasons to be dissatisfied. It was impossible to gather together the Fathers' different and contradictory perspectives.[836] Although the difficulties on the issue, the final draft of *De accommodata renovatione vitae religiosae* was voted between 6th and 11th October. The decree *Perfectae caritatis* was approved and promulgated on 28th October 1965, together with the decrees *Christus Dominus* and *Optatam totius*, and the declarations *Gravissimum educationis* and *Nostra aetate*.

4. Conclusion

The study of the Peruvian Fathers' participation in the debate on the Church and its doctrine – *ad intra* topics – shed light on the diverse doctrinal positioning of the Peruvian episcopate in the *aula*. The doctrinal development of Vatican II provoked reactions of resistance, adaptation and support among the Peruvian Fathers. These doctrinal reactions were display through individual and collective interventions, and the *modi* and their networks. These sources are evidence of the doctrinal stances and evolution of the Peruvian bishops and prelates. This chapter sheds light on the nature of networks forged during the conciliar debate, the use and interpretation made by the Fathers of the tradition, magisterium and conciliar developments to support their doctrinal positioning, and also to assess the learning process of the Peruvian Fathers during the debate.

1. On the nature of networks. Episcopal networks to support, oppose or object to conciliar doctrinal developments were important for the Peruvian Fathers' interventions. Only a few

[832] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 199, fasc. 14, 50 (Metzinger), 83 (Olázar), 105 (Kaiser), 165 (Arroyo), 194 (Hayes), 200 (Fedders), 225 (Landázuri), 237 (De Hornedo), 287 (Laberge), 374 (Rodríguez Ballón), 388 (Gauci), 389 (Armas).
[833] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 199, fasc. 13, 336.
[834] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 180. The schema is found in AS IV, III, 581-597. It is striking that the schema was organised according to the institutions of religious life and not according to the persons who received the call to religious life and whose vocation fitted into the different types of institutions.
[835] Sandra Schneiders, "Religious Life (*Perfectae Caritatis*)," in *Modern Catholicism. Vatican II and After*, ed. Adrian Hastings (London, New York: SPCK, Oxford University Press, 1991), 157.
[836] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 180.

number of them sent individual observations. The Peruvian bishops' and prelates' networks were linked to their religious institutes, national belonging, or common doctrinal and pastoral interests. For instance, Kaiser, a German prelate of Caravelí, regularly joined the proposals of German-speaking bishops of the Fulda group to defend the ecclesiological and doctrinal developments of *Lumen gentium* and *Dei Verbum*. Thus, in Rome Kaiser joined Döpfner's and Schick's interventions in the *aula* defending the conciliar developments.

In the debate on the permanent diaconate, bishops Mariano Valdivia and Florencio Coronado CSsR supported the proposal. Peruvian Redemptorist Coronado joined the intervention of Bolivian archbishop Maurer, also a Redemptorist. Fourteen other Redemptorist bishops supported the intervention in favour of the diaconate for married men because of pastoral needs and the lack of priests in rural areas of the continent. At first glance, it looked like a religious stance on the issue, but Carlos Jurgens CSsR, archbishop of Cusco – a largely rural territory – did not join the intervention. However, the supporting intervention revealed a clear pastoral and doctrinal concern of many Latin American Fathers regarding the pastoral situation in the rural areas of Latin America, as was also expressed in Talamás' intervention, which was joined by Valdivia. Therefore, the Peruvian Fathers joined different the networks to express their doctrinal positioning,.

2. Interpretation of tradition, magisterium and conciliar developments. An important element is the diverse interpretation given by the Fathers to the pre-conciliar doctrine, the magisterium, the doctrinal developments of *De Ecclesia* and the central themes of Vatican II such as the pastoral orientation and the ecumenical character of the Council. The interventions in the *aula* and the *modi* shed light in the use and interpretation of the ecclesial tradition to support, to criticise and to question the doctrinal developments of the Council. For example, Rodríguez Ballón recommended incorporating *De Ecclesia*'s theology of the episcopate in *De episcopis* without neglecting collegiality. The same affirmation was supported by Dammert, who joined Correa León's observation (Cúcuta, Colombia). The place of *De Beata* also showed the role of devotion which divided the *aula*. The Spanish missionary bishops of Peru defended a maximalist Mariology.

   The use and interpretation of Vatican I was also crucial to oppose episcopal collegiality. The many references of Vatican I found in the *modi* tried to nuance and limit the importance of collegiality. At the same time, these quotations sought to place the collegiality within tradition, that is to say the absolute primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

3. Vatican II as a learning process. Many Peruvian Fathers also experienced changes in their doctrinal and theological stances. For instance, on the schema on revelation, Dammert considered, before the beginning of the Council, that the doctrine of Trent, Vatican I and the papal magisterium did not seem to make a document on revelation necessary. He also endorsed the use of the Vulgate as a basis for any translation of the Bible into vernacular. Nevertheless, during the first intersession of 1963, Dammert sent a document qualifying chapter one as very scholastic, whether the expression "deeds of revelation" should be removed, and recommending to consider a more dynamic relationship between Scripture and the magisterium.

   Dammert's doctrinal turn is an example of how involvement in the *aula* provoked a doctrinal and theological transformation of the Fathers, both to support the conciliar development and to resist and even reject it. Other factors such as the pastoral context, membership of a religious institute and the ecclesiastical jurisdiction in charge of it were added to this turn in the conciliar experience.

Therefore, the doctrinal developments of Vatican II provoked among the Peruvian Fathers a complex process of reception of the new doctrinal formulations developed during the conciliar

years. The consolidation of the new doctrine and theology on the themes *ad intra* was not a linear process, but a complex one, with doctrinal supports, rejections and resistances, such as those received by the collegiality, the doctrine of revelation or the role of the episcopal conferences. During this four-year process, the Peruvian Fathers joined different networks, supported the use of the ecclesial tradition to defend, limit and reject doctrinal developments, and improved their theological knowledge. Some of them progressively joined the doctrinal developments, while others tried to limit and reject them. Thus, the development of doctrine at Vatican II provoked a complex doctrinal experience among the Peruvian Fathers that is expressed in their networks, interventions and *modi*.

CHAPTER V. THE CHURCH *AD EXTRA*: THE PERUVIAN REACTIONS TO THE DOCTRINAL DEVELOPMENT ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

The discussion on the *ad extra* themes: the missionary nature of the Church and the relationship between the Church and the world were crucial for the broadening of the understanding of the Church and her sacramental presence in the world. This chapter analyses the theological and doctrinal reactions of the Peruvian bishops and prelates during the drafting of the documents *Unitatis redintegratio*, *Orientalium ecclesiarum*, *Ad gentes*, *Gaudium et spes*, *Dignitatis humanae*, *Nostra aetate* and *Gravissimum educationis*. In this process, the Peruvian bishops and prelates adopted attitudes of support and resistance that arose from their theological formation, their idea of the Church and the learning process they had undergone at the Council.

The chapter is organised into five sections. The first section deals with the debate on ecumenism and the Eastern Catholic Churches. The second section deals with the theological reaction of the Peruvian Fathers to the drafting process of *Ad gentes*. Peruvian prelates and bishops from many missionary jurisdictions participated in the debate. The theme of the document was therefore relevant for many Peruvian Fathers, who presented their ideas on mission from the pastoral, doctrinal and canonical perspectives. The debate moved between a traditional view of mission as *plantatio ecclesiae* and an integral view of mission as a constitutive dimension for the Church and all her members.

The third section deals with the debate on *Gaudium et spes*, which generated heated debates because of the specificity of the issues involved and the different perspectives for studying them. Because of the variety of topics, the bishops could recognise a problem or a challenge in one of the issues. The fourth part studies the Peruvian stances regarding the religious freedom and dialogue with non-Christians. Finally, the fifth section deals with the topic of Catholic education. All these themes produced reactions between resistance, a return to unionism and a positive view of possible dialogue with other Christian denominations and religions.

These documents belong to the theme of the kind of relationship with the world that the Church wanted to propose. These documents generated profound differences among the Council Fathers because of the novelty of the topics and the diverse theological and methodological approaches. Therefore, in these documents, the Church, while being situated in history, reflected on the form of dialogue with the world, other Christian confessions and non-Christian religions. These documents delineated a method for these complex relationships. For many Fathers, including the Peruvian Fathers, these debates were a doctrinal watershed between support, reaction and distrust of the Council's ecclesiological development.

1. Expanding the borders of the idea of Catholicism: The Debate on Ecumenism and the Eastern Catholic Churches.

1.1. The Debate on *De Oecumenismo* and the Fear of Proselytism

The schema *De oecumenismo* had a difficult genesis because of the recognition of the specific competence of the SCUF,[837] the claim of the TC for exclusive theological competences,

[837] On the origin, competences and method of work of the Secretariat for Promoting the Unity of Christians, see: Komonchak, "La lucha por el concilio," 245-249.

and the difficult relation with the Commission for Oriental Churches.[838] During the meetings between 10th to 18th May 1963, the SCUF drafted the schema which was presented to the Fathers on 18th November. The core of this schema circled around John XXIII's disposition towards ecumenical dialogue and the idea of a Church which wanted to talk to her "separated brethren."[839]

The debate lasted until 2nd December 1963. Two directions could be distinguished. The first one, defended the idea of a Counter-Reformational approach, which considered Christian unity as the return of the "others" to the Catholic Church. Next to the return-model, others defended the idea that the Gospel message and the demands of the contemporary world should be read as calls for a common witness to the Christian faith.[840]

On 18th November, the Council Fathers received a booklet with 192 amendments to the first four chapters of the schema.[841] During the first intersession, the Fathers sent observations on the structure, the relationship with the schema on the Oriental Churches, the notion of Catholic ecumenism and other topics.[842] Only Dammert prepared two observations to the schema which were also included in the booklet. Regarding the structure of the schema, 11 Central-Eastern African Fathers, Maurice Baudoux (Canada) and Dammert demanded the merger of the second part of the schema *De Ecclesiis Orientalibus* into the schema *De oecumenismo*. They wanted only one schema *De oecumenismo*.[843]

De Uriarte was the only Peruvian Father who intervened in this first debate. He began telling that he had arrived 58 years ago in Peru to study in the Missionary College *De Propaganda Fide* Santa María de los Ángeles of Lima, the Franciscan missionary college for South American. Hence, for several years the theological schools and discussions had been far from the vicar. In the schema, the word "ecumenism" (*oecumenismus*) had many senses. The word came from the term "oecumene" which meant "all the earth inhabited" or "all humankind." Thus, for instance, "we are in an ecumenical Council which wants to say: in a council of the entire world, or in the name of all the Churches of the world."[844]

Therefore, according to De Uriarte, it was possible to speak about the ecumenism of God, of Christ, of Mary, of the Apostles, of the bishops, of the priests and all of us. He developed each of these different dimensions of ecumenism. For instance, the ecumenism of God was based on the fact that God created all humankind being the Father of all human beings. For the ecumenism of Christ, his mission to redeem all humankind, the vicar asked whether it was truly ecumenical. The same case applied for the ecumenism of Mary because she was the Mother of all human beings, including the unbelievers and all humankind.[845] In conclusion, for De Uriarte, the term "ecumenism" *in De Oecumenismo Ecclesiae* was synonymous with "universalism," and therefore

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[838] On the difficult relation between both conciliar bodies, see: Peter De Mey, "The Difficult Cooperation Between the Secretariat for Christian Unity and the Oriental Commission in the Preparation of *De Oecumenismo*. December 1962 – November 1963," in *Res Opportunae Nostrae Aetatis. Studies on the Second Vatican Counil Offered to Mathijs Lamberigts*, ed. Dries Bosschaert and Johan Leemans (Leuven: Peeters, 2020), 245-275.

[839] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 394-400. For the ecumenical issue, the schema consisted of three chapters. A fourth chapter was on the Jews, and a fifth chapter on the religious freedom. See: Claude Soetens, "El compromiso ecuménico de la Iglesia católica," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen III. El Concilio maduro. El segundo periodo y la segunda intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2006), 233.

[840] Soetens, "El compromiso ecuménico," 234.

[841] The amendments are in AS II, V, 442-467

[842] Soetens, "El compromiso ecuménico," 233.

[843] AS II, V, 443, 460, 890.

[844] AS II, V, 629. "Nos hic sumus in Concilio oecumenico quod vult dicere: in concilio universae terrae, seu omnium ecclesiarum mundi nomine."

[845] AS II, V, 629-631.

applicable to the membership to the Catholic Church. Hence, it was redundant when the schema used the term "Catholic ecumenism" (*oecumenismus catholicus*) because it was "universal universalism" (*universalismus universalis*). Therefore, chapter one of the schema should be entitled: "On the principles of the ecumenism of the Church, which was founded to save all nations, this is truly ecumenical."[846] Thus, De Uriarte's idea of ecumenism was the return of all Christians to the communion with the Catholic Church, the only "founded to save all nations." Yves Congar recalled that De Uriarte's intervention made everyone laughing – although he disagreed to laugh at an old person – because the vicar developed the idea that everything was ecumenical.[847]

De Uriarte's statement belonged to the Counter-Reformation position related to ecumenism. From his very basic theological perspective, Uriarte, as many other Fathers, considered as the ultimate meaning of ecumenism the return of every Christian confession and everyone to the Catholic Church. This doctrinal position did not prevail, and the SCUF advanced preparing a new schema during the second intersession.

During the third session, the schema *De oecumenismo* received some written observations and also *modi*. A large group of Latin American bishops and prelates, among them Florentino Armas, sent a critical observation regarding the applicability of the schema in the continent. The Fathers prepared the observation "with great concern for our pastoral conscience burdened with the present and future" of the Church in Latin America. They "wish that this Sacrosanct Council would explicitly endorse the benefit for the true progress of ecumenism by clearly exposing Catholic doctrine to the faithful in the face of proselytism among Catholics induced by certain denominations of separated brethren."[848] They exposed that every year around 400,000 Catholic faithful became Protestants and many Protestant denominations (*denominationes*) or "sects" attacked the doctrine, organization and life of the Catholic Church. These denominations called these activities "proselytism."[849]

The Latin American bishops' *animadversio* was prepared by the Latin American Committee for the Defense of the Faith (CLAF),[850] a sort of secretariat of the CELAM. The CLAF, which president was Felipe Santiago Benítez (bishop of Villarrica, Paraguay), also prepared its own observation for the schema. The CLAF asked to introduce a paragraph to article 24 in the same terms: to be cautious of proselytism, using improper and dishonest means, made by the communities of separated brethren among Catholics in regions, where a clear exposition of the Catholic doctrine was needed. The *votum* continued exposing the problem of "sects," which the schema avoided although the peril of confusion in doctrinal and practical terms was clearly present. It also pointed out that the "sects" used schools and also social, cultural and sport associations like YMCA for proselytism. The *votum* ended requesting to deal with the problem of "sects" in the schema or at least to include it in the future "Ecumenical Directory."[851]

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[846] AS II, V, 631.
[847] Yves Congar, *Mon Journal du Concile.* Vol. I. Edited by Eric Mahieu (Paris: Cerf, 2002), 554-555. The moderator requested De Uriarte to focus on the notion of ecumenism of the schema, but the vicar continued his statement. AS II, V, 629.
[848] AS III, II, 914. The observation briefly addressed *De libertate religiosa*, because it was understood as a part of *De oecumenismo*.
[849] AS III, II, 914.
[850] The CLAF was established in 1959, as a recommendation made by the CELAM Conference in Río de Janeiro in 1955. The CLAF had the purpose to study, gather information and execute actions in Latin America to preserve the Catholic faith against the non-Catholic movements, mainly Communism, Protestantism, Spiritism, Masonry and superstitions. In 1964, the Committee agreed to present a *modus* on ecumenism in Latin America, and also an observation to be signed by the Latin American bishops. See: Patricio Merino-Beas, "El diálogo ecuménico animado desde el Celam," *Theologica Xaveriana* 67, n. 184 (2017): 391-392.
[851] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 8, f. 24, 3. The *votum* prepared in Rome and submitted on 8th October 1964.

The schema *De oecumenismo* did not address, the observation argued, the particular situation of the Catholic Church in Latin America and the relationship with Protestant denominations. For the Fathers, the schema could produce a great confusion in doctrinal and practical terms for the Catholic faith, within a context in which the Protestant proselytism had grave effects for the Church in Latin America. Therefore, the bishops and prelates asked for a suspension of the application of the schema considering the historical moment of the situation and pastoral action of the Church in Latin America. They finally requested that the schema include a section on Protestant "denominations." If it was not possible to include them in the schema, at least pastoral criteria and regulations for dealing with them should be included in the *Directorio Oecumenismo* prepared by the SCUF. This was the wish of many bishops. In conclusion, true ecumenism (*verus Oecumenismus*) was the growth of the Church militant in Latin America.[852]

The schema was voted between 5th to 8th October. After the vote, the SCUF studied the *modi*. Seven Peruvian Fathers joined a total of 52 *modi* addressing the three ecumenical chapters of the schema. The Peruvian observations mainly focused on defending the primacy and divine authority of the Catholic Church in the ecumenical process. In their *modi*, the Peruvian Fathers usually called the "separated brethren" "dissidents."

On chapter one, the Jesuit De Hornedo – who always included in his *modi* the expression "placet iuxta modum" – recommended using the singular "Ecclesia," and not the plural "Ecclesiae" to highlight the unity and uniqueness of the Church. De Hornedo quoted different texts from the New Testament to defend his cause. He also quoted the report prepared by Lukas Vischer, Swiss Reformed Observer at Vatican II, to the World Council of Churches. The report had been published in the journal *Istina* in 1963. De Hornedo highlighted that Vischer's report criticised that the Council used "dissident expressions," like the plural "Churches," but keeping the Catholic mind against "dissidents."[853] De Hornedo used Vischer's report to point out only the Swiss observer's critique of the traditional understandings of ecumenism made by conservative theologians during the first session of Vatican II.[854] De Hornedo's use of Vischer's report is puzzling, as he highlighted the criticism of ecumenical unionism as another reason to defend the unity and oneness of the Catholic Church.

De Hornedo and Arroyo demanded the recognition that the jurisdiction of the true Church also extend to the ministry of dissidents. They quoted CIC 209, "in a common error or possible and probable doubt, the Church supplies jurisdiction."[855] In the same vein, Ariz rejected the idea that all baptised were in certain communion with the Catholic Church because this opposed Tradition. Besides, after the declaration of the primacy of the Roman Pontiff, a person who was not in communion with the Supreme Pontiff were "truly separated from the communion of the Church."[856] Also to safeguard papal primacy, Sánchez-Hornedo requested a redactional change of the phrase:

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[852] AS III, II, 915.

[853] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 1, f. 12. De Hornedo quoted Vischer's Report published in *Istina* 4 (1963): 460-474.

[854] Vischer's report on the first session of Vatican II remarked that the word "ecumenism" became soon, together with "pastoral", one of the key terms in the debates. However, he nuanced that also the most conservative theologians had spoken of ecumenism, or as an exposition of the truth without ambiguity and accommodations to those of a different faith, or in an 'irenic' sense where the spirit of polemic is replaced by that of friendliness. He emphasised De Smedt's definition of ecumenism, which took the problem of truth seriously. He proposed the method of dialogue to show an understandable truth to the dialogue partners in order to arrive at a moment when the dialogue partner would also confess that truth as his own. See: Lukas Vischer, "III. Rapport du Pasteur Lukas Vischer sur la première session du second Concile du Vatican," *Istina* 4 (1963): 465-466.

[855] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 5, ff. 1 (De Hornedo), 92 (Arroyo)

[856] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 5, f. 39.

"namely to the one Apostolic College over which Peter presides" to "namely to Peter and the Apostolic College with him."[857]

Fathers De Hornedo and Arroyo criticised the inclusion in the first chapter of an issue discussed among Fathers and theologians, namely the idea of a sinful and worldly Church. For others, the sins of the Church were in reality the sins of her children. They then asked to avoid the schema defining an unresolved issue and to respect teachings of St Ambrose and St Augustine, as well as Pius XII's *Mystici Corporis*.[858] Finally, on chapter one, Arroyo, Ariz and De Hornedo qualified as "false irenicism" (*falsus irenismus*) the vision of the Catholic Church as only bounded to the apostolate of reconciliation among Christians. The Church could not renounce her active diffusion of the Gospel, because this attitude was a sincere one towards the separated brethren. Besides, a passive apostolate with other Christians could lead to a decrease of conversions to the Catholic Church, "which is against the will of the Lord, who wants to become one flock" (*id quod est contra voluntatem Domini, qui vult unum gregem fieri*).[859] Hence, the Fathers required an active evangelisation, even among the other Christian communities.

On chapter two, a main concern was the notion of the renewal of the Church. For De Hornedo, the title of article 6 "De renovatione Ecclesiae" should be change to "de renovatione in Ecclesia." For the Jesuit prefect, the Church herself, "as a divine institution of salvation, must be said completely divine and irreformable." To reinforce his position, De Hornedo pointed to the title of Yves Congar's book *Vrais et fausse réforme dans l'Église* and not *réforme de l'Église*. He also referred to a quote to John XXIII's *Ad Petri Cathedram* in the same chapter to assert that renewal referred to "the behaviour of the Christian people."[860] Therefore, for De Hornedo, any kind of renewal referred to ecclesiastical discipline. Javier Ariz, with the same caution, proposed to change the expression "hanc perennem reformationem" to "hanc perennem renovationem." The term "reformation" gave the impression that the Catholic renewal should follow the path of the Protestant reformation.[861]

De Hornedo y Ariz also questioned article 7 (*De conversione cordis*) because it seemed that the Church shared the guilt of separation. The heretic or schismatic sin was not the responsibility of the Catholic Church. They proposed to delete this reference for pastoral reason – the risk of confusion among Catholic faithful and indifferentism. To defend their position, the Fathers pointed out that in *De Iudaeis*, the declaration acknowledged that the Jews of today were not guilty of the death of Jesus. Hence, they asked why the Church today should take the blame for the past actions of Luther and other reformers.[862]

Ariz, defending the authority of the magisterium, proposed that article 9, referring to experts involved in ecumenical dialogue, should include that these "experts" must be "obedient to the principles and norms established for this matter by the Church." The vicar based his position on the Instruction *De motione oecumenica* issued on 20th December 1949, in which it was said that the "experts" who participated in ecumenical meetings should be obedient to the magisterium.[863]

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[857] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 5, f. 109.
[858] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 6, ff. 33 (De Hornedo), 34 (Arroyo).
[859] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 7, ff. 52 (Arroyo), 64 (Ariz), 84 (De Hornedo).
[860] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 173, fasc. 10, f. 18.
[861] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 174, fasc. 1, f. 99.
[862] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 174, fasc. 3, ff. 12 (De Hornedo), 35 (Ariz).
[863] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 175, fasc. 4, f. 2. The Instruction *De motione oecumenica* warned against an "irenic spirit" and the peril of indifferentism. The document establishes a clear regulation for mixed meetings and conferences between Catholics and non-Catholics. The bishop, who was responsible for granting permission for such meetings, must send a report to the Holy Office detailing the topics, the participants and the persons who prepared the reports. See: Peter De Mey, "Précurseur du Secrétariat pour l'unité: le travail oecuménique de la 'Conférence catholique pour les questions oecuméniques' (1952-1963)," in *La théologie*

Ariz also demanded that article 12, on cooperation with separated brothers, be redrafted because it seemed to state that cooperation was only for developed countries. In concrete terms, Ariz said, undeveloped nations needed cooperation on all kinds of issues, including cooperation with non-Catholics.[864]

Chapter three dealt with the Churches and ecclesial communities separated from the Apostolic Roman See. Regarding the Eastern Churches, De Hornedo and Ariz signed a *modus* which demanded the elimination in article 15 of the phrase "apostolic succession" applying to those Churches. The *modus* remarked that the separated Orientals (*orientales separatos*) did not have apostolic succession, because they were schismatic and were not in communion with the successor of Peter.[865] In the same vein, Ariz, together with the Aniceto Fernández, Master of the Order of Preachers, and Pedro Torres OP (Catamarca, Argentina), rejected the assertion that there were two theologies of the same force and complementary to each other: the Eastern theology and Western theology (*illa orientalium et theologia Occidentis*). For the Fathers, although the Eastern theology could have many good things, there were many false and unfounded theories. This latter assertion could refer to the post schism Eastern theology. Besides, they asserted that the best of the ancient Eastern theology of the Ancient Fathers had almost completely passed over to make up one theology of the West. All the best Eastern tradition had been incorporated into the Western theology with the help of St Thomas Aquinas. Hence, there were not two complementary theologies.[866]

In the section on ecclesial communities, Ariz and De Hornedo, taking into account their perspective of the Latin American context, proposed to add a paragraph to article 19 stressing that "the ecumenical spirit and peace among the different religious confessions" would only be possible if these communities abandoned "proselytism" among people, including economic proselytism. Mainly in areas where Christ had been preached, because proselytism produced confusion among the people and encouraged religious indifferentism. The *modus* concluded that the ecumenical spirit was impossible with Protestant proselytism.[867] Ariz also sent a *modus* on the same article requesting to add that the discrepancies were not only related to the interpretation of the revelated truth but also of the constitution of the Church.[868] Also remarking the difference, De Hornedo demanded that article 22 explicitly said that "Protestants" did not preserve the Eucharistic reality because it contradicted their beliefs. Hence, asserting that they "have not preserved the full reality of the Eucharist" was an irenic position, which the schema itself rejected.[869]

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catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau. La réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II, ed. Gilles Routhier, Philippe J. Roy and Karim Schelkens (Louvain-la-Neuve and Leuven: Collège Érasme, Maurits Sabbebibliotheek, 2011), 272-273; Saretta Marotta, "The 'Controlled Growth' of Catholic Ecumenism under the Holy See of Pius XII: From Amsterdam 1948 to the *Instructio Ecclesia Catholica*," in *A History of the Desire for Christian Unity. Ecumenism in the Churches (19th-21st Century). Volume II. Paths towards Communion*, ed. Alberto Melloni and Luca Ferracci (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2024), 545-573.

[864] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 175, fasc. 6, f. 11.

[865] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 2, ff. 22 (De Hornedo), 83 (Ariz). The *modus* was also endorsed by Marcel Lefebvre, Antonio de Castro Mayer, Aniceto Fernández OP, Raúl Silva Henríquez SDB, Giuseppe Pizzardo, and other members of the minority.

[866] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 3, f. 8.

[867] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 4, ff. 44 (Ariz), 87 (De Hornedo).

[868] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 4, f. 95.

[869] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 176, fasc. 4, f. 104. The extract from article 22 said: "[…] plenam realitatem Eucharistiae non servaverint, tamen, dum in Sancta Coena mortis et resurrectionis Domini memoriam faciunt, vitam in Christi communione significari profitentur atque gloriosum Eius adventum exspectant." See: AS III, II, 315.

Table 17. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De oecumenismo*

Peruvian Father	Chapter one	Chapter two	Chapter three	Total
Antonio De Hornedo	9	8	6	**23**
Javier Ariz	2	8	6	**16**
Valeriano Arroyo	8			**8**
Teodosio Moreno		1	1	**2**
Luis Sánchez-Moreno	1			**1**
Ignacio Arbulú Pineda		1		**1**
Alcides Mendoza		1		**1**
Total	**20**	**19**	**13**	**52**

1.2. The Peruvian Interventions on De Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis

The Oriental Catholic Churches were a discovery for many Peruvian Fathers. During the first intersession, the Conciliar Commission never gathered. There were also some pressures for a latinisation of the Oriental Churches which were firmly resisted by the Oriental Catholic Fathers, led by the Patriarch Maximos IV.[870] During the intersession of 1963 and up to October 1964, a group of Fathers sent their written observations on the schema *De Ecclesiis orientalibus*.[871] On 11th July 1963, from his see Cajamarca, Dammert sent a short written observation. The Peruvian Father commented on article 6. This item recommended that the Latin Rite Orders and Congregations, which worked among Eastern faithful, should establish houses and provinces in Eastern regions. For Dammert, this recommendation was not enough, because the Orders and Congregations working among Eastern faithful must establish Oriental provinces in those regions. On the mixed marriages, Dammert criticised the restrictive approach to mixed marriages, mainly for non-baptised Catholics, because marriage was considered valid.[872]

During the second intersession, considering the observations and emendations, and according to the Döpfner Plan, the Commission reduced the schema to 29 articles. The new text was sent to the Fathers on 27th April 1964.[873] During the third session, the Fathers presented their *modi* to the schema *De Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis*. Although, the Oriental Catholics were a distant topic for the Peruvian Fathers, they joined nine *modi* addressing very different topics.[874]

Table 18. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De Ecclesiis orientalibus Catholicis*

Peruvian Father	n. 4	nn. 7-11	n. 20	n. 25	Total
Dámaso Laberge	1				1
Javier Ariz	1			1	2

[870] Melloni, "El comienzo del segundo," 39.
[871] On 12th April 1963, the schema was approved for sending it to the Fathers by John XXIII. The schema is in AS III, V 743-758.
[872] AS III, V, 783.
[873] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 341.
[874] The analysis of the *modi* and the schema *De Ecclesiis Orientalibus Catholicis* are in AS III, VIII, 556-620.

Edward Fedders	1				1
Gustave Prevost	1				1
Valeriano Arroyo	1				1
Antonio De Hornedo	1				1
Alcides Mendoza		1	1		2
Total	**6**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**9**

On article four, the Peruvian Fathers joined a similar *modus* that emphasised the freedom of non-baptised Catholics converted to Catholicism to choose the rite, without recourse to the Holy See.[875] The schema proposed that Orthodox converted to Catholicism should be incorporated into one of the Oriental Catholic rites, except in particular cases, in which recourse had to be made to the Apostolic See. Ariz added two reasons for his *modus*. The first one recalled the contradiction against the previous Catholic practice, which gave freedom to non-Catholics to choose the rite. The second pointed out the contradiction against "human freedom, which is now so much insisted upon," and even more so against freedom in spiritual matters. In this way, Ariz echoed the discussions on religious freedom.[876]

On the section on the Oriental Patriarchs, Mendoza proposed that a Patriarch should be matched in dignity and honour to the Cardinals of the Roman Church.[877] Finally, Ariz, together with Aniceto Fernández and Torres, prepared a *modus* requesting that every Eastern cleric who came back to the Catholic Church should practice their own ecclesiastical function with the approval of the ordinary, who gave the cleric the jurisdiction. The *modus* asserted that the canonical jurisdiction and mission of every clergy were derived from the bishop.[878]

2. The Debate on the Notion of Mission of the Church

The drafting process of *Ad gentes* started during the preparatory phase with the schema *De missionibus*. The Conciliar Commission *De missionibus* was linked to the Congregation *De Propaganda Fide*, which prefect, cardinal Gregorio Pietro Agagianian, was also president of the Commission. The fact that the president of the Conciliar Commission was also the Prefect of *De Propaganda* provoked much resistance among the Fathers who identified the interests of the Commission with those of the *Propaganda*.[879]

During the first period and first intersession, there were some reactions to the preparatory schema, regarding the different notions of missions and canonical problems related to *Propaganda*. For instance, in an "annotation" the Coordinating Commission proposed to eliminate the division between the jurisdiction governed by common law (under the Curial tribunals) and those governed

[875] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 170, fasc. 1, ff. 1 (Laberge), 24 (Ariz); fasc. 2, f. 8 (Fedders); fasc. 3, f. 1 (Prevost); fasc. 4, ff. 40 (Arroyo), 95 (De Hornedo). The entire busta 170 keeps the same *modus*. The *modus* was endorsed by almost the entire American episcopate, including Cardinals Meyer and Ritter.
[876] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 170, fasc. 1, f. 24.
[877] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 171, fasc. 4, f. 44.
[878] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 172, fasc. 4, f. 3.
[879] During the first intersession, Cardinal Agagianian usually chaired the Conciliar Commission and was asked for the official declarations of *Propaganda* regarding the notion of missions and the methods. Because the diversity of positions, the Commission never worked as a team. See: Suso Brechter, "Decree on the Church's Missionary Activity," in *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II. Volume IV*, ed. Herbert Vorgrimler (Herder and Herder: New York, 1969), 90-95.

by missionary law (under the *Propaganda*). The critique focused on freeing young Churches from a special status which was felt to be "colonialist."[880] The "annotation" of the Coordinating Commission showed one of the divisions regarding the understanding of mission: on one side, the Fathers who defended a more collegial and pastoral-grounded understanding of mission, and on the other side, a Roman centralized notion of missions under the *Propaganda Fide*.[881]

Furthermore, the schema showed two different understanding of the concept of missions. Both theological and canonical positions never reached an agreement during the debate and drafting of the schema. These positions were developed in the first half of the 20th century. On one side, the concept of missions held by the Münster school (J. Schmidlin) had a Christocentric approach which emphasised the proclamation of the gospel, the conversion of humankind and the salvation of the souls of non-Christians. On the other side, the curial-canonist concept of missions (Pierre Charles and A. Seumois) stressed the implantation of the Church (*plantatio Ecclesiae*) understood as the establishment of the hierarchy, the foundation of particular native Churches and the winning-over of non-Catholics. This latter perspective were ecclesiocentric and territorial in character.[882]

In Cajamarca, on 22nd March, 1964, an observation written by José Dammert was sent to the Conciliar Commission *De missionibus*. Dammert was very critical of the schema because "it displays very general principles that do not constitute an ascending progress on the lines drawn from Benedict XV to John XXIII."[883] The bishop recommended to split the schema in two parts. The first two chapters of the schema (chapter one On the doctrinal principles and chapter two General reason of the missionary apostolate) should be included in *De Ecclesia*, and the other two chapters (chapter three On the missionary formation and chapter four On the missionary cooperation) should join *De episcopis ac de dioecesium regimine*.

As a lawyer and bishop of a rural diocese, Dammert criticised the "paternalistic" perspective of the schema and the missionary law, which should be integrated into the common law of the Church. This critique pointed out the *Propaganda*. He indicated that "the current delimitation between territories dependent on the Sacred Consistorial Congregation and the *Propaganda Fide* perhaps appears absurd. For example, Scandinavia and Australia being mission territories is absurd. Likewise in Peru there are Apostolic Vicariates in the Amazon jungle, regions that are mostly populated by Catholics, […] The legal differences established in favour of the mission territories are not explained".[884] As a bishop based in a rural diocese, Dammert's criticism was directed at the narrow concept of missions understood primarily in canonical terms and not from an ecclesiological approach.

Ariz also sent a *votum* in July 1964 in which he expressed his concern regarding the limits of a schema dealing with the complexity of the missionary activity of the Church. First, the vicar criticised the lack of "force" and "apostolic zeal" of the schema which "style" should be effective in promoting missionary work. Secondly, the vicar praised the "missionary obligation" of bishops, but he questioned the canonical authority of those bishops over their priests sent abroad in missionary territories missions. Ariz wondered "what authority is left to the missionary bishop?"[885] Thirdly, Ariz pointed out that the schema ignored the efforts and value of lay missionaries working in the missions, whose numbers were growing daily. Ariz indicated that they dedicated their lives to the service of the Church in various professional activities. In 1952, Ariz founded the Association

[880] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 417-420.
[881] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 421-422.
[882] Brechter, "Decree on the Church's," 118.
[883] AS, III, VI, 733. The place and the date are known because the original document is in AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 508, fasc. 8, ff. 29-30.
[884] AS, III, VI, 733.
[885] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 509, fasc. 3. De missionibus – animadversiones (luglio 1964), p. 256.

of Lay Missionaries (MISEMA) to attract lay missionaries to work in education.[886] In his vicariate, there were 68 lay missionaries, including doctors, nurses, engineers, teachers, architects, etc., celibate or married, of different nationalities, dedicated for life or for a period of time to the service of the Vicariate.[887]

Ariz rejected both the ecumenical perspective of the schema and the collaboration with non-Christians. The vicar affirmed that "if one of the foundations for ecumenism and religious liberty is, in the schema, the mature age of the actual human being and his present culture, it seems that the mental and psychological state of the people must be kept in mind in order to apply these principles." Hence, "for these primitive human beings who will stand in true human infancy, as are not a few of my vicarious tribes, it is evident that these general norms cannot be applied, and therefore the exercise and application of ecumenism must be left to the judgment and prudence of the Ordinary local or the Episcopal Conference."[888] For Ariz, and many other missionary Fathers, the rejection of ecumenism and interreligious dialogue was based on the fact that these principles were designed for the Western context, and not adapted to the different contextual conditions of other regions of the Catholic world. These concerns were largely displayed during the debate on the ecumenism.

During the second intersession, according to the Döpfner Plan, the schema was reduced to a schema of propositions. *De activitate missionali Ecclesiae* was drafted and introduced for the debate during the third period, between 6th and 9th November 1964.[889] However, from a theological and contextual perspective, the schema did not pay enough attention to the decolonization, the global dimension of problems as poverty and peace, and the ecclesiological criteria extracted from *De Ecclesia*.[890] The concept of mission referred to the traditional idea of expansion of Christianity in new regions, with a particular law and discipline under the *Propaganda Fide*. However, the majority of missionary bishops were against the *Propaganda Fide* and the consideration of missionary Churches as minor status Churches.[891] For instance, the *relationes ad limina* prepared by Scandinavian bishops and vicars to the *Propaganda* complained about the canonical and doctrinal limits of the traditional concept of missions.[892]

In 1964, the Peruvian Fathers intervened in the debate joining collective written observations with the exception of León de Uriarte, who sent his own written statement. The debate expressed the division between the classical concept of missions and a more comprehensive idea of mission, but also had many practical proposal for the missions.

On the classical understanding of missions, the Spanish Franciscan vicar, León de Uriarte proposed to change the title of the schema to "About mission and also about missionaries" (*De missionibus atque etiam de missionariis*), because "missionaries are the primary element and foundation of mission".[893] His statement was mainly a theological vindication of the missionary within a traditional understanding of mission. De Uriarte began by stating that the supreme

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[886] Jeffrey Klaiber, "Institutos religiosos en Perú, siglo XX (puesto al día de algunos datos al 2019)," in *Diccionario de Historia Cultural de la Iglesia en América Latina*, accessed on 8th January 2025, https://www.dhial.org/diccionario/index.php?title=INSTITUTOS_RELIGIOSOS_EN_PER%C3%9A;_Siglo_XX#cite_note-17.

[887] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 509, fasc. 3. De missionibus – animadversiones (luglio 1964), p. 257. Ariz pointed out that many lay missionaries came from Belgium, France, Spain, the United States, Canada and other nations.

[888] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 509, fasc. 3. De missionibus – animadversiones (luglio 1964), p. 261.

[889] The schema is found in AS III, VI, 327-336.

[890] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 335-336.

[891] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 308-310.

[892] Daiana Menti, "The Scandinavian Catholic Missions in the *relationes ad limina* to Propaganda Fide (1948-58)," *Journal of Modern and Contemporary Christianity*, 1 (12): 301-320.

[893] AS III, VI, 512.

example, the prototype and the first of all missionaries was Christ, who was sent by the Father to the world so that all men could be saved. And Christ entrusted the same to his apostles, which was why the greatest work of the Church was the mission. Under the model of the theology of *plantatio ecclesiae*, the vicar explained the development of a missionary Church: "every Church is founded by a missionary priest, and when the number of the faithful increases, a quasi-parish is founded and finally, with the quasi-parishes, the apostolic vicariate is founded, and lastly a diocese with the bishop."[894]

Aware of the accusation of colonialism and imperialism of missions, De Uriarte explained that the missionary "forgets his country, his manners and his customs, his own language if necessary, and learns from the beginning with all care and labour and so what is indispensable, the language of people, their liturgical songs and games, and all the other things which do not pertain to faith."[895] Thus, the missionary was a cosmopolite person whose name was missionary and surname Catholic. The supernatural life of missionary was also important since the mission was a supernatural work. The vicar concluded by stating that "missionary is the ignored soldier of the Church."[896] Therefore, for the vicar, the conciliar document should focus more on the missionaries and give them new strength to continue in their supernatural task.

A group of Fathers, among them the Peruvian bishop Ramírez Taboada, after consulting General Superiors and other bishops and regretting the reduction of the schema to propositions, proposed a modified schema of propositions.[897] The schema remained in the theology of *plantatio ecclesiae* as the main purpose of the missionary task of the Church. Christ's mandate to evangelise primarily concerned to the College of bishops with the Roman Pontiff, its head, and the missions should create new young Churches.[898]

A more comprehensive notion of mission was also supported by mainly the Peruvian prelates. Thus, the prelate bishop Fedders MM joined the written observation of John Jacob Rudin MM, bishop of Musona (Tanzania). It was a theological foundation for a new notion of mission because the "whole Church is missionary and the entire world is the missionary field."[899]

The observation proposed six reasons for a new approach to missions: (1) missions were universal as the Church was universal; (2) missionary jurisdictions under the *Propaganda Fide* did not fit with the contemporary reality like the territories in South America considered as missions because they received aid and missionaries; (3) the *Propaganda* was founded to attend territories where did not arrive Spanish and Portuguese missionaries; (4) the missionary mandate of Christ was universal and in the ancient Church, the bishops were responsible of the evangelization outside their jurisdictions; (5) Churches and communities separated from the Catholic Church worked with fervor; and, (6) the financial assistance should be globally coordinated to avoid conflicts.[900] The observation concluded asserting that "missionary preaching of the Gospel to all outside the borders of the faithful must be extended. The non-Christians of the world have the first place; thereafter, non-Catholic Christians; and also the neglected Catholics."[901]

A group of prelates *nullius* asked for a canonical re-organisation of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation to which the prelatures belonged. Among these group of prelates were Armas, Metzinger, Kaiser, Gauci, Kühner, Libardoni, McNabb and Roig. This group suggested to create a

[894] AS III, VI, 512.
[895] AS III, VI, 513.
[896] AS III, VI, 514.
[897] AS III, VI, 952.
[898] The alternative schema can be seen in AS III, VI, 953-966.
[899] AS III, VI, 606.
[900] AS III, VI, 606-607.
[901] AS III, VI, 607.

special section in the Consistorial Congregation to attend their particular missionary affairs such as the immigration and the apostolate of the sea.[902] Although their request kept within the classical structure of missionary work, these prelates sought to answer to their missionary challenges trying to adapt the ecclesial structure to the contemporary reality of missions. This tension between adaptation to the missionary context and the classical conception of mission was also an important feature of Peruvian interventions on the subject.

On the practical side, the prelate Nevin Hayes O. Carm. joined the observation of the Dutch missionary bishop Joannes De Reeper MHM (Kisumu, Kenya). The intervention was centred on the importance of collegiality in the missionary task of bishops. The statement began with the Gospel mandate "Go, and teach all nations" to indicate that this mandate given to the college of apostles was also given to their successors who constituted the college of bishops.[903] For De Reeper, the schema did not develop the consequences of collegiality for the mission of the Church at the practical level. This latter dimension meant that the formation of missionaries should be an essential action of dioceses which could share missionaries. Besides, an economic support coming from rich dioceses to poor dioceses was needed.[904] Therefore, De Reeper claimed for an explicit mention of collegiality in the schema highlighting its practical consequences for bishops and the missions.[905]

The French Jesuit Victor Sartre, titular archbishop of Beröe,[906] sent a written observation signed by the Jesuit missionary De Hornedo. The practical observation, regretting the reduction of the schema to propositions, placed the question of the education of the missionary clergy. Sartre, sensible to the issue of colonialism, proposed certain conditions for the education of the missionary clergy in the seminaries: (1) education in the customs and convictions of the people; (2) good selection of teachers and moderators; (3) promote the cultural formation of clergy; (4) implementation of good libraries and social medias; (5) adaptation of the educational methods to the region and ministerial needs because of the "pastoral reason of all education of priests;" and (6) preserve the continuing formation after completing the studies through meetings. The statement ended claiming for a new schema in which was included the education of clergy in the missions.[907]

During the third intersession, the schema was redrafted and sent to the Fathers for a new discussion in the *aula* during the fourth session of the Council, between 7th to 11th October, 1965. In the schema, the concept of mission still reminded the traditional expansion of the Christianism in new regions, the role of the *Propaganda Fide* was preserved and the main concern was focused on the organisation and funding of the young Churches. At the same time, many missionary bishops were against the *Propaganda* and its missionary structure and idea of mission. They wanted that their young Churches be recognised as full Churches.[908] The discussion on the new schema also had some critical points.

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[902] AS III, VI, 655.
[903] AS III, VI, 505.
[904] AS III, VI, 505-506.
[905] AS III, VI, 507. De Reeper's observation added a short list of proposals for the schema such as the necessity to distinguish between bishops, priests and religious people who were in a mission from the ones who were not. Also the observation claimed to delete the mention of ecumenism, for "this question is not specifically missionary." See: AS III, VI, 507-509.
[906] Sartre had been archbishop of Tananarive (Madagascar) until 1960. In the context of independence, he wrote a letter to John XXIII in 1959 voluntarily offering his resigning "to promote a priest from the country." See: Lucile Rabearimanana, "D'un christianisme missionnaire à un christianisme malgache (1940-1960)," in *Madagascar et le Christianisme*, ed. Bruno Hübsch (Paris: ACCT, Éditions Ambozontany Analamahitsy, Éditions Karthala, 1993), 386.
[907] AS III, VI, 607-609.
[908] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 308-310. The schema can be found in AS IV, III, 663-692.

Four individual interventions were made by Peruvian Fathers,[909] and a group of them participated in eight collective interventions. The Peruvian Fathers, while remaining divided between the defenders of a classical concept of mission and the promoters of an expanded notion of mission, intervened also on various practical topics such as lay missionaries, missionary priests, the reform of the *Propaganda*, among others. However, the Peruvian Fathers generally agreed with the idea of an adaptation of missionary structures and, also, mixing with the comprehensive idea of mission. An example of this process was the Dominican vicar Javier Ariz.

The defenders of the classical concept of mission had in mind mainly the implantation of the Church structures. The observation of the Italian Giovanni Gazza SX, titular bishop of Circesium and prelate of Abaeté do Tocantis (Brazil), belonged to this perspective. He spoke on behalf of 70 Fathers, among them the Peruvian Fathers, the Dominicans Burke and Ariz, and the Franciscan Arroyo. The observation began affirming that there were around 130 jurisdictions in Latin American, among vicariates, prelatures, prefectures, etc., in which all kind of missionary activities were done, following the definition given by the schema. The Fathers pointed out that the concept of mission as the "expansion and implantation of the Church" proposed by the schema had its limits related to Latin American situation. For them, the reality of the Latin American missions showed a more complex scenario. The people belonging to the missionary territories could not be called "non-believers," because they were already Christians.[910] Hence they proposed a more general principle to define, though not exclusively, missionary activity as directed towards "non-believers," the establishment of the Church and the evangelisation of peoples.[911] The signed Fathers considered that the schema could become the Magna Carta (*Magna charta*) for all the missionary activities and for all the missionaries.[912]

The observation proposed terminological changes like using the term "task" (*munus)* instead of "mission" (*missio*) when it is a question of the general mission of the Church. The term "mission" should be reserved for the missionary activity of the Foreign Missions (*Missionum Exterarum*), as it was done by the missionary encyclicals of the magisterium.[913] Thus, they also suggested a correction to emphasise that mission was addressed "towards peoples or groups that are not yet believers," instead of the expression "towards peoples or groups that have not been evangelised."[914]

In the same vein, Juan Bautista Velasco Díaz OP, bishop of Xiamen (China)[915] had the support of the following Peruvian Fathers: Dettmann OP, Armas OAR, Ariz OP, Arroyo OFM, Olazar CP and De Hornedo SJ. The intervention asserted that the schema "seems to be too burdened with general considerations of some new theology." For them, the schema of propositions seemed to be more adequate than the new schema.[916] This assertion was remarkable because the majority of the missionary bishops rejected the schema of propositions because it reduced missions to a marginal phenomenon.[917] Velasco's intervention included a list of changes that pointed out to a

[909] León de Uriarte sent, with minor stylistic corrections, as a written observation his oral intervention in 1964, see: AS IV, IV, 497-499.
[910] AS IV, IV, 300.
[911] AS IV, IV, 300.
[912] AS IV, IV, 297.
[913] AS IV, IV, 297.
[914] AS IV, IV, 301.
[915] Velasco Díaz's vicariate was occupied by the Red Army of Mao-Tse-Tung in 1949. The bishops was placed under house arrest and expelled from China on 11th September 1953. He returned to Asturias (Spain) and moved later to The Philippines. See: Julio Vivas, "El prelado misionero de Lena" (3rd July 2011), accessed on 6th September 2024, https://www.lne.es/caudal/2011/07/03/prelado-misionero-lena-21071128.html.
[916] AS IV, IV, 313.
[917] Brechter, "Decree on the Church's," 97.

classical understanding of the Catholic missions as *plantatio Ecclesiae* and the instauration of a Catholic culture among peoples. Thus, on the value and effectiveness of the Church's missionary activity, it must be said that it sought to restore and promote the good order of nature. A mention should also be made of the impact that the Church's mission has had and continues to have on the evolution of world history.[918] In sum, these group of Fathers rejected any new concept of mission proposed by the schema.

Velasco and the signatory Fathers warned against the new theological pluralism (*pluralismo theologico*) and the assimilation of the people's customs with the divine revelation. For the Fathers, the "Church is always and everywhere the same, but the customs of peoples vary greatly." Hence, the schema should rejected these ideas coming from "the 'new and intolerable theologies." According to the Fathers, this latter expression made use of Paul VI's phrase in the audience of 1st April of the current year."[919] The intervention concluded that the "doctrinal principles of the schema are vague, obscure, strive for a false irenism, have not a right ecumenical spirit, and perhaps display a perception of the new theology. Hence, these principles must be set right and corrected."[920]

In his observation, the missionary bishop Ariz OP praised the document because of the importance of missions for the Church, but also observed the "few defects and confusion" of the missionary doctrine.[921] He proposed two main observations. The first was Ariz' desire for an accurate definition of mission and a clear determination of the scope of the missionary activity of the Church. For him, mission and missionary activity were two complementary but differentiate concepts. The vicar agreed with the principle of the missionary nature of the entire Church as it had been defined regarding in *De Ecclesia* and *De apostolatu laicorum*.[922]

For Ariz, the schema had an uncertain and insufficient determination in dealing with the concept of missions limited to the evangelisation of non-believers. This definition meant that "more than 60 vicars and apostolic prefects working in missionary territory in Latin America" were excluded. The vicar approved a dynamic concept of mission referring to the communities not fully evangelised and also to Catholic nations, menaced by the penetration of atheistic communism. For him, "the entire Church and the people of God" participated in the general office (*munus*) of the apostolate in the Church. Hence, particular missionary activity and direct evangelisation must be inserted into the total and general mission of the Church.[923]

Ariz, who resisted episcopal collegiality, disagreed with the notion of collegiality displayed in article 5 of the schema. According to the article, the apostles received the *mandatum* to evangelise from Christ, which in turn was inherited by the order of bishops (*Ordo Episcoporum*), one with the Successor of Peter and visible head of the Church.[924] Ariz considered that the office of mission of the hierarchy "according to the right doctrine" (*secundum rectam doctrinam*) of *De Ecclesia* was given first to the Pontiff, and to the bishops in their own Churches. Besides, according to CIC 1350, the mission among non-Catholics was reserved to the Apostolic See. It was not correct to assert that the mission in the world was primarily carried on by the bishops, united and under the Head of the College. Therefore, the schema should declare that the main task of the mission fell immediately upon the Successor of Peter and the competence of the College of bishops was

[918] AS IV, IV, 314.
[919] AS IV, IV, 314.
[920] AS IV, IV, 314.
[921] AS IV, IV, 419.
[922] AS IV, IV, 420.
[923] AS IV, IV, 422.
[924] AS IV, III, 666.

extensive, under the care and regime of the Supreme Pontiff. The bishops' missionary office should focus on their jurisdiction.[925]

Bishop Bernardo Maria Cazzaro OSM, apostolic vicar of Aysén (Chile), sent a written observation on 8th October 1965, speaking on behalf of 90 Latin American Fathers, among them the vicar Ariz. Accepting the schema, the main observation was regarding the role of the bishops in territories of mission. Thus, Cazzaro proposed to have in mind the decree *De pastorali Episcoporum munere in Ecclesia* to be congruent with the ecclesiological idea that missions were true local and particular Churches. However, the distinction between a missionary Church and a particular Church was the conditions but not the ecclesiological nature of the missions. The missionary Churches were small, had great difficulties and needed special help of other Churches.[926] The observation, hence, proposed to adapt the schema to *De pastorali Episcoporum munere* reinforcing the authority of the missionary ordinary. Also, Cazzaro asked to reduce the role of episcopal conferences to the coordination of pastoral work in missionary regions. Cazzaro finally added that the missionary Churches should not be treated as "quasi-dioceses" and their pastors as "quasi-pastors."[927]

Finally, De Hornedo agreed with the Trinitarian foundation of the missions, but he recommended an explicit mention that the motivation of evangelisation was to bring human beings to the faith and salvation through the knowledge of Christ and his Gospel. It was God's will to justify human beings through faith and sacraments, and to save people as "people of God." Hence, for De Hornedo, the schema should say more about the importance of the caring of salvation of unbelievers which was not evident.[928] De Hornedo wanted an explicit statement about the central role of missions for the salvation of unbelievers, which was at the core of the missiological teachings of the Church.

José Dammert supported a more comprehensive view of the mission, joining the oral intervention of Laurentius Satoshi Nagae, bishop of Urawa (Japan). First, he criticised the fact that missionary problems were considered exclusively from the point of view of the Churches sending their missionaries to foreign regions and from the point of view of foreign missionaries working in mission territories. Hence, the schema neglected the problems regarding the autochthonous clergy and local people.[929] Secondly, Satoshi observed that the conception of missionary activity did not correspond to the current state of the missions, nor to the aims of the Council, nor to the expectations of the local clergy and faithful. Thus, in missionary territories, there were local indigenous Churches which had the missionary task and responsibility as sign of the presence of God in the socio-cultural context of the local society. Moreover, missionary problems must be dealt with in the light of the local Churches, which were growing day by day, instead of considering only the first steps of Church planting. This, according to Satoshi, followed the Council's intention to propose a pastoral directive for the present and the future of the local Churches.[930] Finally, the Japanese bishop defended that an equal treatment between old and new Churches (*Ecclesiae antiquae* and *Ecclesiae novellae*), because there can be a mutual exchange of ideas, people and means. Chapters four and five of the outline should be written in this perspective.[931]

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[925] AS IV, IV, 422-423.
[926] AS IV, IV, 460-461.
[927] AS IV, IV, 461.
[928] AS IV, IV, 481-482.
[929] AS IV, IV, 308-309. Satoshi disagreed that chapter three, *De missionariis*, only dealt with foreign missionaries without considering the missionary responsibility of indigenous clergy.
[930] AS IV, IV, 309.
[931] AS IV, IV, 309-310.

In line with a wider notion of mission, there were particular requests like the written observation prepared by Léo Völker, General Superior of the Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers) and signed by a group of Fathers, among them Prévost PME, vicar of Pucallpa. Völker had a crucial role during the debate on *Ad gentes*. Together with other general superiors of missionary congregations, Völker advocated for a special decree on the missionary work of the Church, placing it in God (*missio Dei*). He also criticised the missionary structures and defended a decentralization of the missionary structures.[932] Thus, his intervention called for the reinstatement of the text in which the composition of the dicastery for missions was to be composed of members selected from among those working in missionary works. They were to take an active part in the general decisions of the dicastery.[933] The observation called for a total reform of the *Propaganda* making it more inclusive and participative, following the missionary character of the Church.

Another group of Peruvian bishops and prelates supported particular questions related to their particular missionary contexts. Thomas William Murphy CSSR, bishop of Juazeiro (Brazil), supported by Florencio Coronado, disapproved the concept of mission asking: "Is there still such a difference between the unbaptized until now evangelized and the multitude of those Christians who were indeed baptized, but they were never really evangelized?"[934] In the same spirit of Ariz, Murphy affirmed that a hard pastoral work needed to be done in traditional Christian territories because of the ignorance and the lack of clergy.

For the bishop, the schema did not recognise the role of bishops, priests, brothers, sisters and laypeople, who generously responded to the call of the Church and worked in Latin America under very difficult conditions. The intervention therefore called for a reformulation of the notion of mission as the evangelisation of all parts of the world where Christ was largely unknown. This request was in total consonance with the concept of the missionary nature of the whole Church. Finally, for Murphy, missionaries were not only workers among non-believers, but also among the so-called Christian peoples, who lacked priests.[935] In other words, a missionary was a person belonging to the People of God, whose commitment was to announce Christ in contexts of religious ignorance and shortage of clergy.

In the same vein, but with a more traditional conception of mission, Damian Nicolau Roig TOR, Italian prelate of Huamachuco, sent a written statement which also criticised article 6 that had a restricted notion of mission. He put the example of Latin American prelatures where a regression of faith was manifested. The people of these prelatures were ignorant of grace, the sacraments, confession, the Eucharist, marriage, the Trinity, etc. For all these reasons, "could it be said that the Church is rooted there?" Hence, according to Roig, the prelatures were true missions *de facto*.[936] Mainly speaking of Peruvian prelatures Roig asserted that the inhabitants of the prelatures were *de facto* unbelievers,. Although almost all the inhabitants of those regions were baptized in childhood, they had no instruction at all in Christian doctrine, hence, they knew nothing of it, they believed nothing. This harsh and traditional observation on the missionary situation of Latin America concluded with the question of whether the prelatures were missions or not, which should be resolved jointly by the *Propaganda Fide* and the Consistorial Congregation.[937]

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[932] Aylward Shorter, *Léo Volker. Architect of Aggiornamento 1957-1967* (Rome: Society of the Missionaries of Africa, 3013), 32-34.
[933] AS, IV, IV, 661-662.
[934] AS IV, IV, 569.
[935] AS IV, IV, 570.
[936] AS IV, IV, 576-577. The written observation was prepared, first, in Huamachuco during the intersession, and finalized in Rome in October 1965.
[937] AS, IV, IV, 578.

Three Peruvian Fathers also joined two observations on the role of missionary laypeople and priests. On the lay missionaries, Gauci and Armas approved the oral intervention of Giocondo Maria Grotti OSM, titular bishop of Thunigaba and prelate nullius of Acre e Purus (Brazil). Grotti explained that the missionary cooperation with the laypeople was a new topic in the history of the Church. Hence, there were some lacunae and doubts. Firstly, the schema ignored the cases of individual laypersons, who did not belong to an Institute. There were many untied missionary laypeople which were active in missions and, according to the schema, they should be prepared and educated. However, Grotti asked who was in-charge of their education and preparation, where they were educated and prepared, and what kind of assistance they received. For the Brazilian prelate, these things should be solved. He also expressed concern about the return of lay missionaries to their countries and the care they should receive in old age and illness.[938] Secondly, Grotti asserted that secular institutes should be placed under the authority of local ordinaries and not episcopal conferences: "the bishops, who have some power over the universal Church, gradually (*paulatim*) seem to lose control in their own Church."[939]

Grotti's conclusion proposed that the schema should distinguish between lay people belonging to a secular institute and detached lay people (*laici soluti*). According to Grotti, these latter offered their lives in evangelisation, without discounting the indirect missionaries (*missionarii indirecti*) who offered their lives in their families and in their professions. All were missionaries and necessary for the missions.[940]

Fedders joined the oral intervention of Peter Han Kong-Ryel, bishop of Jeonju (South Korea). The observation proposed the ideal type of a missionary presbyter based on four categories. The first category was that of the young priest who personally sought out a diocese and went on mission there. This priest had to be properly trained for the mission, especially in Asia and Africa, to adapt and integrate into the customs, traditions, culture, philosophy and mentality of the people to whom he was sent. The second category was that of the priest sent by a secular or religious institute. For Kong-Ryel, this second category was the best and safest option in missions, but it had the difficulty of assimilation and the relationship with the bishop. The danger of assimilation concerned the tendency of religious missionaries to work for their own congregation without regard for the local clergy. The second danger concerned conflicts between bishops and superiors; hence, the bishop should be given full authority.[941]

The third category was the *Fidei donum*. In this model, a priest of one diocese exercised his ministry in another diocese for a limited time (*pro tempore limitato*). However, the bishop said, the experience with this model had not been successful. Many priests were unable to learn the local language and some did the same work in the mission as in their home diocese without adequate training, as in the case of schoolteachers. Moreover, this model was a danger to missionary vocations. These were definitive, total and tributary. That is to say, the vocation was not temporary but lifelong, implied total dedication to the apostolate and required a solid and adequate preparation for missionary life.[942]

The fourth category was the young priest trained by a missionary society and then sent to a dioceses lacking priests. The bishops could dispose of them as they wished (*ad libitum*) according to the respective requirements of the diocese. Moreover, the society obliged itself to received its missionaries who for various reasons were not vigorous enough to remain in the diocese to which

[938] AS IV, IV, 199-200.
[939] AS IV, IV, 200.
[940] AS IV, IV, 201.
[941] AS IV, IV, 319-320.
[942] AS IV, IV, 320-321.

they were sent. According to the bishop, this last formula was the quasi-ideal one, promoting definitive vocations, adequate formation and the full freedom of the bishops.[943]

Table 19. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De activitate missionali ecclesiae*

Peruvian Father	Chapter one	Chapter two	Chapter four	Chapter five	Chapter six	Total
Javier Ariz	6	2			1	**9**
Damian Roig	2	2	2	1	1	**8**
Ángel Rodríguez Gamoneda	1			1		**2**
León de Uriarte	1	4		2		**7**
Juan Landázuri Ricketts	1	2		2		**5**
Valeriano Arroyo		1		1	2	**4**
Joseph Laberge		1		1		**2**
Edward Fedders			1	1		**2**
Lucien Metzinger			1	1		**2**
Redento Gauci			1	1		**2**
Joseph Prévost			1	1		**2**
Nevin Hayes			1	1		**2**
Friedrich Kaiser				1		**1**
Teodosio Moreno				1		**1**
James Burke				1		**1**
Total	**11**	**12**	**7**	**16**	**4**	**50**

After the debate, the Conciliar Commission began the revision of the schema. By 15th October, the Commission gathered 190 petitions collected in more than 500 pages. Between 10th to 12th November, particular questions of revised schema were voted.[944] After the vote, the Commission received the *modi* with doctrinal and canonical suggestion to modify the revised schema. 15 Peruvian Fathers, among them 13 prelates and apostolic vicars, signed 50 *modi* spread over the six chapters of the schema. The *modi*, undersigned by Peruvian Fathers, mainly addressed chapters 1, 2 and 5 but focused their concern on the doctrinal principles of mission, episcopal relations in missions, and the ecumenism in missionary context.

On the principle doctrines of mission, Ariz OP joined a *modus* signed also by Velasco OP and Aniceto Fernández OP. They proposed to delete the phrase affirming that the "Fathers of the Church constantly proclaim that what has not been taken up by Christ is not healed." They exposed that the phrase "does not fit well with the argument of the evangelisation and redemption, and it is superfluous […] This is diametrically opposed to the true missional theology."[945] The Dominicans, as De Hornedo's intervention during the debate, perceived that the foundations of mission undermined the salvific and redemptive task carried out by missionaries among non-believers. This struck directly at the classical understanding of the identity of the missionary. Hence, for these

[943] AS IV, IV, 321.
[944] The revised schema *De activitate missionali ecclesiae* is found in AS IV, VI, 207-260.
[945] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 224, fasc. 4, f. 2.

Fathers, an integral notion of redemption and its relation to the missions affected the identity of the missionary as a collaborator in the redemption and salvation of the evangelised peoples.

Roig and De Uriarte shared the same concern about the missionary identity. They undersigned a *modus* requesting the change of the phrase "Ecclesia severe prohibit…"[946] because it seemed "to imply that Catholic missionaries induce infidels to the Catholic faith through coercion and inappropriate means."[947] Also a group of four Franciscan Peruvian Fathers joined a *modus* defending the value of religious life at the beginning of the planting of the Church in a mission. They wanted, quoting *De Ecclesia*, that the schema indicated in article 18 that the religious life "because of its intimate consecration to God made in the Church manifested and signified the intimate nature of the Christian vocation."[948] From a different perspective, three Peruvian prelates requested that article 24 added that missionary spirituality involved not only the individual missionary but also his community – his "apostolic communion in charity and joy of the spirit."[949]

On the notion of mission, Ariz signed a *modus* together with the Aniceto Fernández, General Master of the Dominicans, and Velasco OP. The three Dominican Fathers rejected the strict use of "mission" only for non-believers, because it was also a "strict missionary activity." The external criterion that missions among non-believers were territories recognised by the Holy See was insufficient. According to the Fathers, the *Relatio* accepted *de facto* the concept that missionary activity was not only exercised among the strictly non-believers. The *Relatio* retrieved the request of many Latin American Fathers to include the pastoral work of prelatures in the concept of missionary activity. According to the *Relatio*, many prelates – as it was indeed manifested by Roig during the debate – indicated that in their regions there were a lack of faith, Church structure and maturity of the Christian life.[950] Hence, they expected a broader meaning of missionary activity which the particular missionary situation of South American regions. For the Fathers, those regions lacked of a true Christian faith and practice. Hence, restricting the term mission only to non-believers was "a serious injury" to the majority of Catholics in South America.[951]

A second concern was the relationship in missionary contexts between collegiality, the episcopal conferences and bishops. Ariz signed two *modi* proposing to nuance the missionary task of the bishops as a whole. In a *modus* on article 5, the vicar supported changing the expression that the missionary mandate inherited after the Apostles by the order of bishops (*ordo episcoporum*) was not "one with the Successor of Peter and Supreme Pastor of the Church," but "under the care and rule of Peter the Successor and Supreme Pastor of the Church."[952] On article 6, Ariz joined a

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[946] The complete phrase is "Ecclesia severe prohibit ne quis ad fidem amplectendam cogatur vel artibus importunis inducatur aut alliciatur, sicut et fortiter vindicat ius ne ullus iniquis vexationibus a fide deterreatur," see: AS IV, VI, 226.

[947] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 225, fasc. 7, ff. 32 (Roig), 71 (De Uriarte).

[948] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 225, fasc. 12, ff. 17 (Arroyo), 32 (Landázuri), 47 (Laberge), 48, 82 (De Uriarte). Highlighted in the original. The *modus* was introduced in the final version.
Thus, the first version of article 18 said "Inde a periodo plantationis Ecclesiae vita religiosa sedulo promoveatur, quae non solum pretiosa omninoque necessaria auxilia activitati missionali affert, sed praeprimis lucide quoque manifestat et significat intimam vocationis christianae naturam," see: AS IV, VI, 233.
The final version of article 18 said "Inde a periodo plantationis Ecclesiae vita religiosa sedulo promoveatur, quae non solum pretiosa omninoque necessaria auxilia activitati missionali affert, sed per intimiorem consecrationem Deo in Ecclesia factam lucide quoque manifestat et significat intimam vocationis christianae naturam."

[949] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 226, fasc. 7, ff. 48 (Fedders), 75 (Metzinger), 112 (Gauci). For the prelates, the community should include the new evangelized people, foreign and indigenous missionaries, priests, religious and laypeople.

[950] AS IV, VI, 273.

[951] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 224, fasc. 7, f. 10.

[952] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 224, fasc. 6, f. 15.

modus by requesting to change the expression "order of bishops" to "holy hierarchy."[953] The defence of the supreme authority of the Pontiff was crucial for several Fathers from the period of discussion of the *De Ecclesia*. In the debate on mission, this prerogative acquired a doctrinal and juridical value. Thus, De Uriarte and Roig joined the modus on article 29 (chapter 5) in which it was indicated that for particular matters the bishops would be summoned to deal with them. The justification was that according to *Apostolica Sollicitudo* – promulgated by Paul VI in September 1965 – the particular topics for the debate would be determined by the Pontiff.[954]

Likewise, Arroyo undersigned a *modus* expressing his disapproval of the mention that the "members of the body of bishops, succeeding the College of Apostles" were "consacrated for the salvation of the whole world." Instead, the *modus* proposed to change "for the good of the whole world," because the Council should teach that a bishop was consecrated for a specific diocese.[955] In this way, Arroyo defended a diminished idea of the universal missionary responsibility of the college of bishops – which is called in the *modus* as "the body of bishops." Arroyo, also, endorsed a *modus* requesting to weaken the role of episcopal conferences as it was developed in article 38.[956] The *modus* suggested that episcopal conferences should only promote and organise missionary coordination like the number of priests of each dioceses in order to assign them to missions.[957]

Six Peruvian prelates, bishop Laberge and archbishop Landázuri endorsed a *modus* similarly to Völker's intervention on the reform of the *Propaganda*. The reasons were various, the most prominent being the importance of "collegial responsibility of the Church in mission" (*responsabilitatem collegialem Ecclesiae in re missionali*). The *modus* emphasised that "collegial responsibility" should imply the right of decision (*ius decisionis*), making the dicastery a dynamic governing body.[958] On the opposite side, Rodríguez Gamoneda signed a *modus* calling for greater control by the Sacred Consistorial Congregation and the *Propaganda* over all missions, without making juridical exceptions as was the case with the Eastern Churches.[959]

A third issue was ecumenism in missionary contexts. Landázuri, Roig and De Uriarte signed a *modus* opposing article 8 which indicated that missionary activity and the cause of Christian unity were closely connected.[960] The first reason, pointed out by the *modus*, was that

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[953] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 224, fasc. 7, f. 2.
[954] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 227, fasc. 5, ff. 22 (De Uriarte), 63 (Roig).
[955] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 229, fasc. 8, f. 26.
[956] AS IV, VI, 255-256. Article 38 on the role of episcopal conferences: "Conferentiarum episcopalium est negotia moderari quae ad ordinatam cooperationem regionis spectant; numerum indicare sacerdotum quos singulae dioeceses ad missiones destinare deberent; stipem statuere quam eaedem propriis redditibus proportionatam pro apere missionum quotannis dare tenentur; varia media missionibus directe subveniendi dirigere ac ordinare; Instituta missionalia et seminaria cleri dioecesani pro missionibus adiuvare, et si opus est fundare, arctioremque nexum inter illa et dioceses fovere."
[957] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 229, fasc. 8, f. 110. The final version of article 38 is: "Ut autem Episcoporum activitas missionalis in bonum totius Ecclesiae efficacius exerceri possit, expedit ut Conferentiae Episcopales negotia moderentur quae ad ordinatam cooperationem propriae regionis spectant. In suis Conferentiis agant Episcopi de sacerdotibus cleri dioecesani gentium evangelizationi devovendis; de certa stipe quam unaquaeque dioecesis propriis redditibus proportionatam quotannis pro opere missionum dare tenetur; de modis et mediis quibus missiones directe subveniuntur dirigendis et ordinandis; de Institutis missionalibus et seminariis cleri dioecesani pro missionibus adiuvandis et, si opus est, fundandis; de arctioribus nexibus inter huiusmodi Instituta et dioeceses fovendis."
[958] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 227, fasc. 6, ff. 25 (Metzinger), 57 (Kaiser), 116 (Prévost), 130 (Fedders); busta 228, fasc. 3, f. 65 (Gauci), fasc. 4, 50 (Laberge), fasc. 5, f. 9 (Landázuri); busta 229, fasc. 1, f. 85 (Hayes).
[959] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 228, fasc. 2, f. 17.
[960] AS IV, VI, 217. The last paragraph of article 8 said: "Revera autem divisio christianorum nuntium hoc pacis obscurat et aditum ad fidem multis praecludit. Quam ob rem causa missionalis activitatis et causa christianorum unitatis redintegrandae arcte coniunguntur: ex necessitate missionis omnes baptizati ad hoc vocantur, ut, in uno grege coadunati, coram gentibus de Christo, Domino suo, unanimiter testimonium

"unity exists only in the Catholic Church, it is not to be sought. Separated brethren must return to the unity of the Church. The text is ambiguous and favours indifference." It was also pointed out that some of the baptised among the separated brethren, "were baptised invalidly," and that it was implied from the text that there was shared responsibility for the Christian division, "which is clearly false."[961]

The same group of Fathers also proposed a new redaction of the paragraph dealing with cooperation between Catholics and separated brethren (article 15).[962] The paragraph proposed in the *modus,* reflected the concerns and fears of the Latin American missionary context regarding non-Catholic Christians, because the Fathers feared that a collaboration with Protestants could lead to religious indifference. Hence, the reason of the *modus* was that "confusion must be avoided in which someone would think that the Council was declaring that the true faith existed outside the Catholic Church."[963] Although *Unitatis redintegratio* had been approved in 1964, the Fathers' *modus* remarked for its resistance against ecumenism as it was approved by the Council. Their position expressed a traditional idea that the truth was exclusive in the Catholic Church.

Ariz and Roig supported the *modus* that questioned the reference of article 36 to the "love of Christ overcoming all differences and divisions among human beings."[964] As justification, it pointed out that the reference to paragraph 12 of the decree *De oecumenismo* was wrong, since this article spoke of cooperation among Christians. Ariz also pointed out that the exercise of charity can overcome differences, but this was not true for faith and truth.[965] To reinforce the anti-ecumenical resistance, Roig signed three *modi* asking, first, that a mention to the Virgin Mary as being part of Pentecost, together with the apostles and disciples, should be included in the schema. Thus the Virgin Mary appeared at the beginning of the economy of incarnation and the beginning of the Church and her missionary mandate.[966] In two *modi* on the spiritual life of the missionaries he asked that it be added that the missionary "worships the most blessed Virgin Mary, Queen of the Apostles,

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reddem! Quod si unam fidem nondum plene testificare queant, mutua saltem aestimatione ac dilectione animentur oportet."

[961] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 225, fasc. 2, ff. 22 (Landázuri), 43 (Roig), 66 (De Uriarte). The paragraph was deleted in the final version of *Ad gentes*.

[962] AS IV, VI, 228: "Spiritus etiam oecumenicus nutriatur inter neophytos, qui probe aestiment fratres in Christum credentes esse Christi discipulos, baptismate regeneratos, perplurium bonorum Populi Dei consortes. Quantum sinunt condiciones religiosae, actio oecumenica ita promoveatur ut, seclusa omni tam indifferentismi et confusionismi quam insanae aemulationis specie, communi, pro quanto datur, professione fidei in Deum et in Iesum Christum coram Gentibus, atque cooperatione in re tam sociali et technica quam culturali et religiosa, catholici fraterne collaborent cum fratribus a se seiunctis ad normas Decreti de Oecumenismo. Collaborent praesertim propter Christum, suum Dominum communem: Eius Nomen eos colligat! Haec collaboratio instituatur non solum inter privatas personas, sed etiam, de iudicio Ordinarii loci, inter Ecclesias vel communitates ecclesiales earumque opera." The paragraph was kept in the final version of *Ad gentes*.

[963] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 225, fasc. 9, ff. 11 (Landázuri), 16 (Roig), 41 (De Uriarte). The paragraph inserted in the *modus* is: "Spiritus oecumenicus nutriatur inter neophitos. Quantum sinunt conditiones religiosae, actio oecumenica ita promoveatur ut tam INDIFFERENTIAM RELIGIOSAM QUAM CONFUSSIONEM INTER ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM ET CAETERAS CONFESSIONES EVITETUR, communi pro quanto datur professione fidei in Deum et Iesum Christum coram Gentibus, atque DEBITIS CUM CAUTELIS, cooperatio in re tam sociali quam technicaliet culturali (omittatur "religiosa") Catholici fraterne collaborent cum fratribus a se seiunctis ad normam Decreti de Oecumenismo."

[964] AS IV, VI, 253: "Hoc testimonium vitae facilius effectum suum obtinebit si una cum aliis coetibus christianis praestabitur. Commume enim testimonium monstrabit amorem Christi omnes differentias et divisions inter homines superare."

[965] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 229, fasc. 7, ff. 4 (Ariz), 89 (Roig).

[966] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 224, fasc. 5, f. 8.

with singular piety." Finally, like hundreds of Fathers, Roig, had a maximalist Marian position[967] and demanded that Mary should be declared "Regina Missionum."[968]

3. The Church in the World: the Supporting and Resistances to Gaudium et Spes

The redaction history of the Pastoral Constitution *Gaudium et spes* began in 1963, when the then called Schema XVII – last on the list of the Coordinating Commission's agenda – was introduced.[969] In January 1963, the Coordinating Commission ordered the redaction of a schema with the provisional title *De Ecclesiae principiis et actione ad bonum Societatis promovendum*.[970] The schema only entered the *aula* in the fall of 1964 after a lengthy hesitation of Paul VI. During 1963, the schema had three phases up to the Malines text, which was a complete revision of the schema XVII under the leading of the Belgian Cardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens.[971] During the second intersession, the schema was redrafted keeping the tensions between the theological and sociological perspectives, the natural and supernatural dimension of the human being, the optimist spirit obscuring the reality of evil in the contemporary world, and the reality of suffering, injustices and poverty, mainly in the non-Western countries. Despite these tensions, a new version, schema XIII, was sent to the Fathers in July 1964.[972]

The schema XIII, *De Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*, consisted of an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion, and also five appendices (*adnexa*).[973] The debate started on 20th October 1964. There were diverse stances and observations regarding the schema. The majority of the critiques were focused on particular aspects of the schema. Many interventions gave their global *placet* introducing then their observations mainly on the tensions kept by the schema.[974] The debate was crucial for the future development of *Gaudium et spes*.[975] During the debate in the third session, the Peruvian Fathers joined seven different oral interventions and only Landázuri intervened orally

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[967] On 3rd February, 1964, the Brazilian Father Geraldo de Proença Sigaud sent a petition to Pope Paul VI demanding the consecration of the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The petition gathered the support of 510 Fathers, among them the following Peruvian Fathers: Ignacio Arbulú Pineda, Daniel Figueroa Villón, Pablo Ramírez Taboada, Alcides Mendoza Castro, Marco Libardoni, Julio González Ruiz, Lucien Metzinger, Javier Ariz, Valeriano Arroyo and Nicolau Roig. See: Philippe Roy-Lysencourt, *Recueil de documents du Coetus Internationalis Patrum pour server à l'histoire du Concile Vatican II* (Strasbourg: Institut d'Étude du Christianisme, 2019), 453-461; AFSCIRE, FSig 2.8, FSig 2.9 and FSig 2.11.

[968] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 227, fasc. 2, ff. 11, 12.

[969] On 4th December 1962, in his speech, Cardinal Suenens called for a plan to organise the conciliar work between *ad intra* (Church herself) and *ad extra* (Church's relationship to the world) perspectives. He proposed to draft a schema dealing with the topic of *ad extra*. See: Dries Bosschaert, *The Anthropological Turn, Christian Humanism, and Vatican II. Louvain Theologians Preparing the Path for* Gaudium et spes *(1942-1965)* (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 287-289.

[970] Giovanni Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo moderno. La redazione della costituzione pastorale 'Gaudium et spes' del Vaticano II* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2000), 181-219; Bosschaert, *The Anthropological Turn*, 291-303.

[971] On the early history of the schema XVII, see: Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 379-394, Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo*, 263-288. The Malines text was a compromise schema between the incarnational-immanent and the eschatological-transcendent tendencies. However, it was later considered "too theological." See: Bosschaert, *The Anthropological Turn*, 307-337.

[972] A history of the schema during the second intersession, see: Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964),"344-355.

[973] The schema XIII is found in AS III, V, 116-200. The structure of schema XIII was: chapter 1 "The integral vocation of the human person," chapter 2 "The Church in the service of God and Humankind," chapter 3 "The conduct of Christians in the world," and chapter 4 "The chief responsibilities of Christians today." The appendices were "The human person in society," "The marriage and the family," The proper promotion of the progress of culture," "Economic and social life," and "The community of peoples and peace."

[974] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 264-265.

[975] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 304.

in the *aula*. Also, Arbulú prepared a written individual observation and Fedders signed a written observation prepared by Fernando Gomes dos Santos, archbishop of Goiânia (Brazil).

Cardinal Landázuri intervened in the debate approving the schema *in genere*. The topics of the schema touched the sense and intimacy of the human beings, and the Church must respond to them. For Landázuri, doctrinally, the Church "indeed possesses eternal and immutable principles, but their application to the circumstances of the present time is sometimes not without great difficulty." Hence, the challenge was that the Church "must adapt herself to the changed conditions, abandoning her own principles or at least changing them."[976] For Landázuri, the schema was a "useful instrument" for further discussion, because some points of it needed to be revised. [977]

He proposed three observations. In a doctrinal perspective, as the first observation, Landázuri recommended the revision of the notions "world" (*mundus*) and "Church" and their meaning given throughout the schema. The term "world" should be clearly defined at the beginning of the schema and that definition should be maintained through the whole text. The same was the case for the term "Church" because the use of this notion changed in the text. Sometimes, according to Landázuri, it referred to the people of God and sometimes to the hierarchy.[978] The second observation pointed out the tension between the spiritual and the temporal and the use of the binomial "spiritual-temporal" in an indistinct and confused way in the schema. Thus, Landázuri highlighted that the spiritual and temporal principles were judged by the Church in different ways in history. For example, religious life once understood as a kind of "fuga mundi," today "is rightly described as the highest service to the world and to souls."[979] Hence, these principles must be presented clearly, taking into account the various interpretations in the history of the Church.

The third and last observation was the lacunae regarding the dialogue with the modern world (*de dialogo cum mundo moderno*). Landázuri pointed out the main problems like the hunger in the world, the poverty and malnutrition. These problems should be broadly included in the schema.[980] For him, "the voice of this Sacrosanct Synod should be raised so that all people, and especially the followers of Christ, may help their brothers who perish from hunger."[981] Landázuri echoed the main tensions regarding the use of the notions of "world" and "Church" in the schema, but also included the socio-economic concerns of many Fathers coming from Latin America, Africa and Asia, who also remarked these lacunae.[982]

Kaiser MSC undersigned the moderator Cardinal Döpfner's advise (*monitum*). The Archbishop spoke on behalf of 83 German-speaking and Scandinavian Fathers. They approved the theme of the schema which was "the effective presence of the Church in the world." They also approved the full correspondence with the spirit of the constitution *De Ecclesia* and Paul VI's encyclical *Ecclesiam suam*. The statement continued remarking the importance of dialogue, the dealing with the relevant questions for the humankind, and the relationship with the schemata on

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[976] AS III, V, 267.
[977] AS III, V, 267.
[978] Portuguese Father Sebastião Soares de Resende (bishop of Beira, Mozambique) and Polish Father Karol Wojtyla also requested a more precise use of the terms "world" and "Church." See: Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 266.
[979] AS III, V, 268.
[980] Landázuri was one of the signatories of the Pact of Catacombs drafted on 16th December 1965. Bishop Dammert was also signatory of the text. See: Luis Martínez Saavedra and Pierre Sauvage, ed. *Le Pacte des catacombes. Une Église pour les pauvres. Un événement méconnu de Vatican II et ses conséquences* (Namur, Paris: Éditions jésuites, 2019), 243-255.
[981] AS III, V, 268.
[982] Cardinal Raúl Silva Henríquez SDB, archbishop of Santiago de Chile, endorsed Landázuri's final observation of his intervention. See: AS III, V, 566. Landázuri, without being explicit shared Lercaro's critique that the schema had a European and Western tendency, see: Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 272.

the ecumenism and the dialogue with non-Christians.[983] However, the Cardinal asked to treat some topics with distinction and discretion, such as the relationship between the Church and the civil authority, the spirit of poverty, the reasons for Catholics to associate with others, etc. These statements, the intervention affirmed, while not being subject to misinterpretation, could be subject to abusive implementation. Also dealing with the contemporary atheism, mainly dialectic materialism, was crucial.

Cardinal Döpfner acknowledged that many questions in the schema had not been elaborated by theology up to the time of the Council; however, the schema, he said, "somehow emerged and grew gradually out of the very work and fruits of our Council" and he desired the cooperation between the Fathers and theologians "to develop more deeply the difficult theological questions of our schema."[984] For many Fathers, Döpfner said, there were many thorny issues such as marital responsibility in the family, atheism and the promotion of peace in the world, which should be discussed in depth. The observation concluded approving the schema as the basis for the discussion.[985]

Archbishop Nanjing (China), Paul Yu Pin, exiled in the United States after being expelled by the Chinese communist regime in 1949, prepared a short oral intervention. Sánchez-Moreno and 69 other Council Fathers endorsed Yu Pin's observation. The exiled archbishop asked to add to the schema a new chapter on the atheistic Communism or, at least, a solemn declaration on the topic. He advocated five short reasons to defend his proposal. A first reason was to examine the signs of the times because the Church could not let aside the question of Communism, "which is the great and most transparent sign of our times, and also the most unhappy." The second one to defend the truth because the atheistic communism, "in one word, is the accumulation of all heresy." The third reason was to vindicate freedom, because wherever communism ruled, bloody or legal persecution and the suppression of freedom happened. The fourth was to dispel the confusion about peaceful coexistence, heavy-handed politics and so-called Catholic communism. Finally, a fifth reason was that the people under communist rule suffered untold pain. Hence, in line with the pre-conciliar magisterium,[986] archbishop Yu Pin and the undersigned Fathers demanded that the schema condemned atheistic communism in a clear, open and comprehensive manner.[987]

After the general observations, the Fathers addressed specific aspects of the schema. Thus, Sánchez-Moreno joined the oral intervention of Giuseppe Garnieri, bishop of Susa (Italy), who spoke on behalf of 84 Asian, European and Latin American Fathers. The intervention focused on dialogue and its conditions, the subject of article 18 (chapter 3), with the principles of which he agreed. He proposed tourism as a useful tool to foster dialogue with the world, which was not mentioned by any conciliar document. The Italian bishop said, quoting Paul VI, that tourism had "a wide and multifaceted possibility of collaboration" for the laity and the pastoral care of the tourist faithful. As the Council spoke of "aggiornamento," a phenomenon such as tourism, because of its

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[983] AS III, V, 228.
[984] AS III, V, 229.
[985] AS III, V, 229-230.
[986] On 19th March 1937, Pius XI issued the encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*: On the atheistic communism. The papal document expressed the danger of Communism for the Church and society, confirming the anti-Communist posture of the Catholic Church. See: Pius XI, *Divini Redemptoris*, accessed on 10th January 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_ 19370319 _divini-redemptoris.html
[987] From the antepreparatory period, the concern about the Communism was shared by many Fathers. During the debate, a group of them requested a condemnation of Communism. This proposal clashed with the prudence of the Eastern European bishops' position on the issue, see: Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 270-271.

dynamism, had to be addressed by the schema.[988] Again quoting Paul VI's speech at the United Nations Tourism Conference, the bishop pointed out that "tourism could be a valid factor in modern cultural formation, a place of sympathy between peoples and for international peace."[989] Also, echoing Cardinal Bea, tourism was an instrument of dialogues between human beings of different religions and nations. Therefore, the bishop's observation concluded by calling for the inclusion of tourism as one of the valid instruments for the promotion of dialogue.[990]

The Peruvian Fathers supported two different interventions addressing article 21 on the dignity of marriage and the family (chapter 4). The two main points of the discussion were the aims of marriage and the birth control. The latter showed the clear division among the Fathers regarding the number of children and the planning right of the couple. After the debate, Paul VI decided to reserve the issue for himself.[991] The division also touched the Peruvian Fathers. Alcides Mendoza and Ignacio Arbulú endorsed the intervention of Joseph Reuss, Auxiliary Bishop of Mainz (Germany), which was also undersigned by 145 Fathers. The question of human sexuality, marriage and conjugal act needed to be investigated carefully and deeply.[992] Reuss defended placing conjugal love as the foundation of the marriage, and the right of the couple to practice birth control.

In order to improve the notion of conjugal love, Reuss proposed the following ten items: (1) human sexuality is not just biology but constituted in the coming together of a man and a woman in a specific community of persons founded on mutual love; (2) the marriage is founded in conjugal love as its foundation; (3) the conjugal love that serves the procreation and education of the offspring extends to the whole of married life and is decisive for every marriage; (4) the dignity and difficulty of conjugal love should encourage the desire, preservation and increase of it; (5) all good marriage, then, is always of a high structure because it is a manifestation of God; (6) hence, the conjugal love is oriented to God; (7) because of it, the couple is called by God to receive and educate the offsprings; (8) the decision of the number of children rests solely with the couple; (9) the schema should speak about these topics cautiously and moderately; and (10) because these issues need more research, the Council cannot resolve them. However, the Council could establish a group of experts, theologians, philosophers, doctors, psychologists, sociologists, and other to carefully study these difficult questions.[993]

On the other side, the Peruvian Fathers Rodríguez Ballón OFM, Gonzales Ruiz SBD and Alcedo Culquicóndor SDB endorsed an intervention on article 21 led by Juan Hervás y Benet, titular bishop of Dora and prelate of Ciudad Real (Spain). The statement, undersigned by another 126 Fathers from different regions, demanded to praise the large families. Hervás criticised the "materialistic" approach to the topic of the number of children and extended families. These latter should be honoured because they were witness of the Christian faith in practice (*testes fidei christianae in praxim*). The Spanish bishop said the schema affirmed that the number of children should be measured according to the prudence of the Christian couple. "This is fine," said Hervás,

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[988] AS III, V, 577-578

[989] On 31st August 1963, Paul VI addressed to the participants of the Conference of the United Nations On Tourism. The complete discourse can be found in Paul VI, *Discours aux participants à la Conférence des Nations-Unies sur le tourisme*, accessed on 20th September, 2024, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/fr/speeches/1963/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19630831_conferenza-turismo.html

[990] AS III, V, 579. Many Italian Fathers focused their interventions on the dialogue as an openness to other aspects of human life. Dialogue had been a debated topic in Italy before Vatican II, see: Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo*, 427.

[991] Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 287-288.

[992] AS III, VI, 89. Cardinal Suenens and Patriarch Maximos IV also agreed with the necessity of research on the human sexuality and conjugal act. Specially important was to have the doctors' and biologists' opinions, see: Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo*, 439.

[993] AS III, VI, 89-90

but he pointed out that nothing was said about supernatural faith, trust in Divine Providence, love and acceptance of the Cross, all of which should illuminate Christian prudence. He affirmed that "they were not preparing a philosophical-hedonist document, or a simple technical or scientific document, but a Christian document!"[994]

Therefore, Hervás proposed a more positive approach to the issue of the number of children because those meritorious parents sought in marriage their own sanctification, fulfilling the natural law. Furthermore, the modern sciences like psychology and pedagogy praised large families. They also gave excellent religious and priestly vocations to the Church. Thus, the schema should propose human solutions to this topic helping extended families with tax reduction, maternities leaves, and other benefits. Thus, civil societies, inspired by the Christian spirit, should promote procreation and protect and defend the right of children and families.[995] The statement concluded introducing a paragraph praising the large families and their benefits for society and the Church.[996] The statement revealed a vision of an ideal marriage nurturing society and Church, in clash with the autonomy of a Christian couple to plan a family.

On article 22, the promotion of culture, Leónidas Proaño Villalba, bishop of Riobamba (Ecuador) presented an observation endorsed by 70 Latin American Fathers, among them Antonio De Hornedo SJ and Julio Gonzales Ruiz OSD. The intervention focused on the need for basic education in Latin America. Proaño also wanted to sensitise the *aula* and the Church to the realities of all parts of the world, both in terms of economic-social life and intellectual, cultural and religious life.[997] Despite the expansion of infrastructures, universities, schools, artist and technicians, a large part of the population remained illiterate. The Ecuadorian bishop described the illiteracy situation of the continent as "an intolerable fact in our world of this time" and subtly criticised the schema that claimed that human progress was breaking new ground, while countless human beings were in great ignorance.[998]

According to Proaño, basic education was the condition *sine qua non* for the road to progress. Literacy was the basic means by which a human beings could develop themselves, acquire their dignity, subdue the earth, improve their economic and social life, understand religion better and exercise the practice of moral virtues: "in a word, to value all their capacities and faculties for the good of the universal community."[999] Many efforts to improve the education situation of the illiterate population were provided by the UNESCO, OAS, the Andean Mission, and the radio schools of Colombia, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other countries. However, the problem remained imponderable.[1000]

Proaño's critique against the positive approach of the schema pointed out, first, the centrality of basic education and the necessity of a more open collaboration between governments, international organisations, private associations and the Church. The topic of illiteracy was crucial to allow all human beings to participate of the developments. A second criticism made by Proaño,

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[994] AS III, VI, 217. "Non conficimus hic documentum philosophico-haedonisticum, aut mere technicum vel scientificum, sed christianum!."
[995] AS III, VI, 218.
[996] AS III, VI, 218-219.
[997] AS III, VI, 269.
[998] AS III, VI, 269-270. Proaño criticised the starting expression of article 22: "Divinae Providentiae dono, ut dicitur in schemate, nostra aetate, novae patent viae in humana cultura proficiendi, scientiae nempe, technica ars et communicationis socialis instrumenta."
[999] AS III, VI, 271.
[1000] AS III, VI, 271. On the situation of illiteracy, Proaño affirmed: "Thinking of those millions and millions of children, young people, women and men who remain seated by the side of the road [towards progress], along which, under a sun of brilliant light, knowledge, arts, life, love and progress pass; it is impossible not to mention the dramatic story of blind Bartimaeus mentioned in the Gospel."

an important one, was that article 22 did not deal with the great, complex and basic cultural problems of humanity because the schema appeared too European.[1001]

Benedict Varghese Gregorios Thangalathil OIC,[1002] archbishop of Trivandrum (Syro-Malankara, India) spoke on behalf of 70 Fathers, including Arroyo OFM. He read an observation on article 23 on the economic and social life. The Indian Father began remarking that the majority of the world population lived in poverty. For the archbishop, the question of poverty had moral implications, and was not a question of how to establish a paradise on earth. The latter in reference to communism. The moral bases of the problem of poverty was that "God made human being out of spirit and matter. From the divine organisation itself, the sufficiency of material things is a necessary condition of human life to exist and to be ordered."[1003] Hence, for the Father, economy truly had a moral and spiritual aspect, which then fell under the moral judgement of sin.

For Thangalathil, the Church, in this situation, must have a clear voice in the schema that favoured social justice, primarily between workers and employers, but especially in the relationship between agricultural and industrial nations.[1004] The Indian Father asserted that "poverty and misery cannot be eliminated from the world," but at least the situation of farmers could be improved, as it was indicated in the encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. He also echoed the problem of overpopulation explaining the situation of India.[1005] Therefore, the schema should deal with the complex problems of the underdeveloped world, and the Church, with her stable doctrinal principles, could not pass those problems under the guise of eternity or obscure speculative reasons nor be deterred by the immense work. He concluded saying "let's meet the world with all confidence, 'because He who is in us is greater than anyone in the world'."[1006] Like Proaño, Thangalathil, and the signatory Fathers, also pointed out the European bias and the excessive optimism of the schema, without taking serious account of the problems of the underdeveloped countries.

A written observation was prepared by Arbulú Pineda addressing the birth control theme of *Adnexum II* on the marriage and family. He considered the appendix to have a great moral elevation with a mystical flavour, but not all the faithful - *proh dolor!* - conduct their married life with such a moral high ground. The bishop's veiled criticism also pointed out the fault of some pastors – including himself – in this lack of Christian formation of the faithful.[1007]

For the bishop, the use of contraceptive pills was a complex problem because of all the medical doubts about its effectivity. From his pastoral experience, also the method of rhythm had some objections from the faithful. Moreover, many faithful manifested their arguments in favour of contraception because of the economic difficulties of the time. Hence, Arbulú proposed to invite doctors and specialists on the contraceptive methods to help the Fathers during the discussion on

[1001] AS III, VI, 271. Dammert, so active in favour of basic education, is missed as one of the signatories of Proaño's intervention.
[1002] The Indian bishop signed the observations "Simplicity and evangelical poverty" and "The priority of evangelizing the poor." Both documents were drafted by the group "Jesus, the Church and the Poor" on October 1964. See: Martínez and Sauvage, *Le Pacte des catacombes*, 255-266. Bishop Dammert also signed both documents. For the documents and the list of signatory Fathers, see: AFSCIRE, FL XXII nº 442-444, 452.
[1003] AS III, VI, 316. Metzinger shared the same opinion during the 5th meeting of the group "Jesus, the Church and the Poor" in the Belgian College (Rome) on 30th November 1962. To gain the support of the Latin American bishops, he claimed that the group should mention the necessity to share all the goods in the world. See: AFSCIRE, FL XXII nº 424.
[1004] AS III, VI, 317.
[1005] AS III, VI, 317-318.
[1006] AS III, VI, 318.
[1007] AS III, VII, 178.

this matter. Although he did not oppose the idea that the Holy See reserved the issue for itself, he rather preferred that the Council should propose a pastoral response to the faithful.[1008]

Fedders together with other 74 Fathers – most of them Brazilians – joined the written statement on the topic of marriage and family sent by Fernando Gomes dos Santos, archbishop of Goiânia (Brazil). Gomes expressed that he also spoke on behalf of many faithful who had spoken and written to them with "anxiety" about the question of marriage, its practice and its purpose in those times.[1009] Based on the Latin American context, Gomes indicated that in many regions thousands of Christian did not have access to the Eucharist and the Sacrament of Penance which provoked a serious damage. Because the lack of sufficient examination, there was no possibility to reconcile the consciousness and conjugal life. [1010] The archbishop, and the undersigned Fathers, endorsed the *votum* of Cardinal Suenens.[1011]

During the debate, with the aim of putting pressure on the Pope, a group of bishops and prelates prepared a letter to the Cardinal President of the Commission for Extraordinary Affairs Amleto Cicognani.[1012] The Peruvian Fathers who joined the letter were Florencio Coronado, Antonio Kühner, Damián Nicolau Roig, Julio Gonzáles Ruiz, Alfonso Zaplana, Erasmo Hinojosa, Nemesio Rivera and José Morriberón. The main topic of the letter was the menace of communism, which was spreading among many Catholics. Many Catholics considered communists as their friends, admired communist nations, questioned the foundations of the Christian social order or conceived it to suit the communist model.[1013]

The letter identified three main errors and deviations. The first deviation was the idea that the equality of wealth among men corresponded to the Gospel, which negated social diversity. Therefore, "all family or national wealth must always be regarded as theft and unjust retention of goods that belonged to the more modest classes of people."[1014] The second error was that the Holy See should sell the treasures of the Vatican and Roman Basilicas to feed the poor and hungry. Bishops and monasteries also ought to renounce all riches and kept only the necessary for the maintenance of life. The third deviation was that these ideas were spread by many teachers of clergy under the guise of justice and charity. Hence, the majority of the faithful accepted these false doctrines and principles "which create a mind hostile to the Catholic social order, and inclined to social egalitarianism (*aequalitarismum*)."[1015]

Because of these deviations, the bishops and prelates demanded Cardinal Cicognani to present to the Supreme Pontiff for considering the following two ideas in the preparation of the schema. The first point was to explain the Catholic social doctrine with great clarity exposing the errors of Marxism, socialism and communism. The second point requested the condemnation of people who spread those ideologies and promoted the acceptance of socialism and communism

[1008] AS III, VII, 178.
[1009] AS III, VII, 265.
[1010] AS III, VII, 266.
[1011] AS III, VII, 266. The *votum* had the following five items: (1) that the conciliar commission collaborate with the commission established by Paul VI for a broad and deep examination of the subject of the family and marriage; (2) that the commission involve expert people: lay men and women and spouses from various university disciplines, etc.; (3) that the commission truly represent the people of God; (4) that it work along the lines of faith and natural ethics and scientific truth; and (5) that the conclusions of the commission be submitted to the supreme magisterium.
[1012] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1196, fasc. 1, ff. 1-12. From folios 3 to 12, there is a long list including bishops and prelates coming from 46 countries.
[1013] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1196, fasc. 1, f. 1.
[1014] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1196, fasc. 1, f. 1.
[1015] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1196, fasc. 1, ff. 1-2.

among Catholics.[1016] The letter had the clear intention to press Pope Paul VI towards a condemnation of communism and all its propagators, including the ones who were Catholics. It was clearly an expression of mistrust of a theology and pastoral care that were more open to dialogue within the Church and with the world. The letter showed the growing friction among Catholics over dialogue with the world.

The Peruvian Fathers who intervened made clear that the schema introduced a series of issues that went beyond the theological formation of many Fathers and to which they responded from their pastoral contexts and doctrinal concerns. Thus, for example, Landázuri, while being in favour of an adaptation of the Church to the problems set out in the schema, had some difficulties with the possible adaptation of the "immutable principles of the Church" to a changing world. Likewise, the Peruvian Fathers who resisted the doctrinal developments of *Lumen gentium* were more open to the Church taking a clear position on poverty and basic education, adding to the criticism against the excessive optimism and European bias of Schema XIII. However, the concern about poverty not necessarily meant a questioning of the unjust socio-economic structures, but about the spread of communism. Finally, the use of the theological category "signa temporum" shows the theological flexibility of the Fathers. On the one hand, it was used to defend doctrinal positions such as the condemnation of communism, and on the other hand, to address particular pastoral concerns such as the pastoral care of tourism.

After the debate, the Doctrinal Commission put its efforts in the process of redrafting the schema. The Commission worked with the Fathers' oral and written intervention, and other kind of material.[1017] During the working meetings, the new members of the Commission once again showed the clashes they had experienced in the classroom. Thus, Karol Wojtyla objected to the optimism of the outline on the problems of the modern world. Atheism, the situation of marriage and the family, and the question of peace and weapons were also difficult topics to address during the inter-session. Compromise solutions were achieved.[1018] Other criticisms came from Louis-Joseph Lebret OP and Karl Rahner SJ, from the French and German episcopates respectively.[1019]

Despite the complications, a new schema was prepared that incorporated the annexes into the text.[1020] However, particular issues such as family and marriage, social and economic activity, political community, war and peace remained complex issues due to local contingency and particularities.[1021] Therefore, the debate, taking place between 21st September and 8th October 1965, during the fourth session proved to be a doctrinal, theological and political challenge to reach compromises and respond to the expectations of the Catholic world. During this debate, a group of Peruvian bishops joined three collective speeches and one collective written observation, and prepared four individual written observations and joined one collective written observation.

[1016] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1196, fasc. 1, f. 2. It seemed that the Fathers considered the phenomenon of Left Catholics in Western Europe, who proposed a dialogue between Catholicism and Left ideologies, and an activism in politics and apostolic work. On the Left Catholicism in Europe prior to Vatican II, see: Gerd-Rainer Horn, *Western European Liberation Theology. The First Wave (1924-1959)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) and Gerd-Rainer Horn and Emmanuel Gerard, ed. *Left Catholicism 1943-1955. Catholics and Society in Western Europe at the Point of Liberation* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2001).
[1017] Burigana and Turbanti, "La intersesión," 479.
[1018] Burigana and Turbanti, "La intersesión," 482-483.
[1019] The critiques are summarised in Giovanni Turbanti, "Hacia el cuarto período," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen V. Un Concilio de transición. El cuarto período y la conclusión del Concilio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2008), 51-53.
[1020] The 1965 schema XIII is found in AS IV, I, 435-516.
[1021] Gilles Routhier, "Finalizar la obra comenzada. La experiencia del cuarto período," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen V. Un Concilio de transición. El cuarto período y la conclusión del Concilio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2008), 124-125.

Juan Landázuri Ricketts OFM had a speech on the schema *in genere* proposing five short observations and a final reflection. The archbishop thanked the commission and redactors because the schema was a real progress and also the first conciliar document in which the Church addressed humanity on the serious problems afflicting the whole world.[1022] The first and second observation indicated the necessity to polish the Latin, and to give more coherence to the literary style. Thus, Landázuri claimed that the text moved between a university style and a kind of popular rhetoric.[1023] The third pointed out that repetition and unnecessary length in the treatment of some of the issues in the schema should be reviewed. The fourth required a more precise use of doctrinal terms like Church which had throughout the text the meaning of faithful (*fideles*), institution and hierarchy. The fifth observation indicated that the language needed to be adapted because the public was not only Christians but also people of good will.[1024]

Landázuri added that the schema used two methods of expression. The first was based more a philosophical-humanistic approach rather than theological; hence, this method did not fit with a Council. The second method - which Landázuri did not name - proposed principles in keeping with the mentality of our times, but which did not only affect Catholics and Christians. For the Cardinal, both methods were merged in the schema, which was an important problem. Landázuri linked this limitation to the desire to turn schema XIII into a Constitution. Instead, a simple declaration addressing humankind could resolve this limitation. For the archbishop, the main purpose of the schema was to proclaim the Gospel, without long and difficult lucubration.[1025]

Landázuri concluded proposing for the first part a simple and sober presentation of Catholic doctrine on the presence of the Church in the world and how it was a leaven for all humanity. The entire world, added Landázuri, was waiting that the Council would solemnly explain the problems about the family, culture, socio-economic life and, specially, the peace in our days. Furthermore, the Cardinal expected that the first lines of the schema were truly put into practice.[1026]

Cardinal Döpfner, speaking on behalf of 91 German-speaking and Scandinavian Fathers, including Peruvian prelate Kaiser, also had a speech on the schema *in genere*. Döpfner and the undersigned Fathers gave their *placet* with gratitude to the new schema because the problems were clearly treated, the doctrinal section was deep and broad and the schema dealt with the concrete circumstances of the human beings of this time.[1027] However, they proposed four observations to improve the schema. The first one was on the anthropology, the schema did not clearly distinguish the difference between the natural and supernatural orders, the order of creation and the order of redemption. The second observation was that the schema did not answer the question: "what exactly can faith do to enlighten and strengthen the world?" The solutions given by the schema were very general and could produce disillusion, hence, the schema "must avoid any kind of false optimism."[1028] The third one pointed out the literary style, the repetitions and the need for a new

[1022] AS IV, I, 561.
[1023] AS IV, I, 561. As an example of this lack of stylistic coherence, Landázuri mentioned: "Sic, v. g., in contextu solemniore apparent sententiae huius generis: «Garrire circa dignitatem personae humanae non suflicit» (.pag. 23, n. 27), et paululum infra legimus de esuriente «qui, repente nobis in televisione occurrens, sopitam conscientiam nostram interpellat » (ibid.). Tales modi dicendi forsan minus consoni videntur dignitati textus conciliaris."
[1024] AS IV, I, 561-562.
[1025] AS IV, I, 562.
[1026] AS IV, I, 563. Landázuri quoted the first introductory lines of schema XIII: "Gaudium et spes, luctus et angor hominum huius temporis, pauperum praesertim et quorumvis afflictorum, sint etiam gaudium et spes, luctus et angor membrorum Populi Dei, nihilque humanum inveniatur, quod in corde Christi discipulorum non resonet."
[1027] AS IV, II, 28.
[1028] AS IV, II, 29.

revision. The fourth one recognised the limits of the text but also it was the beginning of new dialogue with the world, and "this beginning is quite difficult."[1029] Hence, Döpfner and the undersigned Fathers endorsed the schema but also indicated the theological limitations and the too positive approach to the world, which was the main difference among the French and German Fathers.[1030]

Four Peruvian Fathers joined three written observations *in genere* to the schema. James Burke OP, prelate of Chimbote, signed a short consideration proposing (*rogamus*) to change the title "Constitution," because the matter was more related to one of the following titles "Pastoral Letter," "Conciliar Letter," or "Solemn Message of the Council."[1031] Sánchez-Moreno also joined a collective written observation proposing the change of the title to "Address of the Ecumenical Council to the people of this time" (*Allocutio Concilii Oecumenici ad homines huius temporis*). They argued that the title "Constitution" was incomprehensible because of the problems in the document and the lack of time to solve them. The qualifier "Constitution" implied more work for the Commission, such as taking care with words, etc. However, "there is not enough time for so much work." Therefore, a new title would give more freedom to the Fathers and the Commission and would require less preparation time.[1032]

Fidel Tubino and Antonio De Hornedo joined a long collective statement on article 19 on atheism asking to add a paragraph on the problem of communism. They proposed three main arguments to defend their stance. On the positive reasons, the Fathers began recalling that around 600 Fathers' *vota* required an action against communism, and during the third and fourth sessions the Fathers also demanded to take a position on the topic. Hence, article 19 was insufficient because it was only dealing with the principal errors of communism. Moreover, the Council, with its pastoral character, must inform the faithful about errors that are to be prohibited, and communism was one of them. Therefore, Schema XIII, as an *aggiornamento*, must address communism as a problem, because they claimed – not without exaggeration – that it "oppresses more than half the world." Finally, the Fathers affirmed, the faithful expected from the Council a pronouncement on the relationship between communism and Christianity. The ecumenical value of this position would be expressed in that "hundreds of hundreds of thousands of us who have suffered persecution or suffer from Communism - Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants, Jews, and followers of other religions - expect from the Council something of comfort and solidarity."[1033]

The negative reasons given by the Fathers were that silence on the subject could, in the minds of the faithful, leave room for confusion and tacit permission to deal with communism, and could also encourage its spread. This would go against the whole magisterium of the Church. Thus, just as some accused Pius XII of keeping silent about the victims of Nazism, "so after the Council the College of Bishops (*Collegium Episcopale*) will be accused of silence about the victims of communism."[1034] Finally, the Fathers dealt with the "difficulties" expressed in the *aula* against an explicit rejection of communism. The first one mentioned that the recent pontifical magisterium was enough, but the solemn consensus of the whole Council would give greater strength and vitality. The second one concerned the harm to Christians "who groaned under communism." Showing no empathy for the Catholics who lived behind the Iron Curtain, the undersigned Fathers asserted the present suffering would not be worse in the future because of a public conciliar

[1029] AS IV, II, 29.
[1030] On the theological difference between both episcopates, see: Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo*, 615-651.
[1031] AS IV, II, 893. The undersigned Fathers were eight, seven of them came from North American dioceses.
[1032] AS IV, II, 893. The observation was signed by 27 Fathers, including Sánchez-Moreno.
[1033] AS IV, II, 898-899.
[1034] AS IV, II, 899.

declaration.[1035] Moreover, they claimed that the addition was requested by the many Fathers who were suffering persecution. Hence, the Church was mandated to speak the truth, "even at the temporary loss of herself," and that if the Council solemnly dealt with communism, it would be perceived with fear by world public opinion. [1036]

After the debate on the schema *in genere*, the Peruvian Fathers intervened, either individually or collectively, on the Part II of the schema "about some of the more urgent problems." The Canadian bishop Prévost PME, vicar of Pucallpa, together with 32 other bishops joined the speech of De Roo, bishop of Victoria (Canada). The observation, which included consultations with many married laypeople in Canada, focused on article 62 on the conjugal love. The starting point was that the sense of the faithful (*sensus fidelium*) had "its proper task in questions on moral life rather than in dogmatic questions."[1037] The discussion of schema XIII was, according to De Roo, an occasion to deal with family problems and to improve the sanctity of the marriage.

The Canadian bishop indicated that the laity expected the Council to recognise the gifts and qualities of marriage, which was de facto the vocation of the largest number of people. They also expected the Council to promote actively the progress to fuller ecclesial married life in the time of renewal of the Church.[1038] The laypeople, asserted the bishop, desired a more comprehensive doctrine of marriage. They agreed with the classical doctrine that marriage was rightly ordered to procreation. However, it was necessary to complete it by affirming that the love of the spouses is the source and cause of all procreation.

For this reason, conjugal love must be considered as an integral part of the daily life of the family, thus not only for procreation alone (*non agitur de sola procreatione*). Christian marriage was certainly a vocation for perfection of the spouses. They testified to the spiritual experience of conjugal love. Thus, the finality of the mystery of married life was tied to God the Creator, they shared God's love, and their own actions intuitively showed God as the source of life and happiness.[1039] Therefore, the bishop concluded that the Council could help the work of redemption of all mankind by threatening the value of married love in a positive way. He also called for the promotion of institutions of marriage spirituality such as the "Christian family movement," "Equipes de foyers," and others.[1040]

On the same issue, the Opus Dei prelate Ignacio de Orbegozo had an individual intervention in the *aula*. The prelate also commented on the question of marriage, specifically on chapter one, On the Dignity of Marriage and the Promotion of the Family, of Part II. First, De Orbegozo pointed out his regret that the logical consequences of chapter five "De universale vocatione ad sanctitatem in Ecclesia" of the dogmatic constitution *De Ecclesia* were not set out in the schema. Thus, the prelate asked: "What should the Church say to the world about marriage? [...] The answer is this: marriage is a school of holiness, it is a vocation for many to attain the perfection of charity. But this, *proh dolor!*, did not appear clearly in the schema."[1041] Second, the prelate indicated that article 63 on the fecundity of marriage could lead to "erroneous and serious misinterpretations" (*erroneis et gravissimis interpretationibus*). De Orbegozo stated that the Church had traditionally taught the existence of two purposes of marriage, one primary and the other secondary. The first was

[1035] The Eastern bishops kept a prudent attitude regarding the topic. Also the exiled Hungarian theologian and Lutheran observer Vilmos *Vajta, in his report to the WCC expressed his opposition to the condemnation of communism. See:* Tanner, "La Iglesia en el mundo," 270-271.
[1036] AS IV, II, 899-900.
[1037] AS IV, III, 75.
[1038] AS IV, III, 75.
[1039] AS IV, III, 76.
[1040] AS IV, III, 77.
[1041] AS IV, III, 94.

procreation and the second was righteous and mature love. However, article 63 did not clearly indicate these two purposes of marriage, which led to ambiguity and confusion.[1042]

Thirdly, on the parents' decision about the number of children, the prelate asked: Based on what criteria? What are the doctrinal elements of a "rightly formed conscience" that leads to a "prudent judgement"? Article 63 answered that the "doctrinal elements" were God's will and human prudence. But, De Orbegozo, with a traditional approach and ignoring the situation of poverty of large families, argued that "spouses can easily find in human prudence – reasons of health, comfort, education, etc.", a reason not to have more children. The prelate continued: "can they [spouses] also easily discern the will of God, which demands prayer, sacrifice, trust in divine assistance, self-denial and the Cross?"[1043]

The prelate indicated that the schema had few words of praise for large families, but encouraged married couples to consider the economic conditions and the good of the temporal society before having children. Hence, the Council seemed to be an instrument for spreading the propaganda (*propaganda*) of birth control. For the prelate, the solution was not birth regulation, but a better distribution of goods in the world. Therefore, the Council should defend the migration from poor countries to rich nations and demand that rich countries received migrants with charity and without discrimination.[1044] De Orbegozo's solution against birth regulation had no basis in reality. Finally, the Opus Dei prelate affirmed his preference that the issues of number of children and birth control should be reserved to the Roman Pontiff.[1045]

Joseph Höffner, bishop of Münster (Germany), proposed a reform of chapter three of Part II, on the economic-social life. His speech was endorsed by the German prelate Kaiser MSC and 79 other German-speaking bishops. For the bishops and prelates, the schema did not bring anything new to the table, but rather took up the teachings of the encyclicals *Rerum novarum*, *Quadragesimo anno* and *Mater et Magistra*. Economic-social life was a realistic and concrete matter that did not need "pious exhortations" such as the constant expressions of the schema: "oportet," "debet," "nitendum est," etc. The ideology of progress affected the chapter. Thus, they claimed that economic progress "contributes to the salvation of the world" was false. Höffner concluded by stating that "the disparities, imperfections and wounds of economic life are as impossible to eradicate as the eradication of sin from the world, because the whole world is set on the evil one."[1046] The opposition against progress was part of the discontent of the German-speaking bishops. For them, the schema lacked a theology of the cross, eschatology and the idea of the sinful human being.[1047]

Höffner continued describing the limits of the schema on topics such as the private property, the investment, the relationship between "capitalists" and "workers," the difference between the economic conditions of developed and underdeveloped countries, and a refutation of the concept of "work." In addition, the Bishop of Münster also rejected article 84 on the economic relationship between rich and poor nations, on the grounds that the Council was overstepping its powers by planning investments and calling for an institution to organise international business. Therefore, Höffner and the undersigned Fathers requested a total reform of chapter three.[1048]

[1042] AS IV, III, 94. De Orbegozo discussed the following quotation of article 63: "Matrimonium autem licet in prolem ordinetur, non est merum procreationis institutum; sed natura foederis indissolubilis inter personas bonumque prolis exigunt, ut mutuus etiam coniugum amor recto ordine proficiat et maturescat."
[1043] AS IV, III, 95.
[1044] AS IV, III, 95-96.
[1045] AS IV, III, 96.
[1046] AS IV, III, 288-289.
[1047] Bosschaert, *The Anthropological Turn*, 388-390.
[1048] AS IV, III, 289-290.

Two written observations addressed Part II of schema XIII. Jean-Édouard-Lucien Rupp, bishop of Monaco, sent his written observation signed by more than 50 Fathers among them Olázar Muruaga CP. After a "short examination" of the schema regarding its "paternalism" (*paternalismo*), Rupp suggested three short proposals. The first suggestion indicated that the schema did not explore in depth the office (*officium*) in which Christians, especially Catholics, could witness to their faith by showing greater solidarity, charity, moral unity, etc. The second recommendation proposed the establishment of right to migrate, because it could be a remedy for poverty and balance the demographic issue. Therefore, on the latter issue, the limitation of the number of children was unnecessary, as the Scriptures stated. The third proposition criticised articles 98, 99, 100 and 101 related to the issue of peace and war because the content was politically and legally controversial. The doctrine of papal encyclicals, mainly *Pacem in terris*, and papal speeches sufficed as principles.[1049]

The French prelate Metzinger commented on articles 102, on the presence of the Church in the international community, and 103, on the Christian parties in international institutions. He agreed with the cooperation of the Church in the establishment of the associations for the peace of people and human beings. This practice was a kind of dialogue between the Church and the world. As a second point, Metzinger recommended that members of Catholic associations, as individuals or representing the association, can cooperate with international organisations. He also considered that the Church can also participated in those organisations through official delegates. Metzinger stated that in these institutions the problems of the whole world were examined, solutions were sought and decisions were made; hence the Church should be in those spaces and also can inspire these processes in the spirit of true charity and justice.[1050]

For the prelate, a third element concerned the fact that a greater cooperation between Christians and the world would be obtained of International Catholic associations working with non-Catholic associations and all men engaged in different kinds of activities. These cooperations would be esteemed among the entire society. Finally, the prelate remarked the importance of establishing Catholic associations everywhere.[1051]

After the debate, Javier Ariz, together with Velasco OP, prepared a *votum* signed on 18th October 1965. They criticised articles 75, 81, 84 and 85 of chapter three (Part II) because much more could be said about the miserable and impoverished condition in which a large number of people lived. They requested the establishment of a permanent secretariat or a dicastery for the promotion of social justice in the world and the solution of the universal problem of poverty. These two problems should be addressed by this Roman institution.[1052] The office should be established in Rome under the presidency of a Cardinal member of the Roman Curia. The office should include members bishops, presbyters and laypeople from diverse nations who were truly experts on economic and social affairs. The purpose of the office was not to collect alms but to coordinate and lead the ecclesial efforts against poverty and give regulations on the social apostolate. It could also coordinate the different Catholic organisations of charity (Catholic Relief Services, Misereor, Caritas, etc.) keeping their independence. Finally, the cooperation with international institutions, even with non-Catholic ones (Protestants, Pagans, etc.), on social affairs should be endorsed by the office "in such a way that, joined in forces, the goal achieved can be reached more quickly."[1053] Ariz's apprehension with poverty fits with the main concern of many Fathers coming from Africa,

[1049] AS IV, III, 847-848.
[1050] AS IV, III, 836.
[1051] AS IV, III, 836-837.
[1052] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1207, 49, fasc. 470, f. 5.
[1053] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1207, 49, fasc. 470, ff. 5-6.

Asia and Latin America. Although, the vicar resisted many doctrinal developments, he endorsed all the social commitment of the Catholic Church in her struggle against poverty.

Because the closure of the Council was close, the Mixed Commission worked under a lot of pressure, preparing a new schema to be presented for voting.[1054] The schema was voted between 15th to 19th November and approved by more than two thirds of the Fathers.[1055] After the polling, the Mixed Commission faced an avalanche of *modi* completing 220 typewritten pages which were filtered by sub-commissions. Again, the main topics for discussions were atheism, marriage, and war and peace.[1056] The first two topics were also addressed by the Peruvian Fathers, but also they problematized the title, the doctrinal definition (anthropology, ecclesiology and other topics) and the economy. A total of 115 *modi* were signed by the Peruvian Fathers who addressed the title, the preface, part I (chapters one, two, three and four) and part II (chapters one and three).

Table 20. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*

Peruvian Father	Title	Foreword	Chapter one (P I)	Chapter two (P I)	Chapter three (P I)	Chapter four (P I)
Luis Sánchez-Moreno	1		2			
Joseph Laberge	1					
Nevin Hayes	1					
Teodosio Moreno	1		1			
Friedrich Kaiser	1					
Ignacio de Orbegozo	1					
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón	1		3	1	4	1
James Burke	1					
Gregorio Olázar	1		3		2	
Juan Landázuri	1				3	
Antonio de Hornedo	1				3	
Erasmo Hinojosa	1					
Javier Ariz	2	5	8	1	4	3
Valeriano Arroyo			3			
León de Uriarte			3	1	4	1
Mario Cornejo Revoredo				1		
Florentino Armas				1	4	1
Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda					4	1

[1054] Peter Hünermann, "Las semanas finales del Concilio," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen V. Un Concilio de transición. El cuarto período y la conclusión del Concilio*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2008), 366. The new schema is found in AS, IV, VI, 421-559.
[1055] Turbanti, *Un Concilio per il mondo*, 732-736.
[1056] Hünermann, "Las semanas finales," 368.

Redento Gauci					2	
José Dammert						1
Total	**14**	**5**	**23**	**5**	**30**	**8**

Peruvian Father	**Chapter one (P II)**	**Chapter three (P II)**	**Total**
Luis Sánchez-Moreno			**3**
Joseph Laberge			**1**
Nevin Hayes		1	**2**
Teodosio Moreno			**2**
Friedrich Kaiser			**1**
Ignacio de Orbegozo			**1**
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón			**10**
James Burke			**1**
Gregorio Olázar		1	**7**
Juan Landázuri			**4**
Antonio de Hornedo			**4**
Erasmo Hinojosa			**1**
Javier Ariz	8	3	**34**
Valeriano Arroyo			**3**
León de Uriarte			**9**
Mario Cornejo Revoredo	1	1	**3**
Florentino Armas			**6**
Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda	6		**11**
Redento Gauci	6		**8**
José Dammert	3		**4**
Total	**24**	**6**	**115**

The first 14 *modi* proposed to change the title from "Constitutio pastoralis" to "Declaratio pastoralis"[1057] or "Expositio pastoralis"[1058] or "Nuntius."[1059] For these bishops and prelates, the schema dealt with issues that were transitory and ephemeral and about which more scientific knowledge was lacking.[1060] Because the schema addressed humankind, the Council could only address this message to all human beings in the form of a message or a letter.[1061] Ariz also prepared

[1057] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 238, fasc. 2, ff. 91 (Sánchez-Moreno), 136 (Laberge), 175 (Hayes), 218 (Moreno)
[1058] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 238, fasc. 3, ff. 18 (Kaiser), 19 (De Orbegozo), 33 (Rodríguez Ballón), 70 (Burke), 76 (Olázar), 77 (Landázuri), 80 (De Hornedo).
[1059] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 238, fasc. 3, ff. 142 (Hinojosa), 185 (Ariz).
[1060] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 238, fasc. 2, f. 218 (Moreno).
[1061] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 238, fasc. 3, f. 185 (Ariz).

observations. He sent a proposition to change the title of the schema to "De Ecclesia inter homines huius temporis," because the schema addressed to children of the Church and all human beings. But also, the term "world" did not correspond to the biblical concept which referred to the "theatre of history," "the humankind," and "sin of the humankind."[1062]

From a traditional theological perspective, Ariz and other bishops pointed out doctrinal problems. For example, the use of the term "evolution" was seen as problematic because progress did not always occur. Changes were good as well as bad. The former attributable to God, the latter permitted by God. Moreover, evolution could be understood in the sense of a "Marxist evolutionism."[1063] The anthropological perspective was also criticised. Five Peruvian bishops requested the mention of the supernatural order of human being pointing out the human and Christian destiny of every human being.[1064] Seven Peruvian bishops also rejected the notion of freedom used in article 17. For them, freedom was defective and always needed to be reconciled with authority, so that it did not unwisely encourage anarchy and aversion against authority.[1065] Ariz also pointed out that article 22 should change its title from "De Christo novo homine" to "De Christo novi hominis principio" to avoid the false Christology of Teilhard de Chardin (*falsa Christologia Theilhardiana*). According to the *modus*, this Christology wrongly implied that by the very incarnation of the Word, the whole nature of human being was already sanctified and saved. The *modus* added that it was not only by the incarnation that the dignity of a child of God was established in every human being, but a person must also pass through the Passion.[1066] Ariz's position was closer to the German critiques on *Gaudium et spes* related to a false optimism regarding progress and human nature.[1067]

The issue of atheism and Marxism also attracted the attention of a group of Peruvian bishops. Ariz, together with Aniceto Fernández and Velasco, prepared a *modus* asking for a clear definition of the causes of atheism, which were not inherent to human nature. Among the causes, they described the public attacks against Christian religion done by philosophy and false science, the secularism and its exclusion of religion from public life and its hostility against religion. They rejected that the schema wanted to blame Christians themselves by calling "weak Christians" (*christianos debiles*), or "practical atheists" (*atheos practicos*), because they lived more in accordance with secular values than with Christian ones. However, this problem had always existed in the Church. Atheism had arisen because of irreligious philosophy and the secular state, not because of Christians' idleness of life.[1068]

A group of six Peruvian bishops, among them Ariz, proposed introducing three paragraphs on communism to articles 20 and 21. The proposal, quoting *Divini Redemptoris* of Pius XI, asked to make explicit that communism was a form of atheism that "disturbs the Pastors of the Church" and "that, under the guise of economic and social development, miserably disappoints the majority

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[1062] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 239, fasc. 2, f. 17. In another *modus*, Ariz requested that article 11 mentioned that the Devil was in the world. AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 239, fasc. 13, f. 6.
[1063] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 239, fasc. 6, f. 5 (Ariz); busta 242, fasc. 3, ff. 96 (Rodríguez Ballón), 110 (Armas), 131 (De Uriarte).
[1064] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 239, fasc. 14, f. 17 (Ariz); busta 240, fasc. 1, ff. 29 (Arroyo), 87 (Olázar), 111 (De Uriarte), 128 (Rodríguez Ballón).
[1065] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 240, fasc. 7, ff. 23 (Ariz), 48 (Sánchez-Moreno), 61 (Rodríguez Ballón), 113 (Arroyo), 154 (Olázar), 187 (De Uriarte), 188 (Moreno).
[1066] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 241, fasc. 7, f. 1 (Ariz)
[1067] During the fourth session, Joseph Ratzinger criticised the naïve approach to human reality and progress, without considering the human hybris and pride present in history from its origins. For the *peritus*, the Church's task was not to build up an ideal world. See: Joseph Komonchak, "The Redaction and Reception of *Gaudium et spes*. Tensions within the Majority at Vatican II," accessed on 8th January 2025, https://jakomonchak.wordpress.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/jak-views-of-gaudium-et-spes.pdf.
[1068] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 241, fasc. 2, f. 54.

of the people."[1069] They also asked for a clear statement calling for an effort to be made to eliminate the unjust conditions in society that unfortunately pave the way for communism. As an argument for their position they considered that the Church could not remain silent in the face of the grave errors of communism. The text did not reject the apparent liberation promised by communism and claimed that the Council's silence on the subject would be tantamount to the tacit abrogation of the pontifical magisterium on the topic.[1070]

The Peruvian bishops joined mainly doctrinal observations regarding chapters two, on the human community, and three, on the human life in the world. Rodríguez Ballón, Armas and De Uriarte criticised articles 24, 25 and 26 because they lacked an explicit mention about the ultimate reason of social disorder as consequence of the original sin. Hence, the society should be established according to the evangelical principles, avoiding any hint of a social revolution. According to the bishops, the Church taught that a Christian society should be preserved, defended and restored.[1071] In accordance to the traditional social teaching of the Church, eight Peruvian bishops demanded to add to article 33 that in the light of Revelation the Church "has permanently valid answers to the fundamental questions about the use of created goods, the value and purpose of life and the higher principles of human being's moral life with infallible certainty" in matters of economic, technical order, and moral principles.[1072]

Nine bishops also demanded a rewording of article 37 to make it clear that sin was a moral act: "a fierce struggle between good and evil, between God and evil, which began in the sin of the angels, entered the world through the sin of the foremost parents and reached all men in original sin."[1073] Finally, seven bishops joined a *modus* requesting a new redaction of article 39 changing for instance the words "novae Terrae" to "vitae aeternae." The *modus* asserted that the Council must teach the true eschatological doctrine and indicated that only faith and charity made human being participated in the "new earth.". Ariz added to the *modus* that it was prudent to eliminate of article 39 because it was infused with "these new theories of earthly and evolutionary eschatology."[1074]

On chapter four, on the task of the Church in the world of today, two ecclesiological visions clashed in the Peruvian *modi*. On one side, Dammert signed a *modus* suggesting to add a brief description of the Church following the theology of *Lumen gentium*. For this description, Dammert suggested to use Ephesians 1 because the schema XIII was intended to address humankind, mainly other Christians. Thus, the biblical foundations of the ecclesiology would give an ecumenical hallmark to the schema.[1075] On the other side five bishops joined a *modus* demanding a clear presentation of the Church, not as the "soul of human society in Christ renewed," but as a "perfect, visible and hierarchical society." The definition of the Church in the actual schema echoed

[1069] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 241, fasc. 5, ff. 10 (Ariz), 11 (Arroyo), 62 (De Uriarte), 140 (Olázar), 155 (Rodríguez Ballón), 161 (Sánchez-Moreno).
[1070] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 241, fasc. 5, ff. 10 (Ariz), 11 (Arroyo), 62 (De Uriarte), 140 (Olázar), 155 (Rodríguez Ballón), 161 (Sánchez-Moreno). During the evaluation of the *modi*, a letter-*modus* arrived to the Mixed Commission asking for a condemnation of Communism, because it was corrupted by atheism and in continuation with the magisterium. The *modus* was rejected by the Commission and its judgment was approved by Paul VI. See: Hünermann, "Las semanas finales," 369.
[1071] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 242, fasc. 3, ff. 96 (Rodríguez Ballón), 110 (Armas), 131 (De Uriarte); fasc. 5, f. 128 (Ariz).
[1072] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 243, fasc. 7, ff. 168 (Landázuri), 234 (Rodríguez Ballón), 254 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 261 (De Uriarte), 313 (Olázar), 340 (Armas), 372 (De Hornedo), 391 (Ariz).
[1073] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 244, fasc. 4, ff. 5 (De Hornedo), 32 (Ariz), 47 (Landázuri), 55 (Armas), 57 (Gauci), 97 (De Uriarte), 106 (Rodríguez Ballón), 163 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 172 (Olázar).
[1074] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 245, fasc. 3, ff. 57 (Ariz), 73 (De Hornedo), 161 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 198 (Landázuri), 212 (Armas), 230 (Rodríguez Ballón), 241 (De Uriarte).
[1075] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 246, fasc. 1, f. 4.

modernism. They also criticised the failure to distinguish between Christians and non-Christians, Catholics and non-Catholics. Likewise, the theory of evolution appeared everywhere, redemption embraced all mankind indiscriminately and nothing was said about baptism and the Church, both necessary for salvation. For all these reasons, articles 40, 41 and 42 were not in accordance with the traditional teaching of the Church.[1076]

The *modi* of chapter one of Part II, on the dignity of marriage and promotion of the family, focused on the purpose of marriage and the birth control. Gauci, Rodríguez Gamoneda and Ariz joined three long *modi* addressing articles 52 and 53 which discussed the notion of the "primary purpose" and "secondary purposes" of marriage. They demanded a clear statement that the procreation was the "primary purpose" of marriage in accordance to *Casti connubii* of Pius XI and the teachings of Pius XII.[1077] The silence of the Council regarding the purposes of marriage could lead to false interpretations. Besides, the schema emphasized the conjugal love without placing it under the main purpose: the generation of children.[1078] The same group of bishops also endorsed three *modi* insisting that the primary purpose of marriage was procreation. They claimed that marriage was a mean to manage perverted passions and concupiscence, and rejected the right of spouses to refuse any judgement of the confessor in matrimonial matters.[1079]

Contrary to his Peruvian peers, Dammert endorsed a *modus* requesting the addition of a paragraph to the same article 52 dealing with the family life. Article 52 should talk about the importance of the parents' example like sincere and benevolent communication between spouses, and the dialogue between spouses and parents with children. It also should highlight the role of the father in the children's religious education, because it was not only the mother's task.[1080] Dammert also signed two short *modi* indicating that virginity and widowhood were also paths to holiness, and the urgency to prepare young people for marriage.[1081]

Unfortunately, the topic of the primary and secondary purposes of marriage and birth control monopolised the debate on the marriage and divided the Fathers among one group which defended a comprehensive approach about spouses and the family, and another group opposed to any development in doctrinal terms about the classical teachings on marriage. The debate on the *modi* related to marriage escalated with the intervention of Pope Paul VI and the reaction of the Mixed Commission to avoid establishing a hierarchy of the purposes of marriage and a new judgement on birth control.[1082]

In contrast to the Western Fathers' concern on war and peace,[1083] the Peruvian Fathers supported *modi* regarding chapter three, on the economic and social life (Part II). Their *modi* addressed different topics related to agriculture, migration, strikes and the agrarian reform. Hayes

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[1076] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 246, fasc. 2, ff. 2 (Ariz), 38 (Armas), 41 (Rodríguez Ballón), 45 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 68 (De Uriarte).
[1077] The pre-conciliar pontifical teachings were a point of reference for the defenders of the primary purposes of marriage. However, the progressive Fathers considered birth control as a part of a more comprehensive view on marriage, focusing on the spousal love and responsibility. These two stances were carefully considered in the drafting of *De matrimonio*. One example of this effort was the Hasselt text. See: Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "Le texte de Hasselt. Une étape méconnue de l'histoire du *De matrimonio* (schema XIII)," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* vol. 80, nº 4 (2004): 485-505.
[1078] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 247, fasc. 4, ff. 87 (Gauci), 90 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 153 (Gauci), 156 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 370 (Gauci), 371 (Rodríguez Gamoneda); busta 248, fasc. 1 ff. 48 (Ariz), 213 (Ariz). The *modi* were also signed by Barros Câmara.
[1079] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 250, fasc. 1, ff. 100 (Gauci), 102 (Rodríguez Gamoneda), 159 (Ariz), 200 (Ariz), 230 (Gauci), 233 (Rodríguez Gamoneda).
[1080] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 248, fasc. 2, f. 160.
[1081] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 249, fasc. 3, f. 127; busta 252, fasc. 1, f. 64.
[1082] For the debate on the *modi* related to marriage, see: Hünermann, "Las semanas finales," 370-379.
[1083] On the debate on the war, see: Hünermann, "Las semanas finales," 379-381.

signed a *modus* on article 70 remarking the situation of young farmers. The schema should talk about the "importance and dignity of their mission" and the necessity to complete their training to develop agriculture. Hayes remarked that the main farmers' problem was the lack of income from producing and selling goods.[1084] On migration, referring to Pius XII's pastoral constitution on migration *Exsul familia* (1952), Olázar proposed to add that the immigrants had a duty to integrate into the host nation.[1085] Ariz signed two *modi*. In the first one, he proposed that the Council should encourage the legal protection and security of the right to strike (*operistitium*) when no solution was reached, so the workers could always be legally protected. Ariz's second *modus* cautiously endorsed the land reform proposing the necessity of technical and scientific studies before taking a decision.[1086]

On 6th December 1965, the entire schema was voted and solemnly approved by the Conciliar Fathers on 7th December. The drafting history of *Gaudium et spes* shows the doctrinal and theological tensions and complexities which divided the Fathers. From the Peruvian perspective, this history also shed light on the doctrinal mindset of many Peruvian Fathers regarding the Christological and anthropological foundations of the schema, but also their pastoral concerns grasping from their experiences of poverty, rurality and the fear of communism. Besides, the Peruvian Fathers also actively participated in the main trends of the debate like the critique against the excessive positivism of the schema and the idea of human progress, coming from a Western context.

4. Questioning the Ideas of Religious Freedom and Inter-Religious Dialogue: *De libertate religiosa* and *Nostra aetate*

4.1. Nuancing the Religious Freedom: The Peruvian Intervention in the Debate on the Declaration *De libertate religiosa*

The conciliar declaration *Dignitatis humanae* has a long history. The question of religious freedom began in the sub-commission *De laicatu et tolerantia* of the SCUF, which members – among them the bishops Emiel-Jozef De Smedt (Bruges) and François Charrière (Freiburg and Geneve) – met at Freiburg in December 1960. In that occasion, two texts were introduced. De Smedt, with the assistance of the Louvain theologian Louis Janssens, proposed a personalist approach focusing on the human dignity; and Charrière introduced a canonical text centred on the act of faith in relation to the requirement of the common good. These two texts showed the plurality of approaches to the question of religious liberty. However, in February 1961, the sub-commission prepared one schema, which reproduced mainly the text delivered by De Smedt.[1087]

In June 1962, two opposing documents were presented to the CPC: one prepared by the Theological Commission and the other by the SCUF.[1088] After the debate in the CPC, the vote was mostly in favour of the SCUF schema, but recommended to merge it with the schema of the Theological Commission. Thus, the issue of religious freedom could not enter the debate without first resolving the differences between SCUF and Theological Commission. By order of Pope John XXIII, Cardinals Bea and Ottaviani had to work together in a special commission under the leadership of Cardinal Ciriaci. In July 1962, Johannes Willebrands drafted the *Decretum pastorale*

[1084] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 252, fasc. 5, f. 192.
[1085] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 252, fasc. 5, f. 218.
[1086] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 253, fasc. 3, f. 199; busta 254, fasc. 1, f. 21.
[1087] Silvia Scatena, *La fatica della libertà. L'elaborazione della dichiarazione "Dignitatis humanae" sulla libertà religiosa del Vaticano II* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2003), 21-36.
[1088] Indelicato, *Difendere la dottrina*, 298-307.

De libertate religiosa, which was resisted by Sebastiaan Tromp SJ.[1089] After this impasse, the beginning of the Council seemed to put the question of religious freedom on hold. It was only during the first intersession that the SCUF took up the question again, taking advantage of the emergence of the Schema XVIII.[1090]

During the intersession of 1963 and after the death of John XXIII, the special commission lost its purpose. Cardinal Suenens proposed that the issue of religious freedom should be connected to the discussion on ecumenism and, hence, be taken up by the SCUF.[1091] A new draft was prepared which left out the topic of Church-State relationship, and focused on the freedom of conscience, based on human dignity.[1092] In November 1963, *De libertate religiosa* and also *De Iudaeis* were part of the schema *De oecumenismo,* being respectively its chapters four (*De Iudaeis*) and five (*De libertate religiosa*). During the second intersession, the debate continued and at the Coordinating Commission in April 1964, it was decided to have two declarations appended to *De oecumenismo*: the declaration on Jews and non-Christians, and the declaration on religious freedom. In the meeting of 16th May 1964 of the Coordinating Commission, cardinal Carlo Confalonieri proposed that the chapters on religious freedom and on the Jews became two different declarations.[1093]

At the beginning of the third session, among the Fathers, there were two main and contrary conceptions on the religious freedom. On the one hand, there were the defenders of the doctrine, mainly from countries with a Catholic majority, who relied on the papal magisterium of the 19th century. For them, the truth had the right to freedom of expression, while error could be granted only relative tolerance. Thus, only the Catholic Church, the repository of truth, and its faithful had the right (*ius*) to demand and enjoy full freedom. Other cults could be "tolerated" without affecting the true religion.[1094] Hence, this was the "thesis" and "hypothesis" theory. The "thesis" position meant that when the majority of the population adhered to the Catholic faith, the other religious belongings were tolerate. While the "hypothesis" meant that in a different historical context, adaptations and compromises should lead to a civic freedom for all the followers of religions.[1095]

On the other side, the doctrinal foundation of religious freedom was not so solidly established in the revelation and the magisterium. The defenders of religious liberty were driven by the need to seek new manners for the Church and the Christian messages to be announced. Moreover, this group was also aware about the problems and difficulties of the exercise of power and the Catholic privileges in society and politics. These defenders advocated for abandoning the

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[1089] Scatena, *La fatica della libertà*, 36-42.
[1090] Scatena, *La fatica della libertà*, 42-44, 46-53.
[1091] Scatena, *La fatica della libertà*, 54-55.
[1092] Soetens, "El compromiso ecuménico," 244-245.
[1093] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 323-327. During the second intersession (February-March 1964), a new draft was prepared by the sub-commission *De libertate*. The schema tried to answer to the Fathers' concerns related to "a precise delimitation of the spheres of the right to religious freedom as well as an accurate analysis of the criteria controlling the exercise of it." Some Fathers feared that religious freedom "may be interpreted as the faculty to define the relationship with God," hence the SCUF delimited it to the sphere of interpersonal relationship and civil liberties. See: Silvia Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt, John Courtney Murray and Religious Freedom," in *The Belgian Contribution to the Second Vatican Council*, ed. Doris Donnelly, Joseph Famerée, Mathijs Lamberigts and Karim Schelkens (Leuven, Paris, Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 635.
[1094] Giovanni Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas: La libertad religiosa y las relaciones con los judíos," in *Historia del Concilio Vaticano II. Volumen IV. La Iglesia como comunión. El tercer período y la tercera intersesión*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo and Evangelista Vilanova (Leuven, Salamanca: Peeters, Sígueme, 2007), 101.
[1095] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 101-102. On the complexity of the "thesis" and "hypothesis" theory and the Catholic transformation on the topic of religious liberty prior to Vatican II, see: Ángel Francisco Carrillo de Albornoz, *Roman Catholicism and Religious Liberty* (Geneva: The World Council of Churches, 1959), 5-21.

"thesis" and "hypothesis" theory and were in favour of the recognition of religious liberty as a fundamental right of the human person. Because of this proposition, the topic of the development of doctrine became a hot issue in the debate on religious liberty: the defence of the human dignity, to which religious liberty belonged, was based on the assertion that in the universal history of the Church the doctrine was still in development.[1096]

The debate on *De libertate religiosa*[1097] began with the *Relatio* of De Smedt who indicated the "extremely difficult" character of the topic. However, he insisted on the pastoral reasons why such declaration was needed. He asserted: "If we are addressing modern society, we must speak its language."[1098] The schema, still in the realm of ecumenical influence, placed the right to religious freedom on the nature of the person him/herself, considered through the perspective of the divine vocation. Hence, the schema emphasised the "maximum dignity of the person."[1099]

The Italian and Spanish episcopates reacted harshly against the declaration. They qualified it as an "agnostic indifferentism" which affected the primacy of the truth in society and politics. The Spanish bishops mainly rejected the role of public authorities to judge about the truth of religious matters.[1100] In a critical but compromising position, the Peruvian Fathers who intervened in the debate partially rejected the declaration. The Peruvian Fathers Arroyo, Armas, Gauci, De Hornedo and Roig – coming from missionary territories – joined three collective written observations, accepted the principles of religious freedom, but considered them inapplicable in the Latin American context. For these Peruvian Fathers, the Catholic majority of Latin America clashed with the principle of religious freedom proposed by the schema.

Three Latin American Franciscan Fathers, Francisco Felipe Muguerza (bishop of Orán, Argentina), José de Jesús Arango (prefect of Guapi, Colombia) and Valeriano Arroyo (vicar of Requena, Peru) signed a short support to Cardinal Joseph Ritter's and Archbishop Pietro Parente's proposals on the declaration *De liberate religiosa*.[1101] Cardinal Ritter (St. Louis, USA) believed that religious freedom was part of the "native law (*ius nativum*) [that] is being established upon the human nature of all human beings." Thus, religious liberty was a gift given by God. Therefore, the declaration should be reduced to simple arguments avoiding all the unfinished controversies and disputes, and only declare religious freedom as "native law of all human person who come in this world."[1102] Parente, on his side, also emphasised that all the theological disputes on the objectivity of truth, the right conscience before God, the subjectivity, etc., were "not necessary neither useful" for a conciliar debate. The declaration should only propose principles concerning the dignity of the human person as God's creature, the mission of the Church towards the establishment of the Kingdom of God, other non-true religions, human conscience related to true religion and *bona fide* error, the right and freedom of a person to profess his or her religion privately or publicly, and the role of the state as guarantor of the free coexistence of citizens adhering to other religions.[1103] Both Cardinals advocated for a compromise declaration excluding all the controversies regarding the notion of true religion, freedom of conscience, mission and coercion. For both of them, the declaration should only declare the freedom of religion as an innate right of the human person, as a creature of God.

[1096] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 102-103.
[1097] The text of *De libertate religiosa* is in AS III, II, 317-327.
[1098] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 108.
[1099] Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt," 636.
[1100] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 114-115
[1101] AS III, II, 718.
[1102] AS III, II, 368-369.
[1103] AS III, II, 471-473.

The Jesuit Ángel María Ocampo Berrío, bishop of Tunja (Colombia) prepared a written observation undersigned by the Peruvian Fathers Florentino Armas and Valeriano Arroyo. Ocampo acknowledged that many expert and authoritative voices asked for a declaration. They adhered to this mindset; however, the Latin American context did not correspond to the aims of the declaration. For them, Latin America was a continent founded on the principle of religious unity. Ocampo and the signatory Fathers asserted that they "pasture sheep among the people where religious unity is still in force, thanks to the Holy Spirit, the fruit, no doubt, of the prayer and work of our predecessors."[1104] Hence, they agreed with the "true doctrine of religious freedom," but claiming that the religious plurality fostered by the declaration did not favour the unity.[1105]

Ocampo proposed five points. The first one endorsed Ritter's intervention calling for a simplification of the declaration and deleting the "accidental and unnecessary" items like article 29[1106] which deterred the apostolate. The second point disagreed with the foundation of religious freedom on conscience, because the dictates of human conscience could be erroneous and harm social life. Hence, the juridical basis of religious freedom based on the sole human condition of a person, whether Christian or not, was undermined by recourse to human conscience. The third one required the inclusion that there was a "sacred and fundamental right (*ius sacrum et fundamentale*) that a human person has to freely adhere to religious truth."[1107]

The fourth point tried to save the continuity between the pontifical magisterium and the declaration. Thus, Ocampo rejected the assertion that the Church condemned the freedom of conscience. Quoting Pius IX's *Syllabus errorum* nº 79, Ocampo asserted that the *Syllabus* condemned the indifferentism which drove to freedom of conscience. He proposed an alternative "explanation or reconciliation" between this apparent discontinuity: the purpose of society, the common good, could change according to place and time. Hence, a broad religious freedom "is in conformity with the common good of our time," provided it did not contradict the common good.[1108] The final point highlighted that the declaration should include that the religious freedom as part of natural law also applied to the Catholic Church. Besides, the Church should claim her supernatural right as a religion approved by God and established by Christ.[1109] Ocampo and the undersigned Fathers, including the Peruvian ones, did not completely reject the declaration but proposed a nuance interpretation of the religious freedom which always explicitly recognised the doctrinal continuity and the superiority of the Catholic Church.

The Colombian archbishop of Pamplona, Aníbal Muñoz Duque, sent a written observation endorsed by the following Peruvian Fathers: Gauci, De Hornedo and Roig. The bishops claimed for a redrafting of the declaration because it did not fit with the Latin American reality. They celebrated the "Catholic religious unity" of Latin America which was an element of the common good and social order. For Muñoz and the signatory bishops, the Latin American religious situation was far from regions in which religious plurality made possible this pastoral perspective and, also, ecumenism. In those regions, the claim for a Catholic religious unity would be absolutely noxious. Because of its ecumenical and pastoral purposes, *De liberate religiosa* should not only consider the

[1104] AS III, II, 720.
[1105] AS III, II, 721.
[1106] Article 29, on the freedom of the religious person in society, proposed that rulers should protect the free exercise of each religion without imposing one religion on the entire population. The article also emphasized the obligatory duty of every human person to follow his or her own conscience. Therefore, no one can force another person to act against his conscience, even if he has an erroneous interpretation of religious truth. See: AS III, II, 319-320.
[1107] AS III, II, 721.
[1108] AS III, II, 722.
[1109] AS III, II, 722.

regions with religious plurality, but also the regions that preserved Catholic unity. The bishops called for a "sense of balance, charity, justice and equity."[1110]

Despite the Catholic unity of Latin America, Muñoz recognised the threat of "Protestant sects," which sowed mistrust in the hierarchy and misguided ideas among the simple and rough people. For the bishops, the documents *De oecumenismo* and *De libertate religiosa* created in many regions an "atmosphere of confusion" that promoted "practical indifferentism" and desertion of the Catholic faith. These documents, asserted the bishop, were greeted by anti-Church public opinion with triumphalism. In particular, for Colombia, both documents also affected the chances of a Concordat with the Holy See.[1111]

Influenced by the thesis and hypothesis theory, Muñoz and the bishops asked the Commission to redraft the declaration *De libertate religiosa* referring "to the principles of solidarity and true episcopal collegiality, according to which all bishops must understand the concern of all the Churches (*sollicitudinem omnium ecclesiarum*)."[1112] They disagreed that the declaration should be drafted with only people under atheist or religiously pluralistic regimes in mind, because it would be detrimental to countries of Catholic unity. They added that they did not want to hinder the ecumenical movement, which principles were healthy and true, but in Latin America the conditions for ecumenism did not exist in the face of the "insidious attack" of the Protestant sects against the Catholic Church.[1113]

On his side, Javier Ariz, also a missionary Father, was the only Peruvian bishop who prepared a long individual statement against the doctrinal principles of religious freedom. He tried to place the declaration in a kind of pastoral reading of the context. For him, religious freedom could only be accepted if it were based on the emergence of "religious pluralism," rather than on the data of Revelation and the tradition of the Church.

Ariz began objecting the justification used by the declaration in which the religious liberty was a condition for ecumenical dialogue. However, this justification was not coherent within the doctrinal foundation of the schema, because religious freedom involved also other religions, not only the Christian confessions. Hence, Ariz qualified the declaration as being "out of place" (*extra locum proprium*) because it should be placed within Schema XIII.[1114] Moreover, the notion of religious freedom imitated the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, so that the evangelical doctrine was renewed and recognised.[1115]

Ariz criticised the notion of religious freedom as a person's exercise of his or her religion privately and publicly.[1116] The object of this right was not only a person's beliefs, but also the public cult of any religious group from any religion. For Ariz, this notion was alien to the magisterium and to papal teachings. Firstly, this notion was also alien to number 14 of *Pacem in terris*[1117]

[1110] AS III, II, 907.
[1111] AS III, II, 907. Muñoz included that around 400,000 Catholic adult faithful left the Church every year. The lack of priests and economic means weakened the pastoral work against the Protestant spread.
[1112] AS III, II, 908.
[1113] AS III, II, 908.
[1114] AS III, II, 619.
[1115] AS III, II, 620.
[1116] Article 26: "Ius ad libertatem religiosam in societate vi cuius homines religionem suam privatim et publice exercere valent nec ulla coactione ab ea exercenda prohiberi possunt." See: AS III, II, 317-318.
[1117] "Also among man's rights is that of being able to worship God in accordance with the right dictates of his own conscience, and to profess his religion both in private and in public. According to the clear teaching of Lactantius, 'this is the very condition of our birth, that we render to the God who made us that just homage which is His due; that we acknowledge Him alone as God, and follow Him. It is from this ligature of piety, which binds us and joins us to God, that religion derives its name'.
Hence, too, Pope Leo XIII declared that 'true freedom, freedom worthy of the sons of God, is that freedom which most truly safeguards the dignity of the human person. It is stronger than any violence or injustice.

because the Pope defended the natural and absolute right, that is to say the objective right to worship God according to the right reason in the natural order. Ariz accused the editors of cutting off Lactantius' and Leo XIII's quotation, in which they referred to the true religion having the objective right to worship, and turned the objective right of the true religion into a subjective one.[1118]

Secondly, the notion of religious freedom did not appear in any pontifical documents before John XIII and those documents only referred to the right to freely practice the true Christian cult. Ariz quoted the encyclicals *Mirari vos* of Gregory XVI, *Quanta cura* of Pius IX, *Immortale Dei* and *Libertas* of Leo XIII, *Non abbiamo bisogno* and *Mit brennender Sorge* of Pius XI, and some of Pius XII's speeches. According to Ariz, Pope Paul VI in his speech to the Fathers in 1963 rejected and condemned that some nations infringed religious freedom. However, the editors once again cut off the text in which the religious freedom clearly referred to the exercise of the Catholic religion in countries under the control of communism.[1119] For Ariz, therefore, and contrary to Church doctrine, the declaration introduced a new concept of religious liberty as the meaningful equal right to practice any religion. The magisterium only recognised and defended the freedom to practice the true Catholic religion, and also the natural right to the common worship to God. Hence, the vicar wondered, "Doesn't this [notion of religious freedom] sound like total indifference, at least more practical?"[1120]

For Ariz, divine vocation (*vocatio divina*) as the foundation of religious liberty should be corrected.[1121] The divine vocation could not be reduced to the exercise of the right of religious freedom, because it was part of the economy of salvation and the supreme right to freely practice the Catholic religion in the Church. Hence, the interpretation given to the divine vocation as oriented to religious freedom as the equal right (*aequum ius*) to practice all religions and false cults was erroneous. Ariz qualified this notion as false and incongruous because to admit that all religions

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Such is the freedom which has always been desired by the Church, and which she holds most dear. It is the sort of freedom which the Apostles resolutely claimed for themselves. The apologists defended it in their writings; thousands of martyrs consecrated it with their blood'." See: John XXIII, *Pacem in terris* (11th April, 1963), accessed 24th October 2024, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-xxiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_j-xxiii_enc_11041963_pacem.html.

[1118] AS III, II, 620-621.

[1119] AS III, II, 621-622. Ariz' interpretation clashed with Paul VI's speech. The Pope referred to all forms of violation against the right of religious freedom, focusing on the marginalized situation of the Catholic religion in some countries: "Ob huiusmodi dolores quanta afficimur tristitia, et quam vehementer dolemus, cum cernimus in quibusdam territoriis religiosam libertatem, sicut alia praecipua hominis iura, opprimi eorum principiis et artibus, qui opiniones a suis diversas de re politica, de hominum stirpibus, de cuiusvis generis religione non tolerant. Dolemus praeterea tot adhuc iniurias alicubi iis illatas, qui religionem suam honeste ac libere profiteri velint. Attamen in hisce malis deplorandis, potius quam acerba verba, sinceram humanamque adhortationem iis iterum adhibere placet, in quos tristis huius condicionis culpa recidit; ut tandem desinant animum gerere catholicae religioni sine causa infensum; catholicae enim religionis asseclae non inimici vel infidi, sed potius honesti et operosi cives Nationis, ad quam pertinent, sunt habendi. Catholicos vero, qui propter suam fidem doloribus premuntur, hanc etiam occasionem nacti, peramanter salutamus et pro ipsis peculiaria a Deo solatia precibus imploramus." See: Paul VI, *Allocuzione del Santo Padre Paolo VI. Solenne inizio della seconda sessione del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II (Domenica 29 settembre 1963)*, accessed 14th January 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/paul-vi/la/speeches/1963/documents/hf_p-vi_spe_19630929_concilio-vaticano-ii.html.

[1120] AS III, II, 622. Ariz highlight that under the umbrella of the new notion of religious freedom, also the idolatry and polytheism were allowed (*non exclusa idololatria et polytheismo*).

[1121] Article 26: "Homines ad imaginem Dei formati et ad consortium divinae naturae vocati officium et honorem habent ut, secundum dictamen conscientiae, voluntatem Creatoris et Salvatoris in re religiosa sequantur. Inde exoritur ius ad libertatem religiosam." See: AS III, II, 317-318.

and cults were legitimate and willed by God was religious indifferentism (*indifferentismus religiosus*).[1122]

On the notion of the primacy of the subjective conscience, Ariz stated the primacy of righteous conscience (*recta conscientia*) because it was the only one informed by the objective norms and the divine truth. Thus, the righteous conscience was not independent from God, because the search for the true religion was a duty for the human being. The divine vocation, hence, was founded on the objective and absolute divine law. However, for the vicar, the schema based religious freedom on subjective conscience, which meant that all those who were mistaken in religious matters were in good faith, in spite of the sin of heresy, infidelity and apostasy. Likewise atheism might seem to human beings to be adequate according to the "opinion of their conscience".[1123]

Ariz highlighted that the "sincere subjective conscience" (*conscientia subiectiva sincera*) was contrary to Holy Scripture, the doctrine of the Church, the principles of rational ethics and Christian morality. Therefore, quoting the teachings of Vatican I and the encyclical *Immortale Dei* and *Libertas* the vicar concluded, "the subjective conscience is not the norm of itself for right action, nor is it conformed to the objective order of law."[1124]

On the topic of the freedom of the act of faith (*libertas actus fidei*) and being a missionary bishop, Ariz affirmed that the Church had always forbidden any coercion to spread the Christian religion. However, the expression of article 28 – "in proclaiming the truth, it is necessary to refrain from any direct or indirect coercion" – could be misunderstood, because the missionary means of inducing faith such as preaching, through the hope of eternal goods and the fear of evil things, could be considered coercive.[1125]

The same concern was displayed regarding the openness to every religion in equal foot with Catholic religion: "the declaration proclaims loudly and fully that religious liberty as the true and proper right of the private person and communities to practice religion privately and publicly turn Catholicism to any other religion according to the conscience of each."[1126] The declaration proposed religious freedom as a "true strict right" (*verum strictum ius*), however, this right – in the first place – was falsely derived from the duty and right to follow the divine vocation. Ariz remarked that to follow the divine vocation was to embrace and practice the true religion. Secondly, this right was opposed to the doctrine expressed by Leo XIII and the following Pontiffs. Thirdly, this right was falsely based on the right of subjective conscience, for to practise a false cult out of a mistaken conscience did not confer objective rights.[1127] The solution came, for Ariz, from "another indirect principle" (*ex principio alio indirecto*) which was the general right of the person. Thus, a person could be tolerated for practising a false cult while this person did not affect the common good of the society. Hence, the traditional concept of tolerance could become a true civil liberty for other religions, even if it was relative to the right of the true religion in a society with a Catholic majority.[1128]

As an alternative, Ariz proposed "a true practical principle of religious freedom" (*verum principium practicum religiosae libertatis*). For Ariz, the process of "socialisation" (*socializationis*) – a phenomenon of increasing global union among nations and peoples of different cultures and religions – brought about more interdependence among human beings and the need

[1122] AS III, II, 623.
[1123] AS III, II, 623-624
[1124] AS III, II, 625-626.
[1125] AS III, II, 626.
[1126] AS III, II, 626.
[1127] AS III, II, 626-627.
[1128] AS III, II, 628.

for respect of opinions, lifestyles and actions. Hence, there was a sufficient reason in the world of today (*ratio sufficiens in mundo hodierno*) for tolerance (*tolerantia*) towards other religions, and, in consequence, the religious freedom in the civil order (*libertas religiosa in ordine civili*) could gradually become full everywhere. Therefore, for Ariz, the new contemporary situation made it possible to declare religious freedom in practice (*in praxi*) in harmony with the main doctrinal principle of the Pontiffs.[1129]

Ariz summarised his rejection of the declaration in four objections. The first one was that the declaration had an imprecise and untidy redaction. It had an extremely secularist spirit (*spiritum extremi laicismi*) and was an imitation of the UN declaration. The second was that the principle of the divine vocation implied following the true religion, the Catholic Church, and not the sort of "naturalism" of the declaration which meant the equality of all religions. The third reason was the misconception of the primacy of the subjective conscience over natural law and the divine truth. The fourth reason was that the declaration accepted the right to propagate other doctrines and religions, which directly hit the missionaries.[1130]

The vicar added "positive" proposals for the declaration based on the notion of "practical pluralism" (*pluralismum practicum*). Because of the socialisation process, the religious pluralism became more evident in the world. Hence, religious pluralism was a sufficient reason to increase the respect for every person and group. Even if people did not act righteously, because of a wrong conscience, they kept the indirect rights of respect and freedom. The principle of practical pluralism made it possible to arrive at different regulations of the order of religious freedom, according to the different problems and contexts of the regions, and the diverse circumstances and characters of the people. Therefore, Ariz recommended to grant the episcopal conferences, according to the principle of collegiality, the right to regulate the question of religious freedom in cooperation with the civil authorities of the nation.[1131]

The vicar asked the Council to avoid imposing a rigid principle of absolute freedom which denied respect for the freedom of the Catholic nations so that dogmatic difficulties would no longer offend the consciences of the Fathers. He recommended a simple practical declaration which pointed out that the contemporary world was open to greater respect and freedom for all religions, but indicating that each episcopal conference could resolve the question by particular rules according to the situation of the nations and in accordance with the principle of collegiality.[1132]

After the debate, the SCUF began a redrafting process of the declaration considering all the interventions and written observations. Bishop De Smedt gave the American Jesuit John Murray the responsibility of redrafting the schema. In his draft, Murray linked the problem of religious freedom to the contemporary historical situation, avoiding the contrast between rights of conscience and abstract rights of truth. For him, religious freedom emerged as a "sign of the times" of contemporary history and of the rise of the personal and political consciousness of the human person. Hence, for Murray, religious freedom was based on the inviolable right of the person and the reality of the role of modern constitutional governments.[1133] It is interesting how Ariz's proposal resembles Murray's in the attempt to sustain religious freedom on contemporary historical conditions. However, this perspective to justify religious freedom also implied its limitation according to particular historical conditions, as indicated by the other interventions signed by the Peruvian missionary fathers.

[1129] AS III, II, 630-631.
[1130] AS III, II, 631-632.
[1131] AS III, II, 632-633
[1132] AS III, II, 633.
[1133] Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt," 637-638.

Because of Murray's position, in the SCUF two main positions on the notion of religious freedom emerged. On one side, the "French" stance which considered the right to religious liberty as a theological and moral question, from which political and juridical consequences were followed. The other side were the "American" position which considered the issue mainly as a political and juridical problem.[1134] In the midst of the "November crisis," the schema received many critical observations related to its exclusive juridical dimension, the problem of the magisterium on the matter and the lack of biblical foundation.[1135]

During the summer of 1965, the Fathers received a new version of the declaration,[1136] including an extensive *Relatio*[1137] in which the concept of religious liberty was explained. The declaration distinguished the civil liberty on religious matters from moral freedom and freedom of conscience. Thus, the object of the declaration was limited to legal and civil liberty, which prevented any human authority from compelling a person to act against his conscience in religious matters.[1138] The SCUF received 218 written observations during the third intersession. The majority of them in favour of the declaration. Two Peruvian Fathers sent each an individual written observation and two other Fathers joined two different collective written observations. With the exception of bishop Nemesio Rivera, who fully embraced the declaration, the other Peruvian bishops, accepting the schema, still criticised the notions of freedom and tried to nuance the doctrine of the schema.

De Uriarte showed a nuanced acceptation of the declaration. The schema had his *placet iuxta modum* because it was absolutely necessary to defend and accept the religious freedom and freedom of conscience. However, both types of freedom depended on God and must be ordered. De Uriarte distinguished the inner freedom of conscience (*libertas conscientiae interna*), which was intangible and which no one could interfere with, from the freedom which "is external or social or the external manifestation of conscience" (*libertas quae est externa seu socialis, vel manifestatio externa conscientiae*). In the latter, the civil authority can and must act to defend civil freedom of conscience and also to prevent certain rights so long as everyone was in peace and order and can live and serve God.[1139]

For the vicar, neither religious freedom nor freedom of conscience attacked, offended or fought against anyone's religion. A person should expound his religious doctrine without speaking against another doctrine or religion. Everyone should be free to expound his doctrine or religion. The exposition of doctrine and dialogue should not offend anyone, but should bring light, warmth and love. De Uriarte ended proposing the example of St Francis de Sales who "never spoke against the doctrine of the separated brethren, when he was in their midst, but confined himself to the exposition of Christian doctrine, in a clear, true and sincere way, and thus converted many thousands of thousands of separated brethren."[1140]

A group of conciliar Fathers prepared two lists of specific observations to the schema. In list A, signed by eight Fathers among them Arroyo, it was asked to change the title of the chapter one from "Libertatis religiosae generalis ratio" to "Libertatis religiosae apud hodiernos populos generalis ratio." The introduction of the phrase "apud hodiernos populos" avoided abandoning the

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[1134] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 134. The French position missed a deeper biblical foundation and, in particular, De Smedt regretted the suppression of the "divine vocation" argument. See: Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt," 638-639.
[1135] Burigana and Turbanti, "La intersesión," 488-489.
[1136] The schema of the declaration included the *textus emendatus* and the *textus reemendatus*, which is in AS IV, I, 146-167.
[1137] The *Relatio de reemendatione schematis emendati* is in AS IV, I, 168-199.
[1138] Routhier, "Finalizar la obra," 72.
[1139] AS IV, I, 718.
[1140] AS IV, I, 719.

Catholic doctrine of the magisterium. In this way, the declaration seemed to respond to the contemporary context without changing the doctrine.[1141] Another correction proposed to highlight that the human being cannot be obliged to seek the truth, but that the Church had the obligation to announce the truth in religious matters.[1142] The bishops criticised the lack of a Catholic doctrine about the union between nature and grace, and a biblical theology about the Christian liberty.[1143] They also considered it exaggerated to claim that the freedom of the Church was the "fundamental principle" of the relationship between Church and state.[1144]

List B was signed by eight Fathers among them Arroyo and Rodríguez Ballón. This group of bishops harshly rejected the idea that someone could expose his religious ideas in a dialogue, because the duty and right was to seek the truth, not to expose religious ideas. This principle was against the definition of Vatican I concerning the obligation of Catholics to persevere in the faith.[1145] They also questioned the use of *Ecclesiam suam* to understand the dialogue as a merely persuasive exposition of religious doctrine.[1146]

Nemesio Rivera was the only Peruvian Father who openly endorsed the declaration. He introduced his writing quoting the prayer intention for the application of the Conciliar decrees proposed by the Pious Union of the Apostleship of Prayer of March 1965. For Rivera, the intention came from the "fear" (*timore*) that the Council did not implement the reforms which produced a great hope. He pointed out that, unfortunately, many laypeople and priests openly resisted the movement of progress favouring modern things in the Church and the Council.[1147] The "sabotage" of these people consisted in the fact that they denied that the Church "is also subject to the universal law of all beings, namely: to grow, to progress towards perfection, and thus to serve human beings of all times and cultures, including modern culture."[1148] These people avoided the demands of the people and the new ways of thinking: "they live in past worlds seeing dangers in any progress." With their idea of the Church as a worldly kingdom, they also rejected the contact with poor, oppressed and ill-nourished people.[1149]

Rivera defended the schema *De libertate religiosa* because many people were suffering the deprivation of the "gift of religious freedom," and "justice demands that their voice be heard."[1150] He proposed a new model of studies for the clergy focusing on the freedom and abandoning notions that promoted coercion and violence. The bishop concluded mentioning that the schema provoked many expectations. The topic was being passionately discussed everywhere. "it would indeed be a most terrible deception for all humanity" if the Council would reject the schema. Finally, for the bishop, the world "will happily thank the Council and the Church, willing and determined to seek a serious dialogue and to achieve the fraternal union of the Christian faithful, which concerns

[1141] AS IV, I, 877.
[1142] AS IV, I, 878.
[1143] The assertion of these Fathers was also shared by Bishop De Smedt who wrote in May 1965: "l'Église ne s'engagera vraiment que si elle peut fonder ses affirmations sur la Révélation." Quoted in Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt," 644.
[1144] AS IV, I, 879.
[1145] AS IV, I, 880.
[1146] AS IV, I, 881.
[1147] AS IV, I, 836. "Quia revera non desunt, quod negari nequit, inter laicos et sacerdotes personae, quae apertam vel clandestinam resistentiam exhibent cum intentione impediendi aut frustrandi motum progressus modernis fovens [moderni foventem] in Ecclesia et Concilio." The sentence has a grammatical incorrectness which is corrected in brackets.
[1148] AS IV, I, 836.
[1149] AS IV, I, 836.
[1150] AS IV, I, 837.

everyone."[1151] Its approval would be a clear attention to the "signs of the times."[1152] Thus, among the Peruvian Fathers, Nemesio Rivera's stance was the most clear in favour of the religious freedom and this based on the conviction that the Church needed to be adapted to contemporary times. Furthermore, referring perhaps to the resistance of the Peruvian Fathers and the propaganda against the declaration prepared by the *Coetus internationalis patrum*, he described the opponents of the schema as saboteurs of the Catholic Church, and in advance made explicit the future conflicts of the reception of Vatican II.

Between 15th and 21st September, the declaration *De libertate religiosa* was discussed in the *aula*. According to De Smedt's *Relatio*, read at the beginning of the debate on 15th September 1965, the main objections came from the confusion between civil freedom on religious matters with other kind of freedoms: moral, ontological, psychological, etc.[1153] Also on 18th September, the *Coetus internationalis patrum* addressed a letter to the moderators demanding the reading of a *relatio* representing the minority position on religious freedom. The requesting was signed by the Peruvian Fathers Rodríguez Ballón and Rodríguez Gamoneda.[1154]

The debate focused on the classical teaching of the magisterium, the biblical basis of religious freedom and the limits of civil liberty in religious matters. During the debate, there were two main philosophical presuppositions. On one side, mainly represented by the American bishops, there was a focus on the demands of the present time and the pastoral reasons for the declaration.[1155] On the other side, primarily represented by Italian cardinals Ruffini and Siri – supporters of the *Coetus internationalis patrum* – who defended the divine order and law for a Catholic society and the right of the true religion (*vera religio*).[1156] Hence, the debate centred around questions about how to interpret tradition, the development of doctrine and the interpretation of Scriptures in conciliar context.[1157]

Table 21. Total number of the Peruvian *modi* to *De libertate religiosa*

Peruvian Father	n. 1	n. 2	n. 3	n. 4	n. 6	n. 7	n. 9	n. 10	n. 11	n. 12	n. 13	n. 15	Total
Florentino Armas	5	2	2	2	1				1	1	1		**15**
Javier Ariz	6	3	3	3	3	1		1	1	1	1	1	**24**
Valeriano Arroyo	5	2	2	2	1				1	1			**14**
Leonardo Rodríguez Ballón	5	2	2	2	1		1		1	1	1		**16**

[1151] AS IV, I, 838. "Quaestione tanti momenti bene soluta mundus gaudenter gratias acturus erit Concilio atque Ecclesiae, paratus, decisus ad quaerendum serium dialogum et ad consequendam unionem fraternalem christifidelium, quae omnibus curae est."
[1152] AS IV, I, 838.
[1153] Routhier, "Finalizar la obra," 73.
[1154] Roy-Lysencourt, *Recueil de documents*, 945-954.
[1155] Within majority, the American and French stances caused disagreement regarding the foundation of religious freedom. Murray's legal-political approach to religious freedom divided the drafting commission, and the Fathers and theologians, belonging to the majority. Scatena remarked that the real problem of the schema was "the fact that religious freedom, understood above all as the immunity from restrictions in the practice and in the diffusion of one's beliefs, 'is not found exactly as such in the Holy Scriptures,' as Congar wrote one year after of the promulgation of *Dignitatis humanae*." See: Scatena, "Emiel-Josef De Smedt," 642-643.
[1156] Routhier, "Finalizar la obra," 75; Scatena, *La fatica della libertà*, 450-458.
[1157] For an analysis of the debate during the fourth session, see: Routhier, "Finalizar la obra," 77-88

Antonio De Hornedo	5	2	2	2	1		1		1	1	1		**16**
León de Uriarte	3	2	2	2	1		1		1	1	1		**14**
Damian Roig	3	1	2	2			1		1	1	1		**12**
Gregorio Olázar	4	2	2	2	1				1	1			**13**
Luis Sánchez-Moreno	3	1	2	2	1		1		1	1	1		**13**
José Dammert	1								1				**2**
Nemesio Rivera	1								1				**2**
Juan Landázari					1								**1**
Total	**41**	**17**	**19**	**19**	**11**	**1**	**5**	**1**	**11**	**9**	**7**	**1**	**142**

In October 1965, after the debate in the *aula*, the commission received the *modi* prepared by the Fathers. A total of 142 *modi* were signed by the Peruvian Fathers, most of them focusing on articles one to four.[1158] Regarding the title, five Peruvian Fathers undersigned a *modus* claiming for a change of the declaration title from "Schema declarationis de libertate religiosa de iure personae et communitatum ad libertatem socialem et civilem in re religiosa" to "Schema declarationis de libertate religiosa SEU DE IURE CIVILE ad libertatem socialem et civilem in re religiosa." According to the *modus*, the declaration referred to the religious liberty in civil positive law terms which opened to the wrong idea that the Church had a direct power over civil society. According to the Fathers, the nature and object of the declaration addressed the Church's civil right over the society, which was also misguided. Hence, the title should be changed, but also the contents of the declaration. Thus, the Church can only declare the ecclesiastical, natural and divine law but not positive civil right because it concerned the society and civil power.[1159]

On the notion of religious freedom, the Peruvian *modi* requested to place it within the civic and social rights. Thus two *modi* called for a correction to the notion of religious freedom, considering tradition and doctrinal continuity according to Vatican I. These *modi* proposed to consider religious freedom as "civil freedom in religious matters."[1160] The vicar Ariz insisted on the exterior character of freedom, its civic dimension, and how to combine this dimension with the ecclesial right to announce the religious truth. This clarification would prevent the Council from endorsing the secularist position on religion.[1161]

Ariz, together with Juan Velasco OP, proposed a correction of the notion of religious freedom according to the principle of true religion. Hence, the right to religious freedom should be in accordance to the Catholic teachings on the true one religion. Thus, the people of the true religion had the eminent right and duty to announce and propagate it. On the other hand, people who believed in other religions only had the right to privately exercise their religion according to the principle of their dignity and without coercion. Moreover, the freedom of public profession of the religious worship of other religions was to be limited in order to favour the true religion which was

[1158] The Fathers reacted to a new draft of the declaration which is found in AS IV, V, 77-98.
[1159] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 177, fasc. 3, ff. 6 (Armas), 15 (Ariz), 16 (Arroyo), 69 (De Hornedo), 166 (Rodríguez Ballón).
[1160] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 177, fasc. 4, ff. 6 (Armas), 13 (Ariz), 14 (Arroyo), 76 (De Hornedo), 87 (De Uriarte); fasc. 5, ff. 6 (Armas), 14 (Ariz), 15 (Arroyo), 69 (De Hornedo), 78 (De Uriarte), 147 (Roig), 153 (Olázar), 178 (Rodríguez Ballón), 200 (Sánchez-Moreno).
[1161] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 178, fasc. 2, f. 11

ordered to the common good and the divine order. However, where there were several religious doctrines, all were entitled from the common order of nature and the dignity of the human person to the equal right (*aequum ius*) of religious freedom. This thesis-hypothesis approach, according to the Dominicans Ariz and Velasco placed the declaration within the teaching of the Pontiffs and the theological principles of the true religion. Besides, the ultimate based for religious freedom was tolerance which was ultimate rooted in the dignity of the human person. [1162]

On the civil limits of religious freedom, a group of nine Peruvian Fathers endorsed a *modus* asking a correction in which the "religious communities" (*communitates religiosae*) should exercise their civil right to public divulging with limitations. Only the Catholic Church, which had the true religion, can freely exercise this right, which came not only from civil law but also from natural law.[1163] Thus, Ariz, in two *modi* to article 6, emphasised the notion of just discrimination in favour of true religion, which was partially acknowledge in the schema.[1164]

Regarding the topic of conscience, Ariz signed a *modus* against so-called subjectivism related to the idea of the formation of conscience, because it stressed the primacy of conscience, even when it was wrong or immoral. However, for the vicar, Catholic doctrine affirmed that conscience as a norm of the moral order and of true religion must necessarily distinguish between conscience that was upright and true, or at least in good faith, and conscience that was in bad faith and erroneous. Hence, for Ariz, the primacy of a correct conscience should be clearly placed in the declaration.[1165]

Dammert and Rivera endorsed a *modus* demanding to nuance the mandate that all human beings to seek the truth, related to God and his Church, and when he/she found it, he/she must accepted and practiced it. Although, it was correct that the truth was in the Catholic Church, and there was an obligation to accept and practice the Catholic faith, it was not appropriate for non-Catholics. The text also presupposed the faith, which was not evident for all people. Hence, the *modus* recommended to eliminate any reference to this obligation.[1166]

There were also other minor *modi* addressing other articles. Many of them pointed out the inclusion of the word "civil" next to law to indicate that the religious freedom belonged to civil law.[1167] On article 2, seven Peruvian Fathers endorsed a *modus* which wanted to delete a section in which it was said that a person should be immune from coercion in religious matters due to the truth of the dignity of the human person.[1168] Thus, Ariz considered that some coercion and legal limits should be allowed to preserve the public order and good and defend the exercise of the true

[1162] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 179, fasc. 5, f. 11.
[1163] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 181, fasc. 4, ff. 6 (De Uriarte), 84 (Roig), 89 (Olázar), 114 (Rodríguez Ballón), 134 (Sánchez-Moreno), 162 (Armas), 169 (Ariz), 170 (Arroyo), 222 (De Hornedo).
[1164] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 182, fasc. 2, ff. 80, 100.
[1165] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 180, fasc. 1, f. 60
[1166] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 178, fasc. 2, f. 32 (Dammert), 90 (Rivera).
[1167] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 182, fasc. 6, ff. 25 (De Hornedo), 34 (De Uriarte), 61 (Roig), 85 (Rodríguez Ballón), 105 (Sánchez-Moreno); fasc. 7, ff. 69 (Armas), 76 (Ariz).
[1168] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 179, fasc. 1, ff. 44 (Rodríguez Ballón), 60 (Sánchez-Moreno); fasc. 2, f. 30 (Armas); fasc. 3, ff. 11 (Ariz), 12 (Arroyo), 52 (De Hornedo), 60 (De Uriarte).

religion.[1169] Finally, a group of nine Peruvian Fathers requested the elimination of article 12[1170] because it falsified ecclesial history and contradicted the teaching of the Church.[1171]

In sum, the Peruvian *modi*, with the exception of Dammert's and Rivera's *modus*, were very critical to the declaration and tried to nuance its principles. Most of the *modi* persisted in a critical assessment of the notion of freedom, most of them within the thesis-hypothesis approach, which considered religious freedom a "civic" right. This approach insisted on the importance of the true religion in social and civil life.

4.2. *Nostra Aetate* and the Interreligious Dialogue: A Minor Point on the Peruvian Conciliar Agenda

In 1963, *De Iudaeis* was chapter four of the schema *De oecumenismo*, and later on, became the *Declaratio Altera de Iudaeis et Non Christianis*. During the third session, in 1964, the schema was debated *in aula*. The question on Judaism was incorporated into the *Declaratio* and, at the end of third session, became the nº 4 of the declaration *De Ecclesiae habitudine ad religiones non-christianas*.[1172]

The question of the Jewish people remained as a crucial and delicate topic in the SCUF and among the Fathers. One of the main difficulties with the declaration was the accusation of "deicide" against Jewish people. This expression was used to accuse Jewish people for the death of Jesus. In his report of 25th September 1964 to the *aula*, Cardinal Bea, president of the SCUF, indicated that the "deicide" issue was discussed at length in the Coordinating Commission and there it was decided to present the issue to the Fathers. The topic sprung the fear of the Oriental and Arab Fathers, who in a coalition with a group of traditional Fathers, were opposed to the declaration. On one side, and because of their origins, the Melkite and Arab Fathers gave priority to siding with the Arab Christian minorities in the Middle Eastern countries. They feared that if the document was approved in its initial form it would lead to serious reprisals by Arab governments against Christian minorities. The Orthodox bishops (Monophysites, non-Chalcedonians, Syrians, Copts, etc.) also rejected the declaration fearing reprisals and limitations to the freedom of cult, and because of their "anti-Jewish" mentality."[1173] On the other side, the traditional Fathers, most of them leading by the *Coetus internationalis patrum*, affirmed that the New Testament and the traditional doctrine of the Church confirmed the absolute responsibility of the Jewish people in the death of Christ.[1174]

During the third session, between 28th to 30th September, the *Declaratio Altera de Iudaeis et Non Christianis* received attacks, mainly related to the accusation of "deicide" to Jewish people. However, for many Fathers the declaration should be broaden and could be redrafted. Hence, after the debate and the reception of *modi*, the SCUF worked on the observations and *modi* to prepare a new schema of declaration to be approved before the end of conciliar session. Hence, the SCUF

[1169] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 183, fasc. 1, f. 9.

[1170] Article 12 acknowledges that "Ecclesia igitur evangelicae veritati fidelis, viam Christi et Apostolorum sequitur quando rationem libertatis religiosae tamquam dignitati hominis et Dei revelationi consonam agnoscit eamque fovet." See: AS IV, V, 89. (In faithfulness therefore to the truth of the Gospel, the Church is following the way of Christ and the apostles when she recognizes and gives support to the principle of religious freedom as befitting the dignity of man and as being in accord with divine revelation).

[1171] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 183, fasc. 4, ff. 38 (Roig), 42 (Olázar), 67 (Rodríguez Ballón), 90 (Sánchez-Moreno); fasc. 5, ff. 63 (De Hornedo), 79 (De Uriarte), 120 (Armas), 127 (Ariz), 128 (Arroyo).

[1172] Mathijs Lamberigts and Leo Declerck, "Mgr E.J. De Smedt et le texte conciliaire sur la religion juive (*Nostra Aetate*, nº 4)," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses*, vol. 85, nº 4 (2009), 342.

[1173] Lamberigts and Declerck, "Mgr E.J. De Smedt," 342.

[1174] Vilanova, "La intersesión (1963-1964)," 325-326; Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 139; Lamberigts and Declerck, "Mgr E.J. De Smedt," 34.

introduced for voting the declaration *De Ecclesiae habitudine ad religiones non-christianas*,[1175] which was approved with 1,651 *placet*, 99 *non placet* and 242 *placet iuxta modum*.[1176]

The Peruvian bishops did not participate in the debate of the third session. Only two bishops sent individual *modi* in November 1964 addressing the articles 3 (*De Musulmanis*) and 4 (*De Iudaeis*). Regarding article 3, Gonzáles Ruiz demanded the removal of the sentence in which the declaration acknowledged that Muslim people worshiped God with the their moral life, both individual and family.[1177] The reason was based on the Muslim tolerance of polygamy which was a "great ruin for family and turns it against God."[1178]

De Uriarte, giving his *placet iuxta modum* to the declaration, sent an extensive *modus* against article 4. In his statement, De Uriarte echoed the worst antisemitic propaganda. Asserting the importance of loving the enemies, as Christ's command, he affirmed that "the Jews have been Christ's enemies from the beginning up to the present day."[1179] They also promoted all revolutions, and freemasonry in which they were among the principal members. The freemasonry was the everlasting enemy of the Church of Christ, and the Jews were the author, promoters and actors of the international communism. The bishop asserted that, "in one word: the Jews are the enemies of the humankind and the exploiters of them throughout the centuries […] I do not know how it can be said that the Jews did not kill Christ."[1180] De Uriarte made the difference between the cause of Christ's death, which were the Jews, and the purpose of Christ's death, which was the Redemption of the humankind. Hence, there were the physical cause (*physica causa*) of Christ's death, which were caused by the Jews, and the moral cause (*causa moralis*) for which Christ died: "we are all sinful human beings for whom Christ died."[1181]

After his harsh and violent doctrinal exposition, De Uriarte offered a critique against the argument that Christians should recognise that the Jews were persecuted throughout the centuries. For the vicar, this presupposition was a "wrong and unjust ecumenism [sic]." De Uriarte added that thousands of poor and innocent Arabs were violently and cruelty expelled from their homes and countries, and were upheld by international charity and the Holy See. For this people only had to fulfil Christ's commandment of loving the enemies. Concluded De Uriarte that "we can and must, all of us who are glorified by the name Christian, to love Jews although we know that, apart from a miracle of God, the Jews never love Christians."[1182]

De Uriarte's *modus* displayed a common stance among many Fathers, both on the question of "deicide" and antisemitic accusations. For many Catholics, the anti-Jewish Christian tradition and the Catholic antisemitism were legitimate positions. During the debate, anti-Semitic propaganda leaflets were distributed[1183] and many bishops received requests to stop the declaration.[1184]

[1175] The Fathers observed the schema of 1964, which is found in AS III, VIII, 637-643.
[1176] Lamberigts and Declerck, "Mgr E.J. De Smedt," 342.
[1177] "Exinde Deum colunt maxime in oratione, eleemosynis et ieiunio;vitam quoque moralem tam individualem quam familialem et socialem in obsequium Dei ducere conantur." AS III, VIII, 639.
[1178] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 212, fasc. 4, f. 12.
[1179] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 212, fasc. 5, f. 10.
[1180] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 212, fasc. 5, f. 10.
[1181] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 212, fasc. 5, f. 10.
[1182] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 212, fasc. 5, f. 10.
[1183] Miccoli, "Dos cuestiones delicadas," 140.
[1184] For instance, Geraldo de Proença Sigaud SVD, a Brazilian archbishop and member of the *Coetus internationalis patrum*, spread antisemitic propaganda during the 1964-debate. Among his papers is a short letter addressed to him. The letter speaks out against the declaration because "asserting that the Jews are not deicide because Christ died for the sins of the humankind is ridiculous." See: FSig 1.20; 2.29; 2.31,

5. A Peruvian Concern on the Topic of Education: José Dammert's Intervention on *Gravissimum Educationis*

Between April and May 1963, the conciliar schema *De scholis catholicis* was sent to the Fathers by the Commission on Seminaries, Studies and Catholic Education.[1185] The schema, which had three sections, insisted on the duty and right of the Church in education. The first section dealt with the fundamental rights of the person, family, State and the Church. The second part reflected on the school in general and the Catholic school in particular. The third section focused on the Catholic universities.[1186]

Dammert, who had been professor, General Secretary and Vice-Rector of the PUCP, was the only Peruvian bishop who focused on the issue of education. He prepared a list of 9 observations to the schema *De scholis catholicis*, signed in Cajamarca on 9th July 1963. On article five (of April 1963), Dammert considered that should be added a paragraph to encourage the presence in secular schools (*escuelas laicas*) of Catholics, both at management and teaching level. He pointed out that without an "excessive support to 'Catholic schools', the education field was abandoned to secularists (*laicistas*) and Marxists."[1187]

For Dammert, regarding the right of the Catholic Church to education, it implied also the duty to attend the spiritual formation of students of secular schools. In Peru, for instance, 90% of the total student population attended secular schools. Out of the total student population, 95% were baptised. The bishop criticised the excessive concentration of Catholic teachers in Catholic schools for it impeded the religious care of secular schools, resulting in a grave pastoral damage for a ecclesiastical jurisdiction. It must therefore avoid forming a "Catholic ghetto" that excluded other Catholic pupils, especially since in many countries Catholic schools were largely geared to the powerful classes, while the common people were educated in secular schools. Hence a paragraph should be added about the duty of the Church to offer religious formation to pupils of secular schools. Finally, Dammert opposed to the "grave moral obligation" on parents to send their children to Catholic schools because there were too few Catholic schools for the number of school population and it would create a serious problem of conscience for the parents.[1188]

Concerning the Catholic universities, Dammert claimed that a Catholic expert (*doctos católicos*) should take the Christian thought everywhere to give a testimony of truth. A Catholic expert should also teach in any university, and "perhaps his witness at a secular university would be more crucial."[1189] Dammert concluded that the topic of Catholic education was very broad and complex. Moreover, the conditions of Catholic schools were quite different in each nation, even in different regions of the same country. Hence, the schema should propose very general principles. For all these reasons, the schema had to be consulted and revised by the universal episcopate in good time before being promulgated by the Council.[1190]

On 19th October 1964, the Commission distributed among the Fathers the schema of propositions *De educatione christiana*.[1191] Dammert intervened once again. The propositions

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[1185] The schema *De scholis catholicis* is in AS III, VIII, 185-189.
[1186] Grootaers, "El Concilio se decide," 444. On the history of the schema, see: Mathijs Lamberigts, "*De scholis Catholicis*. The Preparatory of the Decree on Catholic Schools in the Preparatory Period," in *Vatican II After Sixty Years. Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, ed. Mathijs Lamberigts, Antonia Pizzey and Karim Schelkens (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2023), 313-334.
[1187] AS III, VIII, 983.
[1188] AS III, VIII, 983.
[1189] AS III, VIII, 984.
[1190] AS III, VIII, 984. Dammert's observations were included in the *Animadversiones Patrum circa schema typis impressum "De scholis catholicis"* in AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1141, fasc. 9.
[1191] The schema *De educatione christiana* is in AS III, VIII, 209-215.

clearly presented the Catholic educational system as different from the official educational system. However, proposing statistics from the USA and Peru, Dammert showed the impossibility of providing Catholic education to all Catholic pupils. Hence, the Peruvian bishop asserted that the Church should evaluate whether the effort to maintain the Catholic school system was well targeted, as it only educated a minority at great cost in terms of people, resources and social effectiveness. The fact that many Catholic pupils cannot be educated in Church schools was a criticism of a system that favours social discrimination.[1192]

Dammert considered that the tendency of the schema was to endorse the Church's educational system and to form groups that would be part of the official educational system of each country. However, due to limited staffing, Dammert proposed three important questions that addressed the core of the schema: whether or not a general and universal statement on Catholic education was possible. The bishop's questions were (1) "which of the two, the public system of education or the Church's own system, is to be preferred, and in which is more activity, more work and therefore more personnel to be put?", (2) "What criteria should prevail in the choice of one side over the other, i.e. why should more personnel be devoted to the official system of education than to the establishment of the Church's own system?", and (3) "Can there be a common solution for all countries where the Church serves souls, or are different solutions to be considered?"[1193]

To these questions, Dammert gave four criteria for the discernment: (1) the right of the baptised to religious instruction corresponding to their cultural and human development; (2) the hierarchy's invitation or mandate to religious educational institutes to consider teaching outside their own educational establishments as part of their work; (3) in the apostolic planning, it should be considered the ministry of teaching as exceptionally urgent, especially outside Catholic schools;[1194] and (4) due to the debate of *De Ecclesia in mundo huius temporis*, a question emerged: "How does the Church serve modern society, either from its own system or within the official system, or by maintaining the simultaneity of its action on both sides?"[1195] Dammert therefore concluded that the declaration *De educatione christiana* should be referred back to the Commission for further elaboration of the proposed observations.[1196]

The schema was redrafted and expanded during the third intersession.[1197] On 6th October 1965, the schema was distributed among the Fathers in order to be voted on 13th October. A group of Fathers from different countries, among them Dammert, signed a protest statement, distributed among the Fathers. The statement intitled "Arguments for the revision of the schema on the Christian education" proposed a vote against *De educatione christiana*. The signatory bishops criticised the confusion between the concepts of school and education, attributing it to Western thinking. The whole experience of education was to be approached as a lifelong process, which was irreducible to static and abstract models. The schema, the signatories charged, proposed the right of parents to choose schools in abstract terms, when in reality – considering the pastoral reality of their contexts – such a right was impossible to exercise. Furthermore, the Church's role in education

[1192] AS III, VIII, 505.
[1193] AS III, VIII, 506.
[1194] Dammert quoted that in Peru, there were 10,665 official schools and 1,593 private schools, most of them belonging to the Church.
[1195] AS III, VIII, 506-507.
[1196] AS III, VIII, 507. Other Latin American bishops like McGrath and Méndez Arceo also criticized the danger that Catholic schools became closed circles, "ghettos" in Dammert's words. See: Velati, "Completar la agenda," 192.
[1197] The schema is in AS IV, IV, 231-247.

was to be separated from the apostolic mandate of mission. Finally, the statement ignored the work of Catholic teachers in the public school system.[1198]

After the vote, Mariano Valdivia y Ortiz sent to the Cardinal moderators a short observation signed on 26th October 1965. He was part of the group of Fathers who supported the classical teaching of Pius XI's encyclical *Divini illius magistri* (1929). He called for the deletion of the line: "Let them [children and young people] also be given, as they advance in age, a positive and prudent sex education." The reason was that this teaching was "not consistent with traditional teaching, nor with pontifical documents, especially the Encyclical *Divini illius magistri* of Pius XI, and therefore less befitting of a Conciliar Document."[1199] The observation arrived later. The schema of the declaration *Gravissimum educationis* was promulgated by Pope Paul VI on 28th October 1965.

6. Conclusion

A first point was that the theological positions among the Peruvian Fathers were always pliable, according to the specific subject they were dealing with. Thus, the debate on the conciliar developments regarding the relationship between the Church and world displayed different stances among the Peruvian Fathers. For a group of them, the relationship with the world should be expressed within the thinking of the classical and traditional pontifical magisterium, which considered the superiority of the Church over the world. However the different stances on the same issue, i.e. the discussion on *Gaudium et spes*, also changed from one subject to another.

For instance, the debate on marriage and contraception provoked an excessive dispute. For many Fathers like De Orbegozo, Gauci, Ariz and others who defended a traditional division of the purposes of marriage: primary purposes centred on procreation, while the secondary ones focused on the communion between spouses. Their positions were based on magisterial texts such as *Casti connubii* of Pius XI. On the other side, Fathers like Dammert and Arbulú nuanced this traditional approach adding new concerns brought from pastoral practices. Thus, Arbulú proposed a commission of scientists to study contraception taking into account the economic difficulties of many families. Dammert emphasized the centrality of dialogue within the family.

The theme of poverty, mainly brought up by Global South Fathers shed light on the different concerns in the *aula*. Landázuri and other bishops pointed out the centrality of the topic of poverty for the world, and hence for the Council. Also Ariz and Arroyo, Fathers who usually endorsed traditional positions, supported a more active Catholic commitment in the struggle against poverty in the world.

A second point shows the variety of networks used by the Peruvian Fathers to intervene in the debates. Likewise in the dispute *ad intra*, the Peruvian Fathers joined different networks, depending on the different issues under discussion. During the debate on the schema on the missionary activity of the Church, a group of Peruvian prelates *nullius* joined an observation asking for a canonical re-organization of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. They used the debate to introduce their canonical and pastoral concerns coming from their own experiences. On the other side, a group of religious missionary bishops among them Burke OP, Ariz OP and Arroyo OFM demanded a clear definition of mission as the Church's activity towards non-believers.

A third point was the use of theological and doctrinal tools and pastoral background to expose their positions. During the debates, the Peruvian Fathers mentioned different documents of

[1198] Velati, "Completar la agenda," 200-201. The signatory Fathers were Joseph Blomjous (Tanzania), Helder Câmara and Cândido Padín (Brazil), Jerónimo Podestà and Antonio Quarracino (Argentina), Rudolf Staverman OFM (Indonesia), Luis Eduardo Henríquez (Venezuela), and José Dammert Bellido (Peru).
[1199] AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 1145, fasc. 7.

the papal magisterium, the documents of Vatican I and also contemporary information like Congar's *Vrai and fausse réforme dans l'Église* and Vischer's report on the first session of Vatican II. The various documents cited were intended to support doctrinal positions. In the case of the debate on ecumenism, De Hornedo's quotations from Congar's book and Vischer's report were intended to limit the doctrinal scope of *De oecumenismo*. Likewise, on the pastoral level, Dammert – as well as other Fathers – used pastoral data to justify the harsh criticism on documents such as *De educatione christiana*. From the Peruvian and Latin American reality, Dammert sought a concrete declaration, rather than one of abstract principles, thus a declaration rooted in the complex educational realities of his time.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

Our effort during these four years, what
has it been, if not a more attentive search and
a deeper understanding of the message of
truth entrusted to the Church,
if not an effort of greater docility
to the Spirit of truth?
Pope Paul VI to Men of Thought and Science
(8th December 1965)

What happened to the Peruvian Fathers at Vatican II? The research demonstrates how the Peruvian bishops and prelates, a "minor" episcopate in the Catholic world, had different ways of getting involved and interpreting the ecclesiological renewal of the Second Vatican Council. The Peruvian Fathers, with their different theological formation and ecclesio-pastoral concerns, had their own doctrinal experiences during the Council. These experiences had repercussions on their diverse readings of the magisterium, Tradition and conciliar developments, on the arguments they used to put forward their theological positions, and on the networks they joined. The Peruvian episcopate was, in short, a heterogeneous group, not united in doctrinal or pastoral terms, nor coherent. They were Council Fathers who experienced the Council doctrinally as a process of learning, support, resistance, acceptance and indifference to the doctrinal developments of Vatican II.

The study of the participation of the Peruvian episcopate in the Second Vatican Council begins in January 1959 with the convocation and ends with the closing of the Council in December 1965. The research concludes in three sections. The first deals with the antepreparatory and preparatory periods of the Council. The second one covers the years of the Council. This general conclusion ends with a third step devoted to the contribution of the research to the history and hermeneutics of the Second Vatican Council.

1. The Antepreparatory and Preparatory Periods: A Search for a Prudent Ecclesial Renewal

The convening of the ecumenical council by Pope John XXIII opened a large process of almost four years of preparation organised in the antepreparatory and preparatory phases. At that moment, the Catholic Church was in a dual process of renewal on the one hand, and fear of change on the other. The theological renewal movements, silenced during the papacy of Pius XII, and at the same time the pastoral and international thrust of Catholic movements were signs of a process of fearful progress in the Catholic Church.[1200] Also, new pastoral experience were put into practice to answer the changing context challenged the Church, the fear of communism and the advance of the Protestant Churches.

The Peruvian Catholic Church faced this process with its own particularities coming from the local context and ecclesial and pastoral needs. As a "minor" Church, in the first half of the 20th century, the Peruvian Church acquired a demi-missionary face with the consolidation of the

[1200] See: Karim Schelkens, John A. Dick, and Jürgen Mettepenningen, *Aggiornamento? Catholicism from Gregory XVI to Benedict XVI* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2013), 101-126 (Chapter four: Renewal and condemnation).

missions in Amazonia (seven apostolic vicariates and one prefecture) and the creation of 13 prelatures between 1957 and 1964. The Peruvian Church participated in the process of ecclesial renewal, mainly in pastoral terms, hand in hand with the perspective of a traditional pastoral and theological approach. Thus, in a controlled tension, pastoral renewal opened up spaces for dialogue with development theories and social commitment, while the traditional perspective concentrated its concerns on the shortage of clergy and the ignorance of the faithful.

Both tendencies were also related to ecclesiastical jurisdictions. In the case of the mission territories, while the vicariates and the prefecture of Amazonia had a more traditional pastoral approach in accordance with the *plantatio ecclesiae* outlook, the prelatures gradually incorporated a social and community development perspective into their pastoral work. In the archdioceses and dioceses, the situation varied and the tension remained. For example, in the archdiocese of Lima the developmentalist approach was also incorporated into pastoral work, while in the archdiocese of Arequipa a more catechetical approach to pastoral work was maintained. However, both tendencies had their two points of convergences: the fear of communism and the expansion of Protestantism. Both enemies were shared with global Catholicism.

These ecclesial and contextual situations appeared in the antepreparatory and preparatory phase of Vatican II. During the antepreparatory period, the *vota* were an example of these two main theological and pastoral grounds for the doctrinal experience of the Peruvian episcopate. Contrary to the historiography that points to the intransigent character of the Spanish-American *vota*, they show the complex context of ecclesial renewal and the traditional approach to the different pastoral concerns of the Peruvian bishops and prelates. Likewise, in the analysis of the *vota*, the research has left aside as a criterion for analysis whether or not they were in line with Pope John XXIII's objectives, and proposes a historical-theological categories to grasp the doctrinal and pastoral reasoning of the bishops and prelates. For example, on the topic of the vernacular in the liturgy, three different reasons were identified: apologetic (fear of Protestantism), theological (participation of the laity in the celebration of the sacraments and the mass) and practical (Latin was an unknown language in the country). Thus, the vernacular offers an illustration of the complex and diverse doctrinal positions and pastoral concerns of the Peruvian bishops and prelates. Hence, the *vota* were a portrait of the Peruvian episcopate's diverse doctrinal, pastoral and ecclesial situation prior to Vatican II.

During the preparatory years for the Second Vatican Council, the Peruvian ecclesial consensus on the need for a renewal of the Church was consolidated. However, there were different conceptions of the renewal of the Church. Four Peruvians participated in this preparatory process. Juan Landázuri Ricketts (archbishop of Lima) was member of the CPC and Luis Lituma (Cathedral canon of Lima) was consultor of the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments. Both participated in the meetings in Rome. José Dammert (auxiliary bishop of Lima) and Ricardo Durand (Jesuit priest and apostolic visitor of seminaries) were a sort of external consultors for the commissions *De Sacra Liturgia* and *De seminariis, de studiis et educatione catholica*, respectively.

The Peruvian participants in the preparatory phase had a canonical, disciplinary and theological approach to ecclesial renewal. In addition, the primacy of pastoral concerns as indicators for ecclesial renewal was gradually emerging. These pastoral issues were both traditional in their focus and more concerned with social impact. Cardinal Landázuri had a special role as member of the CPC, where he experienced the theological and canonical diversity of the Church. He engaged with the ecclesial renewal but as a gradual process of changing mainly canonical and disciplinary structures. Lituma, for his part, used the psychological perspective to argue for a more pastoral and clerical approach to the situation of the priest who abandoned the minister. Dammert and Durand used their reports to present their views. Dammert argued for a more preponderant and "collegial" role of the episcopal conferences in the liturgical renewal of the Church. While Durand

called for a return to the pontifical magisterium on seminaries, taking into account the changing context, selecting vocations well and guarding against the temptation to overcrowd seminaries. Dammert coincided with Landázuri in asking for more authority to the episcopal conferences in matters of ecclesial and pastoral renewal.

Therefore, between 1959 and 1962, the Peruvian episcopate revealed a complex portrait of the Catholic Church in Peru. In contrast to the historiography that describes the Spanish-American episcopates as mainly intransigent, the antepreparatory and preparatory phases show a diverse and complex episcopate in matters such as ecclesial, disciplinary and canonical renewal. The condition of a demi-missionary territory, the socio-political shifts of the country, and changes in the pastoral approach made the Peruvian Church a scenario for this diversity and complexity, where concern for the pastoral context became gradually ever stronger. These contextual and ecclesial conditions were the common ground for the doctrinal conciliar experiences of the Peruvian episcopate during the conciliar years.

2. The Conciliar Years: Doctrinal Experience and Arguments, Networks and Trajectories

The Second Vatican Council was an ecclesial event in which the Peruvian Fathers showed their complex doctrinal experiences on the different subjects. Their understanding of the conciliar debate also shared the division *ad intra* and *ad extra*, between the topics directly related to the Church and the topics related to the relationship of the Church with the world. Chapters four and five are divided in this historical-theological perspective in order to be respectful to the Peruvian understanding of theology, doctrine and pastoral aims. The participation of the Peruvian episcopate can be studied in terms of its doctrinal experiences, the arguments used and its individual and collective trajectories.

2.1. The Doctrinal Experience and Arguments of the Peruvian Fathers

The research has focused on the Peruvian Fathers' doctrinal experiences on the basis of the analysis of their interventions during the conciliar debate. The doctrinal conciliar experience of the Peruvian episcopate manifested itself in three ways: (1) Learning process and support of the conciliar doctrinal development; (2) Resistances to the conciliar doctrinal development; and (3) Acceptance and indifference regarding the conciliar doctrinal development. It is important to note that according to the subjects discussed at Vatican II, a Council Father could have one of the three types of doctrinal experience.

The learning process and support of conciliar developments match with the understanding of Vatican II as a learning event for the Fathers. This means that the Council Fathers appropriated and supported theological developments on the different subjects discussed during the conciliar years. This learning experience and support is clearly seen in the doctrinal evolution of José Dammert with regard to the document on revelation and of Javier Ariz with regard to the subject of missions. Before the first session, on *De fontibus revelationis* Dammert considered that the doctrinal declarations of Trent, Vatican I and the magisterium were sufficient. He also considered the Vulgate as the basis for any translation of the Bible into the vernacular. However, after the first session, in July 1963, Dammert qualified the schema as "too scholastic" and recommended the compendium prepared by Rahner-Ratzinger, distributed during the first session.

On the missions, in July 1964, Ariz OP prepared a *votum* expressing his desire for a document with an effective style in promoting mission. His idea of the decree was linked to a sort of exhortation for missionaries. However, during the fourth session, Ariz was one of the missionary Peruvian Fathers committed to a comprehensive notion of mission, which included the entire

Church and the people of God. He tried to combine his traditional definition of mission as evangelisation among non-believers with the missionary perspective of *De Ecclesia* and *De apostolatu laicorum*. Hence, for Ariz, the term mission could also include territories such as vicariates where evangelisation was an ongoing process between Christians on the one hand and non-believers on the other.

The doctrinal experience of resistance to doctrinal changes focused on burning issues such as episcopal collegiality, ecumenism and religious freedom. This attitude means a reaction against the doctrinal development because it was understood as a discontinuity and a rupture with the Tradition, teachings and magisterium of the Church. Resistance was fuelled by the fear of doctrinally weakening the Church and allowing the advance of Protestantism and ideologies contrary to the Catholic faith. The topic of episcopal collegiality raised the stiffest resistance from a group of Peruvian Fathers. The *modi* became the way to express their resistance. Thus, Arroyo OFM, Armas OAR, De Hornedo SJ, Ariz OP and Opus Dei Sánchez-Moreno joined collective *modi* rejecting and nuancing the theological value of the College of Bishops and highlighting the absolute primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Also through *modi*, De Hornedo, Arroyo and Ariz rejected the doctrinal basis of ecumenism. These missionary prelates disapproved the notion of "Churches," the possibility of a renewal of the Church, the Catholic responsibility on the Christian division, and also defended the importance of the instruction *De motione oecumenica* (1949). Their doctrinal resistance was based on the fear of the so-called Protestant "proselytism" in Catholic regions.

The debate on religious freedom also illustrated the experience of doctrinal resistance. Ariz sent his observations against the doctrinal principles of religious freedom because they were based on the data of Revelation. For him, such an affirmation was contrary to the whole Tradition of the Church and her magisterium. Ariz proposed practical principles such as the context of social and cultural change and the relevance of freedom of religious practice as the basis of religious freedom. In this way, each episcopal conference could discern whether or not the practical principles applied in its jurisdiction. Ariz considered that in this way an episcopal conference could delay the implementation of the conciliar document in the context of religious unity, as was the case in Peru.

The debate on ecumenism also shows doctrinal experiences of acceptance and indifference. The acceptance of a doctrinal development means that it was recognised as part of the teaching of the Church; however, it did not imply its pastoral suitability for contextual and ecclesial reasons. In the third session, a group of Latin American Fathers, including Florentino Armas, while accepting the decree, questioned its applicability in the Latin American context. The Fathers warned against the Protestant "proselytism" and the risk of undermining the Catholic unity of the continent. The same position was adopted by the Peruvian Fathers Arroyo, Armas, Gauci, De Hornedo and Roig during the debate on *De libertate religiosa*. They did not discuss the doctrinal principles of religious freedom. For these Fathers, Latin America's predominantly Catholic identity made it impossible to apply the principle of religious freedom because it would harm social and ecclesial coexistence.

Indifference, on the other hand, was the consideration that a subject is lacking in doctrinal importance. One good example of indifference with the doctrinal development of ecumenism was De Uriarte. During the second session, Uriarte defended that the meaning of ecumenism was "universalism," hence Protestants, Catholics and the whole of humankind was ecumenical. For him, the debate on ecumenism should not have any doctrinal implications for the Catholic Church. In sum, the doctrinal developments were accepted by one group of Fathers, while others like de Uriarte regarded them with indifference – a kind of silent resistance. However, for these Fathers, accepting the doctrinal development did not mean that it was possible to apply the doctrine pastorally.

The three different doctrinal conciliar experiences were based on pastoral, canonical and theological arguments. The pastoral argument was based on the relevance of pastoral practice and

its context over and above the possibilities of applying a doctrinal principle from a conciliar document. The debate on the ecumenism, religious freedom and Christian education illustrates the use of this argument. Thus, the Peruvian Fathers who accepted, with some resistance, ecumenism and religious freedom based their positions on pastoral arguments that were more intuitive than statistical. For them, the rejection of the documents on ecumenism and religious freedom was based on pastoral reasons. The Catholic character of the society and culture in which the Church and the faithful moved would be seriously damaged by the application of both conciliar documents. Both documents would damage the Catholic authority among the faithful. On the topic of Christian education, Dammert questioned with a more substantiated pastoral argumentation the declaration. He considered the lack of Catholic teachers in public schools, which made Catholic schools a sort of a "Catholic ghetto," a danger for evangelization. He also criticised the declaration's lack of connection with the Latin American reality when it demanded that parents send their children to Catholic schools, most of them private and expensive.

Canonical arguments highlighted inconsistencies between the CIC and a conciliar text, or criticised the rigidity of a schema, or sought to reinforce a canonical directive on an ecclesial body or an aspect of ecclesiastical discipline. These arguments were used by some Peruvian Fathers like Cardinal Landázuri who, during the first session, pointed out the inconsistency between the schema *De Sacra liturgia* and the canon law. Hence, he proposed an adaptation of the canon law. During the debate of the schema *De Ecclesia* and *De episcopis*, Dammert was concerned about the juridical authority of the episcopal conference, and other forms of episcopal bodies. Another Father, De Hornedo, referring to the normative role of canon law, proposed that the spiritual exercises of priests be included in canon law. This argument was also used in the CPC meetings during the preparatory period. Landázuri echoed this position as a member of the CPC. Thus, the canonical arguments mainly highlighted specific concerns of the Peruvian Fathers.

The theological arguments illustrate the use of the pre-conciliar magisterial documents and the theological developments of Vatican II during the conciliar debate to defend or oppose the doctrinal developments of Vatican II. This kind of argumentation constituted an exercise of theological intertextuality. It incorporated into the debate the magisterial texts and the doctrinal developments of the Council itself. This form of intertextuality also reveals the great plasticity in the interpretation of magisterial texts and the Council's own doctrinal developments.

During the debate and the "war of *modi*," the recourse to the doctrine of Vatican I was used to oppose, nuance and limit the importance and scope of collegiality. For instance, Ariz, Olázar, Armas and Sánchez-Moreno joined a *modus* proposing to nuance theologically the term "collegium" introducing the clause "seu coetus," and saving the absolute authority of the Roman Pontiff. Also Ariz and Armas joined a *modus* asking the delete of article 18 because collegiality was a *quaestio disputata*. During the debate on the marriage, the Peruvian Fathers like De Orbegozo, Gauci and Ariz constantly stated their doctrinal position on the Pius XI's encyclical *Casti connubii* explaining that the doctrine on marriage was a closed issue.

On the use of the conciliar developments in the debate at Vatican II, Rodríguez Ballón OFM, for instance, recommended to include in *De episcopis* the consequences of episcopal collegiality at the level of government. During the discussion on *De activitate missionali Ecclesiae,* Nevin Hayes emphasized the collegial episcopal mandate with regard to the whole missionary task of the Church. In contrast, Ariz and other Peruvian Fathers considered the practical dimension of collegiality in asking to limit the application of the declaration *De libertate religiosa*. For them, each bishops' conference should decide on its application collegially considering the conditions of the country. This latter was actually an important ecclesiological statement because they asked to grant the episcopal conference with more canonical and theological authority. In sum, the Peruvian

Fathers used the pre-conciliar magisterium and the Vatican II developments adapting them to express their doctrinal stances during the debates at the Council.

2.2. The Trajectories of the Peruvian Fathers

The Peruvian Fathers had complex and diverse individual trajectories during the conciliar years. Their doctrinal positions changed according to their own doctrinal and pastoral concerns. I propose three examples to illustrate this complex and diverse conciliar *iter*. Cardinal Landázuri participated during the preparatory period in which he demonstrated his understanding of the Church renewal as a compromise process in which reform should be understood as gradual path of consensus. This doctrinal-political posture was key to understand his role during the conciliar period. For instance, he defended the liturgical reform, the new conception of revelation, the permanent diaconate and other issues, but always stressing the importance of a gradual adaptation and implementation of the reforms. In this process, for Landázuri, the main point of support were the episcopal conferences, which had a fundamental role as mediators and administrators of all ecclesial renewal. For this reason, he insisted at various points during the Council on the importance of granting a more relevant role to the episcopal conferences as an episcopal body to discern the forms and timing of the application of the conciliar reforms at the local level. Thus, Landázuri became an advocate of collegiality and its consequences at regional and local level. And as a good canonist, for Landázuri, collegiality had to be clearly reflected in the canon law, in which the authority of episcopal conferences should be recognised.

Another interesting trajectory comes from the participation of Javier Ariz, bishop vicar of Puerto Maldonado, who had diverse doctrinal stances according to the subject. On *ad intra* issues, Ariz was a defender of traditional doctrine such as the absolute primacy of the pope over the theology of collegiality. He was also opposed to the doctrinal principles of religious freedom and resisted ecumenism for pastoral reasons. However, on *ad extra* issues such as the question of mission, considering the pastoral experience of his vicariate, he appropriated a broader definition of the Church's missionary activity as a process of dynamic evangelisation, including the evangelised Christians themselves and unbelievers. He was also concerned about the subject of poverty during the debate on *Gaudium et spes*. Together with Juan Velasco OP he asked to include a more clear statement on the situation of poverty which recommended the creation of a secretariat or dicastery to dealt with the subject. They proposed the work with non-Catholics organisations and, in this way, Ariz joined the main social concerns of many African, Asian and Latin American Fathers. Thus, Ariz was a Council Father who showed different doctrinal perspectives according to his own theological training and ideas and his pastoral concerns. He was more traditional on the *ad intra* issues, and more open to compromise with the *ad extra* issues.

Ignacio Arbulú was an example of a particular trajectory of learning process. In his *votum*, he bitterly complained about the scarcity of clergy and the lack of priestly vocations. He also had a very apocalyptic balance of his time ("tempestuous times in which the evil spirit manifests itself in many ways"). This fatalistic balance of the Church did not impede him to appropriate the conciliar developments on disciplinary and canonical terms. In 1964, he sent an *animadversio* defending the principle of communion for the exercise of papal infallibility and collegiality. He also proposed structural changes such as the decentralisation of the Roman curia, the participation the presidents of the episcopal conferences as papal electors, the suppression of apostolic nunciatures, and other issues. In another disciplinary subject like the use of contraception pills, Arbulú showed his pastoral approach. He agreed with the moral elevation of the notion of marriage and family, but he identified it as an ideal. Thus, he expressed that the faithful were divided on the use of contraceptive pills for moral and economic reasons. Arbulú recommended that medical specialists assisted the Fathers in

the process of discussing the issue. Therefore, while agreeing with an eventual reservation of the issue by the Pope, he asked that the Council should give a pastoral response to the faithful. Thus, Arbulú appropriated the conciliar doctrinal developments, abandoning his apocalyptic stance of 1959, but understanding these developments as part of a process of disciplinary and canonical reform for the whole Church.

The doctrinal conciliar experiences were also expressed through collective trajectories. The networks played an important role as a means of articulating and exposing collective doctrinal positions, as was the case in the debate on revelation, collegiality, ecumenism, the missionary activity of the Church, religious freedom, etc. The networks brought together members of different religious orders or of the same religious family. Other networks were geographic-linguistic in nature, bringing together members from the same country, continent or region, or speakers of the same language. Other networks served more as a platform to articulate interests, such as CELAM, without ever having a presence as a network per se during the Council. All these types of networks were mostly temporary and had a thematic character because they brought together a group of Fathers to deal with a specific doctrinal and/or pastoral theme. However, there were also more permanent networks such as the *Coetus internationalis patrum* or the group "Jesus, the Church and the Poor" which organized the Fathers to press on specific subjects during the Council.

The Peruvian Fathers participated as members of each of the described networks. In the case of the networks of Fathers belonging to a religious order, during the second intersession, the Peruvian Fathers members of different religious congregations joined a collective statement proposed to change the place of chapter six, *De religiosis*, and recalling the ecclesiological value and function of religious life. Two other cases of a network of Fathers members of the same religious order were the Peruvian Jesuit Father De Hornedo who joined the observation of his Superior General Jean-Baptiste Janssens, and the four Peruvian Franciscan Fathers who joined the observation of Pacifico Maria Luigi Perantoni OFM. Both observations were about the importance of religious life and the primacy of the evangelical counsels.

The networks of geographic-linguistic nature gathered the Peruvian Fathers of foreign origins. Thus, the German prelates Kühner and Kaiser frequently joined the observations prepared by Eduard Schick and Julius Döpfner during the debate on the subjects of revelation and of the Church. The Spanish vicar Ariz OP joined an observation on the missionary nature of the Church led by his conational Rafael González Moralejo, auxiliary bishop of Valencia. The Spanish group met and prepared the statement at the Pontifical Spanish College. Also Ariz together with Aniceto Fernández OP, Master of the OP, and Juan Velasco OP, ex vicar in China, sent *modi*. During the debate on ecumenism, the Latin American Fathers, among them Florentino Armas, questioned the possibility to apply the decree *De oecumenismo* in the continent. This continental network was organized by the CELAM Committee for the Defence of the Faith, led by the Paraguayan bishop Felipe Santiago Benítez. Thus, CELAM was a platform for meeting and exchange and was regularly the forum were CELAM members made their point as was the case with the Peruvian Bishop Dammert, recommending the alternative schema *De Ecclesia* prepared by the Chilean Archbishop Silva Henriquez.

Finally, some Peruvian Fathers joined permanent networks at Vatican II like the *Coetus internationalis patris* in its petition to Pope Paul VI to consecrate the world to the Immaculate Heart of Mary. The group "Jesus, the Church and the Poor" also demanded the consideration of the topic of the poor for a comprehensive ecclesiology. Dammert, Metzinger and Landázuri joined some meetings and signed some of their statements. However, no Peruvian parent participated fully in one of the permanent networks mentioned above.

In sum, the different kinds of networks were crucial for the Peruvian bishops to expose their doctrinal reactions of support, resistance and acceptance related to the conciliar theological

developments. Moreover, the networks were also part of the experience of the Council as an event and offer in a certain sense a kind of "doctrinal identity" with regard to the subject under discussion.

3. Contribution to the History and the Hermeneutics of Vatican II

The contribution of the research for the history and hermeneutics of the Council lies in two key points. Firstly, it offers a more comprehensive perspective on the history of the Second Vatican Council. It is worthy to recognize that many different "spirits" were at play during Vatican II.[1201] The new ecclesial and socio-cultural context, new sources, methodological approaches and new questions make it possible to broaden the conciliar historiography.[1202] Thus, the history of Vatican II will be enriched by the recovery of these new voices and their inclusion into the standard historiography, especially in the current synodal process of the Catholic Church.

Secondly, the doctrinal experience and participation of an episcopate, such as the Peruvian one, provides valuable hermeneutical insights for understanding the complex history of Vatican II and the conciliar reception. Gilles Routhier affirms that the conciliar experiences are valuable for a comprehensive hermeneutics of Vatican II, because as an "event" (*événement*), the Council has its history, documents and experiences.[1203] Thus, the redactional history also implies a history of doctrinal evolutions, actors and interpretations, which give the conciliar documents their character of compromise texts.[1204] Thus, in the confrontation of theological theses in the documents themselves, the recovery of the positions of the Fathers in the debate gives an account of the complexity of the conciliar event and of the way in which the conciliar documents were drafted.[1205]

Likewise, on the contribution of Vatican II history for hermeneutics, Christoph Theobald remarks that "a critical balance and a re-reading of the ecclesial and socio-historical side of the conciliar work are therefore needed if we want to make more plausible and credible the unfinished 'game' of adjustment between the vision of the Church proposed by the Council and the – plural – resolution of a good number of urgent and still controversial questions."[1206] Hence, the research on the participation of the Peruvian Fathers in Vatican II sheds light on this complex and long *iter*, in which the documents were forged as compromise texts. It also brings new elements for the hermeneutics recalling that at Vatican II there were many doctrinal experiences and "spirits" which affected and informed the interpretation and reception of the Council, not only after Vatican II but also during the Council itself.

Therefore, in answering the question *What happened to the Peruvian Fathers at Vatican II?*, the research attempts to contribute to a more global history of Vatican II and to provide new perspectives for a hermeneutics of the conciliar reception from the history and doctrinal experiences of the Peruvian episcopate at the Second Vatican Council.

[1201] Here the expression "Spirit" and the "Letter" of Vatican II is paraphrased, see: Luis Antonio Tagle, "The Letter and the Spirit of the Second Vatican Council. Does the Letter Do Justice to the Spirit?," *Louvain Studies* n. º40 (2017): 210-218; Annemarie Mayer, ed. *The Letter and the Spirit. On the Forgotten Documents of Vatican II* (Leuven: Peeters, 2018).
[1202] Lamberigts and Declerck, "Commemorating 50 years," 125-128.
[1203] Routhier, *Cinquante ans après*, 11-17.
[1204] Routhier, *Vatican II*, 365-366.
[1205] Routhier, *Vatican II*, 372-373.
[1206] Christoph Theobald, *La réception du concile Vatican II. II. L'Église dans l'histoire et la société. 1. L'Évangile et l'Église* (Paris: Cerf, 2023), 31-34.

ANNEX I. THE RESIDENCES OF THE PERUVIAN FATHERS IN ROMA DURING VATICAN II[1207]

1. **Arciconfraternita di San Giovanni Decollato (ASG):** via San Giovanni Decollato, 22.
2. **Curia Generalizia degli Aostiniani Recolleti (CGA):** Viale della Astronomia 27.
3. **Curia Generalizia degli Oblati di San Giusseppe (CGO):** Via Boccea 364.
4. **Curia Generalizia OFM (CGOFM):** Via di S. Maria Mediatrice 25.
5. **Curia Generalizia dell'Ordine di Sant'Agostino (CGOS):** via S. Uffizio 25 (Via Paolo VI. 25).
6. **Curia Generalizia dei Padri Passionisti (CGP):** Piazza dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo a Monte Celio.
7. **Curia Generalizia Tertius Ordo Regularis Sancti Francisci (CGT):** via dei Fori Imperiali 1.
8. **Collegio Internazionale dei SS.CC (CISS.CC.):** Via S. Erasmo 2.
9. **Collegio Leoniano (CL):** Via P. Magno 21.
10. **Collegio Maryknoll (CM):** Via Sardegna 83.
11. **Casa Di Nazareth Onlus (CNO):** Viale Vaticano 50.
12. **Collegio Pio Latinoamericano (CPL):** Via Aurelia 290.
13. **Collegio S. Alfonso (CSA):** Via Merulana 31.
14. **Convento San Francesco a Ripa (CSFR):** Piazza S. Francesco d'Assisi 8.
15. **Domus Carlitana (DC):** Via Sforza Pallavicini 10.
16. **Domus Mariae (DM):** Via Aurelia 481.
17. **Istituto Marchesa Gerini (IMG):** Via Tiburtina Km 10.
18. **Missionari del S. Cuore (MSC):** Via Aventina 3.
19. **Missionari Dello Spirito Santo Casa Procura (MSSCP):** Piazza San Salvatore in Campo 57.
20. **Padri Passionisti (PP):** Passionisti SS. Giovanni e Paolo o Scala Santa.
21. **Preziosissimo Sangue di Nostro Signore Gesú Cristo dei Missioni Estere (PSS):** via A.G. Barrili 44.
22. **Suore di Santa Ana (SDSA):** Viale Guglielmo Marconi 700.
23. **Santa Sabina Aventino (SSA):** Piazza Pietro D'Illiria 1.
24. **Unione Delle Diocesi Di Germania Villa Mater Dei (UDGVM): Viale** Mure Aurelie 10.
25. **Villa Tevere (VT):** Via Bruno Buozzi 73.

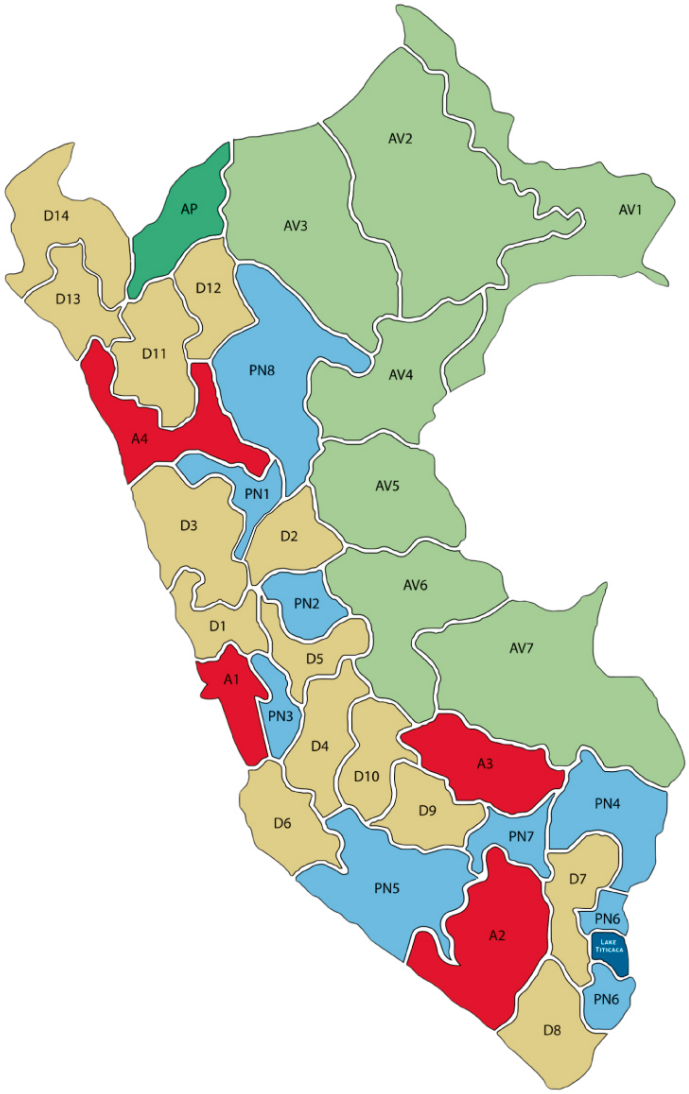
Name	**Residences of the Peruvian Fathers in Rome**[1208]			
	1962	**1963**	**1964**	**1965**
Leonardo Rodriguez Ballón	CSFR	CSFR	CSFR	CSFR
Julio Gonzalez Ruiz	*DM*	DM	SDSA	SDSA
Alfonso Zaplana Bellida	SDSA	SDSA	SDSA	-
Lucien Metzinger	CI SS.CC.	DM	SDSA	SDSA
Friedrich Kaiser	MSC	MSC	MSC	MSC
Edward Fedders	CM	CM	CM	CM

[1207] Data taken from: AAV, Conc. Vat. II, busta 567. Indirizzi dei Padri Conciliari, 1962-1965.
[1208] The abbreviations in *italics* indicate the possible residence in Rome of the Council Father, taking into account the data of the residences of the conciliar years indicated in the archive.

Redento Gauci	DC	DC	DC	DC
Carlos Jurgens Byrne	UDGVMD	UDGVMD	SDSA	UDGVMD
Elías Prado Tello	-	-	-	SDSA
Alcides Mendoza Castro	UDGVMD	UDGVMD	*UDGVMD*	UDGVMD
Otoniel Alcedo Culquicóndor	DM	IMG	IMG	SDSA
Nevvin Hayes	DC	DC	SDSA	DC
Juan Landázuri Ricketts	CGOFM	CGOFM	CGOFM	CGOFM
Fidel Tubino Mongiliardi	-	UDGVMD	-	SDSA
Mario Cornejo Radavero	-	DM	SDSA	SDSA
Pablo Ramirez Taboada	CI SS.CC	-	CISS.CC.	-
Ignacio Arbulú Pineda	SDSA	-	*SDSA*	-
Teodosio Moreno Quintana	SDSA	DM	SDSA	SDSA
Florencio Coronado Romaní	CSA	CSA	-	*CSA*
Mariano Valdivia y Órtiz	CPL	CPL	*CPL*	*CPL*
Alberto Dettmann y Aragón	SDSA	DM	-	SDSA
Marco Libardoni	CGO	CGO	CGO	SDSA
Antonio Kühner	*CNO*	CNO	CNO	CNO
Ignacio de Orbegozo y Goicochea	VT	VT	VT	*VT*
Federico Pérez Silva	CL	CL	-	-
José Dammert Bellido	MSSCP	MSSCP	MSSCP	MSSCP
José Benavides Morriberón	-	DM	SDSA	SDSA
Luis Sánchez-Moreno Lira	*VT*	VT	*VT*	VT
Erasmo Hinojosa Hurtado	*DM*	DM	-	SDSA
Florencio Armas Llerana	-	CGA	CGA	CGA
John Conway McNabb	-	-	CGOS	CGOS
Damian Nicolau Roig	-	*CGT*	CGT	ASG
Martín Elorza Legaristi	PP	PP	-	*PP*
Angel Rodríguez Gamoneda	SDSA	CGOS	CGOS	CGOS
Joseph Roland Prévost	SDSA	DM	PSS	PSS
Javier Ariz Huarte	SSA	SSA	SSA	SSA
Valeriano Arroyo	CSFR	CSFR	CSFR	CSFR
Joshep Laberge	CSFR	CSFR	CSFR	*CSFR*
León de Uriarte Bengoa	CSFR	CSFR	*CSFR*	CSFR
Gregorio Elías Olazar	CGP	CGP	*CGP*	BSGP
Antonio De Hornedo Correa	-	*SDSA*	SDSA	SDSA
Nemesio Rivera Meza	-	-	SDSA	SDSA

ANNEX II. MAPS OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL PROVINCE OF PERU

Map of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions of Peru in 1960



A1: Archdiocese of Lima
D1: Diocese of Huacho
D2: Diocese of Huánuco
D3: Diocese of Huaraz
D4: Diocese of Huancavelica
D5: Diocese of Huancayo
D6: Diocese of Ica
PN1: Prelature of Huari
PN2: Prelature of Tarma
PN3: Prelature of Yauyos

A2: Archdiocese of Arequipa
D7: Diocese of Puno
D8: Diocese of Tacna

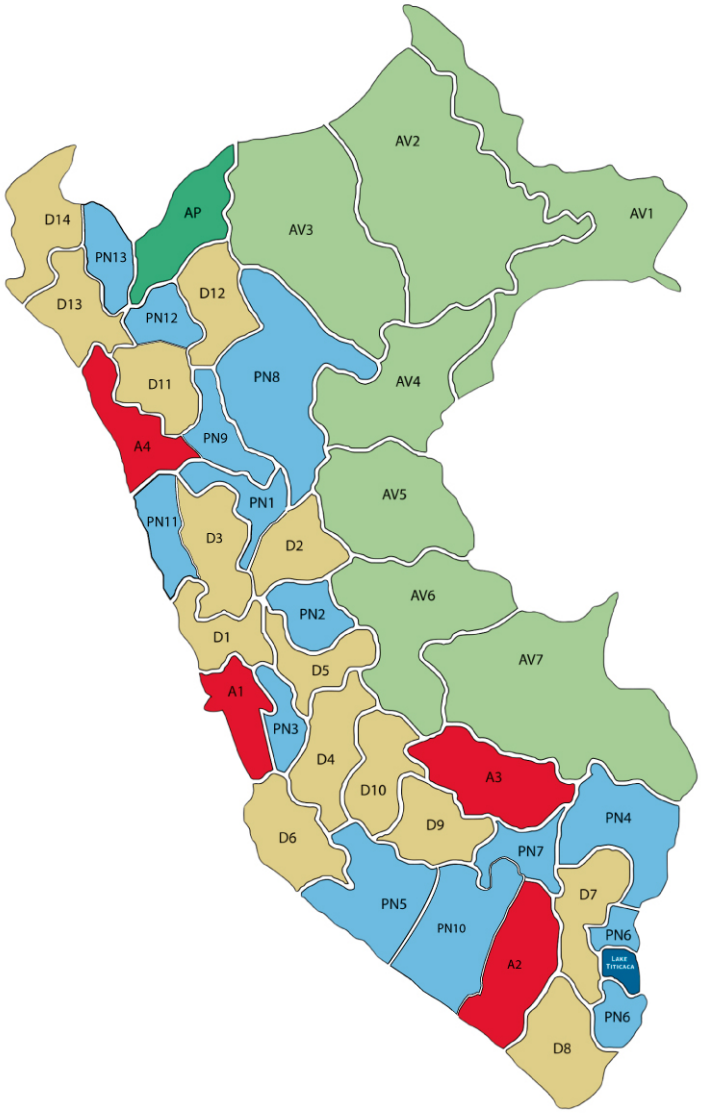
PN4: Prelature of Ayaviri
PN5: Prelature of Caravelí
PN6: Prelature of Juli

A3: Archdiocese of Cusco
D9: Diocese of Abancay
D10: Diocese of Ayacucho
PN7: Prelature of Sicuani

A4: Archdiocese of Trujillo
D11: Diocese of Cajamarca
D12: Diocese of Chachapoyas
D13: Diocese of Chiclayo
D14: Diocese of Piura
PN8: Prelature of Moyobamba

AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of San José del Amazonas
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of Iquitos
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of San Gabriel de la Dolorosa del Marañón (Yurimaguas)
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of Requena
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of Pucallpa
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of San Ramón
AV1: Apostolic Vicariate of Puerto Maldonado
AP: Apostolic Prefecture of San Francisco Javier del Marañón

Map of the Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions of Peru in 1965



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D13: Diocese of Chiclayo
D14: Diocese of Piura
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PN9: Prelature of Huamachuco
PN11: Prelature of Chimbote
PN12: Prelature of Chota
PN13: Prelature of Chulucanas

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