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**The Catholic vision on education and formation at the threshold
of Vatican II : From the Pre-Conciliar Desiderata to the work of the
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Deman, Isaak

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KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN

FACULTY OF THEOLOGY AND RELIGIOUS STUDIES



**THE CATHOLIC VISION ON EDUCATION AND
FORMATION AT THE THRESHOLD OF VATICAN II**

**FROM THE PRE-CONCILIAR DESIDERATA TO THE WORK
OF THE COMMISSIO PRAEPARATORIA DE STUDIIS ET
SEMINARIIS (1959-1962)**

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Peter DE MEY

Co-Supervisors:

Prof. Dr. Mathijs LAMBERIGTS

Prof. Dr. Ormond RUSH

Prof. Dr. Emmanuel NATHAN

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

By

Isaak DEMAN

AUSTRALIAN CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR STUDIES OF
THE SECOND VATICAN COUNCIL



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This work is the result of a four-years endeavor to grasp the vastness of Catholic education and formation at the threshold of the most significant event in the history of the Catholic Church in the 20th century, Vatican II. The road was not easy on different fronts. First, intellectually. Having specialized in theories of religion and secularization, I was now on the road to reappropriate Latin skills, engage with historicity in all its complexities, and to immerse myself in reading buste at the Archivio Apostolico Vaticano. My eldest brother once told me: I'd rather chop my thumb off than engage with your research. Well, I am happy to tell him that both my thumbs are still intact. The other fingers, however, deserve a good rest after years of banging on a keyboard... As much as daily engaging with Latin, Italian, French, Spanish and English vota in volumes with a total of up to 8000 pages, followed by the long preparatory discussions, there were many a times where my intellectual capabilities felt a void. But slowly the daunting realization crept into my mind that what constitutes Catholic education and formation is actually a very relevant, crucial, and universal question, indeed, even an existential and metaphysical one. Since the emergence of the early Church, education and formation had always been intrinsically part of the Christian experience. Now, to suddenly engage with the desiderata of various actors and institutes at a time when the world had changed tremendously after World War II, was a daily routine which deserved to be uncovered and studied in detail; an effort which I happily started to embrace. The rewards have been significant, and it is my hope that this dissertation can shed new light on the preparatory work regarding one of the most neglected conciliar documents: *Gravissimum Educationis*.

Special thanks and appreciation must be provided to four people 'quorum superior intellectus' tremendously helped me along the way and without whom I would never have come to engage with this dissertation: first of all, my promotor Prof. Peter De Mey and co-promotor Prof. Mathijs Lamberigts who were available at all times to sharpen my writings and who continuously challenged me to take into consideration the complexity of a variety of historical conditions regarding Catholic education. Many thanks to both for the support and feedback. Of course, the same must be said for Prof. Ormond Rush and Prof. Emmanuel Nathan. Though often absent in person, their valuable insights and support was provided through our monthly ACU-KUL meetings held online. It was always a pleasure to meet face-to-face in our yearly seminars. In extension, I thank Antonia Pizzey and the colleagues for their support during these meetings. I must also humbly give my gratitude to Australian Catholic University and their Research Training Program to generously provide me with the necessary financial support and for the opportunity to work on this important project.

The second front was emotional. This research started with the sudden unexpected death of a brother-in-law, Younas Ashraf, at age 47 (March 2021). It ended with yet another tragic shocking news, the death of another brother-in-law, Dilshad Ashraf, at age 42 (September

2024). In a country where educational access to proper, clean and highly qualified schools is almost nearly impossible for Christians and society at large, and where the basic right to follow education is oftentimes hard to get, both Younas and Dilshad were to a large extent victims of both time and context. In this light, I first want to dedicate this dissertation to their loving memory. In addition to my family-in-law as well: Bholi, Rosie, Yusuf, Shabana and their loving (grand)children. I look forward to meeting you again. Emotional stress and pains were kept in check and balance by the support of other people close around me. First, my family. Much appreciation for my parents Jacque and Marleen, who never stopped providing love and support throughout this period. They were keen to keep me motivated to continue studying up until this final degree. Gratitude is also needed to my older brothers Robin and Jonas, both of whom provided much needed pause from my intellectual struggles. Finally, my friends. My academic experience would not have been the same without endless conversations and good jokes over a nice beverage or dinner. I especially want to thank Bryan, Jurgen and Tatiana, Rolando and Simon. Much appreciation also to Jelmer, Valerio, Goran, Anton, and Vincent.

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The final front was spiritual. To engage intellectually with a dissertation sometimes felt lukewarm. While I know that deep in my heart, the Christian faith kept burning, it is now time to put more oil on that fire. Blessed are You God, blessed are You forever. I have come a full circle. The tripartite distinction of the intellectual, the emotional, and the spiritual that internally embodies the full person already introduces the very core of this dissertation, namely, what Catholic education and formation should actually consist of.

Heverlee,
March 10, 2024.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA	<i>Augustinians of the Assumption (Assumptionists)</i>
AAS	<i>Acta Apostolicae Sedis</i>
AAV	<i>Archivio Apostolico Vaticano</i>
AC	<i>Analyticus Conspectus</i>
ADA	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando: Series prima (Antepreparatoria)</i>
ADP	<i>Acta et documenta Concilio oecumenico Vaticano II apparando: Series secunda (Praeparatoria)</i>
CCIC	<i>Centre Catholique International de Coopération avec l'UNESCO</i>
CCPA	<i>Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association</i>
CELAM	<i>Consejo Episcopal Latinoamericano y Caribeño</i>
CIC	<i>Codex Iuris Canonici (1917)</i>
CMI	<i>Carmelites of Mary Immaculate</i>
CPC	<i>Central Preparatory Commission</i>
CRB	<i>Canons Regular of the Hospitaller Congregation of Great Saint Bernard</i>
CSC	<i>Congregation of the Holy Cross</i>
CSS	<i>Congregation of the Sacred Stigmata (Stigmatines)</i>
CSSp	<i>Holy Ghost Fathers (Spiritans)</i>
DIM	<i>Divini Illius Magistri</i>
FDP	<i>Sons of Divine Providence</i>
FERE	<i>Federación Española de Religiosos de Enseñanza (Spain)</i>
FIDAE	<i>Federazione di Istituti Dipendenti Autorità Ecclesiastica (Italy)</i>
JEC	<i>Jeunesse Étudiante Chrétienne</i>
JUC	<i>Juventud Universitaria Católica</i>
MAfr	<i>Missionaries of Africa (White Fathers)</i>
MEP	<i>La Société des Missions Etrangères</i>

MHM	<i>St. Joseph's Missionary Society of Mill Hill (Mil Hill Missionaries)</i>
MM	<i>Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America (Maryknoll Fathers)</i>
MSPS	<i>Missionaries of the Holy Spirit</i>
OFM	<i>Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans)</i>
OFMCap	<i>Order of Friars Minor Capuchin (Capuchins)</i>
OFMConv	<i>Order of Friars Minor Conventual (Conventual Franciscans)</i>
OIEC	<i>Office International Enseignement Catholique</i>
OM	<i>Order of the Minims</i>
OMD	<i>Clerics Regular of the Mother of God</i>
OP	<i>Order of Friars Preacher (Dominicans)</i>
OSA	<i>Order of St. Augustine (Augustinians)</i>
OSB	<i>Order of Saint Benedict (Benedictines)</i>
OSBBel	<i>Order of Saint Benedict Belgium (Belgian Benedictines)</i>
OSBVall	<i>Order of Saint Benedict Vallombroso (Vallombrosians)</i>
OSPPE	<i>Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit (Pauline Fathers)</i>
PIME	<i>Pontifical Institute for Foreign Missions</i>
PSDP	<i>Poveri Servi della Divina Provvidenza</i>
RSV	<i>Religieux de Saint Vincent de Paul</i>
SDB	<i>Salesians of Saint John Don Bosco</i>
SA	<i>Franciscan Friars of the Atonement</i>
SchP	<i>Order of the Pious Schools (Piarists)</i>
SDS	<i>Society of the Divine Savior (Salvatorians)</i>
SGEC	<i>Secrétariat général de l'enseignement catholique (France)</i>
SJ	<i>Society of Jesus (Jesuits)</i>
SM	<i>Society of Mary (Marists)</i>
SMA	<i>Society of African Missions</i>
SMM	<i>Missionaries of the Company of Mary (Montfort Missionaries)</i>
SSP	<i>Society of St. Paul</i>
SPS	<i>St. Patrick's Society for the Foreign Missions (Kiltegan Fathers)</i>

INTRODUCTION

1. Catholic Education and Formation: From Vatican I to Vatican II¹

Since Vatican I (1869-70), papal documents focused on the importance of Catholic education and formation increased. For the training of the clergy, the encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (1879)² by Pope Leo XIII had a lasting impact for the revival of neo-Thomism; a movement that had come forward out of the tensions among Catholic theologians trying to deal with modernistic philosophies based on Cartesian and Kantian shifts.³ In his encyclicals *Spectata Fides* (1885),⁴ *Sapientiae Christianae* (1890),⁵ and *Rerum Novarum* (1891),⁶ the need to enhance Catholic education and formation within the “schools, seminaries, and families” was a common thread.⁷ Pope Pius X, though still suspicious of the influences of historical criticism in Catholic teachings,⁸ highlighted religious⁹ and catechetical instruction to “spread the glory of God and to secure the salvation of souls” in his encyclic *Acerbo Nimis* (1905).¹⁰ Pope Benedict XV, in his apostolic letter *Maximum Illud* (1919) mentioned the need “for educating local clergy in missionary regions” and praised “the work by religious sisters to educate children there.”¹¹ During his papacy, a first encompassing version of the *Codex Iuris Canonici* (CIC) was promulgated in 1917. Among other topics, it touched upon catechesis

¹ Some parts of this doctoral dissertation have been published in book chapters and journal articles, and it mainly concerns the vota on catechism, catechesis, seminaries, and schools from a global and thematic perspective. The same holds true for the vota from the South and Southeast Asian Episcopate. While some parts have been reworked, others have stayed the same. For these works, see Isaak Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation on the Threshold of Vatican II: Catechism, Catechesis, Seminaries and Schools within the Vota *Anteparaeparatoria*,” in *Vatican II after Sixty Years: Developments and Expectations Prior to the Council*, eds. Mathijs Lamberigts et al. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), 287-312; Isaak Deman, “Catechese aan de vooravond van Vaticanum II: Een terugblik op de verwachtingen vanuit de vota,” *Collationes Vlaams Tijdschrift voor Theologie en Pastoraal* 53, no. 3 (2023): 311-332; Isaak Deman, “Pre-Conciliar Expectations on Catholic Education and Formation: Perspectives from South and Southeast Asian Bishops as reflected in the Vota,” *Eastern Journal of Dialogue and Culture* 15, no. 2 (2022): 42-59.

² Leo XIII, “Aeterni Patris,” August 4, 1879, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_04081879_aeterni-patris.html.

³ Michael Attridge, “From Objectivity to Subjectivity: Changes in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries and Their Impact on Post-Vatican II Theological Education,” in *Catholic Education in the Wake of Vatican II*, eds. Rosa Bruno-Jofré & Jon Igeldo Zalvidar (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 21-44, 23.

⁴ Leo XIII, “Spectata Fides,” November 27, 1885, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_27111885_spectata-fides.html.

⁵ Leo XIII, “Sapientiae Christianae,” January 10, 1890, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_10011890_sapientiae-christianae.html.

⁶ Leo XIII, “Rerum Novarum,” March 15, 1891, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/leo-xiii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_l-xiii_enc_15031891_rerum-novarum.html.

⁷ Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation,” 289.

⁸ Ormond Rush, “Some Pre-Conciliar Background to *Dei Verbum*. The Neo-Scholastic Manuals and Their Implied Models,” *ibid.*, 47-66, 50. For Pius X, see also his encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (1907) and his *motu proprio Sacrorum Antistitum* (1910) in which the superiority of intellect is emphasized over human experiences and will, as pointed out by Rush, 51-52. Cf. Karim Schelkens, “‘Throwing the Faith to Relativism?’. On Understanding Scripture, Tradition, and Authority in the Long Run to Vatican II,” *ibid.*, 67-84, 70-71.

⁹ Pius X, “Acerbo Nimis,” April 15, 1905, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-x/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-x_enc_15041905_acerbo-nimis.html, § 6.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, § 17. See also Carl-Mario Sultana, “Catechesis in Italy between the Two Vatican Councils – 1870–1962,” *The Person and the Challenges: The Journal of Theology, Education, Canon Law, and Social Studies inspired by Pope John Paul II* 7, no. 2 (2017): 31-35 on Pius X’ contributions on catechism.

¹¹ Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation,” 288. See: Benedict XV, “Maximum illud,” November 30, 1919, accessed February 15, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/benedict-xv/en/apost_letters/documents/hf_ben-xv_apl_19191130_maximum-illud.html, § 15, §§ 22-25, § 30.

for children and adults to be provided by both clergy and families (can. 1329-36); the training of seminarians; the importance of diocesan minor and major seminaries to enhance priestly vocations; the training of adults in the sacred disciplines (theology and philosophy); the inspection related to qualitative education; the people needed to properly run a seminary, and regional seminaries (can. 1352-1371); the right to religious instruction in primary, secondary and higher education, the need for priests to provide this instruction within secondary and higher education, the right of the Church to establish Catholic schools and universities, and the need for Catholics to go to Catholic schools (can. 1372-83); the censorship of different forms of literature opposing the Catholic faith (can. 1395-1405); and a strong education and formation of the religious clergy especially in scholasticism (587-91).¹² Under Benedict XV, the *Congregatio studiorum* also received the authority since 1915 to inspect the teachings in seminaries, leading to a change of name into *Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus*.¹³

The most influential encyclical on education and formation pre-Vatican II came with *Divini Illius Magistri* (1929)¹⁴ (*DIM*) by Pius XI, who built further on what had already been outlined in the CIC and the documents of his predecessors. *DIM* underlined the canonical norms and the necessity to imbue the whole society with Christian education. Opposing any form of state monopoly on education, *DIM* pointed to “the supernatural rights of the Church” in educational matters to ensure a society that is moral and is progressing in the right way. In this light, it is the state that needs to aid the Church to make sure that education is provided to all and that the family rights are protected. Parents must have the freedom to choose any type of education, while religious instruction must be present in both public and private schools. The encyclical further opposed “immoral books and radio presentations”, “the exclusion of supernatural Christian formation, sexual education, [and] coeducation.”¹⁵ Other encyclicals by his hand, *Studiorum Ducem* (1923)¹⁶ and *Deus Scientiarum Dominus* (1931),¹⁷ reemphasized the neo-scholastic teachings within seminaries.¹⁸ The latter encyclical mainly focused on the ecclesiastical universities and was co-authored by the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and University Studies. Alongside a small introduction by the Pope praising the importance of ecclesiastical universities, it contained a multitude of

¹² Ibid., 287.

¹³ Congregation for Catholic Education (for Educational Institutions), accessed February 17, 2025, <https://www.vatican.va/content/romancuria/en/congregazioni/congregazione-per-leducazione-cattolica--degli-istituti-di-studi/profilo.html>.

¹⁴ Pius XI, “Divini Illius Magistri,” December 31, 1929, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_31121929_divini-illius-magistri.html, § 8.

¹⁵ Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation,” 288; Pius XI, “Divini Illius Magistri,” § 8, §§ 44-45, 60-68, 79-80. See also Rafael Frick, *Grundlagen Katholischer Schule im 20. Jahrhundert: Eine Analyse weltkirchlicher Dokumente zu Pädagogik und Schule* (Erlangen: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, 2006), 29-37.

¹⁶ Pius XI, “Studiorum Ducem,” June 29, 1923, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19230629_studiorum-ducem.html.

¹⁷ Pius XI, “Deus Scientiarum Dominus,” May 24, 1931, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/la/apost_constitutions/documents/hf_p-xi_apc_19310524_deus-scientiarum-dominus.html.

¹⁸ Rush, “Some Pre-Conciliar Background,” 55; Alois Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare: die Ausbildung der Priester in der Dynamik des Zweiten Vatikanums* (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 16-17; cf. Étienne Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase: The Slow Emergence from Inertia (January, 1959 - October, 1962),” in *History of Vatican II: Announcing and Preparing Vatican Council II Toward a new Era in Catholicism (Vol. I)*, ed. Giuseppe Alberigo & Joseph A. Komonchak (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995), 55-166, 80.

rules and regulations as to how these universities should function: among other aspects, it included the study content, the criteria to select professors, and magisterial obedience. In other words, it can indeed be claimed that Pius XI contributed a good amount of his papacy to education and formation,¹⁹ but much also had to do with his strong commitment to Catholic Action involved with Christianizing all that was secular. Indeed, this characterized his papacy with the publication of his first encyclical *Ubi Arcano Dei Consilio* (1922).²⁰

The contributions by Pope Pius XII are also extensive.²¹ In his eyes, Christians had to be educated and formed to perfection, in that sense that they are aware of the latest forms of knowledge, mainly in the (technical) sciences at the time, in order to imbue these “sectors of life” with “the divine grace”. Like previous popes, he opposed state monopoly – not unimportant in light of the totalitarianisms during his papacy most notably communism, fascism, and Nazism – and the omittance of religious truths within education. Instead he highlighted, among other things, the need for parents and teachers to collaborate for the good of Catholic education, well-educated teachers, and a stronger awareness of the child’s educational developments.²² Another encyclical, *Mystici Corporis Christi*,²³ allowed for “more interpretative space for ecclesiologists”.²⁴ Not much later, another encyclical, *Divino Afflante Spiritu*,²⁵ for the first time opened the door for a more “benevolent” approach towards the historical sciences within Biblical studies, allowing nuance – though in the narrow sense – regarding the mediary role of the human subject within the historical context in handing over divine revelation as present in Scripture.²⁶ The pope also ensured the first International Catechetical Congress (1950).²⁷ But what initially was received by theologians and members of the worldwide Catholic Church as embracing contemporary approaches, seemed to be denied in one of his later encyclicals *Humani Generis* (1950) which vehemently opposed “scientific developments, especially with regard to the theory of evolution.”²⁸ It was also under his papacy that Catholic theologians providing alternative theories surrounding some of the magisterial doctrines were asked to lay down their teaching positions.²⁹

¹⁹ See, for example, his contribution on catechetical instruction, in Sacred Congregation of the Council, “Acta apostolicae sedis XXVII,” January 12, 1935, accessed February 17, 2025, <https://www.vatican.va/archive/aas/documents/AAS-27-1935-ocr.pdf>.

²⁰ Pius XI, “Ubi arcano Dei consilio,” December 23, 1922, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xi/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xi_enc_19221223_ubi-arcano-dei-consilio.html.

²¹ These cannot be addressed in detail. See: Vincent A. Yzermans (ed.), *Pope Pius XII and Catholic Education* (Indiana: Grail Publications, St. Meinrad (Archabbey), 1957).

²² Ibid., viii-xiii.

²³ Pius XII, “Mystici Corporis Christi,” June 29, 1943, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/la/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_29061943_mystici-corporis-christi.html.

²⁴ Schelkens, ““Throwing the Faith to Relativism?”,” 73-74.

²⁵ Pius XII, “Divino Afflante Spiritu,” September 30, 1943, accessed February 17, 2025, https://www.vatican.va/content/pius-xii/it/encyclicals/documents/hf_p-xii_enc_30091943_divino-afflante-spiritu.html.

²⁶ Schelkens, ““Throwing the Faith to Relativism?”,” 73-74; Mathijs Lamberigts, “Vatican II: A Short History,” *EJDC* 2, no. 1 (2009): 9-51, 11; cf. Fouilleux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 80.

²⁷ Stijn Van den Bossche, “The Équipe Européenne de Catéchèse,” *The Person and the Challenges: the Journal of Theology, Education, Canon Law, and Social Studies inspired by Pope John Paul II* 6, no. 2 (2016): 267-69, 267. Cf. Georges Delcuve, “Le Congrès catéchistique international tenu à Rome du 10 au 14 octobre 1950,” *Lumen Vitae* 5 (1950): 677-83.

²⁸ Lamberigts, “Vatican II,” 12.

²⁹ Ibid. See also Adrian Hastings, “Catholic History from Vatican I to John Paul II,” in *Modern Catholicism: Vatican II and After*, ed. Adrian Hastings (London: SPCK, 1991), 1-13, 3-4 on the ambiguity of Pius XII.

In other words, the papal documents and the canon law show that Catholic education and formation since Vatican I remained “a crucial part of the mission of the Church in this world”.³⁰ On paper, the influence of Neo-Scholasticism up until Vatican II had also led to the existence of a “manualistic theology”, meaning that “the teachings and theological doctrines of the Catholic Church on a particular doctrine” were dealt with in a clear and uniform way, written in Latin and applicable to the global Church no matter the local context or culture.³¹ Following the “three-step method”, i.e., the teachings of the Church, the underlying confirmation by means of Scripture and the tradition, and the rational explorations of these teachings, all seminarians and a whole generation of bishops up until Vatican II were educated in neo-scholastic thought.³² Ecclesial judgements were to be confirmed and theologians had the task of defending the magisterial teachings.³³ In reality, however, Neo-Scholasticism had a variety of different interpretations and applications across Catholic authors in and outside Rome, lacking any uniformity in how to approach theological matters.³⁴ In general, two major streams were popular prior to Vatican II: “the neo-Thomist approach” that can be considered “objective, immutable, and ahistorical” (the more popular stream also promoted on the magisterial level), and the “historical and contextual, responsive to changes in society and culture as well as to the new century’s intellectual and philosophical currents” (especially popular in France, Germany, Netherlands, Belgium). While the first stream reasoned deductively, the second one started inductively.³⁵

Meanwhile, leading up to Vatican II, a multitude of theological voices were amplifying with people like Henri de Lubac (1896-1991), Marie-Dominique Chenu (1895-1990), Yves Congar (1904-95), and Karl Rahner (1904-84) all demanding in one way or the other to enlarge neo-scholastic theology or to move away from it by including historical criticism and new models of revelation in theological thought.³⁶ Their demands can be placed in the rising pastoral and neo-patristic movements enhanced after World War I, seeking a return to the sources to reinterpret theology away from deductive Thomism. These movements were especially popular above the Alps,³⁷ and would gain popularity in what would be known as *nouvelle théologie* with the aim to make “dogmatics compatible with historical reality”, making the “sources of revelation”, i.e., Scripture and tradition, liable to

³⁰ Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation,” 289.

³¹ Rush, “Some Pre-Conciliar Background,” 54.

³² Ibid., 52-55, 62; Schelkens, ““Throwing the Faith to Relativism?”,” 69-70.

³³ Schelkens, ““Throwing the Faith to Relativism?”,” 68.

³⁴ The fierce debates among various scholars engaged with Neo-Scholasticism would especially take place in between the two world wars. In general, Attridge points to four significant and more appreciated authors in Rome who impacted the study of neo-Thomism but with different *foci*: Pierre Rousselot (1878–1915), Joseph Maréchal (1878–1944), Jacques Maritain (1882–1973), and Étienne Gilson (1884–1978). The latter, for instance, as a historian had exposed the wrong reading of Thomas of Aquinas by Catholic theologians after him, pointing thus to a plurality of neo-Thomisms. For a good summary of each neo-Thomist writer, see Attridge, “From Objectivity to Subjectivity,” 27-30. That not all neo-Thomist authors were eagerly applauded at the Curia becomes clear, for instance, in 1958, when Pizzardo as pro-prefect of the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies “stopped the Catholic university the Sacred Heart in Milan from awarding an honorary degree to Jacques Maritain.” See: Peter Hebblethwaite, *John XXIII: Pope of the Century*, abridged ed. Margaret Hebblethwaite (New York: Continuum, 2000), 165.

³⁵ Attridge, “From Objectivity to Subjectivity,” 24-25.

³⁶ Rush, “Some Pre-Conciliar Background,” 63-65; Schelkens, ““Throwing the Faith to Relativism?”,” 73; Lamberigts, “Vatican II,” 12.

³⁷ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 85-86; Lamberigts, “Vatican II,” 12.

historical criticism.³⁸ One must also place the liturgical (e.g., under Dom Lambert Beauduin) and scriptural (e.g., Marie-Joseph Lagrange) movements in this light as well.³⁹ During the 1950s, these debates, despite initial opposition in Rome, had found entrance in some of the Pontifical faculties and universities, especially among figures like Luis Alonso-Schökel, Stanislas Lyonnet, and Max Zerwick.⁴⁰ But strong opposition towards any kind of modernistic applications of magisterial teachings remained the case, as was for instance visible with the Jesuit Sebastian Tromp's inspection of theology in Roman and Dutch seminaries.⁴¹ Even within Roman institutes, opposition continued to take place among figures like Antonino Romeo and Francesco Spadafora both active at the Lateranum and rejecting any modern approach to Biblical exegesis.⁴² As far as the intellectual landscape was concerned, since the turn of the 20th century, theology had experienced a variety of developments like "historical consciousness, an emphasis on subjectivity and experience, and the separation of philosophy and theology".⁴³ Along with these, social and human sciences were also evolving.⁴⁴

In general, the Catholic Church had also witnessed the movement of Catholic Action that inspired lay Catholics to be politically active in a variety of sectors within society to safeguard Catholicism in light of increasingly hostile states, and to positively influence the public debate. The movements ran as varied as student, labor, family, and apostolic movements.⁴⁵ Moreover, by the 1950s, multiple national episcopal conferences had been held across the globe dealing with situational problems; some of them having expanded transnationally. For education, in almost all the countries in the world, including those under colonial administration and those who had recently become independent, public education existed next to private education. Catholic schools almost everywhere belonged to the private education, alongside other Christian and non-Christian private forms of education. With the exception of some European countries and Canada, this implied that Catholic educational institutes had to run financially on their own means, and it was up to the local directors to ensure that the teaching quality remained high. For many centuries, the Catholic Church had enlarged its network of Catholic schools within old and new territories through a variety of primary and secondary parish and religious schools. Oftentimes, the religious schools, with the aim to install vocations, had been established by teaching orders and congregations (e.g., Piarists, Salesians, Brothers of the Christian Schools), but also by orders and congregations who had other apostolic charisms (e.g., Jesuits, Dominicans, Franciscans, Daughters of Charity). Male religious were often engaged in schools for boys, while female religious in schools for girls. Co-education was quasi non-existent in Catholic schools prior to Vatican II, although some exceptions existed in places where there were simply not enough finances or staff to provide multiple schools for each gender. It was not uncommon

³⁸ Schelkens, "'Throwing the Faith to Relativism?'," 72.

³⁹ Attridge, "From Objectivity to Subjectivity," 26.

⁴⁰ Schelkens, "'Throwing the Faith to Relativism?'," 76-77.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 75.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 77.

⁴³ Attridge, "From Objectivity to Subjectivity," 30.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Fouilloux, "The Antepreparatory Phase," 78-79.

that the distinction between parish and religious schools, with the exception of sisters who also ran parish schools under episcopal authority, brought forward tensions among secular and religious clergy. The latter, with the exception of the sisters, enjoyed exemptions to run educational institutes independent from the authority of the secular bishops and priests, which also implied that they could establish Catholic schools independently and fare well financially. This authority and freedom oftentimes caused remorse among some of the diocesan secular clergy who had sometimes fewer financial means and did not have the authority to inspect religious schools. It was also not uncommon that secular bishops feared that the best local diocesan students with a vocation might be prone to join the religious instead (for this very purpose, Jesuits were for instance banned in Bruges).

Many nations, primarily in the West, had national boards dealing with Catholic education and safeguarding the direction of the Catholic schools in front of the government and in light of existing national legislations that were different for each country. Most of the times, these boards prior to Vatican II were led by clergy who had been appointed by the local cardinal(s) and/or Archbishop(s). Depending on the country, the boards and the people involved would act as a reference point for the Catholic schools and universities. For France, this was embodied in the *Secrétariat Général de l'Enseignement Catholique*;⁴⁶ in the Netherlands, *Rooms-Katholiek Centraal Bureau voor Onderwijs*;⁴⁷ in Belgium, *Nationaal Secretariaat van het Katholiek Onderwijs / Secrétariat National de l'Enseignement Catholique*;⁴⁸ in Italy, *Federazione di Istituti Dipendenti Autorità Ecclesiastica* and The Central School Office for Italy both in close contact with the Sacred Congregation for Seminaries and Universities;⁴⁹ in England and Wales, the Catholic Education Council.⁵⁰ In West-Germany, unlike other European countries, Catholic schools were oftentimes government schools and controlled by the state while the local *Länder* could further implement separate legislations regarding Catholic education. In other words, the school system there was much more decentralized.⁵¹ In Canada, there was a council of public instruction which, for Catholic education in particular, was led by a Catholic president.⁵² In the USA, there was the Department of Education of the National Catholic Welfare Conference that acted as the embodiment of the will of the American bishops, but it did not yield any power over local Catholic schools. In fact, much of the governing power simply resided with the local schools.⁵³

Similar situations as in the USA were prevalent in Central and Latin American countries although there, unlike the USA, the Catholic Church had been able to thrive in

⁴⁶ Didier J. Piveteau, "Catholic Education in France", in *Catholic Education in the Western World*, ed. James M. Lee (Indiana, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 1-60, 21.

⁴⁷ Jos. J. Gielen and W. J. G. M. Gielen, "Catholic Education in the Netherlands," *ibid.*, 113-54, 117.

⁴⁸ Henk Byls, "De Guimardstraat en de Avenue Mounier: Unieke kenniscentra voor onderwijs", in *Katholiek Onderwijs in België*, eds. Jan De Maeyer en Paul Wynants (Averbode: Uitgeverij van Averbode, 2016), 233-34.

⁴⁹ Vincenzo Sinistrero, "Catholic Education in Italy", in *Catholic Education in the Western World*, ed. James M. Lee (Indiana, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 155-208, 161, 172-74.

⁵⁰ John P. White, "Catholic Education in England", *ibid.*, 209-52, 221.

⁵¹ Franz Pöggeler, "Catholic Education in West-Germany", *ibid.*, 61-112, 68-69.

⁵² David B. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia: Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World ADA 1900-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 217.

⁵³ James M. Lee, "Catholic Education in the United States", in *Catholic Education in the Western World*, ed. James M. Lee (Indiana, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), 253-312, 270.

matters of education due to the close relationship with the various populist regimes. While these regimes would fall during the 1950s, Catholic Christianity would rejuvenate in the various “developmentist” Christian democratic regimes with countries like Chile and Costa Rica leading the way.⁵⁴ In most of the other parts of the world, national Catholic boards were simply non-existent due to the minority position of the Church whether through relatively recent immigrations, as for instance in Australia, or the missions (various countries in Asia and in colonial Africa). The two exceptions in Asia are the Philippines, where the Catholic Educational Association of the Philippines was created in 1941,⁵⁵ and India, where the Catholic Bishops Conference had established the All-India Association of Catholic Schools in 1953.⁵⁶ Moreover, the different decolonization movements and independences of newly established countries all the way from North Africa to the Middle East and South(east) Asia, changed the socio-political landscape for oftentimes minority Catholics. Either private schools became nationalized, or Catholics now had to reestablish the educational legislations with the new governments in the best way possible. Across territory under communist regimes (Soviet Union, People’s Republic of China, North Korea, and some parts of Southeast Asia) such Catholic educational boards were almost as good as disbanded (Poland forms perhaps an exception). Across Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa, the educational decision power was held by the religious and diocesan bishops, also dependent on how many Catholic schools had actually been established. For the Catholic universities beyond Europe and the Americas, the number was significantly lower (with few exceptions like the Lovanium in Kinshasa, Santo Tomas in Manila, or Sophia University in Tokyo).

In other words, each national context required different controlling structures that, although comparable, had a different impact and authority depending on the national legislations and policies.⁵⁷ One must take into consideration that much power over the study curriculum, quality, teachers, inspection, was held by parochial, diocesan, and religious and/or state authorities that oftentimes but not always collaborated with parents and teachers’ associations. The same contextual complexity can also be applied to other matters: most notably the financial costs as to what extent school buildings and salaries of teachers were paid by the state, the role/status of clerical and lay teachers within schools, the teacher preparation, and even the level of literacy within one country.⁵⁸ Another complexity surrounding Catholic education has to do with different school systems encompassing different concepts and timelines for graduation. While the major thread is one of primary and secondary schools followed by universities, each national (and sometimes provincial)

⁵⁴ Enrique Dussel, “General Introduction”, in *The Church in Latin America, 1492-1992*, ed. Enrique Dussel (Kent: Burns & Oates/ Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), 1-22, 13-14; Enrique Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” *ibid.*, 139-52, 142.

⁵⁵ David Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia: A Comparative Study of Churches and Religions in the Modern World ADA 1900-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 920.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Chapter II of this dissertation will provide, as much as is possible, the socio-political and legislative background for the countries under discussion. It becomes clear, indeed, that each country had a unique setting for the Catholic schooling network. See also further below in this introduction for the rationale.

⁵⁸ Cf. George N. Shuster, “Foreword,” in *Catholic Education in the Western World*, ed. James M. Lee (Indiana, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1967), xi-xii, xii. It is clear that literacy was for instance much higher in Western countries than in Latin America, even more so in some of the Asian and African countries.

context appropriated different concepts and age requirements.⁵⁹ Finally, when talking of Catholic education, two more important aspects need to be highlighted: the first being the seminaries. All of the clergy were trained in the seminaries, but prior to Vatican II, especially the minor seminary (also called ‘college’ in the Anglophone contexts) that for long had captivated young students to embrace a priestly vocation, had come under pressure. Indeed, an increasing lay population entered some of these seminaries while not embracing a priestly vocation (as for instance in the USA), there was a decrease of vocations, and the enhanced quality of parallel primary and secondary schools rendered the usefulness of minor seminaries to a halt.⁶⁰ In order to prevent minor seminaries from closure, at an initial stage, it was decided to allow lay people to study without the need to have a priestly vocation, while at a second stage, minor seminaries would mainly become schools for the laity in general. Social developments like the baby boom and the promulgation of children’s rights in 1952 would also come to impact these minor seminaries, but also education as a whole. As for the major seminaries, in most parts of the world were in a state of transformation due to the lack of clarity of what priests ought to know and not know.⁶¹ A second aspect to highlight is that one needs to distinguish between the Latin rite educational institutes and those of the Eastern rite, most notably active in the Middle East and India (but also through forced exile as for instance the Greek and Chaldean Catholics), where the Eastern Catholics could follow their own set of ecclesiastical laws.

Along with these national complexities and contextualities, the 1950s also experienced the rise of transnational boards dealing with Catholic education. The first one was the *Centre Catholique International de Coopération avec l’UNESCO* (CCIC) created in 1947 by the rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, Émile Blanchet. The Centre had the aim to contribute meaningfully on a variety of topics related to national societies from a Catholic point of view.⁶² The second impactful one more related to the Catholic school was the *International Office of Catholic Education* (OIEC) created in 1952 by Frans op de Coul, who was leading the Dutch board of Catholic education.⁶³ It was initially supported by the representatives of

⁵⁹ To comprehend this complexity, take already a glance at some of the West European countries for secondary education alone: Pivetau, “Catholic Education in France,” 14-16, 20, points out that France knew lower secondary schools (ages 11-15, consisting of different orientation cycles also depending on whether one teaches in Latin or not) and upper secondary schools (ages 15-18, with different directions including vocational profession). Pöggeler, “Catholic Education in Germany,” 69-70, shows that for West-Germany, there were Catholic university preparatory schools (*Gymnasium*, ages 10-18/19, consisting of *Realgymnasium* and *Humanistische Gymnasium*), intermediate schools (*Realschule* or *Mittelschule* that closely related to *Berufsfachschule*), and part-time vocational (professional) schools (*Berufsschule*). Gielen and Gielen, “Catholic Education in the Netherlands,” 121-23, point out that Dutch secondary education (AVO) was distinguished into advanced (HAVO), intermediate (MAVO), and elementary (LAVO) secondary education (years depending on the direction of profession). Sinistrero, “Catholic Education in Italy,” 165-67, mentions that Italian secondary schools (ages 15-19) were subdivided according to the professional direction of the student (four *ordini*): humanistic (consisting of *liceo-classico*, *liceo-scientifico*, *scuola magistrale*), technical (*tecnici intermedi*), professional or artistic. Finally, White, “Catholic Education in England and Wales,” 218-19, argues that there were British governmental schools consisting of grammar, modern and technical schools (ages 11-15 min.); and the non-governmental schools consisting, among other ones, of Catholic public schools. Note for instance that the English never call government schools public schools. In fact, there, a public school necessarily implied a private school.

⁶⁰ For the crisis of the minor seminary prior to Vatican II, see Alois Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare*, 23.

⁶¹ Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare*, 24-26.

⁶² <https://ccic-unesco.org/un-peu-dhistoire/> As we will see in Chapter III of this dissertation, Blanchet would play an active role in the preparatory commission on studies and seminaries, especially during the discussions on the universities.

⁶³ As we will see in Chapter III of this dissertation, his advice would be asked during the preparatory period on Catholic schools as external peritus. However, he would never come to write these suggestions as he passed away.

Catholic education in France, England, Belgium, Italy and the Netherlands and soon joined by representatives from Lebanon, Brazil, Canada, Mexico, Tanganyika, and Uruguay.⁶⁴

Generally speaking, then, the end of the 1950s saw Catholic education and formation in a variety of settings: it was either supported or oppressed by the state; more or less popular than public (secular) education; very extensive or a tiny fraction of local society; thriving financially independent or aided by the state; it had either a huge impact or no impact at all on society at large; it was either controlled by parish/diocesan or the religious hierarchy (or both); and finally, it was either dependent on local or national initiatives (or both). On top of that, across the globe, there had been a rising student population caused by the baby booms. More than ever, the laity had access to the schooling system with or without the aid of the state and they became increasingly more literate and educated. The amount of time spent at school had increased. In some parts of the world, clerical vocations were a problem leaving fewer clergy to deal with a mass schooling population. Across the decolonized nation states, a reappropriation of the national identity and language, sometimes along religious lines other than Christianity, were increasingly popular and challenged the imported Western style study curriculum and schooling systems. Within sub-Saharan Africa, the call for independence was increasingly loud including the need for the indigenization of the clergy despite the last wave of successive Western missionaries.⁶⁵ Most of those who had already been formed during the colonial time, were under close collaboration with *De Propaganda Fide*.⁶⁶ Amidst these developments, the seminary education and formation had also come under pressure for renewal in all parts of the world. Catechetical and pedagogical renewals were challenging older forms of teaching, and the use of technological means such as cinema, radio and journalism, had become increasingly popular to educate society beyond the school. Younger missionary bishops had become more exposed and affiliated with these new forms than the older ones.

Based on the above-mentioned developments, it becomes clear that Catholic education and formation became increasingly difficult to differentiate at the threshold of Vatican II. Indeed, while formation might have primarily been applied to the training of the clergy in seminaries, and the religious instruction of the faithful through catechesis, the access of an ever-increasing lay population to the (Catholic) school and higher forms of education, made formation more entangled with education. Generally speaking, new pedagogical insights, much more focused on the child's developmental stages, also made it clear that education had to be much more than simply disseminating knowledge. This impacted for instance the way minor seminaries had been functioning. The very identity of what constitutes the Catholic school (as in 'Catholic' and 'school', the same applied the university) came directly and indirectly under pressure. Moreover, in different national settings, there was no unanimity to what extent formation was to be implied in the school and what that would actually consist of. For instance, in some countries, catechesis was to be implemented in

⁶⁴ <https://oiecinternational.com/oiec/history-2/>

⁶⁵ For an excellent outline across Africa, see Adrian Hastings, *African Christianity* (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976).

⁶⁶ Lamberigts, "Vatican II," 10.

schools, while others simply replaced it with religious education. Given this complexity of distinguishing Catholic education from formation at threshold of Vatican II, it will be necessary to keep the two combined throughout this dissertation while carefully distinguishing education from formation.

2. Vatican II: Announcement and First Preparation

Amidst all these educational developments, Pope John XXIII announced a pastoral council that intended to bring an *aggiornamento* in the Catholic Church. While other figures at the top such as Alfredo Ottaviani, Domenico Tardini, and Giuseppe Pizzardo more or less agreed,⁶⁷ it became clear that they tried to take charge over the agenda to ensure their own emphases that were mostly defensive.⁶⁸ After all, support for the pope came more from the younger clergy around him than the Curia.⁶⁹ In any case, for the pope, the Council had to incorporate reform, but not so much in the sense of condemning, neatly separating or uplifting the Catholic Church up against the world, but more so in a future-oriented way in which the Church could learn from and dialogue with the world while staying true and loyal to its own repertoire. In reality, though, tensions arose among the various Catholic movements in how to interpret local situations and deal with existing (class) struggles.⁷⁰

In general, Vatican II (1962-65) has been a topic of scholarly debate for many decades and much has indeed already been said and mentioned.⁷¹ Briefly, while the conciliar sessions would take place in between October 1962 and December 1965, preparations had taken place as early as May 1959. Once John XXIII invoked his wishes to have a pastoral council, soon the world episcopate (including nuncios, prelates and titular bishops), the religious superiors, and the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities were all asked by the Pre-Preparatory Central Commission led by Cardinal Tardini on behalf of the pope to send their desiderata (i.e., vota) for the upcoming council. These could be related to “points of 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, or, finally, anything else that Your Excellency thinks it good to discuss and clarify”.⁷² The machinery set in motion to have all these vota sent back by post would continue up until the summer of 1960, although the deadline had been set at September 1959 – an unrealistic date, indeed, given that many of

⁶⁷ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 72; Hastings, ““Catholic History,” 4.

⁶⁸ Hebblethwaite, “John XXIII,” 165, 169. In fact, they would find confirmation for the defensive nature of the Council during the first meeting of the ante-preparatory commission where the Pope’s speech “fell on consolidating and preserving the past rather than on responding to the present.” See *ibid.*, 169.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 166.

⁷⁰ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 72.

⁷¹ From historiographies, indexes, commentaries, to personal diaries. To name some important works: Giuseppe Alberigo and Joseph A. Komonchak, eds., *History of Vatican II*, vols. 1-5 (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1995-2006); Maurilo Guasco et al., eds., *Storia Della Chiesa: La Chiesa Vaticano II (1958-78)*, parte prima (Milan: San Paolo, 1994); Manlio Sodi, ed., “*Ubi Petrus Ibi Ecclesia*”. *Sui sentieri del Concilio Vaticano II: Miscellanea offerta a S.S. Benedetto XVI in occasione del suo 80° genetliaco* (Rome: LAS, 2007); Alberic Stacpoole, ed., *Vatican II Revisited: By Those Who Were There* (Minneapolis, MI: Winston Press, 1986); Hastings, ed., *Modern Catholicism*; Herbert Vorgrimler, ed., *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, vol. I-IV (Herder & Herder, 1967); Lamberigts, “Vatican II”; Léon-Joseph Suenens, “Aux origines du Concile Vatican II,” *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* 107, no. 1 (1985): 3-21; Peter Hünemann and Jochen Hilberath, eds., *Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, Bd 1-5 (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 2009); Michael Quisinsky and Peter Walter, eds., *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, 2nd ed. (Freiburg im Breisgau: Verlag Herder, 2013).

⁷² Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 94; ADA II/1, x-xi.

the missionary bishops and the universities had time off during the summer. Meanwhile, the Roman congregations were also asked for their “proposals” and the Roman rectors of pontifical institutes for the most urgent matters.⁷³ Over 2000 replies were sent to Rome.⁷⁴ This part became known as the pre-preparatory period.

But Rome did not wait for all the vota to come in by post, as the preparatory period would commence from July 1960 – October 1962. As early as the beginning of 1960, a summary of the already received vota (“1988 out of a possible 2600”)⁷⁵ had been made in various *rapporto sintetici*⁷⁶ of countries and later an *Analyticus Conspectus* (AC) containing all the received vota thus far. Seemingly, some of these were passed on to the preparatory commissions. During the preparatory period, preparatory commissions had been established based on the parallel Roman congregations, that were assigned a list of topics by the pope to be discussed according to the related expertise of each commission. The commissions would be led by a president and a secretary, often from Rome, who would in turn appoint and accept relevant members and consultors for the preparatory period. For the Preparatory Commission on Studies and Seminaries, the head was Pizzardo, also head of the parallel Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, and his secretary, the Benedictine Paul Augustin Mayer, rector of the Sant’Anselmo University. External advice could also be asked along the process by periti or experts.⁷⁷ The whole preparatory period would be spearheaded by a Central Preparatory Commission (CPC) in which all the members would come together seven times over the course of two years to discuss and vote on the preparatory schemata that each preparatory commission had made.

After the preparatory period, the Council started but would see tremendous changes based on internal criticism of the way the preparatory period had been progressing. Each commission would see a shift of members, consultors and periti and from January 1963 onwards most schemata had to be reworked to make them more in line with the *aggiornamento* asked by Pope John XXIII. Unfortunately, the latter would not see the end of the Council, as he died soon afterwards with Pope Paul VI taking over and leading in a different style. In the end, a variety of constitutions, decrees and declarations were promulgated; all dealing with liturgical, ecclesiastical, religious, media, ecumenical, oriental, episcopal, priestly, and educational topics.

3. Gravissimum Educationis: A Neglected Document

Given the weight and popularity of some conciliar documents compared to others, a majority of existing studies have mainly dealt with constitutions like *Gaudium et Spes*, *Dei Verbum*, *Lumen Gentium*, or decrees like *Unitatis Redintegratio*, *Ad gentes*, *Apostolicam Actuositatem*. However, for the declaration *Gravissimum Educationis* (henceforward *GE*)

⁷³ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 96; 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): 556-76, 558-59.

⁷⁴ Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 559. As Melloni points out, the publication of these vota was accessible since 1974; fourteen years after event.

⁷⁵ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 101, referring to Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 562.

⁷⁶ To consult these various reports: CVII, AAV, buste 306-07 (see also footnote 124 for the outline of this abbreviation).

⁷⁷ See Chapter III in this dissertation.

dealing with the topic of education and formation by providing general guidelines about (Catholic) education vis-à-vis parents, the Church, the state, and society as a whole, the scholarly engagement has been minimal. One major cause is that the reception of *GE* has overall been largely negative,⁷⁸ yet that does not justify the lacune in the scholarship surrounding the document.⁷⁹ Thus far, scholars have mostly engaged with the content of *GE* and its relevance for today (e.g., Boeve, Derroitte) or its place within the ecclesial history of Vatican II at large mostly by authors who themselves were active in the Preparatory and/or Conciliar Commission on Studies and Seminaries (e.g., Baldanza, Sauvage).⁸⁰ There is common consensus that one has to understand *GE* mainly against the backdrop of the encyclical *DIM* mentioned earlier. It has been pointed out that this encyclical emphasized the authority and infallibility of the Catholic Church in matters of Catholic education and formation, especially in light of increasing authoritarian states as was experienced in Italy and Germany during the 1930s and 40s, but similar phenomena could also for instance be observed in France. The encyclical, as a product of its time, was rather deductive and did not engage with new educational methods; however, it served as a basis for the preparation on education and formation in the wake of Vatican II. Some have already pointed out the clear shift from *DIM* to *GE* in terms of tone (i.e., less defensive and more open) although content wise the declaration did not bring forward anything substantially new.⁸¹

However, there has been no critical engagement with the genesis of *GE* that deals with the expectations of the world episcopate, the universities, the superiors and the Roman congregations on education and formation during the pre-preparatory period, nor with the complex text-history of *GE* during the preparatory period. A comprehensive study of the vota regarding education and formation in general has not been done. This is a remarkable lacuna, as the importance of Catholic education and formation was still deeply rooted in the

⁷⁸ This was the case just after the council and in later years: Joseph Ratzinger, *Theological Highlights of Vatican II* (New York: Paulist Press, 1966), 179; Francesco Guerello, "A vent'anni dalla dichiarazione conciliare 'Gravissimum Educationis'," *Rassegna di teologia* 27, no. 4 (1986): 338-51; V. Alan McClelland, "Education (Gravissimum Educationis)," in *Modern Catholicism*, 172-74; Brian J. Keltz, "Toward a Theology of Catholic Education," *Religious Education* 94, no. 11 (1999): 5-23. This in contrast to a small minority seeing the positive aspects of the text; see Franz Pöggeler, *Declaratio de educatione christiana. Erklärung über die christliche Erziehung*, Dokumente des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils, authentische Textausgaben lateinisch-deutsch, Bd. V (Trier: Paulinus Verlag, 1966); Giuseppe Baldanza, "Appunti sulla storia della Dichiarazione Gravissimum Educationis, Il concetto di Educazione e di Scuola Cattolica: la sua evoluzione secondo i vari schemi," *Seminarium* 25 (1985): 13-54. Others are somewhere in between, for instance, Michel Sauvage, "L'École Chrétienne et le Concile," *Orientations* 4 (1966): 1-30.

⁷⁹ Some of the scholarship rejuvenating the study on *GE* and actually embracing the positive aspects of the declaration, include Pöggeler, *Declaratio de educatione christiana*; Lena Marguerite, "L'éducation à la lumière du Concile Vatican II," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 109 (1987): 574-586; Michael Bayldon, "Gravissimum Educationis 30 years on," *New Blackfriars* 77 (1996): 131-136. Henri Derroitte, "De la Déclaration Gravissimum Educationis à nos jours: Réflexions sur l'éducation chrétienne," *Revue théologique de Louvain* 45 (2014): 360-388; Lieven Boeve, "School of Dialogue in Love: Interweaving Gravissimum Educationis with Perfectae Caritatis anno 2015," in *The Letter and the Spirit: On the Forgotten Documents of Vatican II*, ed. Annemarie C. Mayer (Leuven: Peeters 2018), 95-116.

⁸⁰ For Pohlschneider, see Johannes Pohlschneider, "Declaration on Christian Education," in Vorgrimler (ed.), *Commentary on the Documents of Vatican II*, Bd. IV, 1-48; Baldanza, "Appunti sulla storia".

⁸¹ On this matter: Roman A. Siebenrock, "Theologischer Kommentar zur Erklärung über die Christliche Erziehung Gravissimum Educationis," in Hünermann, *Herders Theologischer Kommentar*, Bd. 3, 551-590; Francesco Casella, "Punti nodali della riflessione pedagogica dalla 'Divini illius Magistri' alla 'Gravissimum Educationis'," *Orientamenti Pedagogici* 54 (2007): 293-304; Gerald Grace, "From Gravissimum Educationis (1965) to The Catholic School (1977): The Late Flowering of Aggiornamento in Catholic Education Thinking," *The Pastoral Review* 9, no. 3 (2013): 22-27; Giuseppe Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio: Percorso redazionale della Gravissimum Educationis* (Padova: Edizione Messaggero, 2018); Derroitte, "De la Déclaration"; Frick, *Grundlagen Katholischer Schule*.

Catholic Church at the threshold of Vatican II. Moreover, Catholic schools and universities were, at the eve of the Council, not present in all countries.⁸²

3.1. *The vota: a neglected source in historiography*

Regarding a thematic analysis of vota for some countries, there exists a variety of valuable works: *À la veille du concile Vatican II* (1992)⁸³, edited by Mathijs Lamberigts and Claude Soetens, incorporates contributions on the French, Spanish, Italian, Oriental vota by the bishops as well as from the Roman Curia and the universities of Louvain and Lovanium in Kinshasa. Another edited book by the hand of José Oscar Beozzo incorporates contributions from Latin American bishops at the Council, including some discussions on the vota.⁸⁴ Yves-Marie Hilaire has discussed most of the French vota,⁸⁵ Rita Meridiani the vota from the Benelux,⁸⁶ Roberto Morozzo della Rocca in a generalized way the Italian,⁸⁷ Solange Dayras the British,⁸⁸ Pierre Fortin and especially Joseph Komonchak the American,⁸⁹ and Paul Pulikkan the Indian.⁹⁰ Recent contributions have come forward in the edited book *Vatican II after Sixty Years*, with four contributions, including my own on education,⁹¹ focusing on vota from Latin America⁹² and Eastern Catholic Churches.⁹³ Valuable as most of these contributions are, none have really engaged extensively with the vota on Catholic education and formation. Sporadically, some references are made, but a closer inspection is more than necessary.

Research of the vota is of great help to discover the rich variety in opinions, ideas, and institutional regulations regarding Catholic education at the time of the Council. A systematic study of these local and (inter)national differences at the end of the fifties will offer an important framework for a correct understanding and interpretation of the

⁸² For the vota, see: *Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando*, Series 1 (Antepreparatoria), vols. 1–4, Indices (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1960–61).

⁸³ Mathijs Lamberigts and Claude Soetens, eds., *À la veille du Concile Vatican II: Vota et réactions en Europe et dans le catholicisme oriental*, Instrumenta theologica (Leuven: Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid, ed. M. Sabbe, 1992).

⁸⁴ José Oscar Beozzo, ed., *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en visperas del Vaticano II* (Sabanilla, San Jose: Departamento Ecueménico de Investigaciones, 1992).

⁸⁵ Yves-Marie Hilaire, “Les vœux des évêques français après l’annonce du Concile de Vatican II (1959),” in *Le deuxième Concile du Vatican (1959–1965)*... Publications de l’École française de Rome 113 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1989), 101–117. But he did not extensively engage with catechesis nor the seminaries.

⁸⁶ Rita Meridiani, “I ‘vota’ dell’Episcopato del Benelux in preparazione del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II,” *Riflessioni Rh* 24, no. 4 (1988): 199–255.

⁸⁷ Roberto Morozzo della Rocca, “I « voti » dei vescovi italiani per il Concilio,” *ibid.*, 119–137. While Morozzo Della Rocca provides an interesting glance on how Italian vota must be read against some of the ecclesiastical developments in the Italian episcopate, he remains rather superficial as to the extensive content of the Italian vota. Issues like schools, universities, seminaries and catechesis are not all or sporadically pointed at.

⁸⁸ Solange Dayras, “Les vœux de l’épiscopat britannique. Reflets d’une église minoritaire,” *ibid.*, 139–153.

⁸⁹ Pierre Fortin, “The American Hierarchy at the Eve of Vatican II,” *ibid.*, 155–164; Joseph A. Komonchak, “U.S. Bishops’s Suggestions for Vatican II,” *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 15 (1994): 313–371. Pierre Fortin’s overview on the American vota is not satisfying as he does not mention any names or details. Komonchak is more enhanced, but also misses some important matters.

⁹⁰ Paul Pulikkan, *Indian Church at Vatican II: A Historico-Theological Study of the Indian Participation in the Second Vatican Council*, Marymatha Publications no.1 (Trichur: Marymatha Publications, 2001).

⁹¹ Deman, “Catholic Education and Formation”.

⁹² Sandra Arenas, “The Vota of the Prelates of the Southern Cone Region on Ecclesiology and Laity,” in *Vatican II after Sixty Years*, 111–130; Rolando Iberico Ruiz, “The Vota of the Episcopate of the Andean Region on Ecclesiology and Laity,” *ibid.*, 131–154.

⁹³ Jose Maripurath Devassy, Astrid Kaptijn and Peter De Mey, “The Vota of the Eastern Catholic Churches and the Reform of Eastern Canon Law,” *ibid.*, 199–228.

preparatory debates both in the commission and in aula. In other words, to construct such framework, an inductive approach will be implemented whereby the vota of the various authors are transliterated and rephrased to present them in a more concise and presentable way. After all, most vota were written in pseudo-Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish with only a few in English. Based on the various suggestions related to educating, forming, and instructing the clergy and the laity, it will become clear what Catholic education and formation actually (did not) consist of, and the various implementations, at the threshold of Vatican II. Indeed, while papal and magisterial documents might deductively present Catholic education and formation, the questions pop up to what extent the world episcopate, the religious superiors, the universities, and the Roman dicasteries still represent similar ideas and whether or not the topic(s) were considered important conciliar material.

A first glance through the large number of vota, demonstrates that education and formation are recurrent topics yet discussed in a variety of ways. Not only does it become clear that these topics cannot be easily reduced to merely ‘doctrinal’, ‘disciplinary’ or ‘urgent’ matters (in fact: they belong to all three and even beyond), education and formation can neither be easily reduced to one particular focus. Instead, education and formation consist of a wide range of underlying implementations and applications. To have the most comprehensive outlook, one needs investigate the thematic scopes of the vota related to education and formation. Each of these topics under the theme of Catholic education and formation are recurrent across all of the vota related to the world episcopate,⁹⁴ the religious congregations,⁹⁵ the Roman Curia,⁹⁶ and the Catholic and ecclesial universities and faculties⁹⁷ and they form the rationale for Chapter I: it concerns (i) catechism and catechesis, (ii) seminaries (clerical formation): minor, major, regional, (inter)diocesan, (iii) Catholic and public schools: primary, secondary, apostolic, parish, religious, colleges, (iv) (ecclesial) faculties and (Catholic) universities, (v) Latin and the vernacular, (vi) the formation of the religious, (vii) the laity and families, (viii) the use of modern media tools, (ix) jurisdiction of church and state over (religious) education and schools, (x) the condemnation of various ideologies, (xi) the index librorum *prohibitorum*, (xii) and the Magisterium and ecclesial hierarchy.

Important contributions on how to engage with the vota to comprehend them historically and ecclesiastically, have come from the hand of Étienne Fouilloux who largely builds further on preceding argumentations made by Alberto Melloni.⁹⁸ Basically, Fouilloux has pointed to a middle path in between historians who reduce the importance of the vota to nothing more but a reflection of the bishops as being “prisoners of a preconconciliar mentality” in contradistinction from their behaviour during the council, and those historians engaging with the vota as a “self-portrait of the Catholic Church on the eve of the Council”.⁹⁹ For him, one should not ignore “the richness of the material” while at the same time being realistic

⁹⁴ ADA II/1-7.

⁹⁵ ADA II/8.

⁹⁶ ADA III.

⁹⁷ ADA IV/I-II.

⁹⁸ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 55-166; Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 556-576.

⁹⁹ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 97-98; Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 559, mentions similarly that there is rift between historians who see it as “useless material” and those who consult them as “a portrait of the Church”.

that these vota are first and foremost “a picture of those elements that the bishops chose to record in the context of a consultation by Rome.” In other words, one does not need to be “naïve” nor “reductive”.¹⁰⁰ In the analysis, a variety of aspects need to be considered: the timing (some vota were sent much later than others); some were never sent at all; the amount of actual replies; the duplets and multiple replies; the ambiguity of who actually wrote the vota (some were auxiliaries signing for their ordinaries, either the superior would send on his own behalf or after consultation with his confraters, some were sent by the hand of episcopal conferences, some national/diocesan bishops consulted one another...); geographical differences (e.g., more missionaries in Asia); the language (majority Latin, but a minority in French, Spanish, Italian and English); the (hidden) aid of external advisors, ...¹⁰¹ In other words, one can see across the vota samples of “conformism and originality”.¹⁰²

The main criticism among historians thus far however is that a majority are more prone to “conformism” than to “originality”, as many vota clearly show signs of “juridical vocabulary”, “tedious lists of many pointed suggestions”, overemphasis on “doctrine” and “discipline” at the cost of actual concrete questions and suggestions which can all be considered “canonical vota” at the cost of “pastoral vota”.¹⁰³ A large explanation lies indeed with the existing mentality with which bishops had been trained to deal with Roman authorities.¹⁰⁴ but that has also more to do with the form than with the content.¹⁰⁵ But one must also add that almost all of the bishops had studied in Rome in between the two world wars during the heyday of Neo-Scholasticism.

In between the large collections, one might find traces of reformist demands and at points critical remarks based on theological reflections, also much dependent on local situations. In this light, Fouilloux has rejected the classification as presented in the *Acta* that is according to author and continent and instead prefers to distinguish between Roman (curia, Roman universities, Roman superiors) and non-Roman vota (the rest of the Catholic world including universities and superiors), with the latter having a threefold distinction in those opposing the path of the pope (i.e., against ecumenical and in favour of a more doctrinal council), those affirming, and those in between.¹⁰⁶ Fouilloux’s new classification stems further from Melloni. The latter points to the methodological challenges when dealing with the vota that implies that one should consider the local situational background without falling into the trap of generalizing the situation of the Church in one particular country. While appreciating some of the thematic analyses on the vota, Melloni is in favour of enhancing

¹⁰⁰ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 97-98. In fact, Fouilloux’s reading is largely indebted to Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 561, who also opts for an in-between reading, pointing to necessity to take into consideration the “status of the text” (similar to Fouilloux’s timing aspect), the sources used in the vota and those involved in writing them (to comprehend vota in situational contexts, rather than deducing from them a general national tendency at play in the background), the “intra-ecclesial relationships” at the backdrop of writing the vota (e.g., differences between ordinary and auxiliary, religious bishops and their superiors, nuncios...), and finally “the Roman reading of the vota”.

¹⁰¹ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 98-106.

¹⁰² Ibid., 107.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 108.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 108.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 110.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 110-11. Fouilloux’s classification carries yet another problem in that the distinction between Roman and non-Roman vota actually bypasses the complexity among Roman vota. Indeed, these vota were not uniform as many of the Roman institutions also clashed on a variety of issues (including education). See, for instance, the tensions between the Gregoriana and the Lateranum as discussed earlier in this introduction.

the reading by looking at the local situational context of a particular author including apostolic and intra-ecclesial tensions.¹⁰⁷

While both Melloni and Fouilloux rightly point to the necessity of considering a variety of methodological challenges and opt for a reclassification of vota, for a topic like Catholic education and formation, a thematic analysis is still very much needed and necessary. Indeed, to comprehend the theme of (Catholic) education and formation as well as the expectations in detail, one needs to investigate all the relevant material. The first chapter will therefore deal with delineating the thematic scope of Catholic education and formation, demonstrating how it is broadly understood across the variety of vota. This analysis forewarns the complexity that the preparatory and conciliar commissions on studies and seminaries would have to deal with, when coming up with various *schemata* related to Catholic studies.

Of course, the various *rapporto sintetici* (February 1960) and the AC (the latter published somewhere in the course of 1960) already summarized some aspects of education and formation, although none provide an extensive overview of the various related themes under a larger banner of education/formation. The problem lies in the fact that education and formation cannot be easily distinguished into one conciliar category as presented by these summarized reports, as the vota there are distinguished under the headings of doctrinal issues, canon law, persons, clergy discipline, seminaries, the religious, the laity, sacraments, sacred places, ecclesiastical precepts, divine liturgy, ecclesiastical magisterium (includes catechesis and schools), benefits and goods of the church, proceedings, crimes and penalties, missions, ecumenism, and Church activity.¹⁰⁸ While one could easily assign one or more of these topics to one particular preparatory commission or Secretariat, it becomes clear by analyzing the extensive vota on education and formation, that this topic actually belonged to almost all of the headings to a greater or lesser degree whether they be ‘doctrinal’ or ‘in accordance with the Code’ (cf. Fouilloux). For instance, one finds relevant material on Catholic schools¹⁰⁹ or catechesis,¹¹⁰ but closer inspection shows that AC is far from exhaustive and rather selective in some cases to prove the point – an inevitability given the fact that the Central Pre-Preparatory commission had to do all this work within less than a year. The main purpose of these documents was “to provide the future preparatory commissions with key ideas so that they would not get lost amid so many divergent paths.”¹¹¹ But these summaries on the vota actually to a large extent bypassed local and situational contexts, were very Euro- and Italo-centric, and did not cover all the responses (cf. Melloni, Fouilloux), bringing up the question whether such a thing was desirable for a topic like

¹⁰⁷ Melloni, “Per un approccio,” 565, 575-76.

¹⁰⁸ See the various *Rapporto sintetici sui consigli e suggerimenti dati dagli ecc. mi vescovi e prelati* for Africa, Latin America, Asia-Oceania, France, Germany-Austria, Italy, Spain-Portugal, the rest of Europe, Greece-Asia Minor, USA-Canada all published February 1960. For the *Analyticus Conspectus: Acta et Documenta Concilio Oecumenico Vaticano II Apparando. Series I (Antepreparatoria). Appendix Vol. II: Analyticus Conspectus Consiliorum et Votorum quae ab Episcopis et Praelatis data sunt. Pars I-II*, (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis, 1961); cf. Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 141.

¹⁰⁹ ADA App II/2, 508-19; cf. Pohlschneider, “Declaration on Christian Education,” 1.

¹¹⁰ ADA App II/2, 463-86.

¹¹¹ Fouilloux, “The Antepreparatory Phase,” 140.

education and formation that really needed a comprehensive approach and contextual awareness for a conciliar document.

Moreover, it fails to cover the overall picture of education and formation, not to speak of the actors or the nationalities involved – information, necessary to comprehend the context of any votum. Indeed, this brings us to the rationale of Chapter II of this dissertation. While delineating the vota on a (sub-)thematic level provides a generous overview of the complexity of education and formation, it does not immediately show how this complexity plays at the diocesan, religious, academic, national, or global level. One cannot bypass the local contexts against which vota are brought forward. In fact, they are necessary to comprehend the differences and similarities in a nuanced way. Given the vastness of data, it is nearly impossible to provide the biographical data of each author involved, also because not every contribution is necessarily linked to a situational problem as Melloni argues. In this way, one has to nuance Melloni's desire to have a detailed situational overview.

As education and formation are also linked to the socio-political and national legislative contexts, Chapter II will provide a summarized overview of the educational situational context within each of the nations from where relevant vota were sent that discuss the matter. While in many cases, only a handful of diocesan suggestions came forward, which focused on one or more particular themes that do not necessarily touch upon the political and legislative situation, the description of the socio-political and legislative context can nonetheless function as a reference point (of criticism) as to what the vota did not touch upon. Indeed, reading the vota against this background allows the reader to understand what the bishops and universities did and did not discuss despite pertinent educational developments in the background. While the genre of the vota was indeed focused on the Council, it nonetheless allows the reader to critically ask whether a lack of reflection on behalf of the authors of the vota regarding the socio-political and legislative actions by the state on education, was not a missed opportunity.

In other words, Chapter II adds both the situational contexts wherever possible up against the socio-political and legislative background on education often so ignored. To be more precise, it will briefly discuss for each relevant country, the developments that had taken place mainly after World War II up until the Council.¹¹² This also explains why it is desirable to categorize per country and each continent, and not a distinction as the one Fouilloux opts for. This categorization will also allow to distract a transcontinental comparison among the various vota.¹¹³ After all, some of the issues were recurrent in various dioceses. To give one example, the national background of some bishops would influence their suggestions despite being active in various missionary regions. The reverse will also hold true: the different missionary experiences in a variety of countries would influence the direction of the vota of these bishops.

¹¹² The main focus will be on the situation for Catholic education. It will not be repeated that for each country, public education and other forms of private education co-existed, unless considered relevant in the context of the vota.

¹¹³ Chapter II will therefore provide detailed sub-conclusions comparing the vota for each continent, resulting in a final conclusion that will schematically represent the discovered results on a global level. It should also be noted that Chapter II will particularly deal with the themes of catechesis, schools, universities, seminaries, the religious, modern tools while mostly omitting issues related to catechism, the languages (especially related to the liturgy), the lay apostolate, the condemnation of ideologies, and the Magisterium as these are discussed in detail in Chapter I.

Fouilloux might claim that *vota* clearly in favour of *aggiornamento* came from northwest Europe and Eastern rite churches;¹¹⁴ however, does this claim make sense in matters of education and formation? Does his neat categorization of Roman/non-Roman replies, for/against ecumenical council (or those in between from younger churches with a colonial background), still apply when looking at the *vota* on education and formation or are matters more nuanced? Is there a unity of ideas surrounding education and formation across the non-Roman *vota* that are either innovative or rusted unlike Fouilloux's claim that non-Roman *vota* were largely diverse? For education and formation, there is also a grand field to take into consideration from church to nurturing models. For instance, while one might desire qualitative Catholic schools as a model for the Church, the more practical sides such as appropriating the right tools in order to reach this educational goal equally needs to be taken into consideration. It is obvious that for the latter, things might be more complicated when it comes to having all the required expertise. There is a gap between wish and reality. It is worthwhile to build further Fouilloux's valuable insights, while bringing in another dimension when talking on education and formation. The large number of desiderata will show where the emphasis was placed across dioceses, universities, and religious titles.

Three important issues need to be highlighted here. First, the issue of translation and transliteration. Indeed, as already discussed earlier, various countries used terms like education, formation, instruction, or even catechesis as appropriate to the semantics of the way these terms were used in national and regional contexts. In the work of translation, something of the original semantics always gets lost. However, three main aspects mitigate the risk of such translation. First, the reader must read the suggestions of the *vota* up against the socio-political, legislative, and educational background at play in each respective country. These are provided in Chapter II. Secondly, bishops writing from parts of the world other than the European and North American continent, were often Italian, Belgian, Dutch, French or Spanish, thus their suggestions can be read up against the light of their national background. Moreover, the Catholic school, the university, or the seminary in Asian and African countries, followed mostly imported Western style curricula and disciplines. In other words, the outlook remained more or less the same all across the globe. Finally, the issue of translation is more of a problem for those few *vota* written in Italian, French, or Spanish. Indeed, most of the relevant *vota* were written in (pseudo-)Latin. The terms used like 'educatio', 'formatio', or 'instructio' therefore have to be comprehended in the larger ecclesiastical context of how these were used deductively, i.e., in line with papal and Magisterial traditions. Where bishops, superiors, or universities wanted to suggest an alternative or changes, they explicitly elaborated in Latin how educational changes were to take place and implemented. The same is true for a term like catechesis.

The second aspect to be mentioned, is that this dissertation does not provide an elaborated discussion on the pedagogy, psychology, or sociology in their various fields of discussion (e.g., history of pedagogy, philosophy of pedagogy, sociology of religion, psychiatry...). These simply have to do with the fact that the inductive approach taken in

¹¹⁴ Fouilloux, 121.

this dissertation to construct the framework of Catholic education and formation, can only do justice to what is actually written in the vota. Indeed, as much as one might presume to discover suggestions on pedagogical methods, pedagogical schools, the sociology of religion, or psychological developments, it will become clear that none of the vota mention anything in detail. Terms like pedagogy, psychology, or psychotherapy are used in the general sense without eye for nuance, detail or application. In fact, references to these educational developments in detail, are few in number, and wherever something additional is mentioned, Chapters I-II will provide that elaboration. To provide a little sneak peek, none of the vota discuss anything related to Montessori or Steiner methods, nor does any votum provide a know-how of sociology or psychology of religion.

Finally, to engage with a large data on education and formation might require a statistic analysis along national or international lines. While desirable, it is decided to not provide statistics for two main reasons. First, as Catholic education and formation are thematically varied, one generalized statistic representation would do injustice to what was written and how extensive the contributions were. For instance, in Austria, one bishop simply talks of catechesis in a summarized way, while in Italy, another bishop spends three pages on the topic. Moreover, catechesis is not the same as discussing issues related to the Catholic school. Even among these sub-themes, there is a wide range of discussions. Secondly, the number of vota strongly influences the statistic representation, and would in fact lack necessary nuances. For instance, while Laos has a 100% representation of discussing Catholic education and formation, there was only one votum sent from there. In contrast, a country like India would have 36% of contributions on Catholic education and formation, but there were fifty-five vota sent from there. In other words, these statistics are rather subjective and do not provide any meaningful comprehension of what is being discussed and to what extent it is being discussed.

3.2. *The work of the Preparatory Commission on Studies and Seminaries*

In Chapter III, the preparatory period will be discussed in detail, mainly the work of the Preparatory Commission on Studies and Seminaries (1960-62). While Alois Greiler already discussed for a large part the preparatory work related to the schemata on priestly vocations and spiritual instruction and discipline,¹¹⁵ and Mathijs Lamberigts on the schema on Latin,¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ See Alois Greiler, *Das Konzil und die Seminare*; this published work is largely based on his dissertation: Alois Greiler, "Erwünschte Erneuerung : zur Genese des Dekretes über die Priesterausbildung Optatum totius," (doctoral dissertation, KU Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library, 1995). Greiler also provides a brief summary of some of the relevant vota related to priestly education and formation, but his reading is based on the *Analyticus Conspectus*, following thus the topical distinction discussed there whilst also overlooking the vota in their totality. Moreover, as some aspects related to the clergy fall beyond the scope of education and formation, such as wearing the habitus or canonical and other disciplinary issues, it will be necessary in Chapters I and II to reappropriate all the relevant vota on priestly education and formation that mainly deal with their education and formation, as well as educational tasks of the clergy.

¹¹⁶ See Mathijs Lamberigts, "Do Future Priests Need an Active Knowledge of Latin? The Debate in the Preparatory Commission for Studies and Universities," in *Fir d'esse Walon. Études d'histoire en l'honneur du professeur Luc Courtois*, eds. Eddy Louchéz and Dries Vanysacker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2023), 81-95. The issue of Latin was in fact problematic in the sense that this topic did and did not fully belong the expertise of the preparatory commission. Amidst the preparatory period, all the work on coming up with a schema on Latin would prove futile as Pope John XXIII would promulgate the apostolic constitution *Veterum Sapientia* on February 22, 1962, dealing with the matter. Moreover, Lamberigts' publication did not cover the vota related to Latin in the pre-preparatory, and it will therefore be necessary to include the vota on Latin which will mainly be discussed in Chapter I of this dissertation.

the same cannot be said for the schemata dealing with schools, universities and the obedience to the magisterium¹¹⁷. More particularly, the genesis of the preparatory schemata *De Scholis Catholicis*, *De Universitatibus Catholicis et Ecclesiasticis*, and *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium* will be discussed in detail. Indeed, scholars have hinted at the multiple drafts and schemata preceding the final text of *GE*, including the plenary debates and the change of the title *De Scholis Catholicis et Universitatibus* during the preparatory period to *De Educatione Christiana* at the end of the conciliar period,¹¹⁸ often referring to previous studies in order to repeat this point. It has been pointed out that Pope John XXIII provided the Preparatory Commission on Studies and Seminaries a list of questions to be prepared for the Council, including a “special chapter devoted to ‘*De Scholis Catholicis*’”, which “was to be treated *ex integro*, that is, in its totality, in respect of the rights of the Church and of parents, and also in respect of the duty of the State to support these schools financially.”¹¹⁹ That the Catholic school was of major importance as provided in a separate subsection in the *AC*, and was a topic of concern and worthy of discussion in a future council even for the previous popes Pius XI and Pius XII, has been highlighted.¹²⁰ But while people like Pohlschneider provide a brief description of how the preparatory commission produced schemata for a constitution *De Scholis Catholicis* with the two related decrees *De Studiis Academicis ab Universitatibus tum catholicis tum ecclesiasticis provehendis* and *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium in tradendis disciplinis sacris* to be presented to the CPC (June 12-13, 1962), which, on its turn, provided the commission back with improvements to be made (this was revised on July 7, 1962),¹²¹ a thorough study of the genesis of the relevant schemata is still lacking.¹²²

Only recently Giuseppe Fusi has reconstructed the preparatory and conciliar debates related to the schema of the Catholic school,¹²³ but he did not consult the papers in the *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano (AAV)*,¹²⁴ leaving out many nuances and details, opinions and

¹¹⁷ Regarding the latter, it needs to be pointed out that the schema on obedience initially consisted of three sub-schemata: Sacred Scripture, Thomas Aquinas, and Obedience. A brief but significant discussion on the Thomas has recently been published in Mathijs Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission for Studies and Seminaries on Thomas Aquinas. A Last Exaltation of the Doctor Communis,” in *Une théologie pour une église dans le monde Mélanges internationaux offerts à Gilles Routhier*, eds. Philippe Roy-Lysencourt and Yves Guérette (Québec: University of Laval Press, 2025), 57-74. Chapter III, however, will provide the elaborated discussions.

¹¹⁸ See, for instance, Edmond Vandermeersch SJ, *Déclaration sur l'éducation chrétienne Gravissimum Educationis Momentum*, Document Conciliaire Vatican II (Paris: Apel, 1965), 153-195; Vincenzo Sinistrero, *Il Vaticano II e l'educazione* (Torino: Leumann, 1970); Baldanza, “Appunti sulla storia”; Ernesto W. Volonté, *L'educazione dei figli come fine del matrimonio nel magistero del Concilio Vaticano II* (Roma: Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis, 1996); Alberto Vanzì, *L'Incapacità educativa dei coniugi verso la prole come incapacità ad assumere gli oneri essenziali del matrimonio (can. 1095, 3°)*, Tesi Gregoriana, Serie Diritto Canonico 73 (Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 2006); John O'Malley SJ, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2008); Derroitte, “De la Déclaration Gravissimum Educationis”; Boeve, “School of Dialogue”.

¹¹⁹ Pohlschneider, “Declaration on Christian Education,” 1.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1-2.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹²² An overview of some of the preparatory work on *De Scholis Catholicis* has also been recently published in Mathijs Lamberigts, “*De Scholis Catholicis*. The Preparation of the Decree on Catholic Schools,” in *Vatican II after Sixty Years*, 313-34. While significant, indeed, Chapter III will provide a complete overview of all the relevant discussions and schemata including on Catholic and ecclesiastical universities.

¹²³ Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*.

¹²⁴ The collection of the data can be found in Rome, *Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Concilio Vaticano II*, buste related to the *commissione de studiis et seminariis*. Subsequent references to this archive mainly in Chapter III will simply refer to ‘busta’ or ‘buste’.

interventions of the members, consultors, and external experts. Indeed, Fusi's discussion is largely based on a consultation of the final draft *De Scholis Catholicis* by the relator Suárez Díez, and the information provided in the *Acta et documenta* during the plenary discussions. Furthermore, and this is most often neglected, most of the texts were prepared in Rome by theologians teaching at seminaries and Roman institutions or serving in curial congregations. They were mostly engaged with the training of future clergy more than with lay experts in Catholic schools. Quite regularly, the bishops, members of the commission, only had to evaluate and react on the texts prepared, giving less input into the drafting of the text. This does not mean they were experts in school education. An overview of the educational CV of the most significant protagonists in the various preparatory meetings, as well as research on the different steps in the evolution of texts are still needed. Similarly, it is necessary to reconstruct as best as is possible, and as far as the data allow, the links between the vota and the various produced schemata.¹²⁵

While these arguments are valid for both the preparatory and conciliar periods, the parameters of this dissertation will cover the preparatory period and end where the conciliar period would start. In other words, this dissertation will bring about a renewed synthesis and exposition on Catholic education and formation, both during the pre-preparatory and the preparatory periods in a renewed, extensive way in order to uncover the variety and complexity of the topics that will aid Vatican II scholars in comprehending why *GE* was ultimately a very tough nut to crack.

¹²⁵ Cf. Melloni, "Per un approccio," 576.

CHAPTER I

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND FORMATION: DELINEATING THE THEMATIC SCOPE OF THE VOTA

1. Catechism(s) and the Significance of Catechesis

The Catechism of Trent, published in 1566, contained all the articles of faith based on the Apostles' Creed, and included elaborations on the sacraments, the decalogue, and the prayer of the Lord. Its main purpose was to guide parish priests in their instruction (catechesis) to the faithful. Most of the vota also refer to the Tridentine Catechism when proposing a new universal Roman Catechism. However, prior to the Council, there were other catechisms in circulation. For instance, some of the Roman and Italian publications were all compiled and summarized in *The Catholic Catechism* published in 1932 by Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State under Pope Benedict XV. While still praising the Catechism of Trent and its relevance, this Catechism was primarily aimed at children, adolescents and adults, also called 'the three catechisms' (thus moving beyond the parish priests).¹ This is just one example among many other catechisms (in Belgium, the famous Malines Catechism would act as a reference point for a long time). After all local diocesan clergy were free to more or less adjust the Catechism of Trent to their own context.²

In general, catechism is the means to educate the faithful and the larger society about the teachings of the Church and the Bible. It has been implemented within parishes and schools through catechesis, both within 'Christian territory' and the missions. Prior to Vatican II, the world episcopate sees a continuing role using the catechism and providing catechesis. It is repeated in the vota, that it is the task of the Church through priests, pastors, (lay) catechists, and Catholic Action to provide catechesis to both children and adults.³ Religious also provide catechesis,⁴ but mainly Spanish, Polish and Italian bishops seek to ensure their authority over the religious instruction of the religious in order to supervise the quality.⁵ In general, bishops see catechism and catechesis as a way to fight religious

¹ Peter Cardinal Gasparri, *The Catholic Catechism*, trans. by Hugh Pope, O.P. (New York, Kennedy & Sons, 1932). As we will see in the vota, many bishops still wanted a new universal catechism elaborating on many more topics and applicable to different audiences.

² For a diversity of catechisms in circulation in the Lower Countries and to a certain extent in Germany prior to the Council, see Mathijs Lamberigts and Frans Gistelincx, "Catechese en godsdienstonderricht in historisch perspectief", in M. Lamberigts, L. Gevers, and B. Pattyn, *Hoger Instituut voor Godsdienstwetenschappen. Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid K.U. Leuven, 1942-1992: Rendom catechese en godsdienstonderricht*, Documenta libraria 13 (Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Bibliotheek, 1992), 197-238.

³ ADA II/1, 129 (Schoenmaeckers), 331 (Tourel), 490 (Courbe), 530-31 (Le Bordier); ADA II/2, 103 (Conway), 582 (Sena de Oliveira); ADA II/3, 255 (Leonetti), 387 (Massimiliani), 640 (Dal Prà), 738 (Carraro), 875 (Poletti); ADA II/4, 134 (Gopu), 544-45 (Pasini); ADA II/5, 307 (Lefevre), 518 (Kiwanuka), 536-37 (McCann), 539 (Hurley); ADA II/6, 253 (Alba Palacios), 485 (Scanlan); ADA II/7, 40 (Arruazu), 54 (Esorto), 289 (Ungarelli), 561 (Mendez).

⁴ ADA II/3, 246 (Tinivella); ADA II/4, 134 (Gopu); ADA II/5, 427 (Cordeiro); ADA II/7, 132 (Pires), 329 (Batù Wichrowski).

⁵ ADA II/2, 371 (Garcia y Goldaraz), 654-55 (Baziak), 675 (Wyszynski); ADA II/3, 783 (Micci).

ignorance, false ideologies, and the decay of Christian life. It must continuously be provided to all the faithful in order to secure their spiritual formation.⁶ Religious instruction is part of the apostolate,⁷ and it is a means to preach the imitation of Christ and love for the neighbor.⁸

1.1. *Catechism(s)*

Multiple suggestions come forward regarding the revision and publication of a catechism.⁹ While a minority of bishops focus more on national or diocesan catechisms (e.g. vota related to the Philippines, Uganda, Mexico, Nicaragua),¹⁰ the majority emphasize the need for a universal catechism (e.g. vota related to Austria, Italy, Spain, Indonesia, India, Japan, China, Cape Verde, Brazil).¹¹ Within Europe, bishops maintain that this new catechism should be adapted and elaborated according to the modern needs of the time and should extend beyond the focus on priests, as was primarily the case with the Tridentine catechism.¹² It should mention the knowledge of God, the fundamentals of faith, the Mystical Body of Christ, the apostolate, marriage, Scripture, salvation history, Catholic Action and other relevant doctrinal issues.¹³ One Italian cardinal, Fossati of Torino, even suggests that scholastic formulas should be reduced to a minimum.¹⁴

According to two Asian vota, the new catechism should deal with doctrinal questions in a positive and didactic way, should include sections dealing with psychology and pedagogy, and be adapted to the current times.¹⁵ Other Asian vota mention the inclusion of Catholic virtues, prayer, and the significance of self-surrender to God.¹⁶ In two African vota, the right use of the Scripture is important along with papal documents regarding the political

⁶ ADA II/1, 65 (Schoiswohl); ADA II/2, 182 (Alvarez Lara), 337 (Enrique y Tarancón), 795 (Caloyeras); ADA II/3, 57 (Boiardi), 341 (Pangrazio), 640 (Dal Prà), 645 (Faveri), 779 (Micci); ADA II/4, 121-22 (Muthappa), 237 (van den Hurk), 277 (Indonesian Episcopal Conference), 544-45 (Pasini); ADA II/5, 112 (Lacaste), 503 (Perrin), 518-19 (Kiwanuka); ADA II/7, 561 (Pulido Mendez).

⁷ ADA II/1, 679 (Bafile); ADA II/2, 206 (Almarcha Hernández), 246 (Barrachina Estevan), 327 (Bueno y Monreal), 442 (Gómez De Santiago); ADA II/4, 379 (Arnaud); ADA II/7, 40 (Arruazu), 329 (Batù Wichrowski).

⁸ ADA II/4, 114 (Gracias).

⁹ Maurice Simon has provided an excellent overview of the various demands related to the catechism(s). While mainly borrowing from the AC (which, in fact, covers a significant amount of vota in a detailed way), he also adds more suggestions based on his own analysis of the vota. In this way, this section remains brief and needs to be read alongside Simon's work. For a complete overview, see Maurice Simon, *Un catéchisme universel pour l'église catholique : du concile de Trente à nos jours*, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium CIII (Leuven : Universitaire Pers, 1992), esp. 143-88.

¹⁰ ADA II/4, 338 (Sison); ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana); ADA II/6, 181 (Garcia), 630 (Niedhammer).

¹¹ ADA II/1, 62 (Köstner), 264 (Piérard); ADA II/2, 86 (Moynihan), 97 (Riberi), 200 (Romero Menjibar), 399 (Antoniutti); ADA II/3, 23 (Mazzocco), 58 (Boiardi), 605 (Carli); ADA II/4, 76-77 (Satowaki), 237-38 (van den Hurk), 277 (Indonesian Episcopal Conference), 546 (Pasini); ADA II/5, 176 (Cleire), 229 (do Carma Colaco); ADA II/6, 369 (O'Connor); ADA II/7, 40 (Arruazu), 260-61 (do Amaral), 272 (Minali). On a rare occasion, the Nuncio of France, Marella, speaks out against a new catechism, as there are already "too many" (ADA II/1, 467).

¹² ADA II/1, 62 (Köstner); ADA II/2, 44 (Adam), 324 (Llorente y Federico); ADA II/3, 23 (Mazzocco), 670 (Fossati); some desire a universal catechism for children and next to that a Catholic manual, translated in multiple languages, for the education of the adult faithful, within churches, within Catholic Action, and within schools (e.g. ADA II/3, 220, Massimiliani); ADA II/4, 27 (Lanfranconi), where there is need for a catechism text, especially for schools, and next to that, an exposition of the Christian religion in which the Christian religion is being explained in a reasonable and accessible way for non-Christians; and ADA II/6, 35 (Cody), where a compendium written in the vernacular containing passages of the lay apostolate, the liturgy, the Mass, Easter-prescriptions, prayers for the family, Catholic education, the Sacred Scripture, etc. to co-exist with catechism in schools. Finally, ADA II/3, 645 (Faveri), asks for one catechism for married spouses.

¹³ ADA II/2, 97 (Riberi); ADA II/3, 57 (Boiardi).

¹⁴ ADA II/3, 669 (Fossati).

¹⁵ ADA II/4, 338 (Sison), 433 (Clarizio).

¹⁶ ADA II/4, 76 (Satowaki), 77 (Yoshiyuki), 237 (van den Hurk), 277 (Indonesian Episcopal Conference).

and social life.¹⁷ Another suggestion is the focus on the kerygma and the inclusion of recent pedagogy.¹⁸ As for Central-American vota, there is a demand for revising the Tridentine catechism,¹⁹ and the inclusion of moral and social teachings of the Church.²⁰ Moreover, it should be renewed as to include all the recent statements of the popes,²¹ and all the contemporary deviations from the faith.²² Finally, some of the Latin-American vota discuss that local catechisms should be applied with different pedagogical means (e.g., modern media),²³ and should include sections discussing the liturgy, Scripture,²⁴ and social teaching.²⁵ In general, a universal catechism should be adapted to the pastoral and social needs.²⁶ There no significant contributions regarding a new catechism among Oceanic, North-American and Northwest European vota.

Those proposing a new catechism, whether on a universal, national or diocesan level, agree that it should be implemented within the diocesan churches, parishes, schools (including catechist schools) and seminaries.²⁷ Moreover, it is to be used in the missions,²⁸ in every region among study-groups, and applied in school curricula and text books,²⁹ so that the Christian religion permeates in all the educative topics.³⁰ The urgency for implementing renewed catechesis within missions is, for instance, discussed by the Indian and Syro-Malabar Bishop Alapatt of Trichur. He bemoans that catechesis is insufficient and superficial within elementary and secondary schools, and universities, due to the fact that teachers, predominantly religious, lack the expertise to explain religion to children. For him, this has led to a turn away from Catholicism and a lack of conversions.³¹

1.2. Lay catechists

Across the vota by the world episcopate, there is a recurrent call to elevate the role of lay catechists, either by providing them a special canonical status or by elevating them to the lay diaconry.³² This call is renewing as catechesis was primarily provided by priests and pastors. Due to a decrease or lack of priestly vocations in various parts of the world, the role of lay

¹⁷ ADA II/5, 176 (Cleire), 365 (Fady).

¹⁸ ADA II/5, 144-45 (van Cauwelaert).

¹⁹ ADA II/6, 547 (Field).

²⁰ ADA II/6, 589 (Portalupi).

²¹ ADA II/6, 632 (Niedhammer).

²² ADA II/6, 166 (Gómez León).

²³ ADA II/7, 47 (Marengo).

²⁴ ADA II/7, 54 (Esorto); 272 (Minali).

²⁵ ADA II/7, 109 (Antezana y Rojas).

²⁶ ADA II/7, 342 (Bezerra Coutinho).

²⁷ ADA II/1, 487 (Rupp); ADA II/2, 103 (Conway), 762 (Drzazga); ADA II/3, 57 (Boiardi), 373 (Paino), 387 (Massimiliani), 875 (Poletti); ADA II/4, 544 (Pasini), 590-91 (Maleddu), 618 (Bayet); ADA II/5, 503 (Perrin), 518-19 (Kiwanuka), 552 (Hippel); ADA II/6, 183 (Aguirre Garcia), 454 (O'Connor), 489 (Sheen), 623 (Oviedo y Reyes); ADA II/7, 55 (Esorto), 289 (Ungarelli), 324 (de Oliveira), 355 (Silva Santiago), 419 (Botero Salzar), 668 (Blanc).

²⁸ ADA II/4, 176 (Feuga & D'Souza), 199 (Sundaram), 238 (van den Hurk), 278 (Indonesian Episcopal Conference); ADA II/5, 261 (Cavallera); ADA II/6, 454 (O'Connor).

²⁹ ADA II/6, 454 (O'Connor).

³⁰ ADA II/4, 126 (Langlois).

³¹ ADA II/4, 210 (Caribi y Rivera).

³² ADA II/1, 103 (De Smedt), 144 (Suenens), 149 (Geeraerts), 225 (Dubois), 462 (Marella); ADA II/2, 55 (Pacini), 657 (Baziak); ADA II/4, 23 (Falière & Win), 27 (Lanfranconi), 61 (Pardy), 176 (Feuga & D'Souza), 234 (Schneiders), 616 (Carretto); ADA II/5, 23 (Dalmais), 40 (Episcopal Assembly of the Ecclesiastical Province of Abidjan), 58 (Lesourd), 79 (Durrieu), 426 (Ntuyahaga), 429 (Perraudin); ADA II/6, 580 (Enrici); ADA II/7, 293 (Ungarelli), 314 (Lombardi), 667 (Pearce).

catechists became further enhanced, especially within the missions or where clergy had been expelled. Various proposals also pop up to establish a center for catechesis. In the Netherlands, Bishop Mutsaerts of Den Bosch asks for a “catechetical center” in each ecclesial province under the authority of the Bishop.³³ In Italy, Bishop Tinivella of Diano-Tegghiano proposes a national catechist center.³⁴ The Maronite Archbishop Farah of Cipro in Cyprus proposes to establish “national special institutes” for the formation of the young in catechesis.³⁵ In the Philippines, Coadjutor Archbishop Sison of Nueva Segovia asks for “national pastoral centers”, in which “a national catechism is provided based on psychological, pedagogical, and contemporary catechetical principles.” Based on those principles, directors and professors should be trained who ought to be active in diocesan “pastoral institutes for liturgics-catechetics”. Each diocese should have such pastoral institutes for liturgics-catechetics in which the guidelines of the national pastoral center are managed and monitored locally. Catechists should be trained there, and catechetical aids developed. In this context, efforts should also be made to establish good partnerships with major seminaries.³⁶

In Thailand, the French MEP Apostolic Vicar Bayet of Ubon asks for a “pontifical work of catechists”, in which catechists are trained for underdeveloped missions.³⁷ In Ecuador, the Spanish Capuchin Apostolic Prefect Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico seeks a diocesan secretariats dealing with Christian catechesis “where pastors, priests, religious and catechists can find books regarding Christian doctrine, cinema films, catechetical films, paintings, a collection of religious hymns and chants, projection machines and other relevant material”.³⁸ Finally, in Colombia, the Vincentian Archbishop Botero Salazar of Medellín talks of diocesan catechetical institutes that should be established by the Roman Commission for University Studies and Seminaries.³⁹ In all this endeavor regarding catechesis, Bishop Oviedo y Reyes of León (Nicaragua) points out that the Holy Office could provide centralized regulations.⁴⁰ However, someone like Bishop Roatta of Norcia mentions that there is a “deficit” within the Congregation of the Council and the services of the dioceses to provide catechesis within the public sphere. He asks to clear up these deficits.⁴¹

1.4. The religious superiors on catechism and catechesis

Looking further at the vota from the religious superiors, there are two who opt for a new universal catechism: Anastasio Alberto Ballestrero of the Discalced Carmelites and Francesco Savarese of the Minims.⁴² This universal catechism should act as the norm for other derived catechisms,⁴³ and contain the social doctrine of the Church.⁴⁴ While not

³³ ADA II/2, 507. Cf. Meridiani, “I ‘vota’ dell’Episcopato del Benelux,” 220.

³⁴ ADA II/3, 247.

³⁵ ADA II/4, 68.

³⁶ ADA II/4, 337-38.

³⁷ ADA II/4, 619.

³⁸ ADA II/7, 40.

³⁹ ADA II/7, 415.

⁴⁰ ADA II/6, 622.

⁴¹ ADA II/3, 443-44.

⁴² ADA II/8, 105, 115.

⁴³ ADA II/8, 105.

⁴⁴ ADA II/8, 115.

mentioning a universal catechism, someone like Luigi de Santis of the Clerics Regular of the Mother of God mentions that “catechesis should be similar for all parishes in one nation or across the dioceses.” He is convinced about the guiding direction of an “office for diocesan instruction”.⁴⁵ Any catechism should be simplified and easily understandable,⁴⁶ encompassing more than just one particular philosophy or one culture, and include explanations related to Scripture and the patristics.⁴⁷ Television and other modern tools should also be utilized to provide catechesis, seen as a means against “religious ignorance”.⁴⁸

As was the case with the episcopal vota, catechesis is also seen as the means to maintain Christian piety,⁴⁹ which is to be provided by priests and pastors.⁵⁰ Twice, the catechesis of adults seems to be an urgent matter.⁵¹ It is also emphasized that catechesis is part of the liturgy.⁵² Finally, the diaconate is necessary to provide catechesis. The Dominican superior Michael Browne proposes that seminarians at the final stage of their education could first engage in the diaconate that includes providing catechesis.⁵³ Others propose lay people as presbyter or a deacon to provide catechesis, also within the missions.⁵⁴ Regarding the latter, a “Pontifical work for catechists” is asked by Eugenio Ayape of the Augustinian Recollects in order to combat shortages in the missions.⁵⁵

1.5. The Curia on catechism and catechesis

Turning to the Roman Curia, the Congregation of the Holy Office, without elaborating, proposes to discuss catechesis as for its “importance”, “obligation”, and implementation, including the question regarding text and method”, and the possibility of the laity to provide catechesis.⁵⁶ Looking at the Congregation of the Council, a large part on restructuring catechism and catechesis is discussed that is similar to what the bishops proposed. Indeed, the commission proposes a new universal catechism acting as a “fundamental codex”, which in turn should be represented in all national or regional catechisms. Scripture should play a more significant role in this new catechism. The goal is to better obtain a doctrinal unity regarding catechesis across the world, but there is room for national and regional episcopal conferences to relatively adapt the catechism for certain doctrinal matters. If that is the case, a national catechism should be uniform. The Congregation also proposes to apply these national catechisms within schoolbooks and manuals. The same holds for religious instruction.⁵⁷

⁴⁵ ADA II/8, 134.

⁴⁶ ADA II/8, 179 (Finis CSS).

⁴⁷ ADA II/8, 255. For Valiyaparampil, the same applies for encyclical letters, doctrinal books, other documents related to the Holy See, or various definitions.

⁴⁸ ADA II/8, 115 (Savarese OM), 288 (Alberione SSP). Catechesis as a means to counter religious ignorance is also repeated in ADA II/8, 161 (Heiligers SMM), 284 (Oñate MSPS).

⁴⁹ ADA II/8, 45 (Salvini OSB Vall); 288 (Alberione SSP).

⁵⁰ ADA II/8, 107 (de Jésus of the Trinitarians), 109 (Gattuso of Mercedarians).

⁵¹ ADA II/8, 134 (Vinci OMD), 179 (Finis CSS).

⁵² ADA II/8, 42 (Dayes OSB Bel), 44-45 (Salvini OSB Vall)

⁵³ ADA II/8, 65.

⁵⁴ ADA II/8, 192 (Colette AA), 241 (Sercu of the Order of the Immaculate Heart of Mary), Castelli (Xaverian Missionaries).

⁵⁵ ADA II/8, 99.

⁵⁶ ADA III, 11.

⁵⁷ ADA III, 155-56.

Moreover, the Congregation elaborates on how catechism and catechesis should function on a diocesan level. It seeks to establish offices for catechesis under the authority of the bishop. The latter should have a supervising role to ensure catechesis is provided for in the best possible way, while a selected director of the office should ensure a variety of tasks. These include the organization of catechesis in schools “in collaboration with pastors and school directors.” The amount of time to be spent for lessons, the texts to be used and/or additional programs, should all be discussed as well. Various arrangements such as religious courses in schools of different levels and auxiliary tools for catechesis are also part of this office. Finally, the office should ensure a regular inspection in schools. In general, the Congregation highlights that catechesis must be provided to children, adolescents, and the adults through parish schools, classes, religious courses, practical workshops, Magisterial and Scriptural teaching.⁵⁸

1.6. The suggestions of the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities

Finally, the vota from the universities are rather brief. Next to the obvious elements already mentioned above, some suggest a revision of the catechism within dioceses, to reformulate redundant and difficult lines and include new investigations of pastoral theology, psychology and pedagogy.⁵⁹ In a similar line, others prefer a new edition of the catechism for pastors, adapted to the latest teachings, such as the infallibility of the pope and the Immaculate Conception of Mary, and latest disciplines including moral teaching.⁶⁰ Scripture and kerygmatic theology should also be discussed.⁶¹ The most explicit votum for a universal catechism, comes from the Urbaniana.⁶² Catechism and catechesis are crucial for the faithful, provided by bishops, pastors, vicaries and priests,⁶³ and it should be part of the seminary training.⁶⁴ The Gregoriana mentions that it is a means to introduce children and adults to the Christian life and doctrines.⁶⁵ In general, multiple universities point out that lay people might provide catechesis, especially in the missions, but a papal admission should be provided.⁶⁶ A bit different from what was discussed from all the above-mentioned vota, is the demand by the Biblicum to reconsider certain anti-Judaic passages within catechism.⁶⁷

2. Seminaries

As was the case with the catechism, the Council of Trent provided a new decree *Cum Adolescentium Aetas* (1563) which initiated a large increase of minor and major seminaries for an improved training of priests in the following centuries.⁶⁸ As was discussed in the

⁵⁸ ADA III, 152-55.

⁵⁹ ADA IV/I/1, 30 (Gregoriana), 228 (Lateranum); cf. ADA IV/I/2, 425 (Marianum).

⁶⁰ ADA IV/I/2, 124 (Salesianum), 130 (Salesianum); ADA IV/2, 461 (Catholic University of Montréal). Cf. ADA IV/I/1, 373-83, where a long list of adaptations to the catechism of Pius X is provided by the Lateranum.

⁶¹ ADA IV/2, 461 (Catholic University of Montréal); cf. ADA IV/2, 720-22 (Neapolitan Theology Faculty).

⁶² ADA IV/I/1, 452.

⁶³ ADA IV/I/1, 228; cf. ADA IV/2, 174 (Lovanium).

⁶⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 435; cf. ADA IV/2, 174 (Lovanium), 344 (Santo Tomas Manila).

⁶⁵ ADA IV/I/1, 30.

⁶⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 392 (Lateranum); cf. ADA IV/I/1, 479, 507, 512-13 (Urbaniana); ADA IV/I/2, 353-54 (Carmelite Theological Faculty); The Antonianum leaves the question open-ended (ADA IV/I/2, 76-77).

⁶⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 132.

⁶⁸ Cf. Greiler, *Das Konzil und Die Seminare*, 11.

introduction, much of what was taught in major seminaries followed neo-scholastic education in line with papal documents. At the same time, the study content had been enlarged especially with *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, but at threshold of Vatican II, there was still a lack of clarity of the direction in major seminaries. Across the world, minor seminaries had also witnessed an identity crisis.⁶⁹ Multiple bishops, superiors, and universities sought a renewal within seminary training and clerical formation. The desires of superiors and universities and faculties run for a large part parallel with what some of the bishops proposed.

2.1. A reformation of seminary training

There are multiple suggestions for the reformation of seminary training. First, in terms of language, multiple bishops and universities agree that Latin should continuously be taught within seminaries and for some it should even be enhanced.⁷⁰ Within the camp of Latinists, Bishop Herrera y Oria of Malaga is one of the few who nuances: not all students should be able to speak Latin, but to understand liturgical, patristic, ecclesial and theological treatises.⁷¹ Next to Latin, Cardinal Godfrey of Westminster is perhaps the only one who desires a better knowledge of Greek.⁷² Other bishops and superiors emphasize the vernacular instead for teaching purposes in seminaries⁷³ or emphasize the study of modern languages.⁷⁴

Next to languages, there is a common agreement that education in major seminaries is to be re-examined so that it is up-to-date with the contemporary apostolate and modern life,⁷⁵ and so that priests are more knowledgeable, pious, obedient, and better trained.⁷⁶ But there are numerous proposals how such restructuration would look like: spiritual exercises,⁷⁷ scholasticism/Thomism,⁷⁸ homiletics,⁷⁹ pastoral care and pastoral courses,⁸⁰ virtues and

⁶⁹ See Introduction.

⁷⁰ ADA II/1, 62 (Köstner), 106 (Megnin); ADA II/2, 223 (Herrera y Oria); ADA II/4, 507 (Oste); ADA II/5, 465 (Dud), 554 (Hippel); ADA II/6, 343 (Schulte), 391 (Rummel); ADA II/7, 616 (Grimault); ADA II/8, 76-77 (Constantini OFMConv); ADA IV/1/2, 183 (Salesianum); ADA IV/2, 629 (Catholic University of Washington).

⁷¹ ADA II/2, 223; cf. ADA II/3, 641 (Dal Prà).

⁷² ADA II/1, 44.

⁷³ ADA II/4, 91 (Katsusaburo Arai); ADA II/6, 417 (Kearney). Cf. ADA II/8, 11 (Lovey CRB): an increase of the vernacular for seminarians in regions where clergy is lacking or being persecuted (e.g. Latin America, Philippines, China).

⁷⁴ ADA II/5, 347 (Field); ADA II/7, 594 (Hodapp).

⁷⁵ ADA II/1, 142 (Suenens), 149 (Geeraerts), 461-62 (Marella); ADA II/2, 579 (Doepfner); ADA II/3, 242 (Raimondi), 258 (Perini), 425 (Ursi); ADA II/8, 183 (O'Toole CSC).

⁷⁶ ADA II/4, 123 (Muthappa), 639-40 (Pham-Ngoc-Chi); ADA II/5, 454 (Mason), 485 (Haelg), 506 (Perrin); ADA II/6, 417 (Kearney); ADA II/8, 296 (Pedrollo PSDP), 323 (McLaughlin MHM).

⁷⁷ ADA II/1, 233 (Richaud), 461-62 (Marella); ADA II/4, 53 (Glennie), 133 (Gopu); ADA II/6, 432 (Bartholome); ADA II/7, 616 (Carboni); ADA II/8, 56 (Nowak OSPPE); ADA IV/1/1, 285-87 (Lateranum).

⁷⁸ ADA II/1, 233 (Richaud), 461-62 (Marella); ADA II/2, 147-49 (Modrego y Casás); ADA II/3, 28 (Stoppa), 64 (Boiardi), 124-25 (Gargitter), 757 (Principi); ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana); ADA II/6, 548 (Field); ADA II/7, 338 (Bampi); ADA II/8, 208 (Houdiard RSV); ADA IV/1/1, 179, 427 (Lateranum); ADA IV/2, 335 (Santo Tomas Manila).

⁷⁹ ADA II/2, 82 (Staunton), 224 (Herrera y Oria).

⁸⁰ ADA II/2, 223 (Herrera y Oria); ADA II/3, 187 (Vozzi), 238 (Cambiaghi), 418 (Castaldo), 770 (D'Amato), 814 (Hudal); ADA II/4, 67 (Farah); ADA II/5, 250 (Hall), 539 (Hurley); ADA II/6, 332 (Babcock); ADA II/8, 95-96 (Rubio OSA).

sciences,⁸¹ new pedagogical means,⁸² asceticism,⁸³ liturgical training,⁸⁴ Scriptural knowledge and exegesis,⁸⁵ (Christian) sociology,⁸⁶ church history,⁸⁷ a focus on other religions,⁸⁸ psychology,⁸⁹ anthropology,⁹⁰ social care,⁹¹ modern philosophies,⁹² mystical theology,⁹³ Catholic Action and the lay apostolate,⁹⁴ knowledge of modern tools such as radio and television,⁹⁵ knowledge regarding communism and atheism,⁹⁶ and even sexual,⁹⁷ political,⁹⁸ and economic education.⁹⁹ In addition, mainly the Urbaniana and Lovanium seek to increase the knowledge of missiology and establish missiological chairs in each seminary.¹⁰⁰ Both universities, and especially the first, had expertise with missions. Archbishop Dubois of Besançon even provides a whole list of doctrinal issues that should be taught in seminaries: among other things, original sin, freedom in God, Eucharist, the existence of God, ecclesial hierarchy, sacraments...¹⁰¹ Similarly, the Angelicum provides sixteen pages on how to reform the study in seminaries.¹⁰²

Within missions, the CMI superior Maurus Valiyaparampil proposes an adaptation of seminary courses and facilities but fails to elaborate.¹⁰³ Within major seminaries in the missions, Archbishop Lokuang of the Urbaniana and soon to become bishop in Taiwan proposes a fluent knowledge of the local native languages and literature.¹⁰⁴ His long studies at the Urbaniana, acting as a *via media* between the Vatican and the Embassy of China at a time when China was experiencing the rise of the communists soon resulting in the expulsion of missionary Catholics in the country and the start of Church persecution, also plays part in

⁸¹ ADA II/2, 399 (Antoniutti); cf. ADA II/3, 641 (Dal Prà).

⁸² ADA II/3, 530 (Parente), 855 (Bosetti); ADA II/6, 658 (Pepén y Soliman); ADA IV/2, 335 (Santo Tomas Manila).

⁸³ ADA II/3, 74 (Nicolini); ADA II/5, 113 (Lacaste); ADA II/6, 315 (Binz); ADA II/8, 56-57 (Nowak OSPPE), 95-96 (Rubio OSA).

⁸⁴ ADA II/3, 74 (Nicolini); ADA II/4, 20 (Guercilena), 133 (Gopu), 447 (Ayoub); ADA IV/I/2, 227 (Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music), with a particular focus on sacred chant.

⁸⁵ ADA II/3, 74 (Nicolini), 425 (Ursi); ADA II/5, 252 (Hall); ADA II/6, 555 (Luna), 620 (Oviedo y Reyes); ADA II/7, 412 (Jaramillo Tobón); ADA IV/I/1, 193-94 (Lateranum).

⁸⁶ ADA II/3, 418 (Castaldo); ADA II/4, 67 (Farah), 75 (Satowaki); ADA II/5, 298 (Sartre); ADA II/6, 658 (Pepén y Soliman); ADA IV/2, 335 (Santo Tomas Manila).

⁸⁷ ADA II/3, 418 (Castaldo), 641 (Pizzoni).

⁸⁸ ADA II/4, 25 (Bazin); ADA IV/I/2, 185 (Salesiana), mainly the history of religions; cf. ADA II/6, 46 (Léger); cf. ADA II/6, 315 (Binz): “dialogue with non-Catholic communities”.

⁸⁹ ADA II/4, 67 (Farah), 75 (Satowaki); ADA II/6, 332 (Babcock); ADA IV/2, 335 (Santo Tomas Manila), 454 (Sacro Cuore Milan).

⁹⁰ ADA II/4, 75 (Satowaki).

⁹¹ ADA II/4, 199 (Sundaram), 211 (Alapatt); ADA IV/I/1, 87 (Gregoriana).

⁹² ADA II/4, 457 (Saigh et al.); ADA IV/I/2, 183 (Salesiana); ADA IV/2, 238 (KU Leuven), 472 (Catholic University Niagara). For some, the main purpose to know modern philosophies is to better contradict them.

⁹³ ADA II/6, 316 (Binz); ADA II/8, 95-96 (Rubio OSA).

⁹⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 244-47 (Lateranum).

⁹⁵ ADA II/5, 239-40 (Liston); ADA II/8, 183 (O’Toole CSC).

⁹⁶ ADA II/7, 660 (Mazé); ADA II/8, 326 (Comber MM).

⁹⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 38, in order to uphold celibacy (Gregoriana).

⁹⁸ ADA II/4, 60 (Pardy); ADA II/8, 296 (Pedrollo PSDP).

⁹⁹ ADA II/6, 597 (Holterman).

¹⁰⁰ ADA IV/I/1, 517-18 (Urbaniana); cf. ADA IV/2, 175 (Lovanium). Further in the votum, the Urbaniana mentions that the teachings and traditions of local culture must be respected in relation to Christianity (ADA IV/I/1, 495).

¹⁰¹ ADA II/1, 219-21.

¹⁰² ADA IV/2, 334-49: it concerns matters related to minor seminaries, philosophy, theology, and canon law. See, for another example, Barbano’s proposal of the Lateranum on how to restructure the studies from minor seminaries onwards (ADA IV/I/2, 434-35).

¹⁰³ ADA II/8, 259.

¹⁰⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 516.

his votum. The Lovanium adds that more knowledge is needed of the local and non-Catholic religions, traditions, and ideologies.¹⁰⁵

While some of these suggestions carry more weight across the continents, other vota are rather reduced to singular proposals. The suggestions are clear, however: seminary education and formation need to change. As part of such change, within Europe, Asia, North and Central America, there are proposals which suggest that seminarians ought to engage in an internship under the guidance of superiors or ordinaries. It would consist of educating the laity, organizing Catholic movements, and training the youth.¹⁰⁶ Others propose to have such pastoral practice after four years of theological studies.¹⁰⁷ Along with suggestions to have practical experience, there are also vota within North, Central and Latin America which require priests to return to the seminary or any other meditative house after five years of ministry in order to restore and maintain their ministerial life.¹⁰⁸

Further proposals regarding seminary education include the careful selection of potential seminarians,¹⁰⁹ additional study years to have a more profound focus on history and apologetics,¹¹⁰ and a probation year for candidates prior to being selected in the seminary.¹¹¹ Moreover, within the France, Italy, UK, USA, and Canada, bishops along with Pedrollo of the Congregation of the Poor Servants of the Divine Providence seek to reduce the amount of vacation among seminarians.¹¹² Colette of the Assumptionists, for his part, wants to enhance the cooperation between students of diocesan and religious seminaries.¹¹³ For Archbishop Godfrey of Westminster, seminarians entering seminary at late age should still receive the full training and could, if possible, be admitted with the young seminarians.¹¹⁴ Along with all these diverse proposals, multiple bishops are also adamant to point out that a restructuring of seminary education and formation is intertwined with a strong education and formation of the seminary directors and professors. They should be a pious example.¹¹⁵ Finally, some are adamant to point out that authority of the bishop must be preserved and respected,¹¹⁶ underlining the desire for episcopal control.

¹⁰⁵ ADA IV/2, 175.

¹⁰⁶ ADA II/1, 462 (Marella); ADA II/3, 85 (Pedicini).

¹⁰⁷ ADA II/3, 19 (Russo); ADA II/4, 67 (Farah) (after the ordination); ADA II/4, 176 (Feuga & D'Souza), where students of seminars should first have two years of pastoral experience before being admitted in the "Eastern missions"; ADA II/6, 231 (Márquez Tóriz), mentions that students, who have already followed a course in philosophy and theology, should work as a teacher in minor seminars, apostolic schools or Catholic primary schools. Perhaps one exception is ADA II/8, 326 (Comber MM): a decrease of study-amount time, so that there is a quicker access into the pastoral life.

¹⁰⁸ ADA II/6, 180 (Aguirre Garcia), 192 (Caribi y Rivera); 352 (Hunkeler) (after two or three years); ADA II/7, 25-26 (Proaño Villalba).

¹⁰⁹ ADA II/2, 136; ADA II/3, 18 (Russo).

¹¹⁰ ADA II/2, 109 (Byrne).

¹¹¹ ADA II/3, 19 (Russo).

¹¹² ADA II/1, 43-44 (Godfrey), 225 (Dubois), 233 (Richaud); ADA II/3, 728 (Imberti); ADA II/6, 102 (Skinner), 487-88 (Sheen); ADA II/8, 296 (Pedrollo PSDP).

¹¹³ ADA II/8, 190.

¹¹⁴ ADA II/1, 44.

¹¹⁵ ADA II/1, 225 (Dubois); ADA II/3, 47 (Brustia), 59 (Boiardi), 728 (Imberti), 735 (Livraghi); ADA II/4, 592 (Maleddu); ADA II/6, 539 (Pérez Serantes); ADA II/7, 616 (Carboni); ADA II/8, 95 (Rubio OSA), 208-09 (Houdiard RSV), 296 (Pedrollo PSDP); ADA IV/1/2, 174-75 (Salesiana); ADA IV/2, 228 (KU Leuven), 335 (Santo Tomas Manila).

¹¹⁶ ADA II/1, 225 (Dubois); ADA II/5, 51 (Lefebure).

2.2. *Minor seminaries*

While the above-mentioned vota talk of seminaries in a general way, there are certain vota which particularly focus on minor seminaries. The Mill Hill superior McLaughlin is clear: the Council should reject any suggestion by those who see no value in minor seminaries.¹¹⁷ The Lateranum is adamant that to restore the minor seminary studies and that teachers there should have obtained doctoral degrees.¹¹⁸ Auxiliary Bishop Lach of Zagreb, and Bishop Vaz das Neves of Braga, want to ameliorate the studies within these seminaries to the latest developments.¹¹⁹ Bishop Casullo of Nusco wants minor seminaries preserved in rural houses and more summer camps organized for the youth.¹²⁰ More specifically related to the study content, Herrera y Oria (Malaga) desires an increase of Biblical knowledge (especially the Old Testament and the Gospel) along with homiletics.¹²¹ Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans wants to uphold Latin.¹²² The Lateranum wishes to uphold the study of the classics,¹²³ while the Catholic Institute of Lyon wants to implement licentiates of scholastic philosophy within minor seminaries.¹²⁴ Education should be “simplified” for the students, according to Bishop Vozzi of Cava e Sarno,¹²⁵ and Lokuang of the Urbaniana proposes that humanistic education in minor seminaries within missions should run parallel with the programs of public schools in order to maintain equal degrees.¹²⁶ The latter must be comprehended that students can at least fall back to a valuable degree should they not pursue a priestly vocation.

That minor seminaries are considered of crucial importance, is, for instance, visible in the votum of Bishop Luna of Zacapa, in which he proposes the establishment of minor seminaries within each diocese where children are trained in theology and philosophy.¹²⁷ Looking at the Congolese vota, the Belgian White Father and Apostolic Vicar Matthijsen of Lac Albert wants to have an “African religious philosophical synthesis of Africa” taught in minor seminaries in order to appropriate Thomistic reflection within the African context.¹²⁸ Regarding the teachers, the Assumptionist Apostolic Vicar Piérard of Beni nel Congo Belga is the only one proposing the laity to teach within minor seminaries.¹²⁹ Finally, both within Italy and Chile, there are proposals to establish minor inter-diocesan seminaries to be more efficient in case some dioceses have a small number of students.¹³⁰

¹¹⁷ ADA II/8, 323.

¹¹⁸ ADA IV/I/1, 273.

¹¹⁹ ADA II/2, 552, 579.

¹²⁰ ADA II/3, 467; cf. ADA II/7, 356, where Archbishop Silva Santiago of Concepción seeks to “conserve minor seminaries”.

¹²¹ ADA II/2, 224.

¹²² ADA II/6, 391.

¹²³ ADA IV/I/1, 273.

¹²⁴ ADA IV/2, 217.

¹²⁵ ADA II/3, 187.

¹²⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 516.

¹²⁷ ADA II/6, 555.

¹²⁸ ADA II/5, 187.

¹²⁹ ADA II/9, 166.

¹³⁰ ADA II/3, 128-29 (Margiotta); cf. ADA II/7, 356 (Silva Santiago).

2.3. *National, regional and diocesan seminaries*

Multiple universities and bishops especially in Italy, but also in the USA and Colombia, seek clarification regarding the juridical status and purpose of regional seminaries. Questions are related to episcopal authority, the scope of education, priestly vocations and the number of students.¹³¹ The vota by the superiors are more concerned with increasing regional seminaries,¹³² a suggestion that is shared by the bishops in Kenya and Ecuador.¹³³ A second issue is related to the desire to have yearly visits within national seminaries to inspect the right training.¹³⁴ Some also propose to increase Orthodox candidates within seminaries or even to establish a seminary in Rome specifically for Orthodox students to attract them to study at Roman universities.¹³⁵ Both proposals are related to seeking rapprochement. The Gregoriana and the Saint Joseph University of Beirut (both run by Jesuits), for their part, highlight the need for a better knowledge of oriental studies and an increasing love for Eastern churches.¹³⁶

Lovanium mentions that in major African seminaries, a strong connection to the Holy See should be maintained.¹³⁷ Apostolic Internuncio Collins of Liberia seeks to have the best training for African priests, including secular academic degrees and the possibility to study in Rome.¹³⁸ Beyond the African context, the Urbaniana desires an increase of seminaries in all the missions.¹³⁹

2.4. *International seminaries and the Magisterium*

Aside from all these general, regional, and contextual desires and clarifications related to diocesan and regional seminaries, a few vota also refer to seminaries on an international and magisterial level. Within Bolivia, Bishop Loayza Gumiel of Potosí proposes to have a Latin American Seminary either in Ecuador or Peru, which provides a seminary training to Latin American students especially the topics of morality, history and native languages in order to increase the priestly vocations.¹⁴⁰ Here it must be noted that many Latin American countries where dealing with a shortage of priests, and that almost all of the bishops in the continent had been trained in the Latin American college in Rome.¹⁴¹ On a more magisterial level,

¹³¹ ADA II/3, 302 (Quaremba), 339 (Minerva), 367 (Valerii), 409 (Radicioni), 489 (Cogoni), 699 (Crivellari); ADA II/6, 371 (Primeau); ADA II/7, 412 (Jaramilla Tobón); ADA IV/2, 550 (Pontifical University of Salamanca). But there are also proposals for an inter-diocesan seminar where students can complete theology and philosophy (Serena in ADA II/3, 615-16; cf. Signora in ADA II/3, 760). Cf. ADA IV/2, 659 (Cuglieri Seminary), 709 (San Luigi Papal Seminary).

¹³² ADA II/8, 149 (Cyr SM), 250 (Schweizer SDS), 284 (Oñate MSpS), 325-26 (Comber MM).

¹³³ ADA II/5, 260-61; ADA II/7, 26 (Proaño Villalba); Cf. ADA II/6, 101 (Skinner); Up against this desire, others warn that to increase seminaries, one needs to have enough parish priests (Verolino in ADA II/6, 529; cf. Esorto in ADA II/7, 51).

¹³⁴ ADA II/3, 757 (Principi); cf. ADA II/6, 432, where Bishop Bartholomé of Saint Cloud proposes to have visitors related to the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies to inspect "all the Catholic institutes in the world". Cf. ADA II/7, 330 (Batù Wichrowski): an episcopal inspection within minor seminaries.

¹³⁵ ADA II/4, 451 (Saigh et al.); ADA II/6, 531 (Hofer). Such reality seemed to be already the case in Izmir (see: Descuff in ADA II/4, 632).

¹³⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 151; cf. ADA IV/2, 46.

¹³⁷ ADA IV/2, 176.

¹³⁸ ADA II/5, 271; The Superior Eicheldinger of the Resurrectionist Congregation also desires an easy access to study in major Roman seminaries for all students (ADA II/8, 199).

¹³⁹ ADA IV/I/1, 487.

¹⁴⁰ ADA II/7, 114. The proposal of such seminary would be in line with the Pius College for Latin America in Rome, established in 1857 by the Jesuits.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter II, the sections on Latin and Central America.

Auxiliary Suenens of Malines proposes the establishment of a pontifical commission to determine “the methodology and means” to improve the practical training for the apostolate, as he points out that the seminary education had become too abstract and theoretical.¹⁴² Others still uphold the teaching authority of the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies as the medium.¹⁴³ For instance, Archbishop Botero Salazar of Medellín provides a whole list to the commission as to what should be discussed during the Council: among other things, the creation of major or metropolitan seminaries, and an increase of rural seminaries.¹⁴⁴

2.5. *The Curia on seminaries*

Finally, looking at the Curia, the Congregation of the Consistory seeks an increase of seminaries in regions where the clergy is few, especially within Latin America and the missions.¹⁴⁵ The Congregation of the Council emphasizes the need for spiritual and ascetic education.¹⁴⁶ A new element, not really visible within the other vota, is the study of ancient and contemporary art.¹⁴⁷ The Congregation of the Religious wants to enhance the collaboration between religious and diocesan seminaries for the formation of religious;¹⁴⁸ not unimportant given the recurrent tensions between the two groups. The Congregation of the Propaganda Fide emphasizes the study of local cultures and history, especially within minor and major seminaries in missions.¹⁴⁹ Finally, the Congregation of the Rites wants a strong focus on liturgical matters within seminaries.¹⁵⁰ In other words, each congregation proposed suggestions that were related to their expertise and work field.

Of course, the main contribution comes from the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies. As the congregation spends ninety-six pages on the matter, one can only mention some main conclusions. Referring to multiple papal documents, the congregation highlights the need to continually observe the Thomistic doctrines “in principle and method” both among teachers and students within seminaries. Scholastic philosophy remains a crucial part, and it should be studied for two years before pursuing the theological studies.¹⁵¹ In other words, the congregation wants to maintain the already established curriculum and is not keen to embrace the renewal movements as discussed in the introduction. Secondly, a good knowledge of Latin is to be maintained. Latin remains a crucial part of the curriculum especially for philosophy and theology, and the quality must be regularly inspected.¹⁵² Moreover, the existing canon laws (mainly can. 1364-66), ought to be maintained: next to

¹⁴² ADA II/1, 142; cf. ADA II/6, 35: a proposal by Bishop Cody of London (Canada) to establish an international association of seminaries, executing the mandate of the Holy Chair, to discuss the texts of the curriculum-planning, to exchange voluntary professors, and to negotiate similar tasks.

¹⁴³ ADA II/1, 233 (Richaud), though, some freedom must be granted in each nation; ADA II/3, 264 (Rota), 508 (Masella). For a more critical approach to the role and function of the congregation, see e.g. ADA IV/I/1, 474 (Urbaniana); ADA IV/I/2, 142 (Salesiana).

¹⁴⁴ ADA II/7, 414-15.

¹⁴⁵ ADA III, 59.

¹⁴⁶ ADA III, 139.

¹⁴⁷ ADA III, 113-14.

¹⁴⁸ ADA III, 229.

¹⁴⁹ ADA III, 250.

¹⁵⁰ ADA III, 283-84.

¹⁵¹ ADA III, 333-57, 390.

¹⁵² ADA III, 358-63.

Latin, students need to learn languages, religious discipline, and other disciplines relevant to the ministry.¹⁵³ The congregation does not elaborate on defining languages and other disciplines. Seminarians need to be further specialized in one ecclesiastic discipline, such as church history, canon law or theology, in order to obtain a licentiate and, for those who are able to, a laureate or doctoral degree.¹⁵⁴ The congregation also agrees to establish regional seminaries, and believes bishops must have the authority to appoint professors and superiors for these seminaries.¹⁵⁵ Finally, the congregation emphasizes its authority to negotiate all matters related to seminaries,¹⁵⁶ which implies that the final authority for didactic renewal within seminaries lies with this congregation in a centralized way. As the *vota* of this congregation would serve as a basis during the preparatory period,¹⁵⁷ one can already foresee the attitude at play.

3. Catholic and Public Schools

The issues related to the Catholic schools were already discussed in detail in the introduction and need to be read here along the lines. One must also take into consideration some of the following developments at the threshold of Vatican II: the fight for state funding and lack of financial means (in Western Europe and Canada this had been settled), the nationalization of school systems, communist regimes, the rise of religious nationalisms other than Christianity, increasing secularization and pluralism, a decrease of priestly teachers for religious instruction in various parts of the world, and an increasing population of students due to literacy and baby booms. Moreover, within public schools, the struggle to implement religious education continued to unfold with some countries being more successful to deal with this matter than others depending on the local agreements between church and state, sometimes in the forms of concordats.

Against this backdrop, a relatively small but significant number of *vota* dealt with the Catholic schools as a pertinent issue for the upcoming council. Auxiliary Bishop Cardoso Cunha of Beja points out that “the Council has a strong responsibility regarding Catholic schools whether elementary, secondary, or higher, to ensure that the youth is educated in a Christian way”.¹⁵⁸ He is not alone in this urgency. Archbishop Imberti of Vercelli, to give another example, mentions: “A problem of great importance, and one not only everlasting but also universal and urgent in and for the church, as is known, is the educational problem, and indeed [...] the problem of the education of the youth in the schools”.¹⁵⁹ The need to implement catechesis as religious instruction in schools has been discussed earlier, as well as the establishment of catechist schools to train catechists for this purpose. More things were to be clarified; some of which are specifically related to individual *vota*, others to multiple *vota*.

¹⁵³ ADA III, 390.

¹⁵⁴ See ADA III, 394-96.

¹⁵⁵ ADA III, 401-04.

¹⁵⁶ ADA III, 404-06.

¹⁵⁷ See Chapter III.

¹⁵⁸ ADA II/2, 617.

¹⁵⁹ ADA II/3, 728. For similar warnings, see ADA II/4, 385 (Meouchi); ADA II/6, 405 (O'Hara); ADA II/7, 361 (Casey); ADA IV/I/1, 29 (Gregoriana).

3.1. Problems with schools run by the religious clergy

First, multiple bishops either seek to revise the religious exemption from the episcopal jurisdiction over religious instruction in schools,¹⁶⁰ or want more clarification regarding the rights of each¹⁶¹ due to the fact that bishops see the decay of Christianity as part of the deficient religious instruction within schools run by religious. In fact, some want more episcopal authority in schools and seek to have close cooperation between the religious and the secular clergy.¹⁶² Within Spain, Bishop Cantero Cuadrado of Huelva sees a problem between the episcopate and the FERE (Federación Española de Religiosos de Enseñanza). The problem lies herein that the FERE looks over private ecclesial colleges run by the religious exempted while the episcopal commission dealing with education cannot effectively intervene to inspect the education of the youth that is taking place within these colleges. He therefore proposes to re-establish the episcopal authority over these colleges by redefining the correlation between FERE and the episcopate.¹⁶³ Some also point to the financial issues. For instance, the Italian PIME Bishop Obert of Dinajpur wants more authority for the Ordinaries to control the administration and budget held by the religious in a diocese, such as for schools and hospitals.¹⁶⁴ Bishop Allorio of Pavia also bemoans the financial profits that come from schools and colleges led by the religious, especially since the Bishop has no overview regarding these financial matters which, in turn, leads to a decay of accepting the authority of the Bishop.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, as was the problem with certain mission schools in Asia, the Archbishop of the military of Spain Alonso Muñozerro points out that there the children from the lower classes of society are underrepresented in ecclesial schools and colleges led by the religious. He argues that the religious should instead support these children who are left out.¹⁶⁶

3.2. A pedagogical reform in teaching and religious instruction

Regarding Catholic schools in general, multiple bishops but also universities agree that (religious) education in Catholic schools needs to be renewed by implementing a new pedagogy or by installing more qualified teachers.¹⁶⁷ Archbishop Imberti of Vercelli provides perhaps the most detailed solutions: “a better selection of teachers”; “effective inspection and secure information regarding the teaching methods”, “the spiritual, scientific and practical preparation of both priests and pious lay teachers”; and an “efficient cooperation among the religious”. Moreover, all of the disciplines next to religious instruction need “to be imbued with a Christian and Catholic spirit” and teachers need to be trained for this

¹⁶⁰ ADA II/1, 30 (Restieaux), 37-38 (Cowderoy); ADA II/2, 386-87 (Hervás y Benet), 470 (Añoveros Ataún), 654-55 (Baziak); ADA II/3, 514 (Allorio); ADA II/4, 426 (Obert).

¹⁶¹ ADA II/5, 537 (McCann); ADA II/7, 599 (Lyons).

¹⁶² ADA II/2, 77 (O'Doherty), 675 (Wyszynski); ADA II/3, 246-47 (Tinivella).

¹⁶³ ADA II/2, 187.

¹⁶⁴ ADA II/4, 426.

¹⁶⁵ ADA II/3, 514.

¹⁶⁶ ADA II/2, 470.

¹⁶⁷ ADA II/1, 363 (Guiller); ADA II/2, 399 (Antoniutti); ADA II/3, 530 (Parente); ADA II/4, 496 (Bianchi), 593 (Maleddu); ADA II/6, 197 (Caribi y Rivera), 620 (Oviedo y Reyes); ADA II/7, 41 (Arruazu), 361 (Silva Santiago), 562 (Pulido Mendez); ADA II/8, 251 (Schweizer SDS); ADA IV/2, 511 (ICP). Note that his demand comes from singular vota across different countries.

purpose along with specialist assistants.¹⁶⁸ Priestly teachers need to be trained well and embody spiritual discipline,¹⁶⁹ while an increase of Catholic lay teachers is desirable.¹⁷⁰ Other vota emphasize the need to continue Thomistic education in Catholic schools.¹⁷¹ Moreover, coeducation of both genders within one school is to be rejected.¹⁷²

The need to provide religious instruction extends to public schools as well. Bishops and universities confirm the right of religious education within public schools against growing secular influences.¹⁷³ It is the task of well-educated priests, religious, and lay experts to get involved in public schools as much as possible.¹⁷⁴ Again, Imberti provides a detailed description: the establishment of Catholic teachers' and parents' associations to influence as much as is possible the direction of public schools, the implementation of Catholic canon law within national laws, and the influence of Catholic doctrine within public opinion through newspapers.¹⁷⁵ Similar suggestions are made by the Salesiana,¹⁷⁶ the university related to one of the most impactful teaching congregations across the world: the Salesians. However, some propose for the laity or deacons to provide religious education in (public) schools due to a decreasing clergy.¹⁷⁷ In fact, some even envision religious education in schools as means to promote priestly vocations.¹⁷⁸

The task is clear: there is an actual need to have religious education in as many schools as possible.¹⁷⁹ The youth needs to be instructed in Catholic education in schools,¹⁸⁰ and it is the right of the church to establish Catholic schools.¹⁸¹ There should be a stronger unity regarding Catholic schools and Christian education,¹⁸² and the upcoming council could take *DIM* as a basis for more clarity regarding the education of the youth and the schools during Vatican II.¹⁸³ Moreover, the freedom of parents to choose Catholic schools should be

¹⁶⁸ ADA II/3, 729.

¹⁶⁹ ADA II/1, 232 (Richaud); ADA II/3, 670 (Fossati); ADA II/5, 307; cf. ADA II/3, 540 (CamoZZo): priests should always reside in primary schools.

¹⁷⁰ ADA I/1, 226 (Dubois).

¹⁷¹ ADA II/3, 66 (Venezia); ADA IV/I/1, 177-89 (Lateranum), 425-27 (Lateranum); ADA IV/2, 85 (Pontifical Comillas University); ADA III, 333-41.

¹⁷² ADA II/1, 451 (Coudere); ADA II/3, 23 (Mazzocco); ADA III, 373-77 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies); The Antonianum is more nuanced by asking further clarification, ADA IV/I/2, 107. Bishop Nwedo of Umuahia even wants clarification regarding coeducation in non-Catholic schools, ADA II/5, 353.

¹⁷³ ADA II/1, 466-67 (Marella), 487 (Rupp); ADA II/2, 346 (De Arriba y Castro); ADA II/5, 254 (Bessone); ADA II/6, 662 (Pittini); ADA II/8, 138 (Tomek SchP); ADA IV/I/2, 142, 187-88 (Salesiana).

¹⁷⁴ ADA II/1, 153 (De Jonghe D'Ardoye), 245 (Chevrier), 257 (Guerry), 313 (Gerlier), 445 (Le Bellec), 462 (Marella); ADA II/3, 426 (Ursi), 645 (Faveri), 683 (Addazi); ADA II/7, 333 (Mendoza Castro). ADA IV/I/1, 273 (Bonaventura); ADA IV/I/2, 195 (Salesiana).

¹⁷⁵ ADA II/3, 730-31.

¹⁷⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 187. For a detailed description, see Chapter II on Italy.

¹⁷⁷ ADA II/3, 606 (Carli), 754 (Principi); ADA II/6, 17 (MacDonald); ADA II/7, 52 (Esorto), 316 (Ferreira de Macedo). ADA III, 117 (Congregation of the Council), however, mentions the use of converted pastors, who do not become priests, to teach in Catholic schools. Cf. Bishop Mennona of Muro Lucano, who mentions that priests should be forbidden to teach in public schools except for schools that have religious or ecclesial authority (ADA II/3, 415-16);

¹⁷⁸ ADA II/3, 910 (O'Connor); ADA II/4, 592 (Maleddu); cf. ADA II/8, 116 (Savarese OM).

¹⁷⁹ ADA II/2, 138 (Moro Briz), 443 (Gómez De Santiago); ADA II/6, 487 (Sheen), 662 (Pittini); ADA II/8, 98 (Armas OAR). This also includes the rise of "free schools" (Salesiana in ADA IV/I/2, 188-89).

¹⁸⁰ ADA II/2, 523 (Shvoy); ADA II/3, 178 (Fares); ADA III, 17 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

¹⁸¹ ADA II/1, 257 (Guerry); ADA II/5, 254 (Bessone); ADA III, 17 (Congregation of the Holy Office), 156 (Congregation of the Council), 363-74 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies). Not only the Church, but the state has also the duty to build schools (Byrne in ADA II/2, 109; Simons in ADA II/4, 142). Savarese OM is even keen to emphasize the right of the religious to establish new houses or apostolic schools (ADA II/8, 117).

¹⁸² ADA II/6, 253 (Alba Palacios).

¹⁸³ ADA II/2, 151 (Modrego y Casás); ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani); ADA II/6, 506 (Rancans); ADA II/7, 147 (Costa).

guaranteed.¹⁸⁴ Across all types of schools, the right Christian education needs to be ensured to counter religious ignorance and teachers need to be well educated in the Catholic doctrine.¹⁸⁵ Alongside religious instruction, some vota also seek to maintain Latin education in schools,¹⁸⁶ as well as the condemnation of various false ideologies prevalent among students and teachers.¹⁸⁷ In order to maintain all these various necessary tasks, one Italian proposes national “ecclesial commissions of vigilance” which overlooks religious education in schools.¹⁸⁸

3.3. *Schools in the missions*

Within mission schools in general, the resigned Belgian Jesuit Coadjutor Apostolic Vicar Guffens of Koango o Kwango calls up for more respect for the native laity;¹⁸⁹ not unimportant given the predominant white hierarchy in Belgian Congo. As for Burma (nowadays: Myanmar), the help of the laity is needed to assist the religious in schools. Overall, the religious clergy needs to be better qualified, and the local archbishop Bazin even ponders whether true Catholic education towards non-Catholics is plausible. In general, a stronger focus on other religions is necessary.¹⁹⁰ In Ceylon (nowadays: Sri Lanka), one Jesuit bishop proposes to accept non-Catholic teachers in Catholic schools to teach religion to non-Christians.¹⁹¹ Within Asia, in general, more needs to be done for Catholics to have access to schools despite (financial) difficulties.¹⁹² The same is the case within Africa, more specifically in Egypt. Coptic Catholic Patriarch Sidarouss of Alexandria, in a critical exposition, rhetorically asks whether the schools established by the religious reached their apostolic mission of rapprochement and unity. While admitting such schools had done so to a minor extent, the majority of the poorer classes had not been able to enjoy education both in the cities and the rural areas. He also points out that the mission schools in Egypt held too long to Latinism while living in “ignorance of the language of the country”.¹⁹³ Within Niger, The French Redemptorist and Apostolic Prefect Quillard of Niamey wants more possibilities for graduated students to enter universities,¹⁹⁴ while in Kenya, more legislations regarding mission schools are necessary.¹⁹⁵

¹⁸⁴ ADA II/2, 109 (Byrne); ADA II/3, 696 (Santin); ADA III, 373 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies).

¹⁸⁵ ADA II/1, 483, 487 (Rupp); ADA II/2, 50 (Pacini), 115, 120 (Tabera Araoz), 184 (Cantero Cuadrado); ADA II/6, 227 (Sánchez Tinoco), 404 (O’Hara); ADA II/7, 26 (Proaño Villalba), 361 (Silva Santiago); ADA II/8, 115 (Savarese OM), 258 (Valiyaparampil CMI); ADA IV/I/1, 273 (Lateranum); ADA III, 315-16, 321 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies).

¹⁸⁶ ADA II/2, 43 (Adam); ADA II/8, 137 (Tomek SchP); ADA III, 358-63. But against this: e.g. ADA II/6, 10 (Le Blanc): more vernacular.

¹⁸⁷ ADA II/3, 737 (Carraro), 826 (Nigris); ADA II/4, 486-87 (Ching Ping); ADA II/6, 456 (Synyshyn); ADA II/7, 333-34 (Martenetz); ADA IV/I/1, 209 (Lateranum).

¹⁸⁸ ADA II/3, 756 (Principi); As we had seen in the introduction, most of these already existed in Western Europe. Cf. ADA II/8, 115 (Savarese OM), where the superior instead proposes a Dicastery overlooking religious instruction to children in schools.

¹⁸⁹ ADA II/1, 139.

¹⁹⁰ ADA II/4, 25. See Chapter II on Burma for more details.

¹⁹¹ ADA II/4, 48-49 (Laudadio). See Chapter II on Ceylon for more details.

¹⁹² ADA II/4, 25 (Bazin), 106 (Pothacamury), 398 (Agagianian et al.); But this wake-up call also applies beyond the missions, and especially in Central America. See: ADA II/6, 183 (Garcia), 624 (Oviedo y Reyes), 658 (Pepén y Soliman).

¹⁹³ ADA II/4, 376-77.

¹⁹⁴ ADA II/5, 93. See Chapter II on Niger for more details.

¹⁹⁵ ADA II/5, 262.

The MEP Superior Lemaire is convinced that the unifying of various ecclesial provinces in the missions within one diocese might ensure a stronger uniformity of education.¹⁹⁶ Finally, the Salesiana and the Congregation for Seminaries and University Studies seek to increase Catholic schools in the missions.¹⁹⁷ One other special call comes from India. There, the French MEP Bishop Feuga of Mysore, along with auxiliary D'Souza, wants to have apostolic schools next to minor seminaries, where children are taught "what a true and feeble vocation consists of". After finishing their studies, those who are properly qualified could be admitted within minor seminars which would help to increase priestly vocations.¹⁹⁸

3.4. *Theological schools and other demands*

Various vota also seek clarification regarding the use of Bible in theological schools,¹⁹⁹ but also in schools in general.²⁰⁰ Within theological schools, more focus should be on Mariology²⁰¹ and sacred music.²⁰² The teaching pedagogy and methods need to be changed,²⁰³ and teachers should obtain doctoral degrees.²⁰⁴ Then, there are various calls for an increase of a diverse range of schools: diocesan and parish schools in order to liturgically train the children,²⁰⁵ inter-diocesan lay colleges in Italy established by bishops to receive direct or indirect subsidies by the government,²⁰⁶ "diocesan and urban schools for higher Catholic studies for the laity or clergy",²⁰⁷ primary schools owned by the religious in Indian rural areas,²⁰⁸ Latin-rite private schools under the ecclesial authority in Iraq,²⁰⁹ and the establishment of special (ecclesiastical) schools to train Catholic journalists.²¹⁰

3.5. *Particular foci*

Finally, there are certain individual vota that are very specific: Bishop Schoiswohl of Seckau maintains the efficiency of Sunday-schools for religious instruction.²¹¹ Superior General Schweizer of the Salvatorians seeks more awareness of Catholicism within the education of English schools, especially for Irish immigrants.²¹² Archbishop Printesis of Athens wants

¹⁹⁶ ADA II/1, 526.

¹⁹⁷ ADA IV/I/2, 186; cf. ADA III, 192.

¹⁹⁸ ADA II/4, 176. See also Bishop Tobón of Jericó's call for more canonical clarification regarding apostolic schools (ADA II/7, 412).

¹⁹⁹ ADA II/3, 106 (Rossi), 116 (Lercaro); ADA II/4, 20 (Guercilena); ADA IV/I/1, 127-28 (Biblicum).

²⁰⁰ ADA II/4, 325 (Espiga e Infante); ADA II/5, 172 (Vermeiren); ADA II/7, 664 (Arkefeld).

²⁰¹ ADA II/3, 442 (Binni).

²⁰² ADA IV/I/2, 227 (Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music).

²⁰³ ADA II/4, 639-40 (Pham-Ngoc-Chi).

²⁰⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 273 (Lateranum).

²⁰⁵ ADA II/2, 196 (Romero Menjibar). Cf. ADA II/3, 68 (Morgante); ADA II/3, 559 (Pennisi), one book regarding Christian teaching and effective religious education in parish schools; ADA II/7, 27 (Proaño Villalba), 96 (Mozzoni): parish schools and education to be intensified; ADA III, 153-54 (Congregation of Council): more parish schools for catechism.

²⁰⁶ ADA II/3, 467 (Casullo).

²⁰⁷ ADA II/3, 670 (Fossati).

²⁰⁸ ADA II/4, 134 (Gopu).

²⁰⁹ ADA II/4, 371 (Sayegh): though one needs to overcome the hurdles of government, funds, and teachers.

²¹⁰ ADA II/2, 221-22 (Herrera y Oria). Cf. ADA II/3, 58 (Boiardi): "television schools".

²¹¹ ADA II/1, 70.

²¹² ADA II/8, 249.

more clarification regarding Orthodox students in Catholic schools with respect to their participation in confession and communion.²¹³

4. Catholic and Ecclesiastical Universities

Prior to Vatican II, Catholic universities had mainly been established across Europe from the Middle Ages onwards. Later, wherever the religious clergy had missionized, where Catholics had migrated or where the population had largely been Christianized, and/or where local-born bishops had taken control over the dioceses, Catholic universities had been established. In reality, that was the case for the Americas, some countries in the Middle East (e.g., Lebanon), India, the Philippines, Japan, and Belgian Congo. These universities were oftentimes headed by secular or religious clergy, for bishops and religious superiors had been their founder. Among the religious, mostly Jesuits and Dominicans had a significant number of universities. Moreover, as discussed in the introduction, in countries like West-Germany, Catholic universities were in fact Catholic Faculties in state universities. Most of the Catholic universities were indirectly approved by the Pope, but much depended on the national laws and providing broader education (one must also think of established concordats). Meanwhile, in Rome and around the Vatican, multiple ecclesiastical universities, often functioning like major seminaries also in terms of education and content (which, in fact, would cause a problem for the discussion on Catholic schools during the preparatory period),²¹⁴ had been established. Most of them were related to the various religious congregations and orders (e.g., the Gregoriana run by the Jesuits, the Antonianum by the Franciscans), but also by the authority of the Pope (e.g., Lateranum), or the dicasteries (e.g., the Urbaniana). Almost all of these had pontifical titles (i.e., directly dependent upon the Holy See), but pontifical universities could also be found in other parts of the world (e.g., Comillas, Salamanca).

4.1. Education and renewal

Most issues at universities were correlated to what was already discussed regarding seminaries (mainly for the ecclesiastical universities) and schools (for the Catholic universities). For instance, classical humanities in all universities must be maintained to uphold the knowledge of Latin,²¹⁵ and even the Greek language and literature.²¹⁶ The need for scholastic philosophy is reaffirmed²¹⁷ as Thomism in universities protects against modern errors.²¹⁸ There should be an increasing awareness, knowledge and recognition of the Eastern Churches by both priests and the laity. These include the Orthodox, but also the Armenian and Syriac churches.²¹⁹ The “dissenting churches” both in the East and West, and

²¹³ ADA II/2, 10.

²¹⁴ See Chapter III and Conclusion.

²¹⁵ ADA II/2, 224 (Herrera y Oria), 421-22 (Castán Lacoma), 545 (Cekada); ADA II/7, 94 (Mozzoni); ADA II/8, 76-77 (Constantini OFMConv); Latin at least for scholastic philosophy, dogmatic theology, morality and Scripture; ADA II/8, 137 (Tomek SchP); ADA IV/2, 629 (Catholic University of Washington).

²¹⁶ ADA II/2, 224 (Herrera y Oria).

²¹⁷ ADA II/2, 545 (Cekada); ADA II/6, 412-13 (Buswell); ADA IV/2, 386-95 (Santo Tomas Manila), 472 (Catholic University of Niagd).

²¹⁸ ADA IV/I/1, 179, 415-27 (Lateranum).

²¹⁹ ADA II/1, 269 (De Bazelaire).

even “pagan religions”, need to be studied in order enhance reunification with the Catholic Church.²²⁰ Archbishop Jaeger of Paderborn, an epicentre of ecumenism at the time both among the hierarchy and in the local university, seeks an increase of studies on ecumenism and non-Christian religions in theology.²²¹ The Gregoriana also seeks to implement an introduction of non-Christian religions within theology.²²² Of course, Jesuits had often been at the forefront in the missions.

Various vota also describe that education within Catholic and ecclesiastical universities needs to change as was discussed for seminaries and Catholic schools, although the proposals remain rather superficial. Apostolic Vicar and Comboni Missionary Mason of Bahr el-Ghazal (Sudan), for instance, mentions that the studies within ecclesiastical universities should be adapted to the contemporary times.²²³ For Bishop Hernández of Leon the focus should be on the formation of Christians who in turn can influence society.²²⁴ Auxiliary Bishop Escuin of Málaga mentions that the teaching and pedagogical methodology must be changed to ensure that university students are well prepared to conduct qualified research, explain theological issues and the Scripture.²²⁵ Gamboa Satrustegui OFMCap wants a stronger “pedagogical modern action” and education in Catholic universities.²²⁶

Canonical reform is also necessary according to some authors. The Pontifical Comillas University, focusing on can. 1376-77, wants to reorganize the studies in ecclesiastical universities. One of the main proposals is to decrease the number of disciplines so that students focus on fewer disciplines but in a more comprehensive way.²²⁷ However, from Paris, there is also a canonical recommitment: reconfirming can. 1380, the Institut Catholique de Paris maintains that the clergy must obtain academic degrees, especially within law, to be well prepared for the times.²²⁸ Similarly, Superior Rubio of the Augustinians emphasizes that the existing canon laws on universities and ecclesiastical universities (can. 1376-1380) should be implemented in full power, including for professors and students.²²⁹

4.2. Selection procedures and teaching clarifications

Along with a renewal of education, there are calls for stricter vigilance regarding the selection procedure of students, the function of the clergy, the role of teachers, and the

²²⁰ ADA II/1, 609 (Janssen). Cf. ADA II/1, 671 (Wehr): an increase of urban institutes to discuss non-Catholic religions, which also must be taught in universities and seminaries; ADA II/2, 119 (Tabera Araoz): an increase of ecumenical faculties in Catholic universities and discussions on union. Cf. ADA II/6, 315 (Binz): a permanent group in the universities for dialogue with non-Catholics (also in seminaries). Lovanium mentions that a positive stance towards other religions can even help to counter atheism in society, and adds that Christianity should not be enforced on other religious individuals but should always be the outcome of free will and consciousness (ADA IV/2, 169).

²²¹ ADA II/1, 650.

²²² ADA II/1/1, 74-75.

²²³ ADA II/5, 454 (this also includes seminaries and religious colleges).

²²⁴ ADA II/2, 206.

²²⁵ ADA II/2, 412-13 (this also includes in seminaries).

²²⁶ ADA II/7, 41 (this also includes Catholic schools and colleges).

²²⁷ ADA IV/2, 80, 147. In this way, they want to revise one of the implementations of Pius XI' reform in *Deus scientiarum*.

²²⁸ ADA IV/2, 511.

²²⁹ ADA II/8, 92.

establishment of chairs in the universities. Archbishop Printesis of Athens emphasizes the need for prudence among clerics within ecclesiastical universities, especially among those working with women.²³⁰ The resigned Apostolic Vicar Olano y Urteaga OFM Cap of Guam, writing from the Philippines where he spent his last years, maintains that students should not be admitted in pontifical universities unless they have finished diocesan seminary training.²³¹ It must be added that he surely refers to seminarians of Guam and the Philippines. The Spanish Archbishop Melendro y Gutiérrez SJ of Anking, living in exile, wants the Council to decide the rules regarding clerical professors in universities.²³² Finally and almost in the reverse, Archbishop Modrego y Casás of Barcelona wants more clarification regarding lay professors in teaching the sacred sciences within Catholic universities.²³³

Within Ecuador, there is a demand to only select professors who profess and live Catholicism. Moreover, they should possess academic degrees.²³⁴ More norms need to especially be established regarding professors teaching religion and apologetics.²³⁵ Within Colombian universities, both public and private, the chairs of religion need to be presided by priests to protect the right implementation.²³⁶ But up against this desire, Tomek of the Piarists, a teaching order, is of the opinion that theological chairs in public universities are to be held by lay faithful.²³⁷ Moreover, he is asks to increase Catholic universities everywhere in the world.²³⁸

4.3. Public universities

For the public universities, Bishop Gorman of Dallas-Fort Worth prefers to have the best talented seminarians to pursue academic studies in public universities before being admitted to the priesthood.²³⁹ Seemingly in the USA, some public universities had more expertise than the Catholic counterparts, not unsurprising given the fact that public universities, unlike the Catholic, were funded by the state. O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross²⁴⁰ hopes that those in charge of public universities will accept the aid of ecclesiastical authority. Focusing mainly on the USA where his congregation had been active, also because the congregation had founded the Notre Dame University, he points out that there is a demand for the Church to permeate life and activities within public universities, and wonders whether the so-called 'Newman Clubs' could provide good candidates. In this regard, the faith of Catholic students would not only be protected in these universities, but also the teachers and the universities can be influenced by the Catholic faith.²⁴¹ The Catholic University of

²³⁰ ADA II/2, 9.

²³¹ ADA II/4, 333.

²³² ADA II/4, 477 (this also includes colleges and atheneae).

²³³ ADA II/2, 153.

²³⁴ ADA II/7, 15-16.

²³⁵ ADA II/7, 16.

²³⁶ ADA II/7, 463.

²³⁷ ADA II/8, 138.

²³⁸ ADA II/8, 138.

²³⁹ ADA II/6, 307.

²⁴⁰ Not to be mistaken with the Canons Regular of the Order of the Holy Cross.

²⁴¹ ADA II/8, 183. Note that the Newman Clubs, based on the writings of John Henry Newman, were established in public universities, consisted of Catholic students, and had the aim to preserve the faith of the students and influence the wider university. Cf. ADA IV/I/1, 228, where the Lateranum mentions that attempts are made to reintroduce theology in public universities.

Angers, writing from a completely different context where French *laïcité* was prevalent, is more cautious. It seeks clarification regarding Catholics attending public universities, including the clergy, in light of doctrinal confusions mainly within history, philosophy and the natural sciences.²⁴² In fact, for Angers, Catholic universities should always be selected above public ones.²⁴³

4.4. Theological and philosophical aspects

As most Catholic and ecclesiastical universities deal with theology and philosophy, there are vota mainly from the universities seeking clarity regarding doctrinal, moral, philosophical and other related issues. The data is large, but some generalized observations can be made. First, regarding the doctrinal part, there is a range of themes that needs to be clarified, elaborated or reconfirmed during the Council: the revelation of Christ, the immutability of the revealed truth,²⁴⁴ the Trinitarian doctrine,²⁴⁵ biblical hermeneutics and exegesis,²⁴⁶ the inclusion of historical criticism while upholding the realities of biblical wonders and original sin,²⁴⁷ the approach towards eastern churches,²⁴⁸ ecclesiology,²⁴⁹ cosmic evolutionism,²⁵⁰ Mariology,²⁵¹ and the demand by the Carmelite Theological Faculty to condemn doctrinal errors by scholars like Henry Duméry and Teilhard de Chardin.²⁵²

Regarding moral issues, multiple universities seek the reaffirmation of the moral order in the God-man Christ: marriage as a sacred order, economics, family, etc.²⁵³ Auxiliary Bishop Conway of Armagh wants to further intertwine moral and dogmatic theology in universities.²⁵⁴ In a similar vein, the Antonianum suggests that moral formation needs to be improved, so that especially pastors and professors are better trained.²⁵⁵ The Antonianum even suggests the establishment of a “theological-moral institute” which students can attend after obtaining a licentiate in theology.²⁵⁶ Along with these foci on moral theology, some ask to clarify the social doctrine of the Church.²⁵⁷

As for the philosophical issues, the majority is mainly focused on the threat of certain philosophies endangering the Catholic faith, and either seek to condemn or to increase knowledge among students to defend themselves accordingly. For instance, in Mauritius, students should be trained in positivism, existentialism, communism along with other

²⁴² ADA IV/2, 15-16.

²⁴³ ADA IV/2, 16-18.

²⁴⁴ ADA II/I/1, 9-13 (Gregoriana); ADA IV/2, 647-49 (Theological Faculty of Chicago).

²⁴⁵ ADA II/8, 208-09 (Houdiard SVP).

²⁴⁶ ADA II/I/1, 9-13 (Gregoriana), 125-36 (Biblicum), 189-94 (Lateranum); ADA II/I/2, 240-41 (Bonaventura); ADA IV/2, 259-74 (Santo Tomas Manila), 543 (Pontifical University of Salamanca).

²⁴⁷ ADA II/I/1, 19-21 (Gregoriana).

²⁴⁸ ADA II/I/1, 141-47 (Pontifical Institute for Oriental Studies); ADA IV/2, 41-42, 46 (St Joseph University of Beirut).

²⁴⁹ ADA II/I/2, 235-36 (Bonaventura).

²⁵⁰ ADA II/I/2, 14-15 (Angelicum).

²⁵¹ ADA II/I/2, 55-75 (Antonianum), 450-59 (Marianum); ADA IV/2, 728 (Pontifical Athenaeum Pune); The Bonaventura even adds Josephology (ADA II/I/2, 238-39).

²⁵² ADA II/I/2, 321-32 (Teresianum).

²⁵³ ADA II/I/1, 22-24 (Gregoriana); ADA II/I/2, 95-109 (Antonianum), 125-30 (Salesianum); ADA IV/2, 49-50 (Xaveriana), 545-47 (Pontifical University of Salamanca), 779-82 (Fribourg University).

²⁵⁴ ADA II/2, 103 (this also includes seminaries).

²⁵⁵ ADA II/I/2, 85.

²⁵⁶ ADA II/I/2, 85.

²⁵⁷ ADA II/I/1, 79-119 (Gregoriana). Cf. ADA II/I/2, 17 (Angelicum), 204-05 (Salesianum). ADA IV/2, 802-03 (Münster University).

theological, philosophical and social matters.²⁵⁸ Nuncio Alibrandi of Indonesia maintains that in all universities, communism needs to be refuted through a special course so that priests and lay people can defend themselves.²⁵⁹ The Catholic University of Niagara led by Vincentians in New York wants a stronger focus on contemporary philosophy in order to contradict them.²⁶⁰ Within Ecuador, Archbishop Serrano Abad of Cuenca in Ecuador mentions that the faithful need to be trained up against the growing influences of “Protestantism, secularism, Marxism and spiritism” within public universities.²⁶¹ Bishop Calewaert of Ghent, a city where secularism was thriving, sees it as a task to demonstrate God’s existence in philosophy up against those philosophy professors denying it.²⁶² The ICP warns against philosophy in public universities, especially when graduates would in turn seek to teach in Catholic universities. The clergy should only be granted access to public universities through the permission of the bishop.²⁶³

4.5. Other suggestions

As the name already suggests, the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music wishes to promote research on sacred music within all Catholic universities as far as is possible.²⁶⁴ Auxiliary Bishop Reyes of Manila is convinced that all universities should provide a course on Catholic Action, at least for theologians.²⁶⁵ Bishop Cambiaghi of Crema is of the opinion that theological studies should be more focused on the pastoral life,²⁶⁶ Bishop Kiwanuka of Masaka (Uganda) wants more ascetic theology,²⁶⁷ and Archbishop Domingues de Oliveira of Florianópolis (Brazil) canon law, at least in Catholic universities.²⁶⁸ The Lateranum wishes to provide academic degrees related to Biblical studies in particular;²⁶⁹ not unimportant given the tensions with the Biblicum (see Chapters II and III). Finally, Auxiliary Bishop Sheen of New York wants to increase religious instruction in American universities, at least three days a week.²⁷⁰ In other words, each suggestion is correlated to the context or the promotion of one’s own ideas or the identity the university.

4.6. Universities in the missions

Like schools and seminaries, suggestions on universities in the missions are discussed. Guffens wants an increase of Catholic universities in sub-Saharan Africa to counter the influence of other private and public universities.²⁷¹ Moreover, he asks to enhance the

²⁵⁸ ADA II/5, 239 (Liston) (this also includes seminaries).

²⁵⁹ ADA II/4, 230 (this also includes seminaries).

²⁶⁰ ADA IV/2, 472.

²⁶¹ ADA II/7, 15-16.

²⁶² ADA II/1, 105.

²⁶³ ADA IV/2, 523-25.

²⁶⁴ ADA II/2, 227.

²⁶⁵ ADA II/4, 330 (this also includes seminaries and Catholic colleges).

²⁶⁶ ADA II/3, 238 (this also includes seminaries).

²⁶⁷ ADA II/5, 516.

²⁶⁸ ADA II/7, 174.

²⁶⁹ ADA IV/I/1, 194.

²⁷⁰ ADA II/6, 487 (this also includes superior higher schools and colleges). Cf. Komonchak, “U.S. Bishops’s Suggestions for Vatican II,” 41.

²⁷¹ ADA II/1, 140; cf. ADA II/8, 184: for the mission, along with colleges, more universities to form Catholic leaders.

academic training of the clergy destined for the African missions.²⁷² The Irish Kiltegan Father and Bishop Moynagh of Calabar, for his part, bemoans a lack of university teachers within Nigeria,²⁷³ but in fact, Nigeria still had to see the establishment of universities. The resigned Dutch Apostolic Vicar Paulissen SMA, having been missionary in Ghana, wants to enrol African and Asian students in European universities to be further trained in missiology.²⁷⁴ A more extensive votum comes from the Urbaniana, not unsurprising given the fact that the whole education of the Urbaniana subsists in preparing Catholic clergy for their ministry in the missions. Moreover, De Propaganda Fide, closely related to the university, sought to establish close connections with the local and newly established priests and bishops as they would soon become the future of the Church in the missions given the rise of independence and the decrease of Western missionaries (soon to come); by maintaining the training of local clergy, the native bishops would continue to show their allegiance to Rome.²⁷⁵ The votum must be read in this light. Urbaniana wants to ensure that the theological teaching in universities coincide with the educational and practical needs of the local native populations. University chairs of theology ought to be led by native lecturers, who can develop a more enhanced education for the benefit and needs of the local people.²⁷⁶ Especially the missiological faculties and institutes related to universities must be further enhanced that includes more comprehensive studies regarding the history, the culture and the traditions of local populations where missionaries are active.²⁷⁷

4.7. The demand by the Augustinian superior

A somewhat different and extensive votum comes from Rubio, who proposes to establish a new university, that must be read in line with the fact that the Augustinians, unlike orders and congregations, did not have a pontifical university. For Rubio, any ecclesiastical entity should be able to obtain a university or faculty status by the Holy See, if it has the necessary requirements: “scholarly material for teaching”, “a library”, and “teachers” with the necessary qualifications and degrees.²⁷⁸ Students should be able to attend any of these universities or faculties to acquire relevant education in accordance with the expertise provided in these universities, as long as all relevant disciplines have been followed by the end of the study time. The proof of this should appear within the official registers along with various courses taken, examinations, and the final results.²⁷⁹ The final exam for obtaining academic degrees should no longer be granted by the universities but should by a “Great Universal Ecclesiastic Academy”. This Academy should consist of the following sections: theology, Bible, canon law, church history, philosophy, and missiology. Members of this Academy should be from across the world, experts in their field, part of the clergy, and nominated by the Holy See. Some of these members could also be selected from other

²⁷² ADA II/1, 139. Cf. Meridiani “I ‘vota’ dell’Episcopato del Benelux”, 224-25.

²⁷³ ADA II/5, 341.

²⁷⁴ ADA II/2, 517.

²⁷⁵ Cf. Hastings, *A history of African Christianity*, 174.

²⁷⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 487 (this also includes schools).

²⁷⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 497-98.

²⁷⁸ ADA II/8, 92-93.

²⁷⁹ ADA II/8, 93.

Roman academies and institutes.²⁸⁰ Members active within one section, should establish the guidelines to obtain an academic degree and, together with local professors, should determine the timing of the studies.²⁸¹ The degrees promulgated by this Academy must also be a pontifical degree. In so doing, Rubio is convinced that university monopolies will be exchanged for more equality among the people belonging to the Church and academia.²⁸²

4.8. *The role of the Curia*

A couple of vota seek the direction and leadership of the Curia to inspect universities and even condemn certain teachings. For instance, O'Toole argues that mainly American Catholic universities without the pontifical title should be inspected by the Holy See.²⁸³ In the same country, Bartholome points to the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies to inspect Catholic universities including the teachers.²⁸⁴ Further south, Bishop De Proença Sigaud of Jacarézinho, who would become a future member of the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*,²⁸⁵ wants the Holy See to condemn false teachings within Brazilian universities but also in seminaries in general. For instance, the bishop talks of the errors of Jacques Maritain and Teilhard de Chardin.²⁸⁶

4.9. *The Curia on universities*

The Congregation of the Council wants to enhance the study of ecclesiastical art in universities by qualified lay or clerical teachers.²⁸⁷ Moreover, referring to the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, rectors of ecclesiastical universities should ensure the study and examinations of paleo-Christian archaeology and art in accordance with *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*.²⁸⁸ There is also a suggestion that in countries where “sects” are multiplying, especially Protestantism, an increase of Catholic universities is needed to defend the faith.²⁸⁹

Looking further at the votum from the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, there is a wide range of foci most of which are in line with what was discussed earlier for seminaries and schools. First, the congregation asks the Council to reflect on contemporary scholarly issues in theology and philosophy that had not yet been mentioned in the magisterial documents,²⁹⁰ and to come up with an “organic explanation” to be

²⁸⁰ ADA II/8, 93.

²⁸¹ ADA II/8, 93-94.

²⁸² ADA II/8, 94.

²⁸³ ADA II/8, 183-84.

²⁸⁴ ADA II/6, 432. Cf. Komonchak, “U.S. Bishops’s Suggestions for Vatican II,” 41.

²⁸⁵ This group of bishops were notorious for their opposition during Vatican II. Some notable figures included Marcel Lefebvre, Luigi Maria Carli, Jean Prou, Geraldo de Proença Sigaud, Antonio de Castro Mayer. See: Philippe Roy-Lysencourt, *Les vota préconciliaires des dirigeants du Coetus Internationalis Patrum*, Collection « Concile Vatican II (Strasbourg: Institut d’Étude du Christianisme, 2015), 11-12. For a more comprehensive outlook on how this group was active during Vatican II, see Philip Roy-Lysencourt, *Les membres du Coetus Internationalis Patrum au Concile Vatican II: inventaire des interventions et souscriptions des adhérents et sympathisants : liste des signataires d'occasion et des théologiens*, Instrumenta theologica XXXVII (Leuven: Maurits Sabbe Library, 2014).

²⁸⁶ ADA II/7, 181-82, 189. See also: Roy-Lysencourt, *Les vota préconciliaires*, 53, 62.

²⁸⁷ ADA III, 113, 114.

²⁸⁸ ADA III, 114. A bit in a different way, the Pontifical Institute of Christian Archaeology also points to the need to train the clergy in the knowledge of Christian archaeology since the latter had become a niche in public universities (ADA II/1/2, 232).

²⁸⁹ ADA III, 116.

²⁹⁰ ADA III, 315.

implemented in schools and the Mass.²⁹¹ Moreover, the congregation recommends that all those involved in theology should respect the Magisterium, precisely because they are theologians: “a science that derives its norms from the Magisterium” in order to avoid errors or to acquire further knowledge. Theologians must be obliged to receive norms from the Magisterium. In the end, personal opinions do not have the final say but the “sense of the Church”. In this respect, the “sense of the Church” must exert its influence in the education of theologians, so that the latter become true “heralds of the word of God” and “pastors of souls”.²⁹²

The congregation also deals with the issue of Biblical studies, although the proposals remain rather generalized. Keeping in mind the authority of Sacred Scripture, the congregation recommends the Council to ensure that these students have “a safe and solid education”, especially the correct interpretation of Biblical texts.²⁹³ Within universities (also in schools and seminaries), students should engage with texts written by ‘exceptional’ authors who are Catholic professors of Biblical studies and have acquired the necessary degrees for this purpose. (Future) teachers of Scripture ought to maintain “the truth” (provided by the Magisterium) and promote it, while rejecting and refuting errors by those undermining the Catholic truth. As a source, the Latin Vulgate needs to be reconfirmed as an authoritative translation by the Council. It is to be conceived as an “illustrious monument” of the Latin Church, seen as the primary source from which successive theology borrowed from. The Vulgate remains attached with the tradition of the Church and must retain a central place in the studies. At the same time, the Congregation allows for careful criticism and the permission to use other translations from the original text.²⁹⁴

As scholasticism was emphasized within the formation of the priest in seminaries and schools, the same goes for the universities, meaning thus that Catholic theologians and philosophers must be trained in this discipline. The same holds true for professors in Catholic universities.²⁹⁵ The use of Latin within the study of philosophy and theology is also repeated.²⁹⁶ Finally, the congregation wants to establish a counsel that provides the congregation with the best expertise on university matters to ensure an enhanced *modus operandi* with respect to the ecclesiastical and Catholic universities, and more specifically, their “growth”, “collaboration”, and “influence”.²⁹⁷

²⁹¹ ADA III, 321. While some of the points mentioned by the congregation find their equivalent among some of the theological issues discussed by the other vota (for instance, the existence of a personal God), others are highlighted only by the congregation (for instance, the nature, scope and infallibility of the Ordinary teachers).

²⁹² ADA III, 328. It is interesting to note the importance of the Magisterium by the congregation, as many vota on the universities by bishops, religious congregations and universities are almost nihil in mentioning the Magisterium’s authority within universities and faculties. While this might perhaps have to do with the fact that such adherence is taken-for-granted, at a time when multiple new theological, philosophical, exegetical and even moral truth claims came to the fore (for instance, the *Nouvelle Theologie*), multiple vota discussed might perhaps remain rather ambiguous when it comes to the Magisterium’s authority. However, see point 12. ‘Magisterium and the ecclesial hierarchy’ further down the chapter for a more detailed analysis regarding the Magisterium’s authority generally speaking!

²⁹³ ADA III, 332-333.

²⁹⁴ ADA III, 333. As for the Vulgate, it the topic receives much more attention by the Congregation than it does among the other vota dealing with Bible and exegesis. Note for instance the Latin use of terms: “*liber eminenter sacerdotale*”.

²⁹⁵ ADA III, 340.

²⁹⁶ ADA III, 362.

²⁹⁷ ADA III, 373-74.

5. The Formation of the Religious

What was discussed for the seminaries, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities also applied to the education and formation of the religious clergy. The only small difference between a religious and diocesan secular seminarian that must be added, is that most religious were also formed and educated in the religious houses.

5.1. Reforming the religious training

The religious who, among other things, long worked within education, are in need of further formation; a demand for most part made by secular bishops. Bishop Morio Briz of Avila is very brief: a “reformation is needed in religious orders”.²⁹⁸ There are various formulations, however, that discuss how such reform would look like. For Prelate Hervás y Benet of Ciudad Real, this implies a stronger focus on “discipline”, “perfection”, and pastoral training.²⁹⁹ Cardinal Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara mentions that all the religious should lead an exemplary life.³⁰⁰ The Italian Salesian Archbishop Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo is less explicit, but asks more in an open-ended way how to ensure that the religious spirit is not shaken by the modern life. He wants further clarification regarding the formation of the religious superiors and the access to various forms of entertainment.³⁰¹

Bishop Villalba of Riobamba seeks to make religious orders (both male and female) more effective by revitalizing the spiritual life and the discipline, by making them more dependent on the bishop regarding in matters related to the apostolate, and by ensuring a strong collaboration of the religious and secular priests for various parish works.³⁰² One can again see here the desire for episcopal control. The Salesiana argues that religious orders need to reform themselves in order to win over new members. A part of doing so, is to focus more on individual poverty, especially within the beggar orders.³⁰³ Finally, the Pontifical Theological Faculty of the Regional Seminary in Sardinia (Cuglieri) wants to ensure that the religious are not overburdened in various works to the detriment of their religious vocations.³⁰⁴

While all these calls for a reform have more to do with the individual lives and aims of the religious, there are also calls for a reform on a canonical level. These canonical adaptations regarding the religious are very broad, but for the purposes here, are mainly provided as a reference to the extent that it had some correlation with the education and formation of the religious. For instance, Bishop Frondosa of Capiz points out that ordained religious should only be active in institutions once they have been academically trained. The contemplative religious form an exception, however.³⁰⁵ Rummel wants to add the obligation for religious priests to perform spiritual exercises.³⁰⁶ Archbishop Esorto of Bahía Blanca

²⁹⁸ ADA II/2, 136.

²⁹⁹ ADA II/2, 386-87.

³⁰⁰ ADA II/6, 197. This also applies to priests.

³⁰¹ ADA II/6, 660.

³⁰² ADA II/7, 27.

³⁰³ ADA IV/I/2, 209.

³⁰⁴ ADA IV/2, 658.

³⁰⁵ ADA II/4, 285. He points to can. 542.

³⁰⁶ ADA II/6, 387. This also includes diocesan priests. He points to can. 126.

wants to abolish certain tasks of the religious priests which can be taken up by the laity such as teaching in schools. He also wants an investigation of “the odd practices” by religious men and women,³⁰⁷ although he does not specify which ones that imply. Auxiliary Bishop Zambrano Camader of Popáyan asks to revise and unify all the privileges of the male and female religious communities.³⁰⁸ Within Australia (Lismore), there is one demand for more academic formation of the religious as well.³⁰⁹

Closely related to these various calls for reform, are the vota which ask for a modernization or renewal of the religious predominantly in matters of education. Suenens maintains that religious customs and constitutions need to be adapted to the modern needs.³¹⁰ The Salesiana mentions that in the education of the religious, psychology and sociology needs to be provided with the right means and in the spirit of *Mentis Nostrae* and *Sedes Sapientiae* (both on a pedagogical and a pastoral level). While doctrinal and moral teaching should still play an important role, the main focus should lie on pastoral training.³¹¹ The Marianum emphasizes an enhancement of the education of the religious brothers and sisters given that the laity’s education has significantly increased.³¹² As was the case for seminaries and universities, the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music points out that religious should also be trained in sacred music.³¹³ Catholic University of Louvain argues that the religious need to be trained at least one year in theology,³¹⁴ and the Catholic University of Ottawa agrees that religious of both sexes need to be taught the importance of liturgical prayer.³¹⁵ In other words, each author has a different vision on how the religious ought to be well educated and formed.

5.2. Reappropriating the goals of religious orders and congregations

In line with the reformation of the religious and the renewal of their education, are the various vota which ask the upcoming Council to emphasize the original roots and aims of each religious order and congregation. Seemingly, various bishops point out that multiple orders and congregations are no longer upholding their original apostolic vocation. Cantero Cuadrado wants the religious to return to the “genuine collective spirit of the founding fathers”.³¹⁶ Similarly, Bishop Yuen Ching-ping of Chumatien, living in exile in the USA, says that the religious must followed the footsteps of their founders.³¹⁷ Pham Ngoc Chi from Vietnam demands that the religious live in accordance with the spirit of poverty.³¹⁸ Bishop Garcia of Guliacán equally mentions that religious who have it as their fundamental goal to educate the poor, must return to this original goal. He points out that among these orders and congregations, there has been an increase of abuses in colleges for the rich at the cost of the

³⁰⁷ ADA II/7, 52.

³⁰⁸ ADA II/7, 459.

³⁰⁹ ADA II/7, 594 (Farrelly). Cf. ADA II/2, 470 (Añoveros Ataún).

³¹⁰ ADA II/1, 145.

³¹¹ ADA IV/I/2, 192.

³¹² ADA IV/I/2, 424.

³¹³ ADA IV/I/2, 225, 227.

³¹⁴ ADA IV/2, 231.

³¹⁵ ADA IV/2, 492.

³¹⁶ ADA II/2, 187.

³¹⁷ ADA II/4, 487-88.

³¹⁸ ADA II/4, 640.

poor.³¹⁹ Apostolic Administrator Principi of Loreto, also a member of the Curia, maintains that religious orders are neglecting a large majority of people who work in agriculture or in factories by mainly focusing on educating children from a wealthy background.³²⁰

5.3. *The religious and the apostolate*

While the above-mentioned vota are primarily related to a wake-up call for religious orders and congregations to restructure and reorganize themselves, other vota further focus on the aims of religious orders for today. Probably the most recurrent and important aim is that of the apostolate. Botero Salazar, focusing on the religious landscape in Colombia, comes to the point: the religious should engage in the apostolate.³²¹ He is not alone. Suenens mentions that the apostolate should always be placed on a higher pedestal within the religious life. For him, this implies a decent practical preparation within the religious houses and the schools, focused on the apostolic mission to form the laity.³²² Similarly, France's Nuncio Marella wants a more intense participation of the religious for the apostolate. He mentions that some orders are focused on certain commendable activities, such as teaching, publishing, journalism, and movements of Catholic Action, but would actually do better if they prepare a certain number of their members for the "direct apostolate" in the countryside, i.e., preaching or the administration of the sacraments in correspondence with the bishop. Moreover, every male and female must be engaged in teaching, hospital visits, and so on. Marella is convinced that there are members in the religious congregations who could and should render much more, although he refuses to specify which ones.³²³ However, given the fact that Jesuits and Dominicans were strongly active in France, he might have alluded to them.

Within Japan, Archbishop Doi of Tokyo wants the episcopal control over the apostolic activities of the religious.³²⁴ A similar suggestion is made by Oviedo y Reyes (Nicaragua).³²⁵ Both the Italian Capuchin Bishop De Vito of Lucknow, and Quillard from Niamey, want to increase the apostolic activity of the religious.³²⁶ Bishop Pires of Araçuaí urges for the obligation of both male and female religious to do more for the apostolate, especially providing catechesis, directing Catholic Action and the religious education in secondary schools and universities.³²⁷ The same is said by Auxiliary Bishop Battú Wichrowski of Santos in Brazil.³²⁸ Finally, the Salesiana wants the religious to take care of "special apostolates" especially in the urban places, consisting of taking the care of the youth, workers, and journalism.³²⁹

³¹⁹ ADA II/6, 183; see also ADA II/6, 197, where cardinal Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara points out that the education of the poor by religious congregations and institutes should be restored to their original frameworks.

³²⁰ ADA II/3, 754.

³²¹ ADA II/7, 414.

³²² ADA II/1, 145.

³²³ ADA II/1, 461.

³²⁴ ADA II/4, 84-85.

³²⁵ ADA II/6, 621.

³²⁶ ADA II/4, 163. This also includes seminarians; ADA II/5, 93. Unlike others, however, this does not include teaching for him. Note that he is a religious himself.

³²⁷ ADA II/7, 132.

³²⁸ ADA II/7, 329.

³²⁹ ADA IV/I/2, 133.

5.4. *The cooperation of religious and secular priests*

While few bishops and superiors do mention about this issue, it is more prevalent among the vota of the universities. Tinivella points out that the religious should aid the priests with the apostolic activities in schools.³³⁰ Imberti mentions the discriminations faced by some clergy who work in the same ministry of the religious, and asks for laws to be implemented in order to keep the peace and cooperation.³³¹ Among the superiors, Ziggiotti wants to have a renewed, systemic, harmonious connection of the activities of the secular and the religious clergy to counter “hedonism” in the church and society.³³² Similarly, Valiyaparampil seeks the necessary cooperation between religious and secular priests.³³³ As for the universities, the Lateranum extensively points out that cooperation under the guidance of the Ordinary is necessary to defend the Church and laity.³³⁴ The Urbaniana focuses on the universal character of the apostolate demanding cooperation especially in the missions.³³⁵ The Salesiana also spends a whole range of pages on the same topic, in which it primarily provides an exposition on how both religious and secular priests can collaborate in the diocesan apostolate, the canonical framework in which both can operate, and the authority of superiors to ensure the religious are operating as need be.³³⁶ The Comillas Pontifical University asks the upcoming Council to reemphasize the necessary harmony and collaboration as it is written in the canon law.³³⁷ The Cuglieri wants the harmony and mutual esteem to be fostered between the two clergy, as well as forms of collaboration in the apostolate and administration of the churches.³³⁸

5.5. *The role of religious sisters*

As for the religious sisters, in particular, the vota are diverse: they need to be adapted to the modern needs,³³⁹ collaborate in the pastoral work, especially in providing catechesis.³⁴⁰ Within religious schools, sisters need to be more trained for the apostolic duties.³⁴¹ The Italian Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine Sensi asks to enhance the intellectual education of sisters and especially religious education.³⁴² Archbishop Schulte of Indianapolis recommends to ensure that the education of religious sisters is up-to-date and that they have sufficient time to study next to their work.³⁴³ The American Apostolic Prefect Dillon of Shashi want to leave religious education up to the parents, so that religious sisters can focus more on caring for the sick and the underprivileged, visit homes and perform social

³³⁰ ADA II/3, 246.

³³¹ ADA II/3, 733. The collisions even take place among religious congregations themselves.

³³² ADA II/8, 202.

³³³ ADA II/8, 259; this also includes the cooperation between various religious orders and congregations.

³³⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 408-11.

³³⁵ ADA IV/I/1, 466.

³³⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 144-51.

³³⁷ ADA IV/2, 113. They point to can. 467 § 2, 608, 609 § 3, 716, 1334, 1345.

³³⁸ ADA IV/2, 658.

³³⁹ ADA II/1, 145 (Godfrey); ADA II/4, 84-85 (Doi).

³⁴⁰ ADA II/3, 246 (Tinivella).

³⁴¹ ADA II/1, 125 (Forni); ADA II/6, 344 (Schulte); ADA II/7, 38 (Chiriboga); ADA III, 230-31 (Congregation of the Religious).

³⁴² ADA II/4, 442.

³⁴³ ADA II/6, 343-44.

work in the community.³⁴⁴ Pham-Ngoc-Chi mentions that due attention should be provided to the vocation of the female religious, as they are very useful and necessary within Catholic schools, charity works, social activities, and the organization of Catholic Action.³⁴⁵ Similarly, Oviedo y Reyes points out that the works of the sisters should be related to Catholic Action and that sisters could even be the directors of centres in Catholic Action and in colleges.³⁴⁶ In other words, some of the bishops praised the extensive and valuable work of the sisters, while in other parts of the world sisters were not trained well enough.

The Marianum however warns that one must avoid to overburdening female religious to excessive work to the detriment of their spirit and their health.³⁴⁷ Finally, the Catholic University of Sophia points out that sisters must recite the divine office in the vernacular to better understand it and to have a more significant spiritual impact.³⁴⁸ Of course, the Japanese context must be taken into consideration here, where Latin is far off from the Japanese language.

5.6. The tasks of the religious

There are various other open-ended questions or recommendations – all from the world episcopate – as to what the religious should do. Bishop Le Bellec of Vannes maintains that the religious should teach in schools and especially the public schools, in order to “help the Shepherd’s property”.³⁴⁹ The Dutch Apostolic Vicar Van der Burgt OFM Cap of Pontianak (Indonesia) seeks to have the admission of religious priests from countries outside Europe and America for the diplomatic services of the Church.³⁵⁰ The Maronite Patriarch Méouchi of Antioch asks as to what extent religious should specialized in the profane sciences, since the latter might pose problems to the Church and Christian humanism.³⁵¹ Finally, Oviedo y Reyes asks to increase religious houses within rural areas as many rural people remain “ignorant of the Christian teachings”.³⁵² His demand befits the Nicaraguan and wider Central American context. The Irish Bishop Moynagh SPS, however, mentions that there is even a lack of houses for spiritual exercises and a lack of directors for the religious in general.³⁵³

One bishop, the Italian Massimiliani of Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese seeks to limit the power and wealth of religious houses, as he argues that local dioceses are in urgent need “of means for the works of youth education, the promotion of charity, seminaries, Catholic Action, the Catholic press, new parishes and other similar works for the benefit of the people.” Meanwhile both male and female convents have access to “immoderate” means.³⁵⁴ He does not specify which means. While the bishop is rather alone in his call, two other vota related to China are keen to guard the religious from ideologies that ought to be condemned.

³⁴⁴ ADA II/4, 597-98; cf. ADA II/4, 617.

³⁴⁵ ADA II/4, 639-40.

³⁴⁶ ADA II/6, 621.

³⁴⁷ ADA IV/I/2, 424.

³⁴⁸ ADA IV/2, 569.

³⁴⁹ ADA II/1, 445.

³⁵⁰ ADA II/4, 240.

³⁵¹ ADA II/4, 385. The same question is applicable to priests.

³⁵² ADA II/6, 625.

³⁵³ ADA II/5, 341. This lack is also applicable for the poor and the lay assistants.

³⁵⁴ ADA II/3, 219.

Ching-ping, residing in the USA, mentions that the doctrines of communism should be taught across monasteries and religious convents, as he sees it as the greatest danger for the Church and society.³⁵⁵ The Canadian Passionist Bishop O’Gara of Yuanling, also residing in the USA, mentions that male and female religious are expressing “very liberal and dangerous opinions”, and shares that the Council should provide a clear response – “not only by condemning it, but by providing a good rational foundation for our entire faith, and by proposing a program for renovating the Christian life, fitting for the times.”³⁵⁶ Finally, within India, religious brother should provide more technical knowledge in schools.³⁵⁷

5.7. The role of religious in the missions

Religious had long played an important role for missionary works including education and formation. Italian PIME Bishop Lanfranconi of Tougoo points out that within Ceylon, the assistance of lay religious are very beneficial for missionary works.³⁵⁸ Archbishop Gopu of Hyderabad argues that the religious, with the exception of monks, should see mission as the most important work, and they should aid the bishop in various missionary and pastoral tasks.³⁵⁹ Within West-Africa, The French White Father and Apostolic Prefect Courtois of Kayes (Mali) mentions that religious assisting local or other missionary clergy must stay in close contact with the Propaganda Fide. The latter must provide instructions as to where new religious houses can be planted and where the apostolate can be elevated. This demand must be placed in light of the Prefect’s observation that multiple religious were eager to work in missions that are successful while ignoring missions where Catholicism was facing difficulties.³⁶⁰ In Antsirabé (Madagascar), the French Bishop Rolland and La Salette missionary, wants new legislations related to the changing missionary landscapes where multiple diocesan and religious clergy are active, as in contrast to earlier times where missions were oftentimes run by one congregation or order.³⁶¹ The French Spiritan Archbishop Wolff of Diégo-Suarez (Madagascar) mentions the need to implement more religious personnel in the missions.³⁶² Finally, very briefly, Bishop Bigirumwami of Nyundo (Ruanda) seeks more clarity regarding the missionary apostolate of the religious.³⁶³

It is clear that the urgency of mission and the role of the religious in this endeavour remains very important among some of the religious bishops active in Asia and Africa.

5.8. The Curia on the religious

Three congregations discuss the religious in their vota: the Congregations of the Holy Office, the Religious, and the Seminaries and University Studies. The first congregation is brief: it points out that the religious, whether “contemplative, active or leading a mixed life,” should

³⁵⁵ ADA II/4, 486-87.

³⁵⁶ ADA II/4, 582. This also includes priests.

³⁵⁷ ADA II/4, 134 (Gopu).

³⁵⁸ ADA II/4, 27.

³⁵⁹ ADA II/4, 133.

³⁶⁰ ADA II/5, 88-89.

³⁶¹ ADA II/5, 285.

³⁶² ADA II/5, 286.

³⁶³ ADA II/5, 424. The same is asked for their relationship with the ordinaries, the local clergy, among one another, and Catholic Action.

live “in a state of evangelical perfection”.³⁶⁴ The Congregation of the Religious, as the name suggests, is much more extensive. It argues that for the education of the young religious, there should be “a solid, internal, supernatural formation”.³⁶⁵ Moreover, in line with multiple vota on the cooperation of the religious and secular priests, the congregation wants a common intellectual preparation for both clergies adequately adapted to the ministry necessary for the times. The congregation also agrees that for the apostolate, the religious ought to reconsider the original goals of their respective orders or congregations and undergo both a theoretical and practical education and formation. Additional expertise can be built up depending on the ministry that will be performed. The preparation of the pastoral care that is related to this special formation should be in line with what was described in *Sedes Sapientiae*. Cooperation across religious orders and among diocesan seminaries for the works of formation should also be increased. In doing so, the various methods and traditions of the multiple religious orders need to be taken into account along with the specific nature and goals of the orders.³⁶⁶ For monks, particular attention should be given to mystical and ascetic theology.³⁶⁷

As was the case with the vota regarding the religious sisters, the congregation brings recommendations as well, although it seems primarily directed at young sisters. There is a sense of urgency to deal with the education of sisters with respect to “spirituality”, “apostolicity”, “professionalism” and “technicality”. As religious sisters closely work with both clergy and civil authorities in performing the apostolate, a proper education and sanctification for executing these tasks are required. In fact, this education and formation should be considered the most important obligation of the superiors and the necessary condition for sisters to faithfully acquire their religious life.³⁶⁸ Secondly, their education and formation can be enhanced by immediately engaging in practical tasks after the novitiate, and by completing “junior” or “scholastic” degrees.³⁶⁹ As for their younger years, sisters should cohabitate in institutes of education, where they can receive the best spiritual, theological and professional education by superiors, priests and even lay experts. If desirable, they can further knowledge in special schools or universities to have the relevant diplomas. There must be room for sisters of various orders to meet each other, attend lectures and perform practical exercises. At least three months before starting or continuing their profession, sisters should be guided by a spiritual teacher. Finally, the Congregation of the Religious wants to increase sisters teaching religion in schools. Such endeavour also includes the right didactical formation and diploma.³⁷⁰

As for the Congregation of the Seminaries and University Studies, it is to be investigated that if anyone seeks to enter a religious order or congregation, the required knowledge and experience of the Latin language must have been obtained.³⁷¹

³⁶⁴ ADA III, 10.

³⁶⁵ ADA III, 229.

³⁶⁶ ADA III, 229.

³⁶⁷ ADA III, 230.

³⁶⁸ ADA III, 230.

³⁶⁹ ADA III, 230.

³⁷⁰ ADA III, 231.

³⁷¹ ADA III, 361, 362-63.

6. Latin and the Vernacular

Regarding Latin and the vernacular, the major points have already been discussed when it comes to the education and formation in seminaries, schools, universities and religious houses. The only minor point to add, but one not without importance, is the use of Latin and the vernacular during the Mass and within the liturgy in general. Indeed, beyond the need for educational reforms in the more obvious settings mentioned above, one could argue that education extends during the Mass and the liturgy. In order to have a strongly (in)formed laity, multiple vota discuss the increasing role of the vernacular in the Mass and liturgy. While part of a liturgical renewal, the multiple vota dealing with the use of the vernacular during the Mass are primarily directed at a stronger awareness of the laity on matters of faith.

The amount of vota dealing with the usefulness of the vernacular for various liturgical purposes is large, and the references made here are exhaustive, yet do not cover all of the related vota.³⁷² For instance, the Catholic University of Sophia (Tokyo) points out that the effectiveness of the liturgy, “the best occasion for the instruction and prayer for the people,” is very much hindered if the people cannot comprehend what is being said.³⁷³ Bishop Llosa of Ajaccio even ponders whether the vernacular in the liturgy might not be more effective for “the instruction of the faithful” than adult catechesis.³⁷⁴ Similarly, Archbishop Binz of Dubuque wonders whether the vernacular might not be beneficial for “educating the non-Catholics”, especially in the administration of the sacraments and the mass for catechumens.³⁷⁵ To put it more bluntly: the necessary instruction of the laity during the Mass is useless if it is not properly understood by them due to a lack of Latin knowledge. Multiple vota from the world episcopate, the superiors and the universities mention the need for increasing the vernacular in the liturgy.³⁷⁶ The Roman Curia is generally more silent.

6.1. Latin and the vernacular within the liturgy

As mentioned, there is a strong call to introduce the vernacular in the mass, and the extent of using the vernacular depends on votum to votum. For instance, some vota leave the question open-ended and seek for clarification,³⁷⁷ while others just briefly mention that the vernacular is to be introduced de facto.³⁷⁸ Some vota are more particular in explaining which

³⁷² For instance, among the African vota, there are more than ninety references! However, not all of these references are covered here.

³⁷³ ADA IV/2, 568.

³⁷⁴ ADA II/1, 181.

³⁷⁵ ADA II/6, 316.

³⁷⁶ For a good overview of how this debate took place during the Council, see Mathijs Lamberigts, “The Liturgy Debate at Vatican II: An Exercise in Collective Responsibility,” *Questions Liturgiques / Studies in Liturgy* 95, no. 1 (2014): 52-67.

³⁷⁷ ADA II/3, 259 (Perini); ADA II/5, 105 (Pinier); ADA IV/2, 192 (Catholic University of Lille), 213 (Catholic University of Lyon), 560 (Pontifical University of Chile), 722 (University of Naples Federico II); ADA IV/I/2, 248: The Seraphicum mentions that the Council should discuss whether the vernacular should be integrated in part (e.g., for certain prayers and sacred readings) or in full (especially in light of the national churches). The same questions go for other areas where Latin and Oriental rites coincide.

³⁷⁸ ADA II/1, 71 (Schoiswohl); ADA II/2, 178 (García y García de Castro) (“as much as possible”), 229 (Viana), 251 (Rubio y Montiel); ADA II/4, 83 (Tomizawa), 257 (Soegijapranata) (“but with a balance of Latin”), 487 (Ching Ping); ADA II/5, 91-92 (Quillard), 130 (Teerenstra), 465 (Dud) (“some vernacular”); ADA II/6, 133 (Leménager), 316 (Binz), 343 (Schulte) (“step by step”); ADA II/7, 94 (Mozzoni), 357-58 (Silva Santiago) (a whole “renovation” is needed); ADA II/8, 69 (Sépinski OFM) (“certain parts”), 182 (“certain parts”); ADA IV/2, 478 (Catholic University Nijmegen), 490-91 (Catholic University of Ottawa), 793 (Catholic University Innsbruck).

parts of the liturgy should be within the vernacular, but they are formulated in various ways: the whole mass except for the canon;³⁷⁹ the sacrifice of the Mass, with the exception of the canon, especially the parts before the Offertory as it would be valuable for the catechetical usefulness for the faithful;³⁸⁰ the whole mass: orations and Biblical readings;³⁸¹ the whole Mass except for the secret parts, the sacraments and exorcisms;³⁸² the first part of the Mass up to the canon and then from the 'Our Father' to the Gospel;³⁸³ the Gospel, Offertory, and communion;³⁸⁴ the introduction and action of grace;³⁸⁵ only up until the Offertory;³⁸⁶ the liturgical ceremonies;³⁸⁷ the catechetical or didactic parts;³⁸⁸ certain parts and liturgical texts but not the readings of the Scripture;³⁸⁹ only the rituals;³⁹⁰ or certain parts of the rituals.³⁹¹ Other vota defend the introduction of the vernacular on a contextual basis. For instance, Pham-Ngoc-Chi wants the vernacular at least in the first part of Mass as beneficial for the faithful in regions where catechesis can no longer be provided in Sunday or public schools.³⁹² Both bishops Aránguiz of Chillán and Fuenzalida of Linares argue that the deficiency of Latin in schools make the lay faithful less comprehensible in liturgical matters which, in turn, is detrimental for the faith.³⁹³

The opposite is also true: certain vota, although they are in the minority, seek to uphold and honour Latin in the liturgy as much as possible. Again, the degree varies, and it need not necessarily exclude the vernacular. However, the emphasis lies more on Latin.³⁹⁴ Especially the Curial congregations are keen to emphasize the Latin. The Congregation of the Rites points out that the use of liturgical Latin should be supported as much as is possible.³⁹⁵ The Council should further determine the methods for making future clergy prepared to use Latin in their ministry, especially within liturgical rites. Moreover, a new publication of the Roman Rituals in Latin is needed, and while it could be translated in the vernacular across the world, it must be done under the authority national episcopal conferences and the Congregation of the Rites.³⁹⁶ The Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies also adds on this topic, claiming that all rites of the sacraments are to be performed in Latin (although, if permitted,

³⁷⁹ ADA II/4, 90 (Arai).

³⁸⁰ ADA IV/2, 170 (Lovanium).

³⁸¹ ADA II/5, 21 (Dalmais).

³⁸² ADA II/4, 426 (Obert).

³⁸³ ADA II/1, 134 (Cuvelier); cf. ADA II/5, 50 (Lefebure): the first part up until of the Offertory, and then from the communion until the end of the Mass (including the 'Our Father'); cf. ADA IV/I/2, 174-75 (Salesiana) (mainly in those parts of the celebration where dialogue among the people takes place, including the 'Our Father').

³⁸⁴ ADA II/5, 43 (Dupont).

³⁸⁵ ADA II/6, 461 (Ahr).

³⁸⁶ ADA II/4, 379 (Arnaud).

³⁸⁷ ADA II/5, 30 (Fauret); ADA IV/I/1, 518 (Urbaniana) (the "liturgical functions").

³⁸⁸ ADA II/2, 410 (Doumith et al.); ADA II/5, 116 (Erviti); ADA IV/I/2, 174-75 (Salesiana) (especially for people "who are ignorant of Latin").

³⁸⁹ ADA IV/2, 568 (Catholic University of Sophia).

³⁹⁰ ADA II/5, 58 (Lesourd).

³⁹¹ ADA IV/I/2, 43-44 (Anselmianum): Especially administration of the sacraments and certain parts of the eucharistic prayer in order to increase a devoted reception of the sacraments, active participation and a better comprehension of the faithful.

³⁹² ADA II/4, 640-41.

³⁹³ ADA II/7, 349.

³⁹⁴ E.g., ADA II/2, 43 (Hasler); ADA II/3, 220 (Massimiliani); ADA II/4, 87 (Doi), 257 (Soegijapranata); ADA II/6, 506 (Rancans).

³⁹⁵ ADA III, 274 (see the whole passage: 266-75).

³⁹⁶ ADA III, 275.

the same translation of the vernacular is possible). Otherwise, it fears that the replacement of Latin for the vernacular might lead to a full neglect of it.³⁹⁷ Probably the most balanced view regarding this question comes from the Gregoriana: for them, the question of Latin and the vernacular for the liturgy is region and context dependent, and a unified response to this problem might fall short to the contextual diversities. The university therefore ponders whether decisions should be made on a universal level or on the local levels.³⁹⁸ In contrast, someone like Germany-born Rummel active in New Orleans is probably the only (elderly) bishop who is very negative regarding the vernacular, as he believes it might initiate a gradual decline of Latin.³⁹⁹

While the degree of implementing the vernacular varies, it is clear that the Offertory remains most protected up against the vernacular as the majority uphold that part in Latin,⁴⁰⁰ in contrast to a minority.⁴⁰¹ But beyond the Offertory, there are many desires to implement the vernacular in specific ways: when reading and teaching the Gospel and the Epistles,⁴⁰² the mass of catechumens,⁴⁰³ certain liturgical chants,⁴⁰⁴ blessings,⁴⁰⁵ the Holy Week,⁴⁰⁶ the private recitation of the divine office,⁴⁰⁷ and the private mass among Orientals.⁴⁰⁸ Especially the administration of the sacraments in the vernacular is a recurrent call. For instance, KU Leuven mentions this should be the case, “as it is beneficial for the education of the Christian people”.⁴⁰⁹ Multiple bishops,⁴¹⁰ superiors,⁴¹¹ and universities⁴¹² argue for the implementation of the vernacular in a similar vein. Based on all these various implementations of the vernacular, one can argue with Massimiliani that “liturgy is to be the

³⁹⁷ ADA III, 362.

³⁹⁸ ADA IV/I/1, 27; For a similar discussion, cf. the Urbaniana regarding liturgical matters in missionary regions by Lokuang (ADA IV/I/1, 516).

³⁹⁹ ADA II/6, 391.

⁴⁰⁰ E.g., ADA II/1, 71 (Schoiswohl), 123 (Forni); ADA II/2 140 (Moro Briz); ADA II/4, 582 (O’Gara); ADA II/6, 506 (Rancans).

⁴⁰¹ E.g., ADA II/2, 617 (Cardoso Cunha); ADA II/5, 43 (Dupont).

⁴⁰² E.g., ADA II/1, 71 (Schoiswohl), 119 (Himmer), 123 (Forni), 490 (Raymundos); ADA II/3, 220 (Massimiliani); ADA II/4, 92 (de Fuerstenberg), 233 (Schneiders); ADA II/5, 43 (Dupont), 89 (Courtois); ADA II/7, 54 (Esorto); ADA IV/2, 22 (Catholic University of Angers), 471 (Catholic University of Niagara).

⁴⁰³ E.g., ADA II/1, 119 (Himmer), 151 (Geeraerts); ADA II/4, 73 (Senyemon Fukahori), 83 (Tomizawa), 87 (Doi), 105 (Pothacamury), 233 (Schneiders), 235 (Verhoeven), 428 (Cordeiro); ADA II/5, 504 (Perrin); ADA II/6, 134 (Leménager), 316 (Binz), 451 (Helmsing) (more clarity which parts Latin and others in vernacular); ADA II/7, 328 (Batù Wichrowski).

⁴⁰⁴ E.g., ADA II/1, 123 (Forni); ADA II/2, 400 (Antoniutti); ADA II/4, 233 (Schneiders), 432 (Cialeo); ADA II/5, 50 (Lefebure); ADA II/6, 612 (Gay); ADA IV/2, 490-91 (Catholic University of Ottawa), 757-59 ((Theological Faculty of Trier) (including prayers), 793 (Catholic University of Innsbruck).

⁴⁰⁵ E.g., ADA II/1, 151 (Geeraerts); ADA II/2, 413 (Benavent Escuin); ADA II/5, 91-92 (Quillard).

⁴⁰⁶ ADA II/6, 612 (Gay).

⁴⁰⁷ ADA II/1, 153 (De Jonghe D’Ardoye); ADA IV/2, 171 (Lovanium) (“the private recitation of the divine ceremony could either be in Latin or the vernacular”).

⁴⁰⁸ ADA II/1, 153. Resigned Apostolic Nuncio to Egypt De Jonghe D’Ardoye MEP believes it could attract “the separated brethren”.

⁴⁰⁹ ADA IV/2, 229.

⁴¹⁰ ADA II/1, 71 (Schoiswohl); ADA II/2, 144-45 (Garcia de Sierra y Mendez), 413 (Benavent Escuin), 470 (Añoveros de Ataún) (with the approval of texts by the Holy See), 617 (Cardoso Cunha); ADA II/3, 242 (Tinivella), 387 (Massimiliani) (although formulas should be in Latin), 483 (Brizi); ADA II/4, 582 (O’Gara); ADA II/5, 22 (Dalmis), 116 (Ervi) (rituals of the sacraments), 126 (Pires) (although formulas in the Latin), 130 (Teerenstra); ADA II/6, 316 (Binz), 612 (Gay); ADA II/7, 54 (Esorto), 94 (Mozzoni), 412 (Jaramillo Tobón), 461 (Zambrano Camader).

⁴¹¹ ADA II/8, 69 (Sépinski OFM) (including prayers), 115 (Savarese OM), 137 (Tomek SchP) (including sacramentalia).

⁴¹² ADA IV/I/2, 43-44, 174-75 (for the Salesiana, sacramental forms should be in Latin in order to protect its validity, but for other parts the vernacular can be used, such as baptism, confirmation, communion, anointment, marriage; including sacramentalia and blessings); ADA IV/2, 170 (Lovanium).

teacher of the Christian people.”⁴¹³ Indeed, adding to that, Maronite Archbishop Ayoub of Aleppo argues for restoring the liturgy in its “pedagogical role for the Christian people” – among other things – by adapting to the national “living language[s]” during the Mass.⁴¹⁴

Some smaller exceptions are for instance from Africa where Archbishop Bernard of Brazzaville and Bishop Verhille of Fort Rousset, both French Spiritans, present the same votum, namely, that the use of vernacular has already increased the presence of local faithful, and made them better understand everything. However, they are convinced that no greater privileges are needed since many locals learn French in schools.⁴¹⁵

6.2. *The vernacular beyond the liturgy*

Beyond the liturgical reforms, there are some other vota that talk about the language issue applicable to education and formation. The Dutch Bishop Simons SVD active in Indore is probably the most extensive on his critique of Latin – not unsurprising given his extensive work in India where multiple religions, (Eastern) Catholics and non-Catholic Christians were all active. For him, the decay of Latin has already been happening in the West, including within education, books, and among the clergy. He sees Latin a cause of division among Christians and towards non-Christians and therefore seeks to abolish it. Instead, a stronger focus on native languages is needed that would only benefit the missionary works more and even increase priestly vocations. Teaching the vernacular on a diocesan level would also be beneficial the pastoral life and the instruction of the “illiterate lay people” in general.⁴¹⁶ In Izmir, the Vincentian Archbishop Descuffi mentions very briefly in a similar vein that Latin is only prevalent within certain schools and in very few regions, and he emphasizes the need for more vernacular.⁴¹⁷

Focusing on a different angle, Apostolic Vicar Dud of Rumbek born and active in Sudan wants an increase of both African languages and English within Vatican periodicals to spread the Catholic teaching across Africa, mainly regarding social questions and the religious life.⁴¹⁸ Finally, both bishops Cody of London (Canada) and Smith of Pembroke, in a copied votum, discuss the need for a compendium or canonical book written in the vernacular, containing, among other themes, information on Catholic education, the use of Sacred Scripture, spiritual exercises for the laity, relationship between Church and state, and the clerical and religious vocations. They envision such compendium as co-existent with catechism and useful as a practical directory.⁴¹⁹

7. **Laity and the Families**

It was already clear within various papal documents at the beginning of the 20th century that the Church envisions the lay faithful and the families as the foundation for Christian education and formation for their children, and even as the medium to spread Catholic

⁴¹³ ADA II/3, 220.

⁴¹⁴ ADA II/4, 447.

⁴¹⁵ ADA II/5, 19, 26.

⁴¹⁶ ADA II/4, 139-40.

⁴¹⁷ ADA II/4, 634.

⁴¹⁸ ADA II/5, 466.

⁴¹⁹ ADA II/6, 35, 70.

education in society at large. The *vota* are no different. Despite the fact that lay are in need for a stronger education and formation, they are at the same time seen as a valuable asset for spreading Catholic education. The potential of lay people for the diaconate, as well as their role within Catholic schools and universities and for catechetical purposes, has already been highlighted, and need not to be repeated here. But the *vota* shine more light on other potentials. Mainly the world episcopate and the universities discussed the laity and educational and formational role. In contrast, the religious congregations and Curial congregations were, relatively speaking, more silent on this matter.

7.1. Lay apostolate

The first aspect to mention as to how the laity can be trained and how they in turn can function as a means for educating and forming the wider society, is through the lay apostolate.⁴²⁰ Indeed, Schulte warns that there cannot be any “poor description regarding the lay apostolate”.⁴²¹ Multiple other *vota* are in line with Schulte’s warning, as they describe that a clear definition is needed.⁴²² The call for defining the lay apostolate is necessary against the backdrop of its relevance. As the Lateranum formulates it: “Our times are surely ‘the golden age’ for the lay apostolate, which carries the name ‘Catholic Action’.”⁴²³ It is not alone in arguing for the promising role and function of the lay apostolate. As the Belgian Scheutist Bishop Oste of Jinzhou, living in exile after having worked in the PRC, puts it: “the lay apostolate is truly necessary”.⁴²⁴ Through the apostolate, he argues that priestly vocations might increase again. Similarly, Farah argues that the collaboration of the lay is becoming increasingly important in light of a shortage of priests and the complexities of modern civilization.⁴²⁵ Both Pham-Ngoc-Chi and the Irish Rosminian Bishop Arthurs of Tanga in Tanzania also argue that the lay apostolate might be a good solution up against the decrease of priestly and religious vocations.⁴²⁶

Schweizer seeks to extend the lay apostolate, so that young people are trained well.⁴²⁷ Moreover, “children and the youth should be bestowed with an apostolic spirit in schools in order to become truly lay apostles”.⁴²⁸ Rummel argues that the lay apostolate is correlated with promoting pastoral responsibilities, as the lay are challenged by various anti-Christian ideologies. He therefore asks the Council to ensure various courses are provided to the laity in schools, colleges and Catholic universities especially related to dogma, philosophy, history, and morality. They should also be offered at hours after the daily work schedule of

⁴²⁰ For an excellent and more comprehensive overview of how the lay apostolate in all its varieties, including Catholic Action, functioned prior to Vatican II, see Istvan Csonts, “The Preconciliar Schema On The Lay Apostolate – An Historical Critical Investigation” (doctoral dissertation, Faculty of Theology, KU Leuven, 2020).

⁴²¹ ADA II/6, 344.

⁴²² ADA II/3, 783 (Micci); cf. ADA II/6, 445 (Connolly): “clarify the principles”; ADA II/7, 233 (de Aragão): “the Council should discuss the apostolate of the lay”; ADA IV/I/2, 116 (Salesiana): [of great importance]: “regarding the lay apostolate”, and 119: “organize the lay apostolate”; Cf. ADA IV/2, 477 (Catholic University Nijmegen), 560 (Pontifical University of Chile), 627 (Catholic University Washington), regarding more clarification and the importance of the lay apostolate.

⁴²³ ADA IV/I/1, 245. But he argues that more juridical clarity is needed regarding the apostolate (ADA IV/I/1, 246).

⁴²⁴ ADA II/4, 506.

⁴²⁵ ADA II/4, 68.

⁴²⁶ ADA II/4, 640; ADA II/5, 483-84.

⁴²⁷ ADA II/8, 250.

⁴²⁸ ADA II/8, 251.

labourers.⁴²⁹ Multiple vota also see Catholic Action as very important,⁴³⁰ and argue that it should be empowered,⁴³¹ that general guidelines are needed in every country,⁴³² and that lay people are absolutely necessary within Catholic Action.⁴³³ For Dubois, Catholic Action includes, among other sectors, working in schools, press, and cinemas.⁴³⁴ Gamboa Satrustegui emphasizes that the “serious apostolic actions” of all the faithful must be explained through catechesis and the homily.⁴³⁵

The lay apostolate, however, must be closely related to the hierarchy of the Church, as is clear in multiple vota.⁴³⁶ For instance, for the Indian Gopu the lay apostolate implies obedience to the bishop and the priest.⁴³⁷ Bishop Muthappa of Coimbatore asks to clarify the distinction between lay and clerical apostolate.⁴³⁸ In a similar vein, Ching-ping sees the participation of the laity within the apostolate as necessary, but he urges the Council to determine “the method”, “the means” and “the form” of such participation.⁴³⁹ The Comillas wants the Council to determine the main aspects of the lay apostolate under the authority of the bishop, which includes the task of teaching.⁴⁴⁰

Some even suggest a better organization on the Curial level to discuss the issues related to the lay apostolate and Catholic Action.⁴⁴¹ For instance, Herrera Y Oria wants the establishment of a congregation of the lay apostolate that is in close contact with the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies as many social actions require a good education and formation (he refers for instance to the training in sociology or using newspapers).⁴⁴² Moreover, he argues that pontifical documents closely related to the lay apostolate “should be explained by special teachers highly skilled in the economic sciences, sociology and in public law, whether civil or ecclesiastical.”⁴⁴³

For the Congregation of the Council the laity needs to be involved in “direct activities” consisting of “teaching religion and moral theology in schools and missions, religious instruction in the family”, and studying “the problems of faith and morality in various scientific sectors”.⁴⁴⁴ The commission backs its claims by referring to can. 1333 (§ 1), 1335, and 1372 (§ 2). The laity must also be involved in “indirect activities, that includes implementing the Catholic teaching within the wider society.”⁴⁴⁵ The Congregation along

⁴²⁹ He refers to can. 711, § 1.

⁴³⁰ ADA II/2, 200 (Almarcha Hernández), 443 (Gómez De Santiago); ADA II/3, 220 (Massimiliani).

⁴³¹ ADA II/1, 313 (Gerlier).

⁴³² ADA II/2, 200 (Almarcha Hernández).

⁴³³ ADA II/6, 188 (Aguirre García).

⁴³⁴ ADA II/1, 226.

⁴³⁵ ADA II/7, 40.

⁴³⁶ E.g., ADA II/2, 649 (Kaczmarek); ADA II/3, 246-7 (Tinivella); ADA II/4, 495 (Maleddu); ADA IV/I/1, 58 (Gregoriana).

⁴³⁷ ADA II/4, 134.

⁴³⁸ ADA II/4, 122.

⁴³⁹ ADA II/4, 487.

⁴⁴⁰ ADA IV/2, 59.

⁴⁴¹ E.g., ADA II/5, 260; ADA II/7, 331, 617.

⁴⁴² ADA II/2, 221-22. He goes on to explain further what the lay apostolate should consist of, but this goes beyond the relevance here on education and formation.

⁴⁴³ ADA II/2, 225.

⁴⁴⁴ ADA III, 189.

⁴⁴⁵ ADA III, 189.

with the Urbaniana highlights the relevance of lay people in the missions as well.⁴⁴⁶ For the Urbaniana the laity is helpful due to the decreasing priestly vocations.⁴⁴⁷ The apostolate which they should perform includes, among other aspects, teaching religion and act as a catechist.⁴⁴⁸

It is clear, however, that the lay apostolate must always be guided by the hierarchy and never teach in the name of the Church unless the hierarchy has provided this authority.⁴⁴⁹ Leaders of the various apostolic movements must testify through arguments that are consistent with “Christian discipline” and “Christian behaviour [*mores*]” in which they are instructed and formed.⁴⁵⁰ As for the Salesiana, the university emphasizes the need for more lay people to undertake the task of teaching, especially due to the increasing school population on all levels and grades. Providing catechesis and defending Christianity are also included in this endeavour.⁴⁵¹ All those active in the apostolate and mainly the parents and the teachers must consider the “the serious educational task”.⁴⁵² Moreover, all those involved in Christian education and pedagogy, such as catechists, directors of Catholic associations, and teachers, must take examinations.⁴⁵³ Christians should be more present within the media as well.⁴⁵⁴ The Bonaventura, for its part, seeks the laity to be more active in mission, catechesis, the medical sector, and they should be active as writers and publishers. They should ensure a “wider promotion of Catholic journals, writings and editorial works (*Stampa Cattolica*)” across various nations to spread the truth, to refute “errors” and to influence the public opinion.⁴⁵⁵

7.2. *The tasks of the laity*

Multiple vota mention that the status of the laity in the Church needs to be further emphasized and defined,⁴⁵⁶ that more participation of the laity is necessary,⁴⁵⁷ and that this participation also includes the missions.⁴⁵⁸ Massimiliani argues that the lay faithful need to spread the knowledge of the Bible.⁴⁵⁹ Méouchi mentions that in times of laïcité, lay people will need to be well educated and specialized to engage in social, economic, and political action within various institutes in society.⁴⁶⁰ Sensi wants to ensure the religious instruction of the laity “with great commitment”, so that the laity acts as a defensive means against

⁴⁴⁶ ADA III, 192; ADA IV/I/1, 504-14.

⁴⁴⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 506; A similar call from the Salesiana: ADA IV/I/2, 154.

⁴⁴⁸ ADA IV/I/1, 507.

⁴⁴⁹ ADA IV/I/1, 514; Similar suggestions are made by the Carmelite Faculty, the St Patrick University, and Catholic University of Louvain. See: ADA IV/I/2, 352; ADA IV/2, 225, 230, 439-42.

⁴⁵⁰ ADA IV/I/1, 478. Regarding the latter sentence, the Urbaniana borrows from the existing encyclic *Ad Petri Cathedram* (A.A.S., vol. XLI, 1959, 52), along with *Princeps Pastorum* (A.A.S., vol. LI, 857).

⁴⁵¹ ADA IV/I/2, 154.

⁴⁵² ADA IV/I/2, 193.

⁴⁵³ ADA IV/I/2, 193.

⁴⁵⁴ ADA IV/I/2, 154.

⁴⁵⁵ ADA IV/I/2, 256.

⁴⁵⁶ ADA II/3, 342 (Pangrazio), 670 (Fossati) (they are useful in assisting the priest); ADA II/4, 273 (Indonesian Episcopal Conference). (cf. Livraghi in ADA II/3, 734-35: “are lay people priests?”); ADA II/4, 325 (Espiga e Infante): clarification needed regarding the lay theology and the notion of spiritual priesthood).

⁴⁵⁷ ADA II/4, 114 (Gracias); ADA IV/I/1, 62 (Gregoriana); ADA IV/2, 488 (Catholic University of Ottawa), 502 (Institute Catholique de Paris), 710 (University of Naples Federico II), 727 (Pontifical Athenaeum Pune).

⁴⁵⁸ E.g., ADA II/4, 141-42 (Simons) (in India); ADA II/5, 262 (Cavallera) (in Africa).

⁴⁵⁹ ADA II/3, 220.

⁴⁶⁰ ADA II/4, 384.

“secularism, materialism and hedonism” prevalent within the society.⁴⁶¹ Apostolic Prefect Quint of Weihaiwei seeks more participation of the laity in matters of instruction and education of the Christian youth.⁴⁶² Esorto wants to involve lay people for certain tasks usually performed by (religious) priests, such as teaching in colleges.⁴⁶³ The superior of the Augustinian Recollects makes a call to Catholics within Catholic nations to obtain a law from the government that ensures religious instruction in all schools. Likewise, Catholics in non-Catholic nations should build schools in which the youth can enjoy religious education.⁴⁶⁴ For Lovanium the laity must be involved in social and parochial works, including the “many things that are related to schools”.⁴⁶⁵

7.3. Families

Multiple vota underscore the importance of the families to provide education. The American Dillon OFM with experience in the PRC strongly calls for the role of the Christian family to provide “religious and disciplinary education”, and not to simply leave this work for people and institutes outside the family.⁴⁶⁶ While Dillon’s votum might be placed in the Chinese context, others follow similar arguments. Indeed, the Italian Apostolic Vicar Carretto SDB of Rajaburi (Thailand) argues that it is the “duty” of the parents to provide Christian education to their children, and also bemoans that too often it is taken-for-granted that others will do the job.⁴⁶⁷ From Japan, Doi emphasizes the duty of parents to provide religious education to their children,⁴⁶⁸ shared by the superior Riha of the Austrian Benedictines mentions as well.⁴⁶⁹ The Gregoriana describes it even more wholesome, as it points to the need of parents to ensure “religious, moral, and human education” as it aids a vocational call among the children.⁴⁷⁰ The Antonianum is on a similar line, mentioning that parents must ensure the “religious and moral education”. In this way, the Christian youth is taught to have a “true and right conscience”.⁴⁷¹ Archbishop McCann of Cape Town argues that the education for children needs a new approach and that parents should understand their obligation in this matter. In fact, he even states that religious education must be provided in all stages of life.⁴⁷² Archbishop Guerry of Cambrai mentions that religious education needs to be ensured within the families,⁴⁷³ while bishop Romero Menjibar of Jaén sees a special role for “the fathers of households” to ensure Catholic education for “the sons” in “elementary, medical and higher schools”.⁴⁷⁴ Both bishops also agreed that associations of parents dealing with education in schools are helpful.

⁴⁶¹ ADA II/4, 442. As the subtitle of this particular part of his votum demonstrates, it is also part of the lay apostolate in general.

⁴⁶² ADA II/4, 606.

⁴⁶³ ADA II/7, 52.

⁴⁶⁴ ADA II/8, 98.

⁴⁶⁵ ADA IV/2, 173.

⁴⁶⁶ ADA II/4, 597.

⁴⁶⁷ ADA II/4, 617.

⁴⁶⁸ ADA II/4, 84-85.

⁴⁶⁹ ADA II/8, 40.

⁴⁷⁰ ADA IV/I/1, 58.

⁴⁷¹ ADA IV/I/2, 85.

⁴⁷² ADA II/5, 536-37.

⁴⁷³ ADA II/2, 138, 443. This also includes in schools, as mentioned earlier.

⁴⁷⁴ ADA II/2, 199.

From Poland, Kaczmarek seeks a close cooperation between families and the clergy. As he argues that there are “multiple evils” within schools, books, newspapers and entertainment which hinder the moral education of children, parents and guardians of children should be obliged to follow direction of the local priests regarding education. He even threatens that a lack of cooperation might result in withholding the sacraments and the confession.⁴⁷⁵ Oste, in a rhetorical question, warns that the “worldly spirit” has already affected Christian families and the youth. For him, the freedom at the disposal of the youth within Catholic schools is being misused while parental care is deficient. As a remedy, he seeks to renew and empower “the Christian spirit of Christian families” by asking pastors to frequently visit families in order to exhort, console and correct. Moreover, he envisions the Legion of Mary as the most effective means in promoting the Catholic faith.⁴⁷⁶ As for the Legion, he is not alone. The American Bishop Kowalski OFM, who also worked in the PRC like Oste, sees points out that the activity of the Legion in schools helped the formation of children, along with that of men and women in general outside school.⁴⁷⁷

Finally, Villalba points to the responsibility of the Church in general to form Christian families, and to ensure that children and adolescents feel part of the Mystical Body of Christ, whether that be in the social settings of the family, the school, or the Catholic colleges. Catholic Action can play a significant role in reaching this goal.⁴⁷⁸

7.4. Lay participation in the Council

Two French vota, that of Bishop Weber of Strasbourg and the Catholic University of Lyon, propose a commission consisting of “true and competent lay Catholics” to bring suggestions during the Council – among other topics – the question regarding establishing schools.⁴⁷⁹

8. The Use of Media Tools

It was already discussed how catechesis could be distributed via media tools as well as the urge for the laity to be active within the press and cinema to implement and disseminate Catholic doctrine and religious instruction to society at large. But it is crucial to underline that the use of media tools to provide Catholic education and formation is not something that was dealt with within the margin. Considering the votum of the Lateranum, it seems as if the Church was not yet aware of the tremendous potential of media tools as it mentions that “no one sees how important the modern inventions are for the Christian apostolate”. Instead, the Lateranum urges Christians to make use of cinema, television and the radio to “instruct the faithful” and defend them against errors.⁴⁸⁰ But as much as the Lateranum alludes that no one is seeing the potential, a look at the other vota brings much nuance. Bishop Bagnoli of Fiesole sees a strong potential of printed literature, cinema and television to spread the Gospel.⁴⁸¹ Bishop Yougbare of Koupéla (Burkina Faso) even envisions the cooperation of

⁴⁷⁵ ADA II/2, 649.

⁴⁷⁶ ADA II/4, 506-07.

⁴⁷⁷ ADA II/4, 571.

⁴⁷⁸ ADA II/7, 26-27.

⁴⁷⁹ ADA II/1, 412; ADA IV/2, 218.

⁴⁸⁰ ADA IV/I/1, 405.

⁴⁸¹ ADA II/3, 270.

Catholics on the national and international level under the guidance of the Holy See to spread the Catholic truth through these tools (radio included).⁴⁸² From the same country, The French White Father and Bishop Dupont of Bobo-Dioulasso, in a rhetorical sneer towards Soviet propaganda, calls for the Curia to use the media tools (press and radio) to their own benefit.⁴⁸³ Writing from Canada, Archbishop Berry of Halifax emphasizes how a well-trained clergy into the “art of technical diffusion (radio, television, cinema, microphone)” will enable a “tenfold harvest in the Lord’s field”, including in the missions. For this purpose, he particularly seeks the cooperation of the laity as they are often well-versed in these matters.⁴⁸⁴ The Congregation of the Administration of Ecclesial Goods is very much aware as well, as it mentions that “film, radio, and television, and the publication of books and leaflets are very important for the moral and spiritual life of humankind”.⁴⁸⁵ In the votum of the Congregation of the Council, there was also an attachment, among other ones, which represented the various vota of the world episcopate and the religious congregations regarding modern tools such as newspapers, cinema, television and radio.⁴⁸⁶ The representation of the vota in the attachment, however, shows that the Congregation had not fully received all the vota,⁴⁸⁷ and therefore did not cover all the vota yet.⁴⁸⁸ Some of the topics discussed in this attachment are indeed recurrent in the vota and will be touched here in a more detailed way, while other topics⁴⁸⁹ or continents⁴⁹⁰ which are not discussed at all in the attachment, are added here.

8.1. Media tools for doctrinal and missionary purposes

Across the vota, there is a widespread agreement that the radio, television and cinema have a strong potential to educate and form Catholics and non-Catholics alike. By using these tools, the Catholic doctrine and truth can be disseminated and defended against modern errors.⁴⁹¹ But in order to use them, a Christian presence and ecclesial influence is needed within this realm in the first place.⁴⁹² The Syrian Maronite Ayoub argues that apostolic organizations in correspondence with the hierarchy must use modern means, such as the press, cinema, radio, and television, play a key role in this respect.⁴⁹³ Bianchi mentions that the Church, along with schools, should use the “press, radio, cinema, television, etc.” for the

⁴⁸² ADA II/5, 57.

⁴⁸³ ADA II/5, 46.

⁴⁸⁴ ADA II/6, 28.

⁴⁸⁵ ADA III, 131.

⁴⁸⁶ See: ADA III, 134-35. The votum was signed on March 26, 1960.

⁴⁸⁷ i.e., due the fact that multiple vota had not been submitted yet. For instance, there is no representation of the vota from the universities and ecclesial faculties.

⁴⁸⁸ For instance, with respect to the use of Radio Vaticana as in line with the B.B.C. or Voice of America, the Congregation mentions 31 bishops from Africa and Asia Minor who discussed this matter. This demonstrates that the Congregation had looked at the vota regarding this issue in a very extensive way while writing its own votum. See: ADA III, 135. On the other hand, regarding the representation of American bishops, only a few topics are mentioned, and the number of bishops dealing with various matters related to modern tools is far too underrepresented.

⁴⁸⁹ For instance, the attachment does not touch upon the matter of using modern tools for the purposes of catechesis while this is a recurrent in the vota.

⁴⁹⁰ For instance, the vota of the Latin-American bishops but also those of African and Asian bishops.

⁴⁹¹ E.g., ADA II/1, 276 (Collin); ADA II/3, 183 (Fares), 716 (Micara).

⁴⁹² ADA II/1, 245 (Chevrier); ADA II/3, 305 (Siri).

⁴⁹³ ADA II/4, 448; cf. Melkite Patriarch Saigh of Antioch who mentions to review the methods of the apostolate up against religious indifference and secularism. These include, among others, the use of the modern tools (ADA II/4, 457).

apostolate abundantly.⁴⁹⁴ As the French Archbishop Lefevre OFM of Rabat argues, they are “absolutely necessary” to ensure “the illumination of the people”.⁴⁹⁵ The Italian Apostolic Prefect and Xaverian Missionary Azzolini of Makeni (Sierra Leone) seeks to adapt media tools, along with books and journals, to the African context, so that Catholicism can be spread among the locals (including in the missions) to increase their religious knowledge. This requires a know-how to use these tools in an influential way.⁴⁹⁶ Auxiliary Bishop Scanlan of Honolulu seeks a “wider use” of radio and television for propagating the faith.⁴⁹⁷ Writing from Ecuador, Villalba seeks the use of “current marvellous things”, by which he implies the radio, cinema and television to spread the Gospel and even mediate Christ in order to “plant ideas in people’s minds”.⁴⁹⁸ Similarly, in Bolivia, Apostolic Vicar Austria-born Rosenhammer of Chiquitos wants to use these tools for propagating the “Catholic faith and life”.⁴⁹⁹ In Brazil, the Spiritan Bishop Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande is more focused on defending and propagating Catholic doctrine and morality. He even seeks the production of films by Christian families.⁵⁰⁰ Bishop Mazzarotto of Ponta Grossa (also Brazil), for his part, is especially keen to use the radio to convert people.⁵⁰¹

From the superiors, Schweizer wants to use media tools not only for propagating the faith, but also to enhance the reunion with non-Catholics, especially in Ireland.⁵⁰² The first part is also shared by Savarese.⁵⁰³ As for the universities, the Urbaniana points out that it will be more efficient to reach a large population to spread the Catholic faith by using “cultural means, that is, books, newspapers and broadcasting”.⁵⁰⁴ In a similar vein, the Cuglieri Seminary wants to increase the Catholic works through (daily) newspapers, films, television shows and radio broadcasting.⁵⁰⁵ As already pointed out, a special mention is made across the various vota regarding Radio Vaticana as a very powerful tool – the “centre of Catholicism”⁵⁰⁶ – so that it can reach the whole world and help the faithful to understand and implement Catholic teachings on social issues⁵⁰⁷ and increase “Christian fraternization”.⁵⁰⁸ These vota in a way also show the desire to leave the authority centralized in Rome. One particular votum even pinpoints the necessity of the Vatican Press. Auxiliary Bishop Blais of Montréal envisions “official statements” launched by the Vatican through

⁴⁹⁴ ADA II/4, 496.

⁴⁹⁵ ADA II/5, 307-08. Particular notice should be given to Lefevre’s nuances at the same time, as he argues that these tools are not sufficient in and by themselves to spread the Gospel, and should be carefully used so that the freedom of choice is always at the center instead of force.

⁴⁹⁶ ADA II/5, 437.

⁴⁹⁷ ADA II/6, 485.

⁴⁹⁸ ADA II/7, 27-28. He points out that the indoctrination of ideologies through modern tools are already widespread by the enemies of the Church.

⁴⁹⁹ ADA II/7, 123.

⁵⁰⁰ ADA II/7, 136.

⁵⁰¹ ADA II/7, 238. Though he also includes all the other tools.

⁵⁰² ADA II/8, 250.

⁵⁰³ ADA II/8, 115.

⁵⁰⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 499.

⁵⁰⁵ ADA IV/2, 661.

⁵⁰⁶ ADA II/4, 174 (Evangelisti).

⁵⁰⁷ E.g., ADA II/5, 466 (Dud).

⁵⁰⁸ E.g., ADA II/7, 318-19 (Bueno Couto).

the press and radio. These teachings should be clear, concise and positive, and he lists a large variety of topics that could be discussed.⁵⁰⁹

8.2. *Required expertise*

That Catholics should increase their expertise on media tools, is an essential part to use them effectively.⁵¹⁰ As Moynagh mentions: within the mission, there is “a scarcity of labour experts in the press, radio-telephony, and television”.⁵¹¹ One can add the words of Bishop De Giuli of Albenga who argues that “the faithful should be properly trained into radio, television, films and newspapers.”⁵¹² These bishops are not alone. The Congregation of the Council also spends a good number of words on the necessity of training, and not without a strong critique. While the congregation applauds Catholic efforts within the realm of media (including books), it is quick to point out that the Church lacks the same expertise as “non-Catholics, especially Protestants, communists, and ‘liberals’.” There is a lack of “adequate people”, “material”, and “knowledge and judgement of the mind”. The congregation is even convinced that the question of media tools for propagating, education and formation is “more urgent and prevails over the question of the school itself”. The reason provided is that the leisure time has a greater impact among the youth than school (or work) as such.⁵¹³ The congregation is also critical of the fact that Christians themselves spread wrong opinions regarding the use of these tools, which is rooted in that “[t]he teaching, instructions and warnings of the Church are not sufficiently understood” as well as a lack of obedience to the Magisterial teaching.⁵¹⁴ One Spanish bishop with an expertise in media tools goes a step further in his votum. Herrera y Oria seeks to train Catholic students into journalism on an academic level in order to use journalistic tools in the best possible way. He even seeks the establishment of ecclesiastical schools for this purpose.⁵¹⁵

8.3. *The role of the laity*

That the laity is not only the recipient of education and formation, but also the provider, was clear with the increasing role of lay catechists and the lay apostolate. The same can be extended for their usefulness into the realm of media.⁵¹⁶ One exemplary votum demonstrates this urgency. The Lateranum (partially) blames the decay of priestly efficiency on the fact that priests engaged with media tools, do not decently perform their pastoral duties. Up against this detriment, the Lateranum proposes that lay people related to ecclesiastical associations must be engaged with media tools instead.⁵¹⁷ The Salesiana, for its part, seeks the active presence of “experienced Christians” within radio, cinema and television.⁵¹⁸

⁵⁰⁹ For a whole list, see ADA II/6, 155-56. To name but a few here: the Mystical Body of Christ, Mariology, the Bible and Tradition, saint-worship, freedom, Christian democracy, capitalism, ...

⁵¹⁰ E.g., ADA II/2, 477 (Garcia Lahiguera).

⁵¹¹ ADA II/5, 530.

⁵¹² ADA II/3, 32.

⁵¹³ ADA III, 131.

⁵¹⁴ ADA III, 131-32.

⁵¹⁵ ADA II/2, 221-22.

⁵¹⁶ E.g., ADA I/1, 225 (Lateranum).

⁵¹⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 405-06.

⁵¹⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 154.

8.4. *(Inter)national use of media tools*

Various bishops, congregations and the Curia agree that modern tools should be used both nationally and internationally.⁵¹⁹ Bishop Cannonero of Asti seeks to establish national and international organizations that can diffuse Catholic doctrine.⁵²⁰ The Italian Archbishop Evangelisti OFMCap of Meerut in India even desires a centralized international organization related to the Catholic Church which produces films, religious and other kinds of representations to spread Christian principles “in the minds of the people” and as “a strong bulwark” against modern errors and immoral cinematography.⁵²¹ Archbishop Cuenco of Jaro (Philippines) wants legislations regarding diocesan and national centres dealing with cinematic and radiographic productions.⁵²² The Barnabite Italian Prelate Coroli of Guamá wants to see the establishment of regional, national and international organizations engaged with Catholic press and newspapers under the episcopal guidance. Among other aspects, literary and artistic questions are also included. As such, a “true, righteous and Christian information” can be established. He argues the same case for the use of radio.⁵²³ Similarly, Auxiliary Bishop Bueno Couto of Taubaté (Brazil) wants to see national Catholic radio stations and adds that the same should be done for Catholic newspapers.⁵²⁴ The Congregation of the Council emphasizes the need for Catholic influence on these tools through Catholic Action, mainly within the international environment.⁵²⁵

In order to have a successful (inter)national influence, multiple vota stress the need for more cooperation, collaboration and union among the various actors in the Church. Herrera y Oria wants a strong collaboration to establish Catholic principles regarding modern tools.⁵²⁶ Similarly, Archbishop de Almeida Batista of Diamantina (Basil) talks of having “one mind” within the universal Church regarding the use of cinematography in order to change the “bad practices” into “good” ones.⁵²⁷ Rosenhammer argues that a “union between Catholics” needs to be promoted “with all rigor”, and he points out that this should especially happen along national lines.⁵²⁸ Similar ideas are visible with Bishop Livraghi of Veroli e Frosione.⁵²⁹ Nuncio Enrici of Haiti emphasizes the need for coordination in order to “influence and control public opinion” as well as (inter)national organizations within cinema and the press.⁵³⁰ The same is argued by the Croatian Superior Myskiw of the Basilian Order of St. Josaphat.⁵³¹

⁵¹⁹ E.g., ADA II/2, 446 (Ona de Echave); ADA II/8, 137 (Tomek SchP).

⁵²⁰ ADA II/3, 77, 79.

⁵²¹ ADA II/4, 174.

⁵²² ADA II/4, 294.

⁵²³ ADA II/7, 278.

⁵²⁴ ADA II/7, 319.

⁵²⁵ ADA III, 209.

⁵²⁶ ADA II/2, 222.

⁵²⁷ ADA II/7, 171.

⁵²⁸ ADA II/7, 123.

⁵²⁹ ADA II/3, 734-35.

⁵³⁰ ADA II/6, 581.

⁵³¹ ADA II/8, 61.

8.5. *The use of journalism*

Already discussed in between the lines, media tools oftentimes include the press and newspapers. Some vota, however, focus on journalism as a separate topic from other tools. Tomek argues, “[t]here is an urgent need to publish Catholic newspapers”.⁵³² The resigned Irish Spiritan Apostolic Vicar Heffernan of Zanzibar, Kenya, sees a special role for newspapers “to instruct the faithful in matters of faith and morality”, so that they are better guarded against errors. For him, priests and the religious (including sisters) should be able to publish such newspapers.⁵³³ Bishop Mazzocco of Adria wants to use and increase Catholic newspapers on a national, regional and diocesan level.⁵³⁴ Pasini emphasizes that Catholics should use journals and newspapers to compete with others. For these purposes, skilful authors and experts need to be trained.⁵³⁵ A unique contribution comes from Imberti who argues that Catholic public opinion needs to be developed and directed more effectively by means of publications that deal with the topic of schools and education. Such publications should deal “with good civil rights” and defend “the opinions, wishes, desires, advice and programs of Catholics”. While this might require establishing a good relationship with the civil authorities, he also ponders whether such publications might be enforced should local authorities lack to cooperate.⁵³⁶ The fact that Italy did not have such problems, shows that he talks on a global level.

8.6. *Media tools for catechesis*

Finally, the radio, television, cinema, magazines and other publications should all be used to provide religious instruction to children and adults.⁵³⁷ Bishop Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago de Cabo Verde even adds that these tools could invite non-Catholics to study religion. Therefore, clergy and laity could provide such catechesis.⁵³⁸ The Italian Apostolic Vicar and Comboni Missionary Baroni of Khartoum points out that such catechesis should occur on fixed times.⁵³⁹ Similarly, Savarese argues for one hour each week of religious instruction through television.⁵⁴⁰ Within Central American episcopate, Oviedo y Reyes wants to use the radio to provide Catholic education to “the millions of Colombians and neighbour tribes.” He refers to the already existing endeavours of Radio Sutatenza established by the Catholic priest José Joaquín Salcedo Guarín.⁵⁴¹ Writing from Brazil, Bishop Saboia Bandeira de Mello of Palmas particularly seeks catechesis through Catholic publications and the radio up against Protestant and Orthodox endeavours. For him, catechesis must then be provided in a regular way and in an inviting way while shunning polemics or apologetics. He even

⁵³² ADA II/8, 136.

⁵³³ ADA II/2, 105.

⁵³⁴ ADA II/3, 23.

⁵³⁵ ADA II/4, 556.

⁵³⁶ ADA II/3, 730-31.

⁵³⁷ ADA II/3, 41 (Re), 58 (Boiardi), 875 (Poletti); ADA IV/I/2, 425 (Marianum).

⁵³⁸ ADA II/5, 229-30.

⁵³⁹ ADA II/5, 459.

⁵⁴⁰ ADA II/8, 115.

⁵⁴¹ ADA II/6, 622. Indeed, this radiostation was among the first to have a successful outreach to the un-educated often rural people who lacked the finances or means to go to schools.

proposes the publication of a manual that teaches Catholics how to perform such instruction.⁵⁴²

8.7. *Other suggestions*

It is clear that the Council must establish clear rules, guidelines and methods regarding the use of all these tools for the Church of the future.⁵⁴³ The Congregation of the Council spends a large chunk of the votum on the urgent need for clarifications: it points to the problems and issues related to media tools; the moral principles; the use of media tools within the apostolate; the relationship between media tools and the existing Catholic teachings; their use for the Christian formation of the faithful; the organization on a national and Curial level; the actors of the Church involved in using them, and so forth.⁵⁴⁴ There are also various proposals, including some by the superiors and the Curia, to establish a new congregation or dicastery that deals with these tools.⁵⁴⁵ Bishop Jannucci of Penne-Pescara even proposes to have a congregation dealing with media tools alongside catechesis.⁵⁴⁶

Promising as all the above-mentioned vota sound, it should be added that a large number of vota – sometimes by the same actors mentioned here – point to the negative effects of media tools as well. But these have mainly to do with their use by actors who contradict and attack the Church, moral principles contradicting the social teachings and moral principles of the Church, or the decay of priestly vigilance in light of distraction by entertainment and correlated questionable activities.⁵⁴⁷ In other words, they fall beyond the topic education and formation at stake here. Some even seek to place regulations regarding their use (along) with the list of forbidden books (see further below).⁵⁴⁸

9. Jurisdiction of Church and State

That the issues of Christian schools and education are topics of interest that are strongly connected with the power of the sword as much as it has to do with the power of the Spirit, is as old as the very beginning of Christianity and the way it developed in a multi-faceted way through time. Most of the issues related to the educational institutes at the threshold of Vatican II, and the fact that public education co-existed with different forms of private education, has been discussed in the introduction. In fact, in Chapter II, for each of the relevant countries, a short description will be provided regarding the church-state outlook prior to Vatican II. While each national outlook looked different depending on the (lack of)

⁵⁴² ADA II/7, 224.

⁵⁴³ ADA II/3, 239 (Cambiaghi); ADA II/5, 308 (Lefevre is convinced that their use will bring “a lot of spiritual fruit”); ADA II/6, 89 (for Bishop O’Reilly of Saint George’s, the radio and television will be “the most fruitful”); ADA II/6, 404-05 (Abed) (even the use of theatres are included); ADA II/6, 389 (Meouchi); ADA II/7, 49 (Marengo), 52 (Esorto).

⁵⁴⁴ See: ADA III, 132-33.

⁵⁴⁵ E.g., ADA II/8, 289 (Alberione SSP); ADA III, 29 (Sacred Consistorial Congregation).

⁵⁴⁶ ADA II/3, 524.

⁵⁴⁷ See, among many: ADA II/1, 283 (Sembel), 700 (Neuhäusler); ADA II/2, 136 (Moro Briz), 649 (Kaczmarek), 656 (Baziak); ADA II/3, 50 (Tagliabue), 109 (Zuccarino), 131 (Campelli), 210 (Bosio), 222 (Niccoli), 227 (De Zanche), 335 (Stella), 568 (Rizzo); ADA II/4, 171 (Mathias); ADA II/5, 454 (Mason), 503 (Perrin); ADA II/6, 103 (Lussier), 200 (Caribi y Rivera), 216 (Fernández y Fernández), 226 (Altamirano y Bulnes), 286 (Shehan), 517 (Schmondiuk); ADA II/7, 188-89 (de Proença Sigaud), 211 (Bressane de Araújo); ADA II/8, 284 (Oñate MSps); ADA IV/I/1, 29 (Gregoriana), 209, 406 (Lateranum).

⁵⁴⁸ E.g., ADA II/1, 104 (De Smedt), 574 (Schneider); ADA II/4, 95 (Ross); ADA II/8, 293 (Pensa FDP), 301 (Pedrollo PSDP); ADA IV/I/2, 204 (Salesiana).

existing legislations, much of educational systems from the West had also been imported in other continents mainly due to colonialism but also the work of the religious orders and congregations. For instance, in France, Bishop Flusin of Saint-Claude mentions that “the relationship between Church and state, which, among other elements, involves the question of education and schools” must be discussed.⁵⁴⁹ The Nuncio there, Marella, mentions that “the Church's native right to teach and educate against any state monopoly” has to be highlighted.⁵⁵⁰ Of course, France's history of *laïcité* and the uneasy relationship between church and state – despite multiple agreements – has to be taken into consideration. Even in places (once) under the influence of French territorial expansion, the importance of education in light of the state is highlighted. Méouchi points out that “the problem of Christian schools deserves a special investigation taking into consideration all the nuances regarding the articulation of the right of the Church and that of the state.” For him, this issue is a global issue and needs a thoroughly dealt with.⁵⁵¹ Multiple other *vota* asked the upcoming Council to clarify the relationship between Church and state.⁵⁵² While not all of these *vota* mentioned education in particular, the issue of schools and the right of religious education is prevalent among some of them.⁵⁵³ Some *vota* are more specific.

9.1. Condemnation of totalitarianism and absolutism

In order to defend the right of the Church to teach, to establish and maintain the educational institutes, multiple bishops condemn any form of totalitarianism and/or absolutism on behalf of the state.⁵⁵⁴ The Italian Comboni Baroni active in Sudan argues that these rights need to be time again highlighted in light of “tyrannic and fascist governments”.⁵⁵⁵ From Latin-America, Bishop McManus of Ponce also warns of the various Latin-American states under the influence of liberalism and secularism. For him, secularism is the “main obstacle” to propagating religion in various sectors, among others, “media education, writing, cinema, radio, television”. He then asks what should be done to oppose such tendencies.⁵⁵⁶

9.2. The freedom to teach

Not only is there a call among certain *vota* to ensure religious freedom,⁵⁵⁷ although American bishops like Binz keep the question open-ended as his region includes the Catholic support for public and confessional schools,⁵⁵⁸ there are also multiple voices ensuring the liberty to teach. As Guerry argues, “the freedom of teaching supports all other liberties.”⁵⁵⁹ In line of what was discussed regarding totalitarianism earlier, Marella emphasizes that the Council should “reaffirm the Church's native right to teach and educate against any state

⁵⁴⁹ ADA II/1, 389.

⁵⁵⁰ ADA II/1, 466.

⁵⁵¹ ADA II/4, 385.

⁵⁵² E.g., ADA II/2, 184-85 (Cantero Cuadrado); ADA II/3, 287 (Carta), 524 (Iannucci), 716 (Micara); ADA II/5, 169 (Vanderkerckhove); ADA II/6, 165 (Gómez León), 315 (Binz), 342 (Schulte).

⁵⁵³ E.g., ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani); ADA II/4, 84-85 (Doi).

⁵⁵⁴ E.g., ADA II/1, 149 (Geeraerts).

⁵⁵⁵ ADA II/5, 462.

⁵⁵⁶ ADA II/6, 642.

⁵⁵⁷ E.g., ADA II/1, 149 (Geeraerts).

⁵⁵⁸ ADA II/6, 315; cf. Komonchak, “U.S. Bishops's Suggestions for Vatican II,” 27.

⁵⁵⁹ ADA II/1, 257.

monopoly.”⁵⁶⁰ Similarly, the Italian President of the Roman Curia, Baldelli, is convinced that the state has no right to monopolize education. Instead, it is a “fundamental principle” for the Church to teach and maintain its own schools. For him, the state should even assist the Church in this endeavour by providing adequate legislations.⁵⁶¹ The idea of having such rights fixed in legislations, is also shared by someone like Tomek.⁵⁶² Archbishop Fares of Catanzaro e Squillace and the Salesiana are on the same line.⁵⁶³

If these vota are more focused on schools and Catholic teaching in general, the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies emphasizes the exclusive right to educate seminarians. Based on can. 1352 and the various admonishments by the popes, the congregation seeks to reaffirm this principle, especially when it is not followed in some places and “in countries that lie under the yoke of communism where it is most seriously trampled upon”.⁵⁶⁴ Though all these vota ask for the freedom of Catholic education, one of the few voices that points a finger back to the Catholic Church, is that of Swiss Bishop Charierre of Lausanne, Geneva and Fribourg; a country where Protestants and Catholics co-existed in the respective autonomous cantons. He somewhat criticizes the fact that while Catholics demand all kinds of liberties related to education where is under attack, some deny at the same time a similar case for other religions in regions where Catholics are the majority and nationally well established.⁵⁶⁵ Thus, such demand of pedagogical freedom should come from both sides. The context in which the cantons pay for local universities for a large part, as well as the bishop’s support for religious freedom, of course plays a significant part in his demand.

9.3. The freedom to establish and select Catholic educational institutes

Along with the call for the freedom to teach, is the call for the freedom of Catholic parents to select schools for their children⁵⁶⁶ as well as for the Church to build schools. The Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies sees it as “a fundamental right” for parents to freely choose a Catholic school for their children.⁵⁶⁷ The Salesiana emphasizes the freedom to build private schools.⁵⁶⁸ The same goes for the missions. Bessone proposes to increase concordats with local governments in order to protect the Catholic schools.⁵⁶⁹ Indeed, the right to build schools as having positive effects on the maintenance of the faith, is for instance described by the Chaldean Sayegh. For him, and in his region (Iraq), the only remedy to empower the faith is to increase private schools for both genders. But such endeavour does necessitate government cooperation.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁰ ADA II/1, 466.

⁵⁶¹ ADA II/3, 799.

⁵⁶² ADA II/8, 138.

⁵⁶³ ADA II/3, 178; ADA IV/I/2, 188.

⁵⁶⁴ ADA III, 381.

⁵⁶⁵ ADA II/4, 34.

⁵⁶⁶ E.g., ADA II/2, 109 (Byrne); ADA II/6, 253 (Alba Palacios).

⁵⁶⁷ ADA III, 373. For a full text: see 363-74.

⁵⁶⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 188.

⁵⁶⁹ ADA II/5, 254. Cf. Salesiana’s call to have the Church care for schools in missionary regions due to the increase of students (ADA IV/I/2, 186).

⁵⁷⁰ ADA II/4, 371.

9.4. *Condemnation of secularism in schools*

Secularism in schools is fully rejected. Cardinal de Arriba y Castro of Tarragona bemoans secularism in schools and points out that this tendency has become widespread across many nations.⁵⁷¹ His comment lacks nuance, however, as multiple Western governments did allow for religious instruction to children based on existing legislations. But the cardinal is not the only one. A similar warning comes from Coroli, who points out that many nations, including Catholic ones and those with “excessive Catholic schools”, are increasing restrictions.⁵⁷² Auxiliary Bishop Rupp France, Faithful of the Eastern Rites, emphasizes the right “to reassert catechesis in Christian schools”.⁵⁷³ Bishop Theas of Tarbes e Lourdes is more reserved, also seeks to condemnation of secularism.⁵⁷⁴ Of course, the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies solemnly condemns the origins of “a-catholic”, “atheistic”, and “neutral schools”.⁵⁷⁵ More nuanced is Guerry, who points to the views of Pius XII who distinguished between “healthy” and “unhealthy” *laïcité* while Leo XIII was more optimistic.⁵⁷⁶ Contrary to secular developments, there are two vota in particular which ask for the (re)assertion of religious education in public schools, though this is only related to Catholic countries. Marella mentions that by law, nothing should be taught against the faith and morality of the Church.⁵⁷⁷ Armas Larena OAR elaborates more. For him, the faithful must acquire national legislations to ensure religious education in all educational institutes, and to increase more educational institutes in non-Catholic countries.⁵⁷⁸

9.5. *The financial aspects*

Some more explicit than others, there are demands for the state to assist in financing or constructing Catholic schools. For instance, Simons (India) asks for local governments in the missions to assist.⁵⁷⁹ The Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies is much more explicit: “it is the right of the Church to obtain state subsidies for their schools”.⁵⁸⁰ More generalized, then, is the Irish Spiritan and resigned Bishop Byrne of Moshi (Tanzania) arguing that the state must build schools and pay teachers,⁵⁸¹ without explicitly referring to Catholic schools though. Next to the question of state funding, is that of paying taxes. Binz feels it somewhere unjust for Catholics to pay taxes for public schools while the American government does not subsidize Catholic schools.⁵⁸² Tomek is more explicit: taxes for public schools should not be paid if parents opt to send their children to Catholic schools.⁵⁸³

⁵⁷¹ ADA II/2, 346.

⁵⁷² ADA II/7, 277.

⁵⁷³ ADA II/1, 487.

⁵⁷⁴ ADA II/1, 420.

⁵⁷⁵ ADA III, 373. For a full text, see: 363-74.

⁵⁷⁶ ADA II/1, 256-57.

⁵⁷⁷ ADA II/1, 466.

⁵⁷⁸ ADA II/8, 98.

⁵⁷⁹ ADA II/4, 142.

⁵⁸⁰ ADA III, 373.

⁵⁸¹ ADA II/2, 109.

⁵⁸² ADA II/6, 315-16.

⁵⁸³ ADA II/8, 138.

9.7. Associations of parents dealing with public and academic authorities

In order to influence the public debate and state legislations, multiple vota also call upon the Catholic faithful, mainly parents, to help the Church in maintaining and promoting Catholic education. Guerry sees a role for parental associations to deal with public and academic authorities to oversee religious education in public schools.⁵⁸⁴ Serrano Abad proposes to have national family and alumni associations related to various Catholic institutes with the aim of defending the Catholic rights and preserving Catholic education before the government.⁵⁸⁵ A similar suggestion is made by the Salesiana, although it shows more awareness of the complexity. For instance, the votum mentions the need for Catholic associations of professors at universities and high schools in order to obtain pedagogical and didactic progress, but this should also take place within international bodies such as UNESCO. Instead, they must be active at OMEP (an organization for early childhood education) in order to influence Catholics and public opinion and also influence public schools. In this whole endeavour, the focus should be, among other things, on the rights of Catholic students, religious education, and the aid of experts in pedagogy.⁵⁸⁶

9.8. A Catholic code and the need for concordats

Finally, there are two vota which come up with specific proposals. The first one is from Imberti who proposes the publication of “a Code of the Church on Education” in which the fundamental rights regarding schools and education are discussed. This Code must then be applied to the different national legislations.⁵⁸⁷ The Salesiana, for its part, asks to increase concordats dealing with education and schools, pedagogy in seminaries and universities, the rights of Catholic teachers, the liberties on behalf of the Church, the educational associations; in one sentence, to promote Catholic schools and education.⁵⁸⁸

10. Condemnation of Various Ideologies

It need not be discussed in detail here, as it is crystal-clear that the various calls for condemning all kinds of ideologies that stroke with Catholic (doctrinal) teaching and morality, are as such also a defence for Catholic education and formation against all kinds of ideological distortions that influence the Catholic herd, especially families, and even the education in (Catholic) schools. Among others, one can see the condemnation of Marxism

⁵⁸⁴ ADA II/1, 257.

⁵⁸⁵ ADA II/7, 17.

⁵⁸⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 186-87, 188.

⁵⁸⁷ ADA II/3, 730.

⁵⁸⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 189.

and communism,⁵⁸⁹ materialism,⁵⁹⁰ totalitarianism,⁵⁹¹ existentialism,⁵⁹² evolutionism,⁵⁹³ spiritism,⁵⁹⁴ theosophism,⁵⁹⁵ progressivism,⁵⁹⁶ racism,⁵⁹⁷ liberalism,⁵⁹⁸ laicism/secularism,⁵⁹⁹ (moral) relativism,⁶⁰⁰ modernism,⁶⁰¹ phenomenology,⁶⁰² idealism,⁶⁰³ naturalism/hedonism,⁶⁰⁴ pantheism,⁶⁰⁵ and humanism.⁶⁰⁶ Next to all the 'isms', one can also derive the various vota which seek to reject psychological theories that reduce the faith to mere psyche⁶⁰⁷ or the false exegeses that contradict Magisterial teaching.⁶⁰⁸

11. Index Librorum Prohibitorum

In order to teach, learn and conduct research, one needs access to a variety of books. It is well-known that the Catholic Church maintained a list of forbidden books since 1557 at the Council of Trent, which did not allow Catholics to read books listed on the Index as it was to the detriment of the faith. As such, the education and formation of the laity was kept intact against ideas and ideologies that contradicted those of the Magisterial teaching. Without going into the history of the Index, by the time of the vota, there were various calls to

⁵⁸⁹ E.g., ADA II/1, 149 (Geeraerts); ADA II/2, 78 (McQuaid) (including socialism), 243 (Barrachina Estevan); ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani) (incl. socialism), 366 (Valeri), 737 (Carraro), 757 (Principi); ADA II/4, 199 (Sundaram), 486-87 (Ching Ping) (but rather than condemning, explain it well); ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana), 536 (McCann); ADA II/6, 186 (Aguirre Garcia), 279 (Cushing), 456 (Senyshyn); ADA II/7, 353 (Silva Santiago), 600-01 (Lyons); ADA III, 3, 16 (Congregation of the Holy Office); ADA IV/I/1, 437 (Lateranum).

⁵⁹⁰ E.g., ADA II/1, 149 (Geeraerts), 561 (Pohlschneider); ADA II/2, 335 (Enrique y Taracón); ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani), 351 (Vendola), 366 (Valeri), 604 (Carli), 644 (Faveri), 715 (Micara); ADA II/4, 153 (Tharayil); ADA II/5, 503 (Perrin), 536 (McCann); ADA II/6, 186 (Aguirre Garcia), 279 (Cushing), 506 (Rancans); ADA II/7, 333 (Martenetz); ADA IV/I/1, 244 (Lateranum); ADA IV/I/2, 256 (Bonaventura).

⁵⁹¹ E.g., ADA II/1, 149 (Geeraerts); ADA II/2, 541 (Cule) (i.e., "statolatry"); ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani) (i.e., "statolatry"); ADA III, 16 (Congregation of the Holy Office); ADA IV/2, 59 (Pontifical University Comillas) (i.e., "statolatry").

⁵⁹² E.g., ADA II/2, 78 (McQuaid), 190 (Cardona Riera), 335 (Enrique y Taracón); ADA II/3, 366 (Valeri), 644 (Faveri), 715 (Micara), 737 (Carraro), 827 (Nigris); ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana); ADA II/6, 186 (Aguirre Garcia), 279 (Cushing), 506 (Rancans); ADA IV/I/1, 244, 437 (Lateranum); ADA IV/2, 189 (Catholic University Lille).

⁵⁹³ E.g., ADA II/2, 78 (McQuaid); ADA II/3, 715 (Micara), 826 (Nigris); ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

⁵⁹⁴ E.g., ADA II/2, 190 (Cardona Riera), 335 (Enrique y Taracón).

⁵⁹⁵ E.g., ADA II/2, 190 (Cardona Riera).

⁵⁹⁶ E.g., ADA II/2, 335 (Enrique y Taracón); ADA II/3, 715 (Micara).

⁵⁹⁷ E.g., ADA II/2, 541 (Cule); ADA II/5, 466 (Dud), 536 (McCann); ADA II/6, 384 (Rummel), 613 (Varin de la Brunellière), 658 (Pepén y Soliman).

⁵⁹⁸ E.g., ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani), 366 (Valeri), 715 (Micara); ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

⁵⁹⁹ E.g., ADA II/3, 217-18 (Massimiliani), 351 (Vendola), 366 (Valeri), 604 (Carli), 644 (Faveri), 737-38 (Carraro), 757 (Principi); ADA II/4, 582 (O'Gara) (but also explain it well!); ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office); ADA IV/I/2, 256 (Bonaventura).

⁶⁰⁰ E.g., ADA II/3, 326 (Lucato), 604 (Carli), 737 (Carraro); ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

⁶⁰¹ E.g., ADA II/3, 351 (Vendola), 737 (Carraro); ADA II/5, 536 (McCann); ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office); ADA IV/I/2, 257 (Bonaventura).

⁶⁰² E.g., ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana).

⁶⁰³ E.g., ADA II/5, 511 (Cesana).

⁶⁰⁴ E.g., ADA II/6, 186 (Aguirre Garcia); ADA II/8, 202 (Ziggiotti SDB).

⁶⁰⁵ E.g., ADA III, 3 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

⁶⁰⁶ E.g., *ibid.*

⁶⁰⁷ E.g., ADA II/3, 529 (Parente), 757 (Principi).

⁶⁰⁸ E.g., ADA II/3, 530 (Parente).

revise⁶⁰⁹ or even abolish⁶¹⁰ it. The calls for adaptation range from mild, in which there is a undertone of positively maintaining the Index,⁶¹¹ to extensive, in which there is a undertone of rejecting the Index to a large extent.⁶¹² Of course there are many vota in between.⁶¹³ Those who call for a mild adaptation are also the same ones who seek to extend the Index to periodicals, newspapers, pamphlets and even the radio and television at some points.⁶¹⁴

The revision of the Index also has to do with the fact that asking for permission should be simplified.⁶¹⁵ For the permission various vota call for the local authority of the Ordinary, instead of the Holy Office, to decide about whether or not to forbid and/or read a book.⁶¹⁶ Others call for a more nuanced approach by which valid reasons for forbidding a certain book should be provided by the ecclesiastical authorities with the possibility to contradict it on behalf of the convicted author before a final solution is made.⁶¹⁷ Moreover, various vota mention that confessors should be able to read and judge those books on the Index,⁶¹⁸ as well as priests.⁶¹⁹ Naples University even adds local superiors.⁶²⁰ It is clear, though, that forbidding books also has academic consequences for Catholic students and teachers alike. For instance, Bishop von Streng of Basel and Lugano mentions that the lack of access to scientific books by Catholics has led to an “a-catholic dominance in the sciences” while Catholics lack behind.⁶²¹ Archbishop Doi of Tokyo mentions that in Japan, multiple books on the Index are being studied in public schools (he refers to Kant as an example), making it no longer tenable to always ask permission from the Ordinary. Instead, he proposes “a

⁶⁰⁹ E.g., ADA II/2, 523 (Shvoy), 676 (Wyszynski), 710 (Jasinski) (removal of books which are no longer dangerous), 784 (Nelson) (though automatic censorship to be abolished); ADA II/3, 103 (Piazzi), 244 (Tonetti), 346 (Benedetti), 542 (Camozzo), 816 (Hudal); ADA II/4, 187 (Vayalil), 206 (Polachirakal), 214 (Thangalathil), 234 (Schneiders), 338 (Sison), 429 (Cordeiro), 619 (Bayet); ADA II/5, 314 (Lefevre); ADA II/6, 83 (Baudoux), 271 (Hyland), 279-80 (Cushing), 306 (Gorman), 361 (Casey), 387 (Rummel), 405 (O'Hara), 641 (Serrano Pastor); ADA II/7, 74 (Iriarte), 204 (Hostin & Niehues), 447 (Arango Henao), 545 (Barbieri), 616 (Carboni); ADA II/8, 16 (Gut OSB), 126 (Janssens SJ), 331 (Michell CSP); ADA IV/I/1, 156 (Gregoriana); ADA IV/I/2, 255 (Bonaventura); ADA IV/2, 230 (Catholic University Louvain), 479 (Catholic University Nijmegen), 503 (ICP), 585 (Catholic University Toulouse), 631 (Catholic University Washington), 733 (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies Toronto).

⁶¹⁰ E.g., ADA II/6, 306 (Gorman); ADA II/8, 18 (Ruhland OSB), 40-41 (Riha OSB) (partial abolishment),

⁶¹¹ E.g., ADA II/1, 104 (De Smedt); ADA II/3, 542 (Camozzo); ADA II/7, 261 (do Amaral) (a “fresh” publication of the Index, in which more material should be added every five years), 616 (Carboni); ADA IV/2, 217-18 (Lyon Catholic University), 570 (Sophia Catholic University).

⁶¹² E.g., ADA II/2, 23 (von Streng), 516 (as Archbishop Alfrink of Utrecht mentions: “the reader can decide according to his or her own judgement and conscience”); ADA II/4, 86 (like Alfrink, Doi asks to leave it open to “the conscience of the faithful”), 95 (Ross), 338 (Sison); ADA II/6, 279-80 (Cushing), 343 (Schulte), 387 (Rummel), 436 (Brady) (only a few books); ADA II/8, 332 (Michell CSP).

⁶¹³ E.g., ADA II/1, 379 (Marmottin): to adapt the Index by mainly looking at “the moral content”; ADA II/1, 607: not books, but the “false doctrines and opinions within books or by authors” should be forbidden; ADA II/2, 23 (von Streng); ADA II/4, 429 (Cordeiro), 619 (Bayet); ADA II/6, 271 (Hyland), 279-80 (Cushing), 361 (Casey) (especially in academic matters), 641 (Serrano Pastor) (a short list); ADA II/7, 204 (Hostin & Niehues), 447 (Arango Henao), 545 (Barbieri) (simpler and practical); ADA II/8, 189 (Colette AA) (based on morality); ADA IV/I/2, 315-16 (Bonaventura); ADA IV/2, 489-90 (Catholic University Ottawa), 503 (ICP), 585 (Catholic University Toulouse), 733 (Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies Toronto).

⁶¹⁴ E.g., ADA II/1, 104 (De Smedt).

⁶¹⁵ E.g., ADA II/1, 147-48 (Suenens).

⁶¹⁶ ADA II/2, 57-58 (Pacini); ADA II/5, 314 (Lefevre), 465 (Dud); ADA II/6, 405 (O'Hara), 436 (Brady); ADA II/8, 331 (Michell CSP); ADA IV/I/1, 156 (Gregoriana); ADA IV/2, 489-90 (Catholic University Ottawa), 810 (Theological Faculty, University of Argentina).

⁶¹⁷ E.g., ADA II/2, 23 (von Streng), 57-58 (Pacini); ADA IV/2, 585 (Toulouse Catholic University).

⁶¹⁸ E.g., ADA II/4, 187 (Vayalil); ADA II/8, 16 (Gut OSB); ADA IV/2, 503 (ICP), 570 (Sophia Catholic University), 713 (University of Naples Federico II), 810 (Theological Faculty, University of Argentina).

⁶¹⁹ ADA II/4, 95 (Ross); ADA IV/2, 489-90 (Catholic University Ottawa) (priests who are university deans and rectors).

⁶²⁰ ADA IV/2, 713.

⁶²¹ ADA II/2, 23.

more enhanced and easier method” to gain permission.⁶²² Th resigned Apostolic Vicar Ross SJ of Hiroshima from the same country, points out that this list has lost its “deterrent force”.⁶²³ From the USA, Bishop Zuroweste of Belleville, points to similar difficulties in public universities. With Doi, he argues that obtaining permission is simply not tenable, and asks to remove the strict regulations as they are discussed in the canon law.⁶²⁴ Once again, from Brazil, Bishop Hostin of Lajes asks to exclude the Index in both public and Catholic universities, as “students of literature and science are often obliged to take their knowledge from works which are prohibited in the Index”.⁶²⁵ Cardinal Cushing of Boston is more selective, however. Although he admits the legitimacy of banning certain books, he also calls for a broader acceptance to read some of the works but mainly for those who study “theology, philosophy and history”.⁶²⁶ The problem of following the rules of the Index in public schools by Catholic students and teachers alike, is also highlighted by Michell of the Missionaries of Saint-Paul.⁶²⁷ A last example is Schulte, who argues that the Index brings too much burden on Catholic students and teachers, even causing “false opinions” among non-Catholics.⁶²⁸

In contrast to the episcopal demands, the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities are quite silent on this topic. A small exception is the Catholic University of America, asking to revise the Index only for certain books which are outdated and might be read for historical purposes.⁶²⁹ Another exception is the Catholic University of Ottawa, arguing that deans and rectors of Catholic universities should decide which books to read (although these leaders were still clergy, as he mentions), and to revise the Index every sixteen years while removing books no longer relevant.⁶³⁰ Other vota, like the votum from Carboni, focus more on the seminaries. For Carboni, seminarians should be able to read as many books as possible should they be useful for their education and scholastic training.⁶³¹ Others, like the Salesiana, like to uphold the Index and even enhance it.⁶³² The Curia is completely silent on this topic.

12. The Magisterium and the Ecclesial Hierarchy

The final point to mention regarding education and formation, but perhaps the one in which all the previous points ultimately flow back to, is that of the authority of the Magisterium and the ecclesial hierarchy. Indeed, whether catechesis, the seminaries, the Catholic and public schools, the universities, the use of Latin and the vernacular, the training of the religious, the laity and families, the use of media tools, the jurisdiction of Church and state, the condemnation of various ideologies, or the Index; all educational and formational issues cannot be fully comprehended and applied within various societies and the universal Church,

⁶²² ADA II/4, 86.

⁶²³ ADA II/4, 95. He argues the same for the Syllabi of Pius IX and X. The Index should therefore be investigated every five years and irrelevant material should be taken out.

⁶²⁴ ADA II/6, 276.

⁶²⁵ ADA II/7, 204.

⁶²⁶ ADA II/6, 279-80.

⁶²⁷ ADA II/8, 25.

⁶²⁸ ADA II/6, 343.

⁶²⁹ ADA IV/2, 631.

⁶³⁰ ADA IV/2, 489-90.

⁶³¹ ADA II/7, 616.

⁶³² E.g., ADA II/2, 459 (University of Montréal); ADA IV/1/2, 203, 218 (Salesiana).

without bypassing the Magisterial teaching which is held together by the ecclesial hierarchy, the Catholic tradition and ultimately by Christ. Therefore, various vota emphasize the need to hold all kinds of (educational) movements and associations, and all kinds of teachings and formations, together within the Mystical Body of Christ⁶³³ and under the authority of the Magisterium and the hierarchy. Bishop Pohlschneider of Aachen asks to (re-)explain the doctrine of the hierarchy of the Church as established by Christ and as the Mystical Body of Christ in teaching (“magisterio”), ministry, and governing. The unity of this Body is preserved by the Supreme Pontiff led by the Spirit.⁶³⁴ For Bishop Estevan of Oriuhuel-Alicante, the teaching (“Magisterium”) of the Church is linked to the “sacred right” that “the Church received the deposit of the faith by God”.⁶³⁵ This also means that the upcoming Council in its pursuit of seeking new answers should take place under the authority of the Magisterium and the Pontiff in order to keep the unity.⁶³⁶

In other words, the Church led by the Pontiff, the bishops and the Magisterium has the authority, including on doctrinal and moral matters, and preserves the unity.⁶³⁷ Moreover, one can add the votum of Prou of the Benedictine Congregation of Solesmes, another future member of the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum*, who argues that the ecclesiastical Magisterium can always be exercised apart from the input of theologians or lay people. This not only implies magisterial authority regarding revealed “divine truths”, but also “natural truths”.⁶³⁸ As the Congregation of the Holy Office puts it: the Magisterium “contains the deposit of divine revelation, and it protects this revelation through tradition and interprets it accordingly”. As such, tradition and Magisterium are correlated and each person needs to subordinate to it.⁶³⁹ The Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, basing itself on previous councils, is more extensive: the infallible Church guards the teaching of the faith.⁶⁴⁰ The Church has this authority as it is rooted in the written and oral apostolic tradition. This maintaining, transmitting and explaining the deposit of faith comes together in the Magisterium of the Church. The teaching of the Church co-aligns with the authority of Christ, and that is why the faithful ought to follow the Magisterium.⁶⁴¹ The theologian is not excluded, implying that the theological works need to be subordinated to the Magisterium. The Congregation also warns against interpreting Holy Fathers beyond the tradition and “the infallible authority and interpretation of the Magisterium”.⁶⁴²

⁶³³ It needs to be added here, that multiple vota propose to further define the Mystical Body of Christ and/or to add some theological meaning to this phrase. For instance, Archbishop Cabana of Sherbrooke wants to add that the Mystical Body of Christ implies the prolonged incarnation of Christ (ADA II/6, 109). However, this is a topic that goes beyond education and formation and has more to do with the ecclesial-theological self-understanding of the Church and hence will not be discussed in detail here.

⁶³⁴ ADA II/1, 562.

⁶³⁵ ADA II/2, 244.

⁶³⁶ ADA II/5, 481.

⁶³⁷ E.g., ADA II/3, 362-63 (Poma), 390-91 (Briacca), 407 (Radicioni), 524 (Iannucci); ADA II/4, 190 (Rayappan); ADA II/5, 549-50 (Des Rosiers); ADA II/6, 23 (Bernier), 109 (though Cabana generally speaks of the Church “as the source for teaching”), 403, 405 (O’Hara); cf. ADA IV/2, 165-68 (Lovanium).

⁶³⁸ ADA II/8, 22-23. The Abbot emphasizes this truth up against “Hegelian dialectics” who argue that Magisterial authority can only be obtained through the necessary mediation of the laity or the theologians. See also Roy-Lysencourt, 37.

⁶³⁹ ADA III, 9.

⁶⁴⁰ ADA III, 323.

⁶⁴¹ ADA III, 324, 326.

⁶⁴² ADA III, 327.

As for the ecclesial hierarchy, Archbishop Hurley of Duban's votum clearly shows such order in his outline for a dogmatic treatise: at first, it is described that the Church means the Mystical Body of Christ and the holy people of God, including liturgical and apostolic works, under the authority of the Spirit. Secondly, the college of bishops obedient to the Pope and united in "governing" and "teaching" ("magisterio"). Then follows the clergy who assist the bishops in "teaching" ("magisterio"). Finally, the laity that participate in the priesthood and mission of Christ, mainly through Catholic Action, while subordinated to the hierarchy.⁶⁴³ A similar order is visible in another example, that of the votum of the Pontifical University for Oriental Studies.⁶⁴⁴ But as clear as the Magisterium and the ecclesial hierarchy seem to be in these vota, others call to further clarify both structures.

12.1. Issues related to the Magisterium

Despite highlighting the authority of the Magisterium, there are still some points to work on and which the Council should take into consideration. Bishop Roatte of Norcia, for instance, points out that there are no institutions yet within the Church which can promote the "fundamental mission" of the Magisterium. For him, though without elaborating, the existing catechetical office of the Congregation of the Council and other Curial dioceses working on catechism are insufficient and something needs to be done regarding this deficiency.⁶⁴⁵ From Angola, Bishop Peres of Silva Porto wants more clarification regarding the "necessity and existence of a living infallible Magisterium in the Church" up against Protestantism.⁶⁴⁶ Beyond Protestantism, Cardinal de la Torre of Quito wants a plain explanation of the "nature" and "amplitude" of "the divine teaching of the Church" ("magistrii divini Ecclesiae"), that even has the right to reach out to political matters when it concerns faith and morality.⁶⁴⁷ Janssens of the Jesuits wants a more accurate description of the scope and authority.⁶⁴⁸ A similar call comes from Heiligers of the Society of Mary Montfort, especially against those who seek to undermine Magisterial authority.⁶⁴⁹ For the Congregation of the Seminaries and University Studies, it is more a matter of describing and confirming rather than discussing: the Magisterium's "nature", "infallibility", "extension" and "the need for adherence".⁶⁵⁰

12.2. Issues related to ecclesial hierarchy

That the bishops also seek to emphasize their own right of teaching (albeit under the authority of the Pontiff), as already discussed during Vatican I, should not come as a surprise. For instance, Archbishop Espino y Silva of Monterrey wants clarity on the role of the bishop, including "the functions and rights of governing and teaching".⁶⁵¹ But what was discussed during Vatican I has now the opportunity to be more clarified in detail during Vatican II.

⁶⁴³ ADA II/5, 538. After these four orders, he places the state in relation to the Church; cf. ADA III, 9-10.

⁶⁴⁴ ADA IV/I/1, 144.

⁶⁴⁵ ADA II/3, 443-44.

⁶⁴⁶ ADA II/5, 125.

⁶⁴⁷ ADA II/7, 23.

⁶⁴⁸ ADA II/8, 124; cf. ADA II/8, 322 (McLaughlin MHM).

⁶⁴⁹ ADA II/8, 154.

⁶⁵⁰ ADA III, 316.

⁶⁵¹ ADA II/6, 224.

This point is made clear by the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies: among other things, “the significance of the episcopate in matters of governing and teaching within the Church”, and “the infallibility of the whole hierarchical Church and the preservation of this doctrine within Catholic schools”. This “pastoral vigilance” is sustained not only by the Roman dicasteries, “but rather with the teaching and governing of the whole episcopate.” As already mentioned, the congregation here also emphasizes the obedience by all theologians.⁶⁵² The Lateranum wants a clear and profound definition of “the priesthood of the laity” as from a different order from that of the priesthood from a dogmatic point of view.⁶⁵³

12.3. Issues related to Papal infallibility

Without elaborating too much on this topic, it is clear that whatever was established during Vatican I regarding the infallibility of the Pope seemingly had not satisfied all those involved in the Church as there are various calls for further clarification. To give one example, Simons asks for a clear definition regarding the correlation of the papal infallibility and the Magisterium. It needs to be highlighted that the “Papal knowledge” (“scientia”) and “Papal teaching” (“magisterium”) cannot be separated from “the teaching of the bishops” (“magisterio episcoporum”) and the whole Church. It should be emphasized that “the Papal teaching” (“docendo ex cathedra”) is preserved from error.⁶⁵⁴ Similar calls and descriptions can be seen across other vota.⁶⁵⁵ In fact, this very suggestion would be reiterated by Yves Congar once the Council was announced. In other words, the work started at Vatican I was far from finished.

12.4. The Magisterium, the seminaries and the universities

Not only does the clergy need to be reminded to obey the Magisterium,⁶⁵⁶ mainly teachers and students of the sacred sciences within seminaries, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities need to be reminded of this aspect as well. Doctrinal positions undermining the tradition and the Magisterium ought to be countered.⁶⁵⁷ Biblical exegesis needs to follow the Magisterial teaching.⁶⁵⁸ Theology is considered a science deriving its norms from the Magisterium. Therefore, personal opinions are subordinated to the “sense of the Church” (“sentiat Ecclesia”), and students of the sacred sciences must be trained to obey the Magisterium.⁶⁵⁹ Similarly, by focusing on seminaries, the French Bishop Fady M. Afr. of Lilongwe points out that the Catholic doctrine needs to be taught as it is handed down by the “living

⁶⁵² ADA III, 318-19.

⁶⁵³ ADA IV/I/1, 246.

⁶⁵⁴ ADA II/4, 136.

⁶⁵⁵ E.g., ADA II/4, 420 (Jarjour), 428 (Cordeiro); ADA II/6, 648-49 (McManus); ADA II/7, 165 (Zorzi), 599 (Lyons); ADA II/8, 309 (Delahunt SA).

⁶⁵⁶ ADA II/3, 717 (Micara). ADA II/8, 225: though Houdiard of the Religious of St. Vincent de Paul favors the obedience to the Magisterium by all people.

⁶⁵⁷ ADA III, 315 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies).

⁶⁵⁸ ADA II/3, 757 (Principi); ADA II/5, 92-93 (Quillard); ADA II/6, 204 (Caribi y Rivera); ADA III, 9 (Congregation of the Holy Office).

⁶⁵⁹ ADA III, 328 (Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies).

Magisterium of the Church”.⁶⁶⁰ His addition of ‘living’, however, nuances as it implies a possibility for change of direction.

12.5. The cooperation between the apostolate of the laity and the hierarchy.

A last point of discussion and clarification has to do with framing the lay apostolate in relation to the apostolate of the hierarchy. This point was very much recurrent across the universities, and the same suggestion always comes back: that the lay apostolate must be subordinated to that of the hierarchy.⁶⁶¹ As the Lateranum mentions, it is of “utmost importance” that the clergy teaches and trains the laity to be active in the lay apostolate.⁶⁶² As was already discussed with the laity and families, some of these various vota do accept the lay apostolate as something independent only when it acts privately and not in the official name of the Church. As Maynooth University mentions: it is “private and non-official and must therefore be distinguished from the governing and teaching Church.”⁶⁶³

3. Conclusion

As this chapter has demonstrated, Catholic education and formation include a range of themes with underlying implementations and applications ranging from catechism and catechesis, various and different types of seminaries, various schools and universities, language, the religious, the laity and the families, the use of media tools, jurisdiction of Church and state, the condemnation of various ideologies, the Index, and the Magisterium and ecclesial hierarchy. Catholic education and formation at the threshold of Vatican II is not that clear-cut, rather, it is a broad denominator which asks for a close and time-consuming inspection of each of the subthemes that it covers. Consequently, a simplified approach to Catholic education and formation that will be led by only one preparatory commission, undertaken in a hasty manner, is doomed as it risks emphasizing one subtheme over another and to overlook particularities, nuances and details. This is even more so the case when Catholic education and formation is oftentimes controlled in a centralized way while so diversely applied across various continents and co-dependent on local contexts, ranging from political to linguistic contexts.

Most of the vota on Catholic education and formation were the result of local demands and problems that were often diocese related but sometimes a national and international concern. For instance, the demand for a universal catechism was shared among bishops across the world episcopate. Although the demands came from singular dioceses, together they formed a demand that was shared internationally. Similar suggestions can be made for the need to reform the seminary training, the discussion Latin and the vernacular, the use of media tools, the condemnation of ideologies, the Index, the lay apostolate, and the Magisterium. Other themes were rather shared by a minority of voices, such as the future of minor seminaries, the reforms needed in Catholic schools, the demands regarding public

⁶⁶⁰ ADA II/5, 369.

⁶⁶¹ ADA IV/I/1, 58-59 (Gregoriana); ADA IV/I/2, 156 (Salesiana), 256 (Bonaventura); ADA IV/2, 72, 118-19 (Pontifical University Comillas).

⁶⁶² ADA IV/I/1, 247.

⁶⁶³ ADA IV/2, 440; cf. 441.

schools, the universities, the educational issues in the missions, the use of journalism in particular, or the role of the sisters. The extent to how much one theme was more or less discussed across the vota for a large part also had to do with the expertise of the authors involved. This observation is particularly the case for the Curia, the universities, and the superiors. For instance, the Curial congregations discussing any of the themes involved, often highlighted their expertise on the matter and in fact had an underlying tone of taking these matters in their own hands. They oftentimes promoted their own authority, and the demands were most times not very renewing. Instead, it was mostly repetitive from what already was. The most significant congregation, also for the other parts of this dissertation, the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies very much shows this tendency: it highlights the authority of the Magisterium *de facto*, upholds Latin without much room for change, firmly establishes the neo-scholastic teaching in seminaries and even to schools to an extent, asks Catholic theologians and Biblical scholars to obey the regulations as established from above...

The universities, for their part, often promoted educational suggestions that were an extension of their own expertise. The Urbaniana dealt with the future of education in the missions, seeking to provide more authority to the native lecturers and the inclusion of native disciplines in the curricula of the local schools and universities; all with an underlying implication that it seeks to centralize the authority within its own walls. The Gregoriana, led by Jesuits who had played a significant role across various parts of the world, was more engaged with other Christian traditions and religions and often demanded suggestions that were more inclusive of the (educational) world beyond the West. The at times implicit or explicit demands in this light, such as the criticism of the Index, were also visible among other universities led by the Jesuits such as Sophia University (Tokyo) or the Saint Joseph University in Beirut. The Salesiana, having expertise with worldwide educational institutes, often provided suggestions that show the university's know-how on schooling issues on an administrative, legislative, and bureaucratic level. The same holds true for the Salesiana's suggestions on pedagogical reforms. The Lateranum wants to ensure they can provide Biblical degrees (in light of the fight with the *Biblicum*), the Pontifical University of Sacred Music wants to increase the studies of sacred music, that of archaeology of Christian archaeology... The same can be said for non-Roman universities. For instance, KU Leuven with expertise in missiology, demands various suggestions related to the Catholic education in the mission, also because it had a sister university in Lovanium (Kinshasa). The same holds for the suggestions on the pastoral preparation in seminaries or the demands regarding the lay apostolate. ICP sought to increase the philosophical knowledge on an academic level, an expertise the university could provide, while Angers University criticized Catholics going to public universities; all to ensure that the authority of these universities.

The superiors for most part brought suggestions that were correlated to the work of the respective order or congregation. For instance, Tomek of the Piarists, a teaching order, was staunchly defending the Catholic educational institutes against any misuse or monopoly on behalf of the state, and he was adamant to increase Catholic schools and universities as much as is possible. Rubio of the Augustinians proposed another form of ecclesiastical university

in line with the expectations of the congregation. As far as the bishops are concerned, the demands are not always as transparent, but the fact that one particular aspect is sometimes highlighted above another shows the mindset of the author, the local problems, the nationality, or the place within the hierarchy. It was for instance clear that it was mostly Italians but also bishops closely related to the Curia demanded a centralization on certain educational and formational matters. The vota written by the religious oftentimes reflected issues prevalent among the missions and in the context from where they wrote from. The diocesan bishops criticizing the schools run by the religious implicitly bemoaned their lack of authority and the means to run schools. Someone like the Spanish Herrera y Oria in from Malaga had expertise in media tools and journalism, and the fact that he extensively deals with tools and journalism as a necessary means for education and formation can be correlated to his expertise. The American Binz criticized that American Catholics were to pay taxes while not receiving subsidies for Catholic schools; a demand that must be comprehended in the socio-political setting of the USA. In other words, the reasons why the world episcopate for instance differed so much on how a seminary reformation should look like, most likely has to do with the fact that the bishops wrote from their own experiences in local dioceses and nations.

In other words, it has become already clear that some actors were recurrent across all of the subthemes, while others were particularly interested in on subtheme or the other. For instance, some vota shared similar proposals for the upcoming Council, as was the case for a universal catechism. Other proposals were reduced to the world episcopate while not really discussed in vota of the Roman Curia, as was the case with the desire to implement new disciplines within the seminary training. Similarly, some issues were recurrent within the world episcopate, such as the fate and direction of schools in the missions, which were only dealt with in a marginal way among the superiors or within the Curia (for the latter, only the Urbaniana forms the exception). In general, everyone is a recipient of Catholic education and formation: the laity and the clergy. Regarding the latter, suggestions simply affirm what was discussed in many papal documents, although the question of what clergy ought to know and do is very diverse in the vota. For the laity, matters are less innovative. Overall, the many vota often point to the Catholic faithful in particular; how they ought to receive religious education and formation, engage in various associations for the apostolate while obeying the hierarchy, and must be protected against wrong opinions or the monopoly of the state. But a clear pedagogical awareness and comprehensive outline on the education of the laity in intellectual terms is overall missing, perhaps with the few exceptions and suggestions of a university like the Salesiana. But that the laity will have an increasing role to play in society, including as teachers, providers of catechesis, and by working with media tools, is clear in the vota.

In the diverse outlook on Catholic education and formation, one might ask if one commission will be able to deal with all the issues at stake for the upcoming Council in a clear, cohesive and structured way. Indeed, already the different congregations of the Curia had one thing or the other to say about education and formation, even though it was primarily the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies that mainly dealt with the topic

(without much novelty). Moreover, the fact that education and formation is so diverse across the world – whether it be related to national laws and regulations, the presence or absence of deeply rooted Catholic education, the tensions between the religious and the bishop, the financial issues, the presence or absence of other religious identities, and many other contextual issues – all make a general approach to Catholic education and formation a difficult task to perceive for the upcoming Council. Nevertheless, education and formation, deeply rooted within the papal and Magisterial documents and crucial for the Church at large, was intrinsically part of a large number of vota in a variety of ways. It was not to be considered as something that could be dealt with in a light way. The wide range of vota divided into multiple subthemes only proves that point all the more.

CHAPTER II

CATHOLIC EDUCATION AND FORMATION: FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL DEMANDS

The previous chapter mainly focused on how education and formation were understood within the various vota on a cross-comparative and thematic level. This second chapter, however, highlights the diocesan, national, and global foci. In other words, the previous chapter might demonstrate a unity across the vota regarding the importance of Catholic education and formation in all the varieties; however, is this unity still visible when one looks at each continent, religious congregation and order, and Catholic and ecclesiastical universities separately? Do some of the actors mainly highlight one aspect at the cost of another? Can one even speak of a unity within a continent in the first place? Do religious bishops active in the missions have different foci or are even more varied? Can one speak of similar questions across the different universities? This chapter attempts to uncover the similarities and differences in order to comprehend the different foci mainly from the world episcopate and the universities on the threshold of Vatican II. The superior and the Curia are not included, as they have already been discussed in detail in the previous chapter. Moreover, some of the aspects that were mentioned in the previous chapter do not require further elaboration, such as various demands on a universal catechism, the vernacular and Latin, the rules regarding the Index, the clarification regarding the lay apostolate vis-à-vis the ecclesial hierarchy, the condemnation of ideologies, and the authority of the Magisterium. In other words, the focus on this chapter will be to discuss in detail for each nation the actors of vota which mentioned the following aspects: catechesis, the schools, the universities, the seminaries, and the religious. Indeed, while important suggestions were already mentioned, there are much more elaborated suggestions regarding these matters. In this light, as discussed in the introduction, each nation under discussion will have a short description of the socio-political and especially educational landscape during the 1950s, against which the vota must be read. It will uncover the causes but also the silences of certain suggestions. It should be noted that the nuncios of each country – most often Italians and following a more Curial and/or Italian point of view – are mentioned in the relevant countries in which they are active. The same holds for Western religious bishops active in non-Western country. Finally, the structure of the chapter is based upon the number of vota available for each continent as well as the historical reality of the participants at the Council. Indeed, most vota were Northwest and South European vota and most participants at Vatican II were from the same regions. In this respect, Europe is first discussed, followed by North America given the close and shared histories between the two continents. Afterwards, Central and South America are presented to maintain the focus on the American continent, followed by Asia, Africa, and finally Oceania. The built up of the latter three continents is a largely based upon the available number of vota on education and formation.

1. Europe

1.1. France

On the verge of World War II, the religious, after years of being suppressed from teaching in public and private schools, were once again reinstated to teach under the conservative government of Pétain. However, both during World War II and afterwards, private Catholic schools had become increasingly difficult to maintain due to all the financial expenses while the student population was increasing. Indeed, according to the French law, private schools were left on their own resources. In 1951, the French cardinals and archbishops even came forward with a statement allowing Catholic parents to send their children to public schools due to these problems. This also caused a tension about the very identity of the Catholic school. Just one year prior to the vote, the government around Charles de Gaulle was formed, which would bring about new reforms and a renewed relationship with the Church.¹ Alsace-Lorraine, given its history of belonging to Germany since 1871 up until after the First World War, retained different laws that allowed for religious education in primary, secondary and higher schools. Hence, it did not fall under the French law of 1905.² Almost all of the French votes arrived at the Central Pre-Preparatory Commission prior to the promulgation of the new Debré law later that year in December.³ Important to note is that Catholic schools were “spread in France in a very uneven manner”, with the West and the Centre of France having the most Catholic schools. Despite the existence of SGEC, most schools had great autonomy.⁴ In total, France knew five Catholic universities: the Catholic Institutes of Paris and Toulouse, the Catholic University of Angers, and the Catholic Faculties of Lille and Lyon.⁵

In France, seminaries were discussed from the dioceses of Bordeaux, Vannes, Strasbourg, Besançon, Chambéry, and Lyon. Despite the geographical differences mainly from (south)west to (north)east, reforms in seminaries were a common demand in these dioceses. However, most bishops had their own particular focus. Dubois of Besançon, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre of Chambéry,⁶ Weber of Strasbourg (Alsace), Nuncio Marella and Archbishop Richaud of Bordeaux all mention aspects related to the seminary formation. Along with Dubois’ list of doctrinal issues,⁷ he also suggests that “professors, directors, and superiors must be examples in everything for everyone”. Their prime task and focus must be

¹ Piveteau, “Catholic Education in France,” 8-9.

² Ibid., 13; cf. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 298.

³ Piveteau, “Catholic Education in France,” 10-11) mentions that this law would provide private schools the possibility to choose from four options: (i) to maintain the possibility to run a secondary private school if the person was at least 25 years, had taught for five years, and held a *baccalauréat*. In elementary schools, Catholic teachers had to possess an elementary teaching brevet; (ii) to join the national education system; (iii) to obtain a “*contrat simple*” for nine years as *via media* between private control and public inspection; (iv) to maintain a “*contrat d’association*” where private school obtain more government aid but also control when there is a special educational need. Note that, according to Hilaire, “*Les vœux des évêques français*,” 112, because of the Debré law, the French bishops did not engage extensively with the issue of education and the Catholic school.

⁴ Ibid., 13-14.

⁵ Ibid., 16, 19.

⁶ For his suggestions regarding the study of eastern Christian tradition, see Chapter I.

⁷ See Chapter I.

on educating the clergy, and they must show obedience to the bishop.⁸ Dubois, Weber and Richaud all mention that spiritual exercises and ascetic education should play a primary role in the seminary, with Dubois adding the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary. Dubois and Richaud add that holidays can be provided both in minor and major seminaries, but to a minor extent.⁹ For Weber, seminarians need to be better trained in homiletics and providing catechesis.¹⁰ Richaud is focused on the spiritual discipline of the priests including as a teacher in Catholic schools.¹¹

Unlike the other two, however, Richaud emphasizes neo-scholastic education; perhaps not surprising, given his doctorate in philosophy from the Angelicum. He also highlights the guidelines of the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies to be followed in seminaries, while regional and local can adapt them to the local context.¹² Marella, for his part, is more focused on the implementation of an apprenticeship. This apprenticeship, with the necessary supervision of the superior, should be related to the apostolate: educating the laity and forming young people. At the same time, it should not take away the spiritual life and the studies among seminarians.¹³ Lyon Catholic University is one of the few to focus on teachers in minor and major seminaries as it asks to add in the canon law the requirement of philosophical teachers to have obtained at least a licentiate in scholastic philosophy. This demand could also apply to schools.¹⁴

But the education and tasks of the clergy also takes place on other fronts. Le Bellec of Vannes argues that seminarians must be educated in the use of media tools.¹⁵ The Institute of Paris seeks to enhance the academic education of priests in light of an increasingly well-educated laity.¹⁶ Cardinal Gerlier of Lyon proposes to utilize priests from rural areas into urban settings for various purposes: being a chaplain in public schools, religious instruction, and the formation of catechumens.¹⁷ Auxiliary Bishop Ancel of Lyon, also part of the Prado Institute,¹⁸ similarly agrees that there is a lack of “wise and knowledgeable priests” in schools and Catholic Action and more efforts are needed to make use of rural parish priests.¹⁹ Seemingly, around Lyon, priests were not active in the most effective way. Bishop Guiller of Pamiers points out that Catholic schools should be strongly renewed, but not to the extent that to overburden the priests.²⁰

It is clear from the vota of Gerlier, Ancel and Guiller that priests should still play a role in Catholic and public schools. The fate of public and private schools, against the

⁸ ADA II/1, 225.

⁹ ADA II/1, 225, 232, 418. Cf. Hilaire, “Les vœux des évêques français,” 109.

¹⁰ ADA II/1, 418. It is interesting to note that despite Strasbourg not falling under the same educational regulations as mainland France, Weber asks for similar reforms in seminaries.

¹¹ ADA II/1, 232.

¹² ADA II/1, 233.

¹³ ADA II/1, 461-62.

¹⁴ ADA IV/2, 217.

¹⁵ ADA II/1, 444.

¹⁶ ADA IV/2, 511. Cf. Chapter I.

¹⁷ ADA II/1, 313. In ADA II/1, 478-79, Ménager, the General Secretary of Catholic Action, proposes to let these tasks be performed by former priests. He mentions the tasks: to work at catechetical institutions, Catholic institutional schools, or chaplain at Catholic Action.

¹⁸ A lay secular institute of consecrated life.

¹⁹ ADA II/1, 510.

²⁰ ADA II/1, 363. Cf. Hilaire, “Les vœux des évêques français,” 112.

backdrop of the French educational system, is also visible in other vota related to France.²¹ It is worth noticing many Catholic intellectuals were still active in state institutions. Guerry wants more clarity regarding the Christian laity in public schools, while at the same time praising the fact that these schools give less financial burdens to Catholic parents.²² Bishop Rémond of Nice argues that both teachers in the public and private schools can collaborate when it concerns the education of children, especially with the common aim of improving the moral behavior.²³ Auxiliary Bishop Rupp, in charge of the *Ordinariat des catholiques des Églises orientales résidant en France*, strongly opposes the influence of *laïcité* in the education, as he emphasizes the right of the Catholic Church to reassert catechesis to Catholic children.²⁴ Bishop Fourry of Belley like Flusin discussed earlier wants more clarity regarding schools, but also adds the obligation of the families to ensure religious education at home.²⁵ Finally, Bishop Couderc of Viviers is staunchly rejects coeducation.²⁶ It is clear that the French bishops are not united in their demands, each one focusing one particular problems.

As for the Catholic institutes, the one in Paris is in favour of establishing diocesan commissions in charge of schools, led by the Ordinary or his delegate, and consisting of Catholic clergy and laity. These commissions must have the authority to appoint local teachers, the study books, and various other aspects related to primary, secondary and technical schools.²⁷ France already had a SGECE in Paris, but the university alludes to provide more authority on the diocesan level to further adapt to the local context. Moreover, within Catholic schools, teachers must have obtained academic degrees, and those teaching religion should have obtained one in the sacred sciences.²⁸ The same holds for teachers of philosophy in seminaries.²⁹ Reading this votum, teachers were supposedly no longer as highly educated in Catholic French schools than those in public schools. Mainly the clergy, but also the laity, must be further trained in scholasticism.³⁰ The university argues for a similar approach in seminaries and Catholic secondary schools; an education to be implemented which emphasizes the “Christian culture of reason” according to age and level. Within Catholic universities, this study should be further enhanced by means of the philosophy faculty in which specialized courses are provided to both students and alumni.³¹ It is clear that the university sees the decay of society away from Christianity as having its roots in a lack of profound scholastic philosophy on all educational levels. Indeed, the university hammers time and again on this matter.

²¹ For previously mentioned aspects, see Le Bellec, Guerry, Marella, Theas, Weber, Flusin, and the Catholic Institutes of Paris, Angers, Toulouse in Chapter I.

²² ADA II/1, 257.

²³ ADA II/1, 353.

²⁴ ADA II/1, 487. One would presume that the Church has full control to provide such catechism in the private Catholic schools, but it seems that the auxiliary bishop is still quite suspicious.

²⁵ ADA II/1, 218.

²⁶ ADA II/1, 451.

²⁷ ADA IV/2, 509.

²⁸ ADA IV/2, 511; 525-26.

²⁹ ADA IV/2, 525-26.

³⁰ ADA IV/2, 522-24.

³¹ ADA IV/2, 524.

The Catholic University of Angers mainly discusses some issues related to the universities. It argues that the doctrinal confusions and opposition to Catholic education among Catholics in the French society are the result of Catholics obtaining their degrees from public universities, thereby ignoring the magisterial authority. Instead, choosing Catholic universities must be the logical and final step in the chain of Catholic education for priests, religious (and even lay) alike. While special permission by the bishop for the clergy to follow some courses in public universities might be granted, it is not desirable.³²

Regarding catechesis, Marella favors lay catechists,³³ and argues that in the methods of catechesis, any new method or technique can be appropriated as long as captivates the mind of people “from the earliest age to adulthood”.³⁴

1.2. West-Germany

After World War II, the Federal Republic ensured the right to free and private schools while it was up to the *Länder* to decide how Catholic schools were to be financed. Indeed, unlike the centralized system as for instance in France or Belgium, in West-Germany, the *Länder* had much more political and educational control. The most common law was that parents were to choose from a denominational, nondenominational or secular school built by the government. Any of these three types could be run public or private. Most often, Catholic schools were public government schools, although private schools were gaining popularity as well. The popularity of the Catholic school and the possibility to be funded by the *Länd* as a government school would very much depend on region to region (in Berlin, Hesse, Bremen and Hamburg, they could only exist as private schools; this in contrast to mainly southern states). But overall, the right for parents to have free education was a constitutional right.³⁵ In general, teachers at government schools were always prepared “in government-operated Catholic teacher-training colleges.”³⁶ As for East-Germany, Catholic schools were quasi non-existent.³⁷ No Catholic universities existed, but rather denominational Catholic theological faculties most of which were established in state universities.³⁸ Many of the German bishops had also been predominantly trained in gymnasias, making minor seminaries less popular as for instance in France.

The most extensive votum comes from the Nuncio Bafle whose proposals are more generalized and largely focused on catechesis.³⁹ He warns that educating Christian people is becoming more urgent but also more difficult. He points out that “the inherited religious atmosphere is diminishing” in light of atheistic materialism. In this respect, catechesis has become more challenging and difficult to implement where it is non-existent. Bafle is

³² ADA IV/2, 15-17.

³³ ADA II/1, 462.

³⁴ ADA II/1, 467. He warns that the progressive method has done some damage in France.

³⁵ Pöggeler, “Catholic Education in Germany,” 64, 66-7; Hermann Avenarius, “The Case of Germany,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools: Study of Comparative Law*, ed. José Luis Martínez López-Muñoz, Jan De Groof, and Gracienne Lauwers, Yearbook of the European Association for Education Law and Policy, Vol. VI (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 143-54, 144; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 318.

³⁶ Pöggeler, “Catholic Education in Germany,” 64.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid., 74; Avenarius, “The Case of Germany,” 113-14. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 318.

³⁹ Others would contributed substantially are Pohlschneider and Jaeger, and their suggestions were discussed in Chapter I.

convinced that the enhancement of catechesis, the mass of catechumens, and a stronger participation of the laity in the Mass would serve as a remedy.⁴⁰ Finally, the Catholic University of Münster emphasizes the educational role of the Church regarding moral matters and satisfying answers need to be provided on anthropological and psychological matters. The Church should further bring a response to issues related to the effects of industrialization, including the impact on labour, the role of the family, the relationship between the individual and the collective, and so forth. Finally, Münster university asks the Council to clarify the use of sociology (of religion) to explain including the non-Christian elements of sociological theories.⁴¹ Münster had experienced an industrial boom in the preceding years, thus the votum must be read against this background. Moreover, sociology of religion popularized in the USA had equally captivated much of the German academic life.

1.3. Belgium

The recent school pact of 1958 and the subsequent laws of 1959 were a huge win for the Church as it ensured the co-existence of official public and free education. The latter was established and maintained by religious institutes to which the Catholic Church belonged. Both education systems were to be funded by the government through endowments or subsidies. Teaching personnel and necessary material were subsidized. Parents were free to choose the school for their children. For the public schools, children were allowed to follow a course on religion or non-confessional philosophy. Religious institutes had the liberty to appoint religious teachers but were also responsible to regularly inspect and provide feedback to the ministry for education. The Church could maintain all the rights on curricula and teachers.⁴² This was the case for all the three linguistic provinces. As for KU Leuven, it “received subsidies for the salaries of its scientific staff and equipment” since 1930.⁴³ The Belgian clergy also had a strong impact in the missions of Africa and Asia prior to Vatican II. Moreover, Belgium, like France, had a long tradition of minor seminaries which attracted many young students.

Among the Belgian bishops,⁴⁴ Guffens SJ with experience in Congo emphasizes the need for native African priests and the training of religious brothers and sisters within seminaries and academia.⁴⁵ As for the seminaries, Suenens mainly seeks to re-establish seminary education and formation in conformity with the contemporary apostolate. He rejects a training that is simply theoretical or even spiritual formation without a formation in the apostolic sense. It is part of the “pastoral duty” directed at children, and especially adults.

⁴⁰ ADA II/1, 679-80.

⁴¹ ADA IV/2, 802-03.

⁴² Jan De Groof, “La liberté de choix en ce qui concerne l’enseignement d’une religion ou de la morale non confessionnelle en Belgique – Perspectives historiques de la relation Eglise-Etat,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 44-54; Jan De Volder, “Belgium and Luxembourg,” in *Christianity in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Annemarie C. Mayer and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024), 75-85, 77; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 171.

⁴³ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 171.

⁴⁴ For (some of) the suggestions of Calewaert, Suenens, De Jonghe D’Ardoye, Guffens, Cuverlier, KU Leuven see Chapter I.

⁴⁵ ADA II/1, 139. Cf. Meridiani, “I ‘vota’ dell’Episcopato del Benelux,” 224-25.

Multiple people need to play a guiding role in this endeavour: professors, directors, priests, and pastors. The training must be directed to make seminarians effective in evangelizing the laity. He also proposes a Pontifical Commission for this purpose and asks for more seminary inspection.⁴⁶ Among the religious bishops, Bishop Geeraerts MAfr with experience as vicar in Congo, follows Suenens by emphasizing the pastoral direction within major seminaries instead of scientific theological abstraction. He also wants more catechists in the missions,⁴⁷ which in a way seems to denote that Geeraerts still had a lot of thrust in the educational capacities of the catechist in the missions. de Jonghe D'Ardoye, resigned Apostolic Nuncio to Egypt and part of the MEP, emphasizes the involvement of priests and lay experts in ecclesiastical sciences into public schools up against state monopoly – not unsurprising given the nationalization of Egyptian schools. He also wants “the best religious teachers” for the Christian education of the youth.⁴⁸

The Nuncio Forni seeks a stronger formation of the religious and especially the sisters for the apostolic duties in a more practical sense. Moreover, he wants episcopal jurisdiction over the religious exemption, including in schools.⁴⁹ Finally, KU Leuven demands that in seminaries, there should be at least two professors to teach and explain the Bible and the relevant languages.⁵⁰ In fact, the university shares the focus on the Bible with the Lovanium.⁵¹ In the fifth year of the seminary, students should also have more extensive “pastoral probation”.⁵²

1.4. The Netherlands

The Dutch Catholic Church had witnessed an increase of liberties since the Pacification laws of 1917 and the Visser Act of 1920, and the “pillarization” system, bringing private schools on equal foot with public schools. Catholic schools and teachers were paid by the state and local municipalities (secondary private education sometimes received partial subsidies), which allowed the Church and Catholic education to flourish all the way up to the start of the Council (with some downturns during the 30s and World War II). Two Catholic universities were established during these decades, that of Nijmegen and Tilburg, and they also received funding after World War II. Religious congregations and missionaries were equally increasing and its members were strongly active in education both nationally and overseas in the missions mainly in South and Southeast Asia.⁵³

⁴⁶ ADA II/1, 142.

⁴⁷ ADA II/1, 149.

⁴⁸ ADA II/1, 153. Cf. Meridiani, “I ‘vota’ dell’Episcopato del Benelux,” 225.

⁴⁹ ADA II/1, 121, 125.

⁵⁰ ADA IV/2, 228.

⁵¹ See the section on Belgian Congo later in this chapter.

⁵² ADA IV/2, 231.

⁵³ Petrus Th. F. M. Boekholt and Engelina Petronella de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland vanaf de middeleeuwen tot aan de huidige tijd* (Van Gorcum, Assen/Maastricht 1987), 212-39; Charles L. Glenn, “Historical Background to Conflicts over Religion in Public Schools,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 277-307, 290-92; Joep van Gennip and Karim Schelkens, “The Netherlands,” in *Christianity in Western and Northern Europe*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Annemarie C. Mayer and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2024), 86-97, 90; Gielen and Gielen, “Catholic Education in The Netherlands,” 117-18; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 512.

From the remaining Dutch vota,⁵⁴ Nijmegen University recommends that all those destined for the missions should be better trained in the profane and sacred sciences. These include missiology, ethnology, linguistics, comparative religions. For this purpose, the university proposes to establish various institutes of missionary sciences. Moreover, within major seminaries and theological faculties, it needs to be ensured that the students are well trained regarding the Eastern Christians in matters of theology, history and canon law.⁵⁵ It seems that the university is not only focusing on indigenous clergy to participate in the missions (unlike Paulissen), but still believes that Dutch missionaries can continue to play a role in the missions to bring the Gospel in a variety of ways including education. While it might of course be optimistic given the religious landscape in the Netherlands and many willing to go overseas, it falls short in comprehending the political context across Asia and Africa, where multiple countries recently became independent, were on the verge of independence, or would become independent in the time to come, with an ever more increasing call for indigenous clergy (as in African countries) or even the expulsion of white missionaries at large.

1.5. United Kingdom

Given the Education Act of 1944, which furthered the already flourishing Catholic education since the Balfour Act of 1902 in England and Wales, Catholic schools were now mostly voluntary aided, maintaining half of the financial burden of the schools (soon to be reduced to a quarter by 1959) while maintaining full control over religious education, teachers and curricula. Unlike the Anglican Church which struggled tremendously to maintain the financial burden of their schools, prompting many of them to be fully controlled by the government, Catholic schools could maintain the financial burden. The educational quality had been improved, many British children were attending Catholic schools, and urban grammar schools had seen a strong increase post the War. Note that Catholic schools were in fact considered public schools, as in the English context, public schools are private and distinguished from government schools. Catholics had gained stronger educational level, going to universities. Many Catholic immigrants from Ireland, Poland and Ukraine had settled in the industrial north but also in the south. Seminaries were gaining popularity among the youth.⁵⁶ Scotland had different legislations. There, the Education Act of 1918 brought forward a system of “denominational schools” on all levels, whereby the state would financially fully support them in exchange for inspection. The Catholic Church could also appoint their own teachers and inspect the religious instruction.⁵⁷ In other words, why would British vota bemoan education? At the same time, however, British bishops and cardinals

⁵⁴ The most significant ones, that of Mutsaerts and Paulissen, were discussed in Chapter I.

⁵⁵ ADA IV/2, 478-79.

⁵⁶ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity 1920-85* (London: Collins, 1986), 477-85; Paul Meredith, “Religious Education and Collective Worship in State Schools: England and Wales,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 155-70, 157-58; Glenn, “Historical Background to Conflicts over Religion in Public Schools”, 295; White, “Catholic Education in England and Wales,” 215-16, 218. As Dayras, “Les vœux de l’épiscopat britannique,” 139, points out, the only two exceptions with Mgr Beck and Roberts SJ.

⁵⁷ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 705.

had been trained at the Beda College and at the time of the Council were very much rusted in Roman centeredness and had become some sort of “clerical élite”.⁵⁸

Among the British vota, three bishops demand the inspection of religious instruction and/or schools run by the religious orders, asking to omit some of the religious exemptions in order to have more episcopal authority in schools and education. Bishop Restieaux of Plymouth, for his part, bemoans that it has become a strong hurdle to be able to inspect religious instruction in the schools run by religious, whether by the bishops or by their delegates, and blames that such lack of inspection causes “a decrease of interest in apostolic labor among the youth” as well as “vocations for secular clergy”.⁵⁹ Bishop Murphy of Shrewsbury tells that the lack of the current delineation of religious privileges causes a strife between religious and the Ordinary, and points to the obligation of the Ordinary in matters of schools or colleges where students are taught religion.⁶⁰ A similar complaint is made by Bishop Cowderoy of Southwark where he particularly picks out the Benedictine Fathers of Worth in his diocese, who resist episcopal inspection in their schools.⁶¹ It is interesting to note this desire for episcopal control and inspection over the religious given the fact that the religious had flourished alongside Catholic schools in general. Most likely, their call for omitting some exemptions might have well to do with keeping control over the rapid increase of Catholic education in the country, but also to centralize that power back to the bishop.

Finally, Archbishop Godfrey of Westminster extensively discusses the seminaries.⁶² He particularly seeks to increase the number of vocations and argues that seminarians who enter at an advanced stage of life need to be better educated. He remains convinced that elder candidates are as capable of completing their studies in accordance with the canon law as young people. And though he allows for special colleges for advanced seminarians should it prove difficult to study alongside younger seminarians, Godfrey argues that the studies should not be shortened.⁶³

1.6. Ireland

The Irish Catholic Church was well established given the amicable relationship with the Irish state since the independence of 1922. Indeed, in Irish constitution of 1937, the special status of the Catholic Church was highlighted also because of the strong loyalty among a large population.⁶⁴ Catholic education was put on a pedestal as the Catholic Church had a quasi-monopoly through religious bodies, and it was fully subsidized by the state. Religious orders and congregations were thriving and so did priestly vocations. Irish missionaries, long one of the strongholds alongside their Flemish confreres, were still active mainly in Africa.⁶⁵ The

⁵⁸ Cf. comment of Dayras in footnote 844.

⁵⁹ ADA II/1, 30. Cf. Dayras, “Les vœux de l’épiscopat britannique,” 144.

⁶⁰ ADA II/1, 37.

⁶¹ ADA II/1, 38. Cf. Dayras, “Les vœux de l’épiscopat britannique,” 144.

⁶² For his suggestions on Greek, see Chapter I.

⁶³ ADA II/1, 43-44.

⁶⁴ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 395.

⁶⁵ John Walsh, “Creating a Modern Educational System? International Influence, Domestic Elites and the Transformation of the Irish Educational Sector, 1950–1975,” in *Essays in the History of Irish Education*, ed. Brendan Walsh (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 240-60; Gabriel Flynn, “Ireland,” in *Christianity in Western and Northern Europe*, 49-60, 49, 57; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia* 394-95.

country housed the St Patrick's University. Moreover, Irish immigration waves had brought the Catholic faith towards England, the United States and Australia

From the Irish contributions,⁶⁶ Heffernan CSSp desires an increase of Catholic literature in Africa discussing spiritual, social, economic and political aspects.⁶⁷ Heffernan had been vicar apostolic in Zanzibar, Kenya, where missions in north-Kenya had just started during the decade of the 1950s and independent movements were on the rise. Education, however, was still much in the hands of the white missionaries and the training of local priests was not very successful. Byrne, the other CSSp Bishop who had just resigned as bishop over Moshi, Tanzania, focuses on schools and seminaries in general. Regarding schools, he emphasizes the right of parents to freely choose a school and also emphasizes the state's duty to build schools and pay teachers.⁶⁸ As this situation was already prevalent in Ireland, it is highly likely that he meant to apply this rule in each nation, and especially in countries like Tanganyika which was still under British control but about to become independent in 1961. Regarding seminaries, Byrne seeks to add an additional year for philosophy and theology in order to increase the specialization of seminarians especially in history and apologetics.⁶⁹ Bishop Staunton of Ferns wants to enhance the teaching and preaching skills of seminarians directed at age different age groups.⁷⁰ Seemingly, while Irish Catholic Church had a favorable role in various aspects, both Byrne and Staunton saw that more had to be done to increase the clerical education and formation. Bishop O'Doherty of Dromore (Northern Ireland) is brief and focused on the episcopal authority regarding education in schools;⁷¹ a matter which was also discussed among the British episcopate.

1.7. Spain

The Spanish Catholic Church flourished well under the Franco's *Nuevo Estado* since the end of the civil war in 1939.⁷² The exalted status of the Church reach its pinnacle in the concordat of 1953, which highlighted the Catholic Church as the only religion of Spain.⁷³ Across the country the Church, supported by the state, held a strong grip over the educational network in Spain both private and public and almost all of the schools were seen as Catholic. Subsidies were granted for seminaries and Catholic universities. Within public schools, many liberties were granted to provide and inspect religious education.⁷⁴ Moreover, there

⁶⁶ For Heffernan, Byrne and Conway, see Chapter I.

⁶⁷ See Chapter I.

⁶⁸ ADA II/2, 109.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ ADA II/2, 82.

⁷¹ ADA II/2, 77. His call might be understandable against the backdrop of multiple schools established and run by the Christian Brothers and the Presentation Brothers.

⁷² Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 628. For a good overview of the role of the Church in the Falangist rise to power, including in educational policies, see: Xavier Laudo & Conrad Vilanou, "Educational Discourse in Spain During the Early Franco Regime (1936–1943): Toward a Genealogy of Doctrine and Concepts," *Paedagogica historica* 51, no. 4 (2015); 434–54.

⁷³ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 629.

⁷⁴ Rita Almeida de Carvalho, "Interwar Dictatorships, the Catholic Church and Concordats: The Portuguese New State in a Comparative Perspective," *Contemporary European History* 25, no. 1 (2016): 37–55, 46. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 629, 633.

were national federations to overlook education, most significantly FERE (Spanish Federation of Religious Education).⁷⁵

The Spanish Church was not very keen, at least in the beginning of the regime up until the 1950s, on pedagogical innovations – to say the least – and instead maintained a classic approach to education in the doctrinal sense in line with Franco's policies of nationalism and the segregation of genders. Multiple laws were established, providing the Church with a great influence in both Catholic and public schools at all levels – including universities – to implement morality and doctrine as long as it was combined with patriotism (as in the case of Catholic schools) or with the inspection of religious education (as in public schools).⁷⁶ By the 1950s, the new minister of education, Joaquín Ruiz-Giménez – who would in fact be asked to bring his expertise as consultant in the final sessions of the conciliar commission on *de educatione christiana* in 1965 – caused for a more open educational approach allowing some pedagogical insights from outside Spain's borders, which in practice meant mainly from Italy.⁷⁷ As del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Braster mention, “[c]ontinuity and breakaway are two tendencies that were interlinked with in the Spain of the 1950s”.⁷⁸ While the 50s experienced a shift of comprehending the child vis-à-vis education in a new light (i.e., more freedom, the child at the center with his/her own personality and more able to take personal initiative), with regions like Catalonia having the most possible freedoms (e.g., coeducation and modern teaching methods), the major shifts would only become more visible during the 60s onwards.⁷⁹ These developments in the 1950s must also be comprehended in light of a growing disagreement among Catholics with the policies of national Catholicism co-aligning with Franco's policies, which would reach a pinnacle by 1956. By then, “the church began to appear as 2 distinct overlapping churches, one being traditional and politically conservative, the other progressive and opposed to the national-Catholic image.”⁸⁰

Moreover, regional differences remained in socio-political matters. Andalusia was relatively poorer and less developed than the north of Spain, and in the 1950s, there had been an uprising of the HOAC – a part of Catholic Action in Spain, consisting of students, workers and some priests alike – who militantly criticized the socio-economic problems up against the Franco regime and the established hierarchy.⁸¹ Catalonia and Basque Country had experienced a strong support for leftist, secular groups and Republicans. In general, Spain knew a handful of significant Catholic universities, such as the Pontifical universities of the Comillas (led by Jesuits) and Salamanca (under the authority of the episcopal conference), Deusto University in Basque (led by Jesuits) and the University of Navarra in Pamplona (run by Opus Dei).⁸² Some of the Spanish religious pre-Vatican II had also been active in various

⁷⁵ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 933.

⁷⁶ María del Mar del Pozo Andrés and Sjaak Braster, “The Reinvention of the New Education Movement in the Franco Dictatorship (Spain, 1936–1976),” *Paedagogica historica* 42, nos. 1-2 (2006): 109-126, 110, 113-17.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 117-18.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 119.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 119-22.

⁸⁰ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 628.

⁸¹ Philip J. O'Hare, “The Church in Andalusia during the Franco regime” (Doctoral Dissertation, University of Bath, 1983), 67, 153-57.

⁸² Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 633.

Central and Latin American countries as well as in the Philippines, quite often bringing with them a Francoist mindset.

Among the Spanish vota,⁸³ Herrera y Oria (Malaga, Andalusia), “the bishop who was to concern himself more than any other with the social problems of the poor in Spain during this period [i.e., 1950s]” and who “was the most progressive Spanish Bishop in the field of social problems”,⁸⁴ touches on a broad range of topics and some had already been discussed in the previous chapter. He had more to contribute, however. He hopes that the laity can be trained at an academic level on issues related to social doctrine, law, and the press.⁸⁵ Adequate expertise is needed regarding publishing, including how to comprehend mass psychology and the impact on public opinion. The same holds for the media tools.⁸⁶ Special schools, either part of a broader school dealing with newspapers or social studies in general, could be established for comprehending the importance, value and influence of daily commentaries. The Catholic Church must counterbalance the ever-growing influence of the state in matters of media and the bishop refers to Italy, Spain, Germany, Egypt, Turkey and the Soviet-Union.⁸⁷

Regarding ecclesiastical universities and institutes, he particularly emphasizes the care for classical humanities, so that students at least know one of the classic Latin or Greek authors in a profound way.⁸⁸ In the minor seminaries, students should especially know the New and some passages of the Old Testament by heart including in Latin.⁸⁹ In the major seminaries, alongside the study of Latin for the Aquinas’ Summa or ecclesiastical purposes, seminarians should study other national languages and literature. Homiletics also need to be increased alongside topics related to theology, sociology, and law. In the philosophical training, the focus on the Catholic tradition is significant while only for those who seek to obtain an academic title, contemporary philosophy could be discussed. Pontifical documents dealing with liturgy, Scripture or pastoral matters must be memorized. Regarding the apostolate, adequate teachers with expertise in public law, economics and sociology are most important. The papal authority on moral theology including in topics like psychology, economics, medicine and sociology, must be respected.⁹⁰ Finally, seminarians should be involved in ministerial practice, like serving as a deacon and engaging the parish life.⁹¹ In other words, Herrera y Oria’s vision on the seminary training is a mix of old and new. For Moro Briz (Ávila), a stronger focus on chastity matters should be the case in seminaries.⁹² the Nuncio Antoniutti wants seminaries to appropriate uniform methods both in sciences and virtues. As he argues, “unity of teaching is not enough, unity and uniformity are necessary

⁸³ For some of the suggestions already discussed, see Chapter I. It concerns Hernández, Escuín, Hervás y Benet, Muñozerro, de Arriba y Castro, Estevan, Herrera y Oria, Modrego y Casás, Cantero Quadrado, Moro Briz and Romero Menjíbar, Comillas, Salamanca.

⁸⁴ O’Hare, “The Church in Andalusia during the Franco Regime,” 169.

⁸⁵ ADA II/2, 220.

⁸⁶ ADA II/2, 220-21.

⁸⁷ ADA II/2, 221.

⁸⁸ ADA II/2, 224.

⁸⁹ ADA II/2, 224.

⁹⁰ ADA II/2, 225-26.

⁹¹ ADA II/2, 226-27.

⁹² ADA II/2, 136.

in the diffusion of truth.”⁹³ The suggestion of Antoniutti, a staunch supporter of Franco, seems to hint at rejecting any form of disdain from the provided from top-down.

As far as the other educational institutes are concerned, Modrego y Casás (Barcelona) asks to further discuss and define the content of the encyclical *DIM* with respect to what is taught about the rights of the Church in schools and the education of the youth.⁹⁴ His call to update *DIM* while maintaining it to be as a fundamental document on education, is something that will find an echo during the preparatory period. Cantero Cuadrado argues that the Council of Trent’s decision to establish seminaries outside the universities had contributed to “the ‘secularization’ of education”. As a consequence, he points to “the secularization of universities” and “the ‘differentiation’ between the studies of the ecclesiastical and public disciplines.” Since theology no longer informs the natural sciences, it has for him led to an increase of “naturalism” and “atheism” and decrease of efficient Christian teaching and preaching.⁹⁵ His call resonates with what is found with Hernández discussed earlier, namely, that universities need to maintain a full Christian education that in turn influences many other aspects in society. Moro Briz, for his part, wants to ensure “every possible measure to ensure the religious education of the faithful: individually, in the family, and in schools of any order.”⁹⁶ This quote was shared in the exact same way by the Dominican Apostolic Vicar emeritus of Hai Phòng, Vietnam, Gómez de Santiago.⁹⁷ Romero Menjíbar wants to increase the diocesan and parish schools but with the aim of teaching children how to engage in the Mass and sing the liturgy⁹⁸

Bishop Tabera Araoz of Albacete, also part of the Missionary Sons of the Immaculate Heart of Mary, condemns secular historiography in Catholic schools by which he particularly targets the origins of the universe and humankind.⁹⁹ A similar rejection comes to the fore regarding natural ethics as being disconnected from the Christian ethics.¹⁰⁰ Finally, Archbishop García y García de Castro of Granada wants to ensure that every diocese, among other things, has a school and “an aula of study”.¹⁰¹ Clearly, all these bishops maintain the established norms of the Catholic Church in the country whether in schools and seminaries and seek to enhance the Church’s scope in every possible way in the same manner and ensure doctrinal orthodoxy. There is no engagement with the new pedagogy. In contrast to the Spanish bishops, the Nuncio Antoniutti proposes to adapt religious instruction in the Church and in schools to the modern methods and contemporary times.¹⁰²

As for the Spanish universities, the Salamanca University points out that to ensure the unity of “spirit” and “mind”, Ordinaries should provide the regulations in correspondence with the Holy See and to be followed by active teachers. The university also points out that if diocesan seminaries fail to provide adequate training in relation to these regulations, the

⁹³ ADA II/2, 399.

⁹⁴ ADA II/2, 151.

⁹⁵ ADA II/2, 185-86.

⁹⁶ ADA II/2, 138.

⁹⁷ ADA II/2, 443.

⁹⁸ ADA II/2, 196.

⁹⁹ ADA II/2, 115.

¹⁰⁰ ADA II/2, 120.

¹⁰¹ ADA II/2, 177.

¹⁰² ADA II/2, 399.

seminarians must be transferred to regional seminaries. In fact, for the latter, he emphasizes they ought to be established by law.¹⁰³ The suggestions of the Salamanca on the Bible are also very much rusted, as it rejects any inclusion of “Formgeschichte”. The same holds for any philosophical or scientific theory that contradicts the existing Catholic teachings. In this light, he proposes the promulgation of “a syllabus” in which the doctrinal and philosophical propositions regarding the Catholic truths are provided so that it can aid the laity and clerics alike. In general, there needs to be more Catholic theological works attacking historicism and relativism. The role of the Church in society needs to be highlighted especially also in matters of educational rights.¹⁰⁴ Clearly, the Salamanca University writes from a triumphalist approach and is not keen on any educational renewal.

The university also proposes to establish a Roman dicastery that particularly engages with the studies, “pedagogical principles or laws” of the clergy (both secular and religious) and the laity, keeping in mind “the unity of all people”. The training of the clergy should especially become “firmer, deeper, and more extensive” mainly in the Latin classics and scholastic philosophy.¹⁰⁵

1.8. Portugal

In Salazar’s *Estado Novo* or Second Portuguese Republic (1933-74) education was gradually installed across the country, slowly decreasing the illiteracy rates among adults and children.¹⁰⁶ The main constitutional law of 1933 emphasized the right of religious education and the right of private schools to teach education without state-interference, and by 1935 it was emphasized that public education should show respect for the Catholic doctrines.¹⁰⁷ The 1940 Concordat established between the Church and the Portuguese state highlighted the right of the Church to establish and maintain its own schools including religious education, and ecclesiastical study centres – all without state interference – the need for Catholic principles in the teachings of the state, Catholic religious education in universities (unless parents ask for exemption), and the right to select teachers for this purpose. By 1951, the Catholic position was firmly established as it maintained good relations with the Portuguese leadership – a law during the same year even considered the Catholic religion as the religion of Portugal – and to a large extent, Portuguese society was thriving on some of the Catholic principles and social doctrines.¹⁰⁸ Unlike Franco’s Spain, however, Salazar maintained a separation between church and state and did ensure opportunities for non-Catholics to thrive as well.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰³ ADA IV/2, 550.

¹⁰⁴ ADA IV/2, 543-47.

¹⁰⁵ ADA IV/2, 553.

¹⁰⁶ For a general outline, see Pedro Gomes and Matilde P. Machado, “Literacy and Primary School Expansion in Portugal: 1940–62,” *Revista de Historia Económica – Journal of Iberian and Latin American Economic History* 38, no. 1 (2020): 111-45, esp. 123-43.

¹⁰⁷ Paulo Pulido Adragão and Diogo Gonçalves, “Educação Religiosa nas Escolas Estatais,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 95-117, 97.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 98.

¹⁰⁹ Almeida de Carvalho, “Interwar Dictatorships,” 52-54.

Among the Portuguese vota,¹¹⁰ Vaz das Neves, bishop over two dioceses of Cochin (India) and Braga, seeks to transform the humanities in minor seminaries on an equal level with state schools to increase the knowledge of the “profane sciences” and to make young seminarians more effective in the sacred disciplines – something he deems necessary for the current times. As for theology in major seminaries, a stronger focus must be on the apostolate and the priesthood.¹¹¹ Cardoso Cunha (Beja) also wants a reformation of the theological studies in seminaries and asks to ensure “the scientific and pedagogical preparation of teachers”.¹¹²

1.9. Italy

In Italy, with the exception of the Vatican, the Lateran Concordat of 1929, later gradually ratified, reconfirmed and extended during a 1932 Law and especially the 1948 Italian Constitution, maintained that Catholic religious education was to be provided in primary and secondary schools with the option of exemption by those who wished to. The Catholic Church could maintain its own nongovernmental schools which were put on equal pedestal as government schools, at least if these schools belonged to the category of being ecclesiastically independent (and thus not private), and it could also have some considerable influence in public schools. The curriculum of religious education was established by the Holy See and the government, and was taught by lay teachers, priests and religious professors upon approval by the Ordinary and with the necessary relevant certificates. The Catholic Church had to organize its own system, however, and this was mainly done by the FIDAE (Federations of Institutes Dependent on Ecclesiastical Authority) related to the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies through the established Central Office of 1932 when fascists were in control. These included predominantly kindergarten, primary and secondary schools run by the religious, but also some parish and diocesan schools. In general, they were not funded by the state though students from underprivileged background could get funding. These schools were controlled by both the state (through its Ministry of Public Instruction) and the Church (through ordinaries or religious superiors and the Congregation on Seminaries and University Studies) in a variety of ways. Moreover, the Church had to provide its own financial means to maintain the Catholic school system, leaving it entirely dependent on school tuition fees, a lower payment of lay teachers, and contribution of religious teachers. The same holds for non-government universities. As for the seminaries, they could continue to exist and had a special juridical status. All in all, the education system was very much centralized and bureaucratized (unlike for instance in Germany or England).¹¹³ As far as the Italian episcopate is concerned, a large majority had been appointed by Pius XII, had studied at Roman faculties and regional seminaries, and

¹¹⁰ See Chapter I for other suggestions of these two bishops.

¹¹¹ ADA II/2, 579.

¹¹² ADA II/2, 617.

¹¹³ Sinistrero, “Catholic Education in Italy,” 159-65, 173-75, 179; Sergio Cicutelli, “L’Insegnamento della religione cattolica in Italia,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 71-94, 71-72; José Luis Martínez López-Muñoz, “La enseñanza de la religión en la escuela pública: panorama comparado e internacional; solución española,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 1-28, 9.

shared one common thread: the subordination and obedience to the Holy See.¹¹⁴ Across Italy, there were multiple Pontifical Universities, such as the Urbaniana, Salesiana, Marianum, Antonianum, Gregoriana, Lateranum; theological faculties and colleges such as the Napolitana, San Luigi, Cuglieri, Calabria and Puglia; and only one Catholic university, the Sacra Cuore in Milan.¹¹⁵ Of course, Italy knew many bishoprics, so the amount of contributions is tremendous.

The Salesiana provides a general outlook on education, as it mentions that “[t]he educative work is very important for the conversion of the nations and for caring for the faithful as is clear in the church history, and many documents, *Divini Illius Magistri* standing out.”¹¹⁶ *DIM* is once again considered a cornerstone. The university points out that education, though permanent, is always evolving depending on time and context and the same holds for the teaching methods and forms. Therefore, the Church ought to follow suit especially in the wake of the following developments: growing literacy (especially among women), technical progress, democratic movements, migrations, and civil rights.¹¹⁷ Therefore, the Salesiana wants the Council to emphasize “the educative role of the Mother Church” as “very important”. While borrowing from the doctrinal and moral tradition by means of theological studies, Catholic education should also embrace psychology, sociology, and pedagogical methodologies, “so that the educator’s work is as suitable as possible for each person”. In addition, Christian norms and pastoral care is necessary to fully prepare the people.¹¹⁸ In order to protect and guide the right education imparted through the Church, the Salesiana asks for the establishment of centres for scientific pedagogy as well as official bodies that overlook educational matters, Christian life and pastoral work in cooperation with consultants.¹¹⁹ Clearly, the university provides a balanced view: while being open to new developments and adaptations, Catholic education must continue borrowing from the past and be guarded in the best possible way.

That education is of crucial importance, but also that it is lacking efficiency at the threshold of Vatican II, is clear as some of the bishops sound the alarm. For instance, Bishop Carli of Segni – another future member of the *Coetus Internationalis Patrum* – criticizes the failed attempts at all sides to form a true Christian, as he complains that insufficient time is spent to bring about a Christian formation to the youth. The same holds for educating catechumens; and for him, it is the case in all institutes including the school and in the parishes.¹²⁰ Similarly, Bishop Pangrazio of Livorno complains about the correct understanding of the doctrines of the Church among the people and faithful and thus seeks to enhance the knowledge through theological schools, catechesis and education at large for the youth.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Morozzo della Rocca, “I ‘voti’ dei vescovi italiani,” 121.

¹¹⁵ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 412-13. These are some of the most notable, but for a full list, see *ibid*.

¹¹⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 190.

¹¹⁷ ADA IV/I/2, 190-91.

¹¹⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 191.

¹¹⁹ ADA IV/I/2, 192.

¹²⁰ ADA II/3, 640; it is worth mentioning that Roy-Lysencourt did not incorporate this part of the votum of Carli in his book *‘Les vota préconciliaires’*.

¹²¹ ADA II/3, 341.

Among the Italian vota,¹²² the recurrent aspects of education and formation are visible: it takes place in the family, the seminaries, the schools, through catechesis, and in the Church at large. The Italian bishops seek to ensure that Christian education and formation is enhanced and propose various reforms and ideas that the Council should take into consideration. The approach is rather defensive. Regarding catechesis, Italian bishops agree that it remains an important part of education and formation for the laity. Some focus on catechesis for children and adults, while others only mention adults. Bishop Mazzocco of Adria underlines the importance of catechesis to children and adults, depending on the diversity of the region.¹²³ Carli asks for “a method” to teach catechesis to children and adults,¹²⁴ but does not elaborate. Bishop Carraro of Verona argues that catechesis, especially related to adults, remains “a major problem in the pastoral work” which should be treated “with utmost importance”.¹²⁵ Bishop Mistrorigo of Treviso is of a similar opinion. For him, it is an “urgent” and “serious obligation” to provide catechesis for adults, which can take place during the Mass: instead of a short homily, “an organic catechetical instruction” should be provided.¹²⁶ From Napoli, Cardinal Castaldo highlights that all the clergy and all those engaged in Catholic Action must provide catechesis for children and adults for at least one hour a week as determined by the Ordinary.¹²⁷ Auxiliary Bishop Poletti of Novara argues catechesis to children and adults is “urgent”. Therefore, catechesis must be implemented in schools, associations and seminaries. For him catechesis and religious education coincide and it must be imbued in the course material. Catechesis must also be implemented in journals and newspapers.¹²⁸ Bishop Boiardi of Apuania also wants to elevate catechesis, making it one of the main concerns for bishops and part of the seminary training. Catechists must be trained in specialized schools by experts.¹²⁹ For Bishop Leonetti of Ferentino, the necessity to increase catechesis to children is correlated to the increasing lack of parents to provide religious instruction to their children in the families.¹³⁰ Somewhat similar, Bishop Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone wants to reinstall the Christian obligation to listen to hours of catechesis.¹³¹ Bishop Massimiliani of Modigliani want to increase catechesis during the sermons and in schools to ensure unity and counter errors.¹³² For the Russian Marian Father Katkoff, the Co-adjutor of the Bishop for Byzantine Rite Catholics in Rome, when providing catechesis in schools, a more wholesome worldview must be provided that also includes other cultures and Christian traditions.¹³³ His suggestion must be understood in light of his eastern Catholic affiliation.

¹²² For previous vota of the Pontifical Universities and some of the Italian bishops, see Chapter I.

¹²³ ADA II/3, 23.

¹²⁴ ADA II/3, 605. Cf. Roy-Lysencourt, *Les vota préconciliaires*, 29.

¹²⁵ ADA II/3, 738.

¹²⁶ ADA II/3, 690.

¹²⁷ ADA II/3, 420-21.

¹²⁸ ADA II/3, 875.

¹²⁹ ADA II/3, 57.

¹³⁰ ADA II/3, 255.

¹³¹ ADA II/3, 735.

¹³² ADA II/3, 387.

¹³³ ADA II/3, 885.

One of the few – probably the only one – to be critical of catechesis is Bishop Ursi of Nardò. He points to the inefficiency of catechesis as it works only “a little bit”. Despite the religious education it provides, people are not necessarily more faithful. Instead, for Ursi, other “wiser methods” should be used to teach adults and children,¹³⁴ but he does not provide any description of such alternative methods.¹³⁵ Along with the vota of Tinivella and Roatta,¹³⁶ Mistrorigo proposes to establish national offices to coordinate projects related to catechesis and to provide the necessary support. Catechist schools should also function by means of relevant teachers and the right equipment.¹³⁷

It is noticeable that Italian episcopate is the only one across European vota to deal so extensively on catechesis. While in other parts of the world, catechesis had become largely overtaken by religious education in schools, seemingly, despite the fact that the Italian Catholic Church could provide education in Catholic schools and religious education in public schools, it was still necessary for the bishops to emphasize the positive value of catechesis despite the variety of catechetical movements and centers within the country. But it is clear from the vota that the main issue lies in providing catechesis outside the schools in activities related to the Church (Mass) and in training seminarians to understand and teach catechesis. In general, Italy did not know uniformity when it came to teaching catechesis, and multiple individuals and movements had made their way in providing catechesis in one way or the other. Nevertheless, that it was still not enough, is visible in the urgency of Italian vota.

Next to catechesis, education in schools is discussed. The Salesiana is the only one to forewarn that the Council to come up with directive norms regarding the scholarly issue in correlation to the Church in different national settings.¹³⁸ It points out how the fate of Catholic schools had become endangered given the fact that many of these schools had to accept curricula provided by the state which include agnostic and secular tendencies. It is therefore in the “highest interest” of the Church to devote herself to the teaching of students and “the formation of their personality”. Catholic schools and colleges, especially those run by religious, should strive for “excellence in educational matters” by providing the best didactic preparation by any time or means necessary. This ought to take place with the assistance of doctors, psychologists, sociologists, and social workers. Coordination with families is also a requirement. All of the clergy and lay should be trained in the best pedagogical ways for this purpose.¹³⁹ It is significant, however, that the Salesiana is rather defensive in claiming that all what the state can provide in education is agnostic or secular while the positive aspects are omitted.

But while the Salesiana is the only one which sees the globality of schools as an important aspect, also because of the large international network of Don Bosco schools, it is definitely not the only Italian votum which deals with the school issue. On a more structural

¹³⁴ ADA II/3, 424.

¹³⁵ ADA II/3, 424.

¹³⁶ See Chapter I.

¹³⁷ ADA II/3, 690.

¹³⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 189.

¹³⁹ ADA IV/I/2, 193-94.

level, Bishop Casullo of Nusco, mainly focused on Italy, wants to establish colleges resided by “the best ecclesiastical men” to strengthen the Christian education of the laity. Various dioceses could unite for this endeavor in order to for the Italian government to subsidize these schools directly and indirectly.¹⁴⁰ Auxiliary Bishop Bottino of Turin wants to increase diocesan and urban convents and schools for higher Catholic studies whether it be for priests or the laity.¹⁴¹ It is unclear whether he focused only on Italy or on the whole world. Along with establishing new schools, Principi (Loretto, Curia member) wants to see national ecclesiastical commissions dealing with Christian teaching in schools and to ensure this education is done.¹⁴²

Other proposals focus more on the teaching content in schools. The vota have a diverse outlook. Apostolic Delegate of Albania, Nigris, argues against evolutionism being taught in various schools.¹⁴³ Archbishop Parente of Perugia, soon to become a member of the Congregation of the Holy Office, generally mentions that the pedagogical methods in Catholic schools and colleges will have to be adapted to the modern needs.¹⁴⁴ Bishop Musto of Aquino, Sora e Pontecorvo bemoans that the traditional theological and philosophical doctrines based on Aquinas are being overturned in Catholic schools. He underlines that Thomistic teachings should continue to flourish in Catholic schools;¹⁴⁵ perhaps not unsurprising given the fact that the bishop resides over Aquino... Similarly, the Lateranum emphasizes the need to continue scholasticism in Catholic schools;¹⁴⁶ showing an unwillingness of the university to open up for teaching methods beyond what had been taught for the past centuries. The Lateranum also adds that teachers in Catholic and ecclesiastical schools must have academic degrees.¹⁴⁷ Bishop Rinaldi of S. Marco e Besignano, for his part, that Catholic schools must implement more courses related to the apostolate and pastoral care.¹⁴⁸

More critical and extensive is Imberti, who was already discussed at multiple points in detail previously,¹⁴⁹ but in fact provides even more details. All Catholic teachers should work under the leadership of the Church to imbue every discipline with religion as it is the “crown and foundation of all disciplines”. For this purpose, new didactic texts need to be made incorporating this demand. For instance, in the course of classics, Christian works need to be read alongside non-Christian classics especially on moral matters. The same goes for contemporary literature: those books which include moral and religious sense should be promoted. Teachers opposing Catholicism need to be countered while Catholic teachers should be well organized on a national and international level.¹⁵⁰ The assistants of Catholic teachers must have a good expertise (literature, history, sciences, ...) in each grade ranging

¹⁴⁰ ADA II/3, 467.

¹⁴¹ ADA II/3, 670.

¹⁴² ADA II/3, 756.

¹⁴³ ADA II/3, 826.

¹⁴⁴ ADA II/3, 530.

¹⁴⁵ ADA II/3, 66.

¹⁴⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 177-89, 425-27.

¹⁴⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 273.

¹⁴⁸ ADA II/3, 583.

¹⁴⁹ See Chapter I.

¹⁵⁰ ADA II/3, 729.

from primary schools to universities. All this also ought to take place in public schools as well as much as is possible.¹⁵¹ His proposal more or less resonates with the argumentation of *DIM*.

The most extensive votum on schools next to Imberti, is once again from the Salesiana. The university maintains that religious education and (increasing) Catholic schools are highly relevant and urgent, especially given the rising student population.¹⁵² In order to promote Catholic schools and education, there ought to be various initiatives which include pedagogical studies at Catholic universities, the implementation of pedagogy in seminaries, and the promotion of Catholic associations of teachers active in different levels across Catholic nations. These associations are to be “powerful tools” to obtain pedagogical and didactic progress in both Catholic and non-Catholic nations. They should also be represented in international bodies such as UNESCO, le Bureau International de l’Education, and the Conseil de l’Europe à Strasbourg, Pax Romana, and OMEP (Organisation mondiale éducation préscolaire). Catholics, related to Catholic Action, might also be active on a political level to influence the public opinion.¹⁵³ It is clear that the Salesiana is optimistic about the role of the Catholic school for the future, but the question arises whether it fully takes into consideration local and contextual issues ranging from Catholics being a small minority, financial issues, hostile governments, to the missions where the future still looked uncertain.

As was discussed, the Catholic Church had the privilege in Italy to implement religious education in public schools at the threshold of the Council. However, some bishops were not happy with the way things were going. Principi is clear: the religious education in Italian public schools provided by the clergy “has produced the desired results after thirty years”, and he demands ecclesiastical commissions to come up with solutions.¹⁵⁴ For Mazzocco, “catechetical instruction” by qualified teachers in public schools is important and should therefore be timely organized.¹⁵⁵ Imberti seeks to influence public schools on a national level through associations of teachers and parents influencing national laws.¹⁵⁶ While associations of teachers should be maintained on a local, regional and international level to solidify the “Catholic, Christian ideology”, associations of parents should use the existing national constitutions to their own benefit. Parents should be cooperative with Catholic teachers in school activities, and both associations should discuss principles regarding Christian education, in order to influence Catholicism in schools in general.¹⁵⁷ Regarding the latter, while he seems to universalize his wish, it is clear that he writes from the Italian context where parents had largely been kept at the background in educational matters; unlike in other contexts like for instance Germany or Switzerland where they had been more engaged with the schools.

¹⁵¹ ADA II/3, 730.

¹⁵² ADA IV/I/2, 185.

¹⁵³ ADA IV/I/2, 185-86.

¹⁵⁴ ADA II/3, 756.

¹⁵⁵ ADA II/3, 23.

¹⁵⁶ ADA II/3, 730. See also the proposals discussed earlier by Guerry in France, and Romero Menjíbar in Spain.

¹⁵⁷ ADA II/3, 730-31.

The Salesiana provides a whole list of guidelines regarding public schools, underscoring the need for Catholics to be active in them given the popularity among the student populations. Moreover, the episcopal conferences must ensure the welfare of Catholic pupils within public schools, and it must be ensured that Catholics can receive religious education. If not, Catholic pupils should follow religious instruction after the school hours. Religious teachers active in public schools should have adequate expertise in pedagogy and didactics by specialized studies and an appropriate practical internship.¹⁵⁸ Like Imberti, the Salesiana points to the need of Catholics to be influence legislations on a bureaucratic and political level. It is also convinced that all of these points of discussion can be implemented provided that the state is governed by democratic principles.¹⁵⁹

Another issue related to public schools concerns the priests, and the opinions are not unified. Bishop Mennona of Muro Lucano, for instance, wants to forbid priests to teach in public schools except for those schools under religious or ecclesiastical authority. If priests are persistent nonetheless, they should not receive financial aid to prevent personal enrichment. Moreover, they should not be allowed “to give private lectures to girls at all, and no more than two hours a day to boys, so that they can instead focus on the sacred service.”¹⁶⁰ While it is guesswork why Mennona specifically points to this issue, it is worth to note that it is part of the priestly discipline. On the other side of spectrum, the Lateranum sees a great benefit if priests would get involved in public schools to provide religious and moral education.¹⁶¹ Similarly, though focusing on primary schools, Archbishop Camozzo of Pisa argues that priests should not abandon religious education.¹⁶² Bottino is adamant to highlight the importance of priests active at schools and colleges of local dioceses. They be experts in the sciences and arts and be proficient in argumentation.¹⁶³ Both Brustia and Carli point out that the amount of priests is too less to teach religion in schools.¹⁶⁴ Someone like Ursi is more at ease with having deacons in public schools to provide religious education.¹⁶⁵ Finally, Carli advises to have faithful lay people as teachers in schools, colleges and universities, at least for the profane sciences. In this way, priests and the religious can focus on the apostolate.¹⁶⁶

The Cuglieri Seminary talks of clerics teaching in “schools”, though it does not specify whether it includes both Catholic and public schools. Focusing on can. 1373 § 2, the seminary underlines that it is the responsibility of the bishop to ensure that his priests provide the best religious education in secondary schools and universities by having appropriated pedagogical skills and preferably a theological or civil licentiate or laureate. If priests are not available, then the religious can perform the task. As for § 3, it should be ensured that

¹⁵⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 186-87.

¹⁵⁹ ADA IV/I/2, 186-87.

¹⁶⁰ ADA II/3, 415-16.

¹⁶¹ ADA IV/I/1, 273.

¹⁶² ADA II/3, 540.

¹⁶³ ADA II/3, 670.

¹⁶⁴ ADA II/3, 49, 606. Cf. Roy-Lysencourt, *Les vota préconciliaires*, 24, for Carli.

¹⁶⁵ ADA II/3, 426.

¹⁶⁶ ADA II/3, 606. Cf. Roy-Lysencourt, *Les vota préconciliaires*, 24.

teachers spend enough time to prepare the lectures, and alumni must be engaged in Catholic Action.¹⁶⁷

The only Italian votum to focus on private schools in general (that of course includes Catholic schools) comes from the Salesiana. The main demand has to do with the financial survival of private schools, for which the university demands that private schools must have equal rights and funding by the state like public schools. This state must fund the entrance fees to private schools, so that it is free for parents to send their children there.¹⁶⁸ For these purposes, especially organizations like OIEC could aid. Moreover, a free school must not mean a decay of teachers with adequate expertise.¹⁶⁹

Other school aspects come to the fore. For instance, Pennisi argues that parish schools focused on religious knowledge should be effective and well managed. A book incorporating the Christian teaching for parish schools and Catholic youth groups can be helpful in this endeavor.¹⁷⁰ For the missions, the Salesiana seeks to increase Catholic schools while ensuring they can be managed up against a rising number of students.¹⁷¹ The question holds whether local people were waiting for that. Regarding coeducation of the genders, Mazzocco argues against it¹⁷² while the Antonianum simply asks for clarification.¹⁷³ Bishop Santin of Trieste e Capodistria underlines that “Christian education belongs to the reign of God on earth” and parents must have the liberty to choose schools.¹⁷⁴ Clearly, all these vota maintain the importance of the Catholic school, the Catholic religious education, and the authority of the Church in this matter; pointing more to a defensive undertone of what has been and should continue to be.

Beyond Catholic and public schools, some Italian vota focus on the universities though on different aspects.¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, it is perhaps the only European episcopates dealing with universities in the first place, but the vota also show the tensions at play in Rome regarding the right interpretations on a variety of issues. The Salesiana emphasizes that theological studies should incorporate the “latest specialization” in matters like the Biblical studies, patristics, scholasticism to revise some of the existing dogmatic and moral treatises.¹⁷⁶ Principi, for his part, admonishes professors of Biblical studies to follow the Magisterial teaching in explaining the Scripture;¹⁷⁷ not unsurprising being a Lateranum alumnus. In a similar vein, Vicar General Micara of Rome, also President of the Pontifical Commission for Sacred Archeology, argues that it is an opportunity to ensure that the Magisterial teaching is implemented in pontifical universities and faculties. This includes the interpretation of the sources of Revelation: the Scripture, the oral tradition, the doctrines of the Church Fathers and theologians, history and philosophy. At the same time, Micara

¹⁶⁷ ADA IV/2, 661.

¹⁶⁸ ADA IV/I/2, 188.

¹⁶⁹ ADA IV/I/2, 189.

¹⁷⁰ ADA II/3, 559.

¹⁷¹ ADA IV/I/2, 186; cf. ADA III, 192.

¹⁷² ADA II/3, 23.

¹⁷³ ADA IV/I/2, 107.

¹⁷⁴ ADA II/3, 696.

¹⁷⁵ For Nigris, Cambiagli, Lateranum, Antonianum, Bonaventura, Sacred Music, Urbaniana see Chapter I.

¹⁷⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 185-86.

¹⁷⁷ ADA II/3, 757.

argues that excessive scholasticism can be avoided.¹⁷⁸ The University of Naples Federico II emphasizes that for moral theology, the Council should declare the Christian moral teachings especially regarding chastity, justice and charity. Moral relativism especially among the laity must be countered.¹⁷⁹

Another major recurrent topic is that of seminaries.¹⁸⁰ Principi wants to ensure that in every nation there is an inspection of the seminary education to ensure that the studies are in line with the instructions of the Holy See.¹⁸¹ Parente agrees with it as well, but adds that recent pedagogical developments must also be implemented.¹⁸² It is clear that Parente and Principi, closely related to Rome, want to maintain the magisterial authority in seminaries. As for the directors of seminaries, the Dominican Archbishop Addazi of Trani e Barletta argues that they should be “spiritual”, “pious” and “experts” in education. They should especially be knowledgeable in psychology;¹⁸³ one of the few to comprehend the positive aspects of this discipline. In a similar vein, Rector O’Connor of the Pontifical North American College and President of the Pontifical Commission for Social Communications, argues for spiritual directors who should ensure that seminarians are equally trained in “prudence” and “obedience to the works of the Church.”¹⁸⁴ The Salesiana, focusing particularly on theology in seminaries, points to the need of well qualified professors who can guide students with relevant and related exercises.¹⁸⁵ Each one focuses on different aspects regarding the matter, but the need to have qualified experts and pious directors available in the seminaries returns.

Regarding the teaching content, various proposals pop up as well. Massimiliani wants to increase the study of the sacred sciences, and mainly the Biblical studies, canon law, Christian sociology, ascetic and pastoral theology. For this purpose, less time should be spent on the profane sciences.¹⁸⁶ Bishop Faveri of Tivoli, for his part, underlines the continuation of scholastic texts.¹⁸⁷ The Lateranum places the emphasis on spiritual exercises, scholasticism, Scriptural knowledge, Catholic Action and the lay apostolate.¹⁸⁸ The most extensive proposal from the university, comes from Barbano, who belongs to the lay religious congregation of the De La Salle Brothers. He points out – mainly with respect to countries where Romance languages are spoken – that the theological studies in seminaries are no longer relevant for the times as recent graduates (often at twenty-three) are no longer sufficiently guiding the laity by means of adequate catechesis, homilies and public activities. The causes for this problem lie for Barbano in that too little attention is given to literary studies, ecclesiastical and civil history, mathematics, and physical sciences. Moreover, the amount of time spent to philosophy is too little to cover the main topics of logic, criteriology,

¹⁷⁸ ADA II/3, 717-18.

¹⁷⁹ ADA IV/2, 706-07.

¹⁸⁰ For Casullo, Vozzi, Lateranum, see Chapter I.

¹⁸¹ ADA II/3, 757.

¹⁸² ADA II/3, 530.

¹⁸³ ADA II/3, 682.

¹⁸⁴ ADA II/3, 910.

¹⁸⁵ ADA IV/I/2, 185.

¹⁸⁶ ADA II/3, 218.

¹⁸⁷ ADA II/3, 645.

¹⁸⁸ ADA IV/I/1, 179, 193-94, 244-47, 285-87.

anthropology, psychology, cosmology, metaphysics and ethics. It has even left out other topics such as the history of philosophy. In order to counter “non-Christianization”, seminarians need to be aware about the scientific and technical advancements in society along with the historical causes which led to the socio-political and moral situation in which society has developed to. If there remains an ignorance regarding the scientific fields in particular (the theories of relativity, matter, natural evolution and paleontology), the clergy will lose touch with the social reality.¹⁸⁹

While Barbano agrees that priests ought not to become scientists, he does argue that they should at least have some knowledge of the pertinent questions. In this light, he proposes a restructuring of the whole curriculum in the following way: four years of basic literary preparation which includes religious instruction in the form of catechesis, sacred history, national languages and literature, at least one foreign language, Latin and Greek, comparative ancient history, Greco-Roman history, medieval history, civil history in light of Church history, elementary mathematics, natural sciences and geography. After this period follows three years of “scientific-literary preparation” which includes a further comprehension of religion through expanded catechesis, Church history, national languages and literature, introduction to foreign literatures, Latin and Greek, civil and ecclesiastical history, mathematics especially trigonometry, physics, chemistry, natural sciences and geography, and a basic introduction to elementary philosophy. Finally, a period to follow specific preparation is needed, but Barbano does not provide the number of years. This period mainly concerns scholastic philosophy, theology, and Christian sociology.¹⁹⁰

Next to the Lateranum, the Salesiana is also keen to renew ecclesiastical studies within seminaries, and in atheneae and religious houses as well.¹⁹¹ In general, theological studies consistent of a variety of topics must be held together in a Christocentric approach.¹⁹² Regarding the curriculum in specific, Hebrew already taught in the pastoral courses could be eliminated.¹⁹³ Legal discussions related to moral theology and canon law must be treated by canonists, while the history of religions and historical dogma should be added. Both fields should be treated in between dogmatic theology and Scripture, in between Church history and dogmatics with an eye for patristics.¹⁹⁴ Memorization ought to be avoided, instead, seminarians must be trained in comprehension and the art of reasoning.¹⁹⁵ Latin ought to be maintained while Christian philosophy should play a significant role in order to contradict modern philosophical errors.¹⁹⁶ Seminarians should also follow theology on an academic level, which also has to aim to provide a “scientific formation”. Upon completing, further specialization is possible in dogmatic, moral, or oriental theology, Biblical studies, canon law, Church history, Christian archaeology, missiology, philosophy, pedagogy, or sociology. After two years, students can obtain a licentiate while one extra year is needed to obtain a

¹⁸⁹ ADA IV/I/1, 434.

¹⁹⁰ ADA IV/I/1, 434-35.

¹⁹¹ ADA IV/I/2, 182.

¹⁹² ADA IV/I/2, 184.

¹⁹³ ADA IV/I/2, 184.

¹⁹⁴ ADA IV/I/2, 185.

¹⁹⁵ ADA IV/I/2, 185.

¹⁹⁶ ADA IV/I/2, 183;

laureate.¹⁹⁷ Clearly, this whole reshuffling of the seminary training resonates with what we have seen earlier with the Spanish Herrera y Oria, but it also shows how it is a bit different from what was discussed by Barbano – the latter having more an eye for natural sciences and mathematics.

Further ahead in the Salesiana's votum, pedagogy is emphasized for the education and formation of the clergy. This implies that seminarians must learn how to provide education to students after them based on the Christian tradition and insights from psychology and sociology. This "pedagogical character" should be implemented in the pastoral studies and therefore the right teachers and theoretical texts ought to be established to provide seminarians with these skills. A practical internship will also prove beneficial for this purpose.¹⁹⁸ Unlike Barbano and the Lateranum, the Salesiana includes pedagogy as an important part of the training, and it shows that each university has its own focus when it comes to a proper restructuring of the seminary training – a daunting preliminary of the discussions to come during the preparatory period regarding the ecclesiastical universities.

The Sacro Cuore in Milan, the only non-pontifical university among the Italian vota, points to the impact of psychological studies on comprehending the differences between the genders and asks whether some of the psychological topics could be provided to the seminarians by teachers of moral theology. It is convinced that the students should at least have knowledge of "the best psychological elements".¹⁹⁹ Another proposal for clerical education comes from the Naples University, seeing it as an urgent matter that needs to be completely revised including the selection procedure, as it observes many "defections" and "apostasy" among priests.²⁰⁰ The Council should further contemplate how to make the selection of seminarians more vigilant and provide a document with the necessary criteria as in line with pontifical documents, especially the encyclical *Ad Catholici Sacerdotii* from Pius XI.²⁰¹ Regarding the structure, boys showing any sign of a vocation within the lower secondary schools ("scholae mediae inferioris") should be sent to parish or diocesan schools that promote further education for the "semi-convicts". If these schools are lacking, colleges should be established for this purpose that are distinguishable from seminaries. Only the "elite" students who shine out should be sent further to seminaries. In this way, adolescents studying classics in higher secondary schools should not be sent to seminaries. The major seminaries should only be the place where theological and philosophical studies take place and should be strongly separated from minor seminaries.²⁰² Regarding the philosophical studies, students need to be trained into scholastic philosophy for two years unless they have already acquired some expertise in the higher tier secondary schools (then, only one year suffices). The importance of interior mediation will also play a significant role during these years. Either prior to the theological studies or afterwards, seminarians should also appropriate practical skills by engaging in teaching catechesis to children in secondary

¹⁹⁷ ADA IV/1/2, 185.

¹⁹⁸ ADA IV/1/2, 192. Cf. 194. See also Chapter I.

¹⁹⁹ ADA IV/2, 454.

²⁰⁰ ADA IV/2, 707.

²⁰¹ ADA IV/2, 708.

²⁰² ADA IV/2, 708-09.

schools for at least one year. After this period, they might get ordained. During the whole time of the studies, “simplicity” and “humility” should be at the centre.²⁰³ Once again, like the Salesiana and Lateranum earlier, the theological faculty here extensively engages with the way clerical education ought to take place; but unlike the other two, the focus is not so much on content as it is on the structure and selection procedure of clerical studies and priestly candidates.

Bishop Dal Prà of Terni e Narni also provides a whole list of reforms. He argues that that seminarians ought to become “masters of truth and virtuousness thinking of Christ alone.” He criticizes the fact that students only get acquainted with the sacred sciences during the final years of their studies. For him, vocations are not stimulated when the profane studies and especially on Latin and Greek authors takes a significant amount of time during teenage. For Dal Prà, a curriculum that does not include a focus on building “a strong faith” from a young age onwards, will lead to a loss of vocations. Instead, he ponders whether the studies can be organized in such a way that all the courses are informed by “the fundamentals of faith”. This will also imply that some course material must be dropped at least in the amount of time spent on one topic. Rather than focusing on Latin in the most comprehensive way, only clerical Latin could be provided. Studies related to Church history should also be provided on a much earlier stage next to civil history. Philosophy can also be taught prior to theology.²⁰⁴ While the minor seminary was generally established to foreground a priestly vocation among young students, it was also ensured that they had an educational surplus should they not build a vocation and opt to pursue a lay career. But it is clear that this also implied finding a status quo in the curriculum and someone like Dal Prà seems to put the blame on that.

The Salesian Bishop Emeritus Emmanuel of Castellammare di Stabia, for his part, bemoaned the quality of education in regional seminaries as he considered the education too long and too much focused on the profane (cf. Massimiliani, Dal Prà), belonging more to ecclesiastical universities and atheneae than seminaries. Important aspects such as pastoral theology, asceticism, and the Bible were being omitted (cf. Massimiliani). He points out that priests who have left the seminary shun parish work and instead seek to obtain important positions in the Curia and the Church at large. Those who do end up doing parish work lack the sufficient skills.²⁰⁵ In this impasse, Emmanuel proposes to put the focus on practical theology in seminaries along with the Scripture and the pastoral mission. It is up to the atheneae to provide scientific education.²⁰⁶

While the abovementioned authors provide multiple suggestions, a special topic of focus in seminaries among other *vota* is the Scripture. Bishop Rossi of Biella asks for more clarity on the “liberal interpretations” on the Bible circulating in seminaries.²⁰⁷ Archbishop Lercaro of Bologna asks for more prudence regarding the use of Scripture.²⁰⁸ Carraro

²⁰³ ADA IV/2, 709.

²⁰⁴ ADA II/3, 641-42.

²⁰⁵ ADA II/3, 824.

²⁰⁶ ADA II/3, 824-25.

²⁰⁷ ADA II/3, 106.

²⁰⁸ ADA II/3, 116.

emphasizes the need to install priestly teachers that have been trained in ecclesiastical schools,²⁰⁹ although he does clarify which ones. But between the lines, one reads the reservedness towards *Formgeschichte*.

Another aspect regarding teaching content comes from Bishop Cassulo of Macerata et Tolentino, who argues that some independence to implement civil studies in seminaries should be granted.²¹⁰ Unlike what the Italian bishops like Dal Prà, Massimiliani and Emmanuel focus on, the American O'Connor as rector of the North American College and President for Social Communications seeks to introduce more contemporary disciplines (without defining them) and practical exercises.²¹¹ Another input comes from Bishop Binni of Nola, who wants to have a more profound study of the Marian doctrine.²¹² Mary, however, played an important role in Binni's diocese, given the fact that the cathedral in Nola was also attributed to her.

The Russian Marian Father Katkoff, in line with what was discussed for catechesis earlier, mentions that Eastern priests should be allowed to explain Eastern Orthodoxy in seminaries. Papal documents regarding Oriental studies should also be continuously taught.²¹³ Of course, his Russian background, studies at the Oriental Institute in Rome, being active among the Eastern Catholics and himself coadjutor Bishop of the Byzantine rite, play a large role in his votum. Along with the other proposal of the *Gregoriana* discussed earlier,²¹⁴ it proposes to have a stronger focus on the social sciences (cf. Herrera y Oria, Massimiliani),²¹⁵ homiletics,²¹⁶ and more clarity regarding the use of Scripture in academic education.²¹⁷ For Ursi, the Christian kerygma must inform all the other disciplines in the seminaries (cf. *Salesiana*), scholastic methods must be maintained, and complete knowledge of the Scripture is necessary. The specific text criticism does not belong to the seminaries but rather to the *athenea*.²¹⁸

Principi is also of the opinion that seminarians could take up some practical experience working in the diaconate. Those ending up without having a vocation could then immediately work in the diaconate.²¹⁹ Addazi OP has a different view. For him, seminarians who have finished the course of theology, should become deacons and return to their own diocese. Only when the age of thirty is reached and after a fifth year of theological studies, a deacon can be promoted to priest. Up until that time, the future priest can devote himself to various ministries, such as "reading the Gospel during the Mass", "baptize", "assist the dying", "help with Catholic Action in the parish", "hearing confessions", and "teaching (religion) in public schools and seminaries". This probation period should not extend five

²⁰⁹ ADA II/3, 737.

²¹⁰ ADA II/3, 358.

²¹¹ ADA II/3, 910.

²¹² ADA II/3, 442.

²¹³ ADA II/3, 885.

²¹⁴ See Chapter I.

²¹⁵ ADA IV/I/1, 87.

²¹⁶ ADA IV/I/1, 31.

²¹⁷ ADA IV/I/1, 127-28. To repeat it once again: the fights between the *Biblicum* (supported by the *Gregoriana*) and the *Lateranum* needs to be taken into consideration.

²¹⁸ ADA II/3, 425.

²¹⁹ ADA II/3, 753.

years.²²⁰ Two vota discuss separate issues. Livraghi wants to have more episcopal control over major seminaries entrusted to the religious,²²¹ while Cassulo wants to see more regional seminaries in light of dwindling student numbers in small dioceses.²²² The same suggestion is shared by the Cuglieri Seminary and the University of Naples Federico II.²²³

Along with catechesis, schools, and seminaries, Italian vota discuss the religious clergy.²²⁴ Tinivella demands that the female religious do more of pastoral work, especially providing catechesis,²²⁵ a bold statement given their already worldwide contribution in schools. The Franciscan and former Bishop Palazzi of Hengyang, having to flee China due to Mao's victory, talks of the religious sisters but mainly the ones active in the missions and proposes that they should get well-versed in the local languages, and, among other things, teach in Catholic schools.²²⁶ Other points of critique are directed at the wealth of certain religious orders and congregations. Principi points out that religious orders have to reappropriate their original purpose of educating the youth from humble backgrounds.²²⁷ Furthermore, he wants to reduce or even abolish religious exemptions.²²⁸ In a similar vein, Auxiliary Bishop Micci of Larino wants to see episcopal control over the religious houses at the borders of the parish in order to inspect the teaching and catechesis provided by the religious.²²⁹ Poletti is also convinced that the pastoral collaboration would be improved if local bishops could work closely together with local congregations and religious orders.²³⁰

As far as the liturgy is concerned (language not included), Tinivella wants to reform the homily to be a moment of "teaching the Christian doctrine".²³¹ A similar argument is made by Pennisi,²³² and Massimiliani. The latter adds an increase of readings of the Bible, the writings of the Church Fathers, and ecclesial and pontifical documents.²³³ The issue of preaching is recurrent across these vota and should indeed be read alongside the earlier critiques on the seminary training where for some homiletics was an issue. Another widespread theme among the Italian vota is that of media tools and journalism, but almost all of them were already discussed previously.²³⁴ Two more vota need to be added. Boiardi wants to use media tools, and the press for spreading catechesis. For this purpose, he also proposes schools particularly focused on teaching all the required skills and expertise on radio and television.²³⁵ Finally, Micara wants to use radio, cinema, and television for

²²⁰ ADA II/3, 683.

²²¹ ADA II/3, 735.

²²² ADA II/3, 358.

²²³ ADA IV/2, 659, 709.

²²⁴ For Tinivella, Marianum, Cuglieri, and Sacred Music, Lateranum, Salesiana, Imberti, Allorio, see Chapter I.

²²⁵ ADA II/3, 246-47.

²²⁶ ADA II/3, 925.

²²⁷ ADA II/3, 754.

²²⁸ ADA II/3, 756. But up against this proposal, see the Gregoriana who argues to maintain the religious exemptions as provided in the canon law (ADA IV/I/1, 40).

²²⁹ ADA II/3, 783.

²³⁰ ADA II/3, 874.

²³¹ ADA II/3, 246-47.

²³² ADA II/3, 559.

²³³ ADA II/3, 220.

²³⁴ For Imberti, Bagnoli, Gianfranceschi, De Giuli, Cannonero, Mazzocco, Livraghi, Iannucci, Lateranum, Seraphicum, Livraghi, Iannucci, Urbaniana, Salesiana, Marianum, Cuglieri, see Chapter I.

²³⁵ ADA II/3, 57-58.

spreading and defending the Catholic truth including moral teaching.²³⁶ Clearly, the Italians are very adamant to use media tools for Christian education and formation.

Regarding the state,²³⁷ Massimiliani wants clarity on the rights of the state, including the rights of the family within a country and the education of the youth.²³⁸ The Cuglieri Seminary specifically points out that the Church should continue to embattle for religious freedom of the citizens in communist countries.²³⁹ Various people are also proposed to teach various topics and in variety of settings.²⁴⁰ Archbishop and Archimandrite Paino of Messina argue that deacons are necessary to teach theology,²⁴¹ while Micci wants deacons to provide catechesis to children.²⁴² Poletti is more convinced that lay people should take over Catholic teaching.²⁴³ Similarly, the Salesiana emphasizes that parents and lay teachers must take education serious.²⁴⁴ The Gregoriana emphasizes the role of the laity to provide religious, moral and human education within the families.²⁴⁵ Finally, for the missions, the Franciscan Palazzi emphasizes a strong preparation of missionaries before they are sent out, especially the knowledge of language to explain matters of ethnology, historiography, and geography.²⁴⁶

All in all, it is clear that the Italian vota do not necessarily engage with the educational reality within Italy, nor with the way education has been settled by the Italian government. The Catholic school is not so much discussed. Instead, a large amount deals with catechesis as being insufficient, the education and formation of the seminarians, and to a minor extent the regular clergy, the missions and the modern tools; all topics, that pertain to the educational reality of the clergy and the lay in other settings than the school.

1.10. Cyprus

Just prior to Vatican II, the island Cyprus had gone through a three-year struggle for independence against the British (1955-59), largely influenced by the desire of the Greek Cypriots to join with Greece. The majoritarian Greek-Orthodox Church played a significant part in this demand. The declaration of independence would follow later in 1960. Along with the Greek-Orthodox, there were minority Christian groups of the Armenians, Maronites and Latins. In the north were mainly Turkish Muslims. All of the Christian minorities would choose to join with the Greek Cypriots after the constitution.²⁴⁷ The Latin rite Catholics had played a significant role through schools run by the religious. Since the 17th century, the Maronites were had to flee the island for Lebanon due to Ottoman persecution. Prior to

²³⁶ ADA II/3, 716.

²³⁷ For Baldelli, Fares, Salesiana, and Antonianum, see Chapter I.

²³⁸ ADA II/3, 217-18.

²³⁹ ADA IV/2, 661.

²⁴⁰ For the suggestions of Antonianum, Urbaniana, and a part of the Salesiana, see Chapter I.

²⁴¹ ADA II/3, 373.

²⁴² ADA II/3, 780.

²⁴³ ADA II/3, 874.

²⁴⁴ ADA IV/I/2, 192-93.

²⁴⁵ ADA IV/I/1, 58.

²⁴⁶ ADA II/3, 925.

²⁴⁷ Anastasia Yiangou, "Cyprus," in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Mariz Tadros and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 80-91, 80, 82; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 256.

Vatican II, there was a Vicar General who would represent the Maronite Archbishop.²⁴⁸ For the Maronites in the island, catechesis played a very important role and they were mainly present in the rural areas.²⁴⁹ The only votum from Cyprus, that of the Lebanese Maronite Archbishop Farah of Cipro who actually wrote in French from Lebanon,²⁵⁰ discusses next to catechesis and the lay apostolate,²⁵¹ a renewal of didactic methods in seminaries which consist of combining traditional approaches with “modern techniques”. This means that in major seminaries, psychology, sociology and pastoral theology must be taught. Seminarians must also acquire practical experience.²⁵² It is worthwhile noticing the Maronite’s open approach towards didactic renewals.

1.11. Hungary

From Hungary, only one votum arrived, that of Bishop Shvoy of Székesfehérvár. The social reality is clear in his stance: he argues for the solemn declaration of the rights and freedom of the Church “as the divine founder” of providing Christian education to the youth in schools and religious associations.²⁵³ His call surely needs to be placed up against the Hungary’s background. All types of Christian schools were forcefully nationalized by a law of 1948 based on suspicion towards the Church’s motifs. The majority of these were Roman-Catholic, but the same applied to other religious schools – especially as Hungary consisted of a mix of cultures and religious traditions. Many teachers became state employed while clerical teachers or women lost their jobs. Parents were not provided with the right of religious education as atheism was the only option for educational purposes.²⁵⁴ While Hungary’s Constitution of 1949 highlighted the right for education to its citizens in primary, secondary and higher schools, including financial support, in reality everything “depended on the state’s discretion.”²⁵⁵ By 1950, religious orders and congregations were disbanded, “with the exception of Benedictines, Franciscans, Piarists and congregations of sisters involved in public teaching”.²⁵⁶ Moreover, while religious education remained optional in primary and grammar schools, it was not applicable to other types of schools such as vocational and trade schools – the latter being visited by the vast majority of the population. Further laws during the 50s tightened the grip of the state over religious education even more – including teachers selected to teach religious education. Calls for independence were smothered when the 1956 student revolution came to an abrupt end, causing more tight control by both Moscow and the local government of the Hungarian Socialist Worker’s Party.²⁵⁷ By 1957 and on the threshold of Vatican II, lay teachers on religious education were

²⁴⁸ Yiangou, 87.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 88.

²⁵⁰ The fact that the only one reacting is a Maronite makes it necessary for the reader to remember his views, when further down this Chapter the situation in the Middle East will be discussed.

²⁵¹ See Chapter I.

²⁵² ADA II/4, 67.

²⁵³ ADA II/2, 523.

²⁵⁴ Attila Horváth, “The Educational Policy of the Soviet Dictatorship in Hungary,” *Civic Review*, 13 Special Issue (2017): 335-56, 340-42; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 365.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 339.

²⁵⁶ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 365.

²⁵⁷ Zoltán András Szabó, Imre Garai & András Németh, “The history of education in Hungary from the midnineteenth century to present day,” *Paedagogica Historica* 58, no. 6 (2022): 901-19, 910-12.

no longer available, leaving the education entirely in the hands of priests who were under constant scrutiny.²⁵⁸

1.12. Poland

By 1950, the Polish Catholic Church schools living under the communist yoke had come under state control.²⁵⁹ While an agreement was established later that year to allow, among other things, for religious instruction in private schools and the continuation of Lublin's Catholic University, the state's promises were not always met.²⁶⁰ Indeed, in 1951 religious education was abolished in public schools, yet reestablished in 1956 (to be abolished again at the start of Vatican II).²⁶¹ However, Polish Catholic resistance and pastoral action remained strong and active, especially in the face of a more Stalinizing regime. The Catholic Church remained very popular among the masses in spiritual, moral, intellectual and religious matters up until the Council and beyond.²⁶² In fact, persecution against the Church policies and institutions was not as vigilant as in other eastern European countries,²⁶³ even though some of the Polish hierarchy had been arrested for three years (1953-56).²⁶⁴ The Polish vota dealing with education and formation do not really reflect these developments. Perhaps the only exception is Kaczmarek, already discussed in the previous chapter,²⁶⁵ and whose votum has to be understood against the backdrop of Catholic groups and especially parents being active underground. The future Pope John Paul II (Kraków) wants to elevate seminary studies comparable to the universities in order to enhance the education of priests in parallel to the rising academic expertise of the laity. Professors engaged in scientific studies must have the necessary expertise and degree. A relevant commission must also regularly inspect seminaries.²⁶⁶ It is a bit surprising how he remains silent of the widespread closure of seminaries across the country as one might argue that in order to elevate seminary studies to that extent, one first needs to ensure the survival of seminaries within a communist country. Auxiliary Bishop Drzazga of Gniezno's demands for the seminaries is similar to that Wojtyła, seeking to increase the education in seminaries. Different, however, is his solution: to multiply minor seminaries, to adapt the studies "to the needs of the times" (without elaborating), and to counter secularism and naturalism.²⁶⁷

Drzazga²⁶⁸ along with Archbishop Baziak of Lwów and Cardinal Wyszyński of Warsaw and Gniezno – the latter also seen as the "spiritual father" of Poland and "a symbol

²⁵⁸ Horváth, "The Educational Policy," 343-44.

²⁵⁹ Michael Fleming, "The ethno-religious ambitions of the Roman Catholic Church and the ascendancy of communism in post-war Poland (1945-50)," *Nations and Nationalism* 16, no.4 (2010): 637-56, 650.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 650-51.

²⁶¹ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 572.

²⁶² Zdzisława Walaszek, "An Open Issue of Legitimacy: The State and the Church in Poland," *ANNALS, AAPSS* 483, no. 1 (1986): 118-34, 128-31; Jerzy Kłoczowski, "Les évêques polonais et le Concile Vatican II," in *Le deuxième Concile du Vatican* (1959-1965), Publications de l'École française de Rome 113 (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1989), 165-77, 165-67.

²⁶³ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 572.

²⁶⁴ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 572.

²⁶⁵ See Chapter I.

²⁶⁶ ADA II/2, 745-46. He continues further to increase academic knowledge related to theology, philosophy and canon law in the seminaries.

²⁶⁷ ADA II/2, 762.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

of social yearnings and aspiration” at the time²⁶⁹ – are all concerned with (re)establishing the episcopal authority over the religious. For Baziak, episcopal authority must be respected and inspection is needed on how the religious are trained, their pastoral theology and the religious education in schools.²⁷⁰ For Wyszyński, religious brothers and sisters should cooperate with the bishop, and their pastoral services include – among other important aspects – giving clear instructions in schools, providing catechesis and spiritual exercises.²⁷¹ Again it is remarkable that pastoral services of the religious are highlighted, while they are at the same time increasingly banned politically from performing these services in the country. Perhaps it is more a matter of collaboration, or the need of the bishop to hold his ‘flock’ together in times of state persecution.

1.13. Austria

Austria had become an independent state again in 1955 and was ruled by a coalition of Christian and social democrats ten years earlier. This coalition ensured that Marxist influences were pushed to the margin, allowed for the slow reconstruction of various schools that were previously abolished under the Nazi-regime, and made religious education a compulsory subject again. A large majority of Austria’s population was Roman-Catholic, and as far as Catholic education was concerned, the concordat of 1933 remained in place. This meant that Catholic schools in primary and secondary education could be established, enjoy benefits equal to public schools if settled legalities were followed, and the right to implement and supervise religious education in Catholic schools. At the same time, after World War II under the occupation of the allied forces, freedom of religion had been settled and the Church was no longer seeking to be a national church. Moreover, the differing views on how education should function with respect to the relationship of Church-state was far from settled between the Catholic and socialist parties – leaving major policy shifts on the side-line for quite a long time. Matters regarding Church-state cooperation, public Catholic confessional schools, private schools, and financial means unsettled. The main point of discussion had to do with the juridical position of confessional schools and the financial support of the state regarding these schools. By 1957 the socialist and Catholic parties agreed to recognize the previous concordat of 1933 in principle but asked for the establishment of a new concordat.²⁷² Things would only get settled by 1962 with the implementation of a new concordat, when the Council had already started off, and a comprehensive school legislation was brought into existence. For instance, it would be the first time in Austrian history, that the state would take up to sixty percent of the financial costs for paying teachers in Catholic schools.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ Walaszek, “An Open Issue of Legitimacy,” 130. Cf. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 572.

²⁷⁰ ADA II/2, 654-55.

²⁷¹ ADA II/2, 675.

²⁷² Erika Weinzierl, “Kirche und Schule in Österreich 1945-48,” *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte* 2, no.1 (1989): 165-70, 168-69. Richard Potz and Brigitte Schinkele, “Religionsunterricht in Österreich,” in *Religious Education in Public Schools*, 118-19; *Christian Encyclopedia*, 159.

²⁷³ Weinzierl, “Kirche und Schule in Österreich 1945-48,” 169-70; for a whole outline, see 165-70; Potz and Schinkele, “Religionsunterricht in Österreich,” 117-42, 118-19; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 159.

In the vota, however, the focus lay on seminaries, catechesis, and the right of Ordinaries to overlook national religious instruction. Bishop Schoiswohl of Seckau argues that seminarians should no longer know the classics in Latin.²⁷⁴ Moreover, for Schoiswohl, in his diocese of Seckau, catechesis is still enjoyed by almost all of the children under the age of eight in the schools, but he doubts the efficiency of catechesis since many drop out going to Church. As a cure, he believes that more emphasis should be on a lived reality of the faith in contrast to a predominant focus on teaching the articles of the faith based on logic and reason.²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, the instruction of the faithful remains important and he stresses the need for Sunday schools as a means to reach this goal.²⁷⁶ As for the Nuncio Dellepiane, in the first votum he forwarded, he highlights the authority of national and regional Ordinaries to decide over religious education: “the programs, the organization, the methods, the formulas and so forth” to reach these objectives. The same could be the case for ecclesiastical studies. Ordinaries must, however, keep the Holy See informed and receive directions if need be.²⁷⁷

1.14. Switzerland

The federal system in Switzerland, allowing for a great autonomy of local cantons or municipalities, implied that the cantons had an autonomy regarding educational matters. Consequently, the educational outlook across the country could vary widely: in some cantons, religious education was the sole responsibility of the churches (Protestant and/or Catholic), was established in the form of a church-state cooperation, or it was absent in general. These various “models” established by the end of the 19th century and in place throughout the 20th century, were the result of “a compromise between the local civil and religious powers”.²⁷⁸ Catholic dioceses were dependent on the Holy See,²⁷⁹ and in general, the education by the Catholic Church in cantons predominantly Catholic therefore had not much to fear. Even in cantons which were “bi-confessional”, Catholic religious education could continue to flourish while students had the option to not partake in religious education.²⁸⁰ For instance, in Bern, Catholic education continued to be provided despite the effects of the culture war and the call for “confessionless religious education” in the Swiss parliament on the Catholic teaching staff.²⁸¹ During the 20th century up until the late 50s, the religious education was of such nature that it was predominantly Catholic without much references to other confessions. However, on the threshold of Vatican II, there was even a growing ecumenical awareness.²⁸² Along with the private confessional schools, the Swiss government demanded the cantons to have public schools in which all students would be

²⁷⁴ ADA II/1, 61.

²⁷⁵ ADA II/1, 65.

²⁷⁶ ADA II/1, 70-1.

²⁷⁷ ADA II/1, 91-2.

²⁷⁸ Ansgar Jödicke and Andrea Rota, “Patterns of Religious Education Policy in Switzerland: The Long Arm of Distanced Christians?,” *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 53, no. 4 (2014): 722-38, 724.

²⁷⁹ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 651.

²⁸⁰ Stefan Müller and Andrea Rota, “Die Entwicklung des Religionsunterricht in der Schweiz im Spannungsfeld von Kirche, Staat und Schule im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Eine Übersicht am Beispiel ausgewählter Kantone. Teil 2: Kanton Bern,” *Zeitschrift für Religionskunde/Revue de didactique des sciences des religions* 4 (2017): 45-59, 53.

²⁸¹ Müller and Rota, “Die Entwicklung des Religionsunterricht in der Schweiz,” 53.

²⁸² Ibid.; Jödicke and Rota, “Patterns of Religious Education Policy in Switzerland,” 724.

able to register, no matter their confessional background. Moreover, primary schools had to be established by the local authorities and the access to public schools were to be free of charge. In general, catechesis was not to be provided in schools but after the school hours.²⁸³

Next to the Swiss *vota* discussed earlier,²⁸⁴ Bishop Hasler of Sankt-Gallen likes to uphold the study of Latin in the Catholic schools.²⁸⁵ Fribourg University asks the Council to reconfirm the relationship between the natural and the supernatural as well as the eschatological doctrines, in light of educational developments denying these realities especially in moral matters.²⁸⁶ The Council also needs to provide further clarification on ecumenism.²⁸⁷ The university like the one in Paderborn (Germany) was on the forefront of ecumenical studies.

1.15. Yugoslavia

In Tito's Yugoslavia, Catholics were especially prevalent in Croatia but also some parts of Slovenia.²⁸⁸ John Murray SJ, in a critical exposition against Yugoslavia published in 1953, describes the persecution of Catholics in detail. Regarding education, he points out that authorities sought to ban priests from teaching in schools as religion was considered superstitious and archaic compared to modern science. Even catechesis was asked to be abolished.²⁸⁹ In Bosnia and Herzegovina, this seemed to be the most repressed, while in Croatia religious education was very hard and almost impossible to give ("five catechists are available for more than 20000 children").²⁹⁰ In general, most of the Catholic schools were shut down.²⁹¹ Mirescu, for his part, points out that religious education was banned from secondary schools run by the state. In 1949, all theological faculties were banned from public universities and became privatized, and nursing schools came under governmental control.²⁹² Only towards the end of the 1950s, freedom of religion was more and more accepted, and religious newspapers were able to flourish again.²⁹³

Next to his comments on seminaries,²⁹⁴ Auxiliary Bishop Lach of Zagreb proposes to establish national and regional ecclesiastical secretariats engaged with promoting studies and the methods of instructing the youth. Three to five bishops must preside, and the secretariat must reform religious schools to the needs and latest developments of the times. For Lach, special care should particularly be given to minor seminaries, where the youth must be adequately trained in contemporary disciplines and prepared to study in theological faculties at a later stage. Lach falls short, however, in specifying the disciplines. The secretariat should

²⁸³ Stefan Müller and Andrea Rota, "L'évolution de l'enseignement religieux en Suisse entre Église, État et école aux 19e et 20e siècles. Une vue d'ensemble à partir d'une sélection de cantons. Partie 1 : le canton de Vaud," *Zeitschrift für Religionskunde/Revue de didactique des sciences des religions* 4 (2017): 27-42, 32.

²⁸⁴ For Charrière and von Streng, see Chapter I.

²⁸⁵ ADA II/2, 43.

²⁸⁶ ADA IV/2, 779-82.

²⁸⁷ ADA IV/2, 783-86.

²⁸⁸ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 754.

²⁸⁹ John Murray, SJ, "Tito and the Catholic Church," *An Irish Quarterly Review* 42, no. 165 (1953): 23-38, 27.

²⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 28.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 29.

²⁹² Alexander Mirescu, "A Curious Case of Cooperation and Coexistence: Church-State Engagement and Oppositional Free Spaces in Communist Yugoslavia and East Germany," *Hungarian Historical Review* 4, no. 1 (2015): 82-113, 84-85.

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, 101-02.

²⁹⁴ See Chapter I.

also borrow from the expertise of teachers and scholars engaged in a variety of courses and subjects and must be aware of the state of affairs on the regional and the national levels. As such, in consultation with the bishop, new ideas and suggestions can be made and implemented.²⁹⁵ Lach's suggestion can be comprehended in light of the success of various boards and secretariats in other West and South European countries, and he seems to have a similar board in Yugoslavia.

1.16. Conclusion

If we cross-compare for the European continent in summarized way, the following observations come to the fore: for catechesis, it was asked to enhance it in seminaries (Weber of Strasbourg, Boiardi of Apuania, Poletti of Novara, Lateranum), primary schools (Conway of Armagh), all types and grades of schools (Mazzocco of Adria, Massimiliani of Modigliani, Poletti of Novara), Sunday schools (Schoiswohl of Seckau), and in the Mass/Church (Nuncio Bafile of Germany, Leonetti of Ferentino, Massimiliani of Modigliani). While it is obvious that the recipients are children or adults in these settings, those explicitly mentioning the recipients of catechesis, were related to children (Nuncio Marella of France, Leonetti of Ferentino), adults (Mistrorigo of Treviso, Carraro of Verona), children and adults (Castaldo of Napoli, Poletti of Novara, Pangrazio of Livorno, Lateranum, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone). Few considered catechesis alone as insufficient (Schoiswohl of Seckau, Ursi of Nardò, Nuncio Marella of France). One asked for the establishment of catechist schools (Boiardi of Apuania), and another one to increase diocesan catechetical centers (Mutsaerts of Den Bosch). More prevalent was the demand for national catechetical centers (Tinivella of Diano-Teggiano, Mistrorigo of Treviso, Lateranum, the Maronite Farah of Cipro).

For education, there were demands for diocesan education commissions (ICP, Lach of Zagreb), and national education centers (Salesiana, Principi of Loreto, Nuncio Dellepiane of Austria, Lach of Zagreb). For the Salesiana, this call was to be applicable across the globe where these centers do not yet exist. Regarding Catholic schools, there were questions related to highly qualified teachers to be academically trained (Imberti of Vercelli, ICP, Salesiana, Lateranum), an increase of pedagogy (Imberti of Vercelli, Parente of Perugia, Salesiana), the Christian formation as a central point (Imberti of Vercelli), modernization (Parente of Perugia), apostolicity and pastoral care (Rinaldi of San Marco e Bisignano), sociology (Salesiana), psychology (Salesiana). Again, the Italian pontifical universities were talking on a global scale. Only one emphasized to take into consideration the contextuality of the Catholic school (Salesiana). Some criticisms of Catholic schools also came forward of poor not having access to Catholic schools (Principi of Loreto), and secularism/secularist thought spreading (de Arriba y Castro of Tarragona). An increase of parish schools was asked (García y García de Castro of Granada, Naples University). Multiple demands came forward for episcopal control over the religious and their schools (Murphy of Shrewsbury, Cowederoy of Southwark, Restieaux of Plymouth, O'Doherty of Dromore, Hervás y Benet

²⁹⁵ ADA II/2, 552-53. See also the work of national episcopal commissions promoted by the Salesiana (ADA IV/I/2, 189).

of Ciudad Real, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone, Imberti of Vercelli, Micci of Larino, Massimiliani of Civita Castellana Orte e Gallese, Allorio of Pavia, Principi of Loreto, Baziak of Lwów, Wyszynsky of Warsaw and Gziesno). All these were from England, Ireland, Spain, Italy and Poland. Although local demands, it became clear that it was an international concern. Correlated with it, was a strong critique on the religious handling education and more clarification on how bishops ought to deal with them (Moro Briz of Avila, Cantero Cuadrado of Huelva, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone). Regarding the public schools, some asked parents to oversee the religious education in public schools to ensure the right education for their children (Guerry of Cambrai, Imberti of Vercelli, Romero Menjibar of Jaén, Salesiana).

For the seminaries, different educational changes came forward often dependent on local demands and the experience and education of the bishop or university. These were ascetic and spiritual formation (Richaud of Bordeaux, Weber of Strasbourg, Dubois of Besançon, Addazi of Trani e Berlatta, Toulouse Institute), homiletics/oral skills (Weber of Strasbourg, Staunton of Ferns, Herrera y Oria of Malaga), scholasticism (Richaud of Bordeaux), oriental/eastern-Christian knowledge (de Bazelaire de Ruppierre of Chambéry, KU Nijmegen, Katkoff Co-adjutor for Byzantine Rite in Rome), pastoral theology (Geeraerts MAfr, Suenens of Malines, Catholic University of Louvain, Emmanuel of Castellammare di Stabia), Greek (Westminster, Clogher), Scripture (Malaga), practical theology (Malaga, Castellammare di Stabia), sociology (Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Farah of Cipro, Gregoriana, Salesiana), pedagogy (Cardoso Cunha of Beja, Farah of Cipro, Salesiana), psychology (Addazi of Trani e Berlatta, Farah of Cipro, Salesiana, Sacro Cuore Milan), sciences (Lateranum), non-Christian religions (Gregoriana), missiology (Urbaniana), apostolate (Vaz das Neves of Braga), and modern tools (Le Bellec of Vannes, Herrera y Oria of Malaga). Other demands were academic degrees for teachers mostly by universities (Lyon Catholic Institute, ICP, Lateranum, Wojtyła of Kraków), more qualified directors (Addazi of Trani e Berlatta), the need for an internship/practical experience of seminarians (Toulouse Institute, Farah of Cipro, Salesiana), diocesan and national uniformity mostly by Curia-related persons (Nuncio Antoniutti of Spain, Salamanca University, Principi of Loreto, Parente of Perugia), and a stricter selection of seminarian candidates (Naples University). Only two bishops emphasized the contextual awareness when discussing seminaries (Richieaux of Bordeaux). More specifically for the minor seminaries, there were the demands to increase scientific knowledge (Vaz das Neves of Braga), contemporary disciplines (Lach of Zagreb), to increase the sacred sciences (Dal Prà of Terni e Narni) which was contradicted in Portugal and by an Italian university (Vaz das Neves of Braga, Cardoso Cunha of Beja, Naples University), to enhance the education parallel to public schools (Urbaniana) (which must be understood in the context of mission), an increase of minor seminaries in general (Casullo of Nusco, Wyszynsky of Warsaw and Gziesno), and more qualified teachers (Lach of Zagreb, Lateranum).

In Europe, the crisis of vocations was twice mentioned in Italy (Carli of Segni, Brustia of Andria), but it was also clear that there were not enough priests in some urban areas or that the vocations were not equally spread (Toulouse Institute, Lyon). Some demanded for

priests to teach in schools (Gerlier of Lyon, Bottino of Turin, Cuglieri Seminary, Lateranum), only in primary schools (CamoZZo of Pisa), or in no schools at all (Mennona of Muro Lucano, Carli of Segni, Brustia of Andria). It is clear that these demands were mainly from Italy. Others pointed to the religious clergy (Le Bellec of Vannes, Cuglieri Seminary, Lateranum) or deacons (Ursi of Nardò) to teach in public schools instead. One faculty pointed to the need to teach in universities (Cuglieri Seminary).

As far as the discussion on education and the state was concerned, mostly French bishops were in favor of the public schools and in seeking cooperation (Nuncio Marella of France, Rémond of Nice, Guerry of Cambrai), although one was against public schools (Katkoff) while others asked simple clarity and were less fixed (Flusin of Saint-Claude, Fourry of Belley). State monopoly on education based on missionary experience in Egypt was mentioned (De Jonghe D'Ardoye MEP), while Irish missionaries demanded the state to build schools and pay teachers (Irish Spiritans Heffernan and Byrne). One university pointed to the contextuality and complexity of Catholic schools (Salesiana), while it also asked to protect Catholic education worldwide (Salesiana, Shvoy of Székesfehérvár). Some of the Italian *vota* also wanted to ensure that the Italian government supports more diocesan schools (Casullo of Nusco), that Catholics influence legislations worldwide (Imberti of Vercelli), or the rights of parents for Catholic education established (Massimiliani of Modigliana).

Regarding the missions, it were the religious bishops with experience in the missions and universities dealing with the missions that asked to increase seminaries, Catholic schools and universities (Urbaniana, Guffens SJ), the education and leadership of the natives (Guffens SJ, Paulissen SMA, Urbaniana), local catechists (Geeraerts MAfr), missiology in universities (Urbaniana, Paulissen SMA, KU Nijmegen), an enhanced study curriculum based on local demands such as ethnology, comparative religions... (KU Nijmegen, Urbaniana), and literature and modern tools (Irish Spiritan bishops Heffernan and Byrne). As far as the religious sisters were concerned, one critique for them to be more active (Palazzi of Hengyang) which was contradicted by local ecclesiastical universities (Marianum, Cuglieri)

Multiple demands to use modern tools and newspapers for the benefit of Catholic education came forward from bishops and pontifical universities almost predominantly from Italy with two exceptions (Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Le Bellec of Vannes, Bagnoli of Fiesole, De Giuli of Albenga, Mazzocco of Adria, Livraghi of Veroli e Frosione, Lateranum, Urbaniana, Salesiana, Cuglieri, Marianum).

2. North America

2.1. Canada

After a long struggle in the previous century against the British leadership in Canada, the Canadian Catholic had constitutionally been able to take control over its own confessional school network supported by the state and supervised by the Catholic board. It had an extensive educational network, which had been established by secular and religious clergy alike. The main stronghold was in Francophone Canada, especially Québec and Montreal.

In Québec, the first Francophone Catholic university had even been established, Laval University, which also had a branch in Montreal headed by clergy. Many Catholic congregations had been active in Montreal and many others were originated there, some of which would play a significant part in the missions. Most of Canada's Catholic schools were also run and staffed by male and female religious. However, in the background, the indigenous residential school system and the overall problem of Western colonization continued to play a large role in the country's history – not without the necessary controversies and problems. Moreover, as Vatican II would start, the state would do a tremendous effort to enhance their presence and foothold in public education.²⁹⁶

As for the vota,²⁹⁷ Cody discusses the seminaries, for which he points out that both minor and major diocesan and religious seminaries have difficulties in maintaining the “most optimal discipline” in the study curriculum. In this light, he ponders whether one could not establish an “international association of seminaries” that is responsible to carry out the papal mandates, and which can discuss issues related to the required manuals, the possibility of exchanging professors, and so other related issues.²⁹⁸ Archbishop MacDonald of Edmonton feels that there is a lack of courses on Catholic Action to promote the apostolate and elevate the religious knowledge of seminarians. In this impasse, he seeks to introduce seminary courses on Catholic Action and the social doctrines of the Church. He also points out to the importance of having religious teachers within Catholic schools. However, as there is a decrease of vocations to fill in these positions by the clergy, he wants to approve teachers from secular institutes.²⁹⁹ Bishops MacEachern of Charlottetown and Leménager of Yarmouth are both skeptical for maintain Latin in schools, with Leménager especially pointing out that the lack of Latin in Canadian public schools further enhances the demand for vernacular.³⁰⁰ It remains unclear however whether vernacular only implies the official languages of French and English or de the indigenous languages as well.

As for the Canadian universities, next to the Index issues,³⁰¹ the Pontifical Institute for Medieval Studies in Ontario seeks to update the papal encyclical *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*, in that the teaching in Catholic institutes are at least equal to those in force in other nations. He also wants to promote the studies of theology across Canadian universities and institutes of higher learning and demands an increase of academic theological literature. He further seeks to establish regulations that enable graduated students from Catholic colleges can enter academic institutions with their degrees. Finally, the Ontario Institute points out that given the rise of highly educated lay people, priests in seminaries should have an equal level of education. In the parishes, more efforts need to be done to organize study groups or theological discussions to keep the highly educated laity engaged.³⁰²

²⁹⁶ Terry LeBlanc, “First Nations Canada,” in *Christianity in North America*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Grace Ji-Sun Kim, and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023), 25-39, 30; André Brouillette, “Francophone Canada,” in *ibid.*, 52-63, 52-57.

²⁹⁷ For Cody and Smith, see Chapter I.

²⁹⁸ ADA II/6, 35.

²⁹⁹ ADA II/6, 17.

³⁰⁰ ADA II/6, 133-34.

³⁰¹ See Chapter I.

³⁰² ADA IV/2, 734.

2.2. USA

The 20th century had so far been a bright century for the Catholic Church as after both the world wars, the Church had increasingly anchored itself in American society with a multitude of schools, colleges (including seminaries), and universities established everywhere. The Catholic educational system could boast itself on its high quality and popularity among the masses, both for boys and girls alike. The American Catholic school reality was considered a success story of high proportions. There were diocesan schools under the control of the bishop and the religious sisters, and many schools run by various teaching orders, some of which were also private. One of the most successful schools to ensure the religious vocations was the central high school in the diocese, based on the separation of gender. In general, Catholic schools did not coeducate with few exceptions in primary schools and universities for a large part based on financial difficulties. Indeed, Catholic schools were left on their own finances as the state did not fund private schools, although laws like the GI Bill of 1944 helped many war veterans in their educational career. It also implied that Catholic institutes for higher learning and universities were still lacking behind in quality compared to their public counterparts, though universities like Notre Dame and Georgetown University were starting to gain recognition in some areas. In general, Neo-Scholasticism was thriving, while many Catholics had found their way to higher education including in public universities. The demand was higher than what some orders and congregations could offer, which in multiple states also caused a shortage of well qualified religious teachers, financial burdens to maintain lay teachers, and so on. However, at the threshold of Vatican II, there were criticisms circulating regarding the quality of education in primary and secondary schools, and the validity of Neo-Scholasticism for the current times; most notably from Catholics who themselves had been nurtured in these schools and who had gone to pursue academic studies. Moreover, the share of Catholic intellectuals in the sciences was still quite low compared to their non-Catholic colleagues. The silencing of John Courtney Murray had also caused uproar in Catholic American circles. The seminary education had become stagnant and the ideas surrounding priesthood would soon become outdated in the wake of Vatican II, causing a staunch decline in vocations. More than in Europe, the Catholic school network found itself in a competition with public and other private schools, to prove which education would better suit the American population; and in general, the social landscape of various immigrants with some states having larger Catholic populations than others, the West Coast having predominant Spanish speaking people, and the pluralist landscape of Christian denominations and other religions, all made the USA a very different reality than what we saw for Europe. Finally, being geographically more distant from Rome also meant that the American Catholic identity had a unique character.³⁰³

³⁰³ Leslie Woodcock Tentler, *American Catholics: A History* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2020), 242, 246-60; Christine Way Skinner, "Catholics", in *Christianity in North America*, 232-44, 234.

Among the American vota,³⁰⁴ the major theme, once again, is that of seminaries.³⁰⁵ Archbishop Binz of Dubuque ponders whether the regulations concerning seminaries should not be modified given the small number of priestly vocations.³⁰⁶ German-born Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans also points to the same issue, being convinced that the Church should do more to increase vocations.³⁰⁷ Their observations are in a way prophetic, as the real decline in America would start to take place post-Vatican II. On the other hand, it also shows that the decrease of vocations was not necessarily a post-Vatican II problem in the country, but already an issue prior to the Council. Binz further argues that seminary education and formation have to be more directed at the apostolate and inclusive of ascetic and mystical theology.³⁰⁸ Archbishop Schulte of Indianapolis, along with Rummel, emphasize the study of Latin in minor and major seminaries.³⁰⁹ Rummel elaborates, arguing that seminarians should especially study liturgical Latin and he further points out that after being ordained, neophytes should continue their seminary education while specifically focusing on the “pastoral gifts and practices” as well as how to provide “spiritual guidance” to other people.³¹⁰ Archbishop Connolly of Seattle wants to ensure the continuation of Thomism while any deviation from his teachings should be rejected.³¹¹ Clearly, Connolly does not want any educational renewal and seems to lash out against the criticisms that were unfolding against Neo-Scholasticism. Holy Cross Father and Cardinal O’Hara of Philadelphia, who had twenty years earlier served as president of the Notre Dame University for five years, argues that seminary courses and mainly theology, philosophy and literature, should be reconsidered in light of the latest norms of the Holy See.³¹² It is well-known that O’Hara was wary of books deemed dangerous for the Catholic Faith.³¹³ Bishop O’Connor of Springfield in Illinois emphasizes to keep up a “sincere, deep and full formation” of the seminarians. The studies – based on the existing Catholic doctrines – should be adapted in such a way that they co-align with the current needs. More clarification is also needed during the Council on how to interpret, study and explain the Bible and accordingly teach it to others.³¹⁴

Archbishop Howard of Portland in Oregon wants to implement new “sober, lucid, transparent, scientific and didactic excellent educational texts”. These texts include Biblical texts supervised by the Pontifical Biblical Institute and theological and subsidiary texts supervised by the Congregations of the Seminaries and University Studies and the one of the Religious respectively.³¹⁵ Here is a clear example of a bishop in favor of Roman

³⁰⁴ For some of the suggestions of Rummel, Binz, O’Hara, Niagara Catholic University, see Chapter I.

³⁰⁵ Komonchak, “U.S. Bishops’s Suggestions for Vatican II,” 19-20, his summary on this matter is far from comprehensive, as he did not engage in detail with each of the relevant authors.

³⁰⁶ ADA II/6, 316.

³⁰⁷ ADA II/6, 391.

³⁰⁸ ADA II/6, 316.

³⁰⁹ ADA II/6, 343.

³¹⁰ ADA II/6, 391.

³¹¹ ADA II/6, 444.

³¹² ADA II/6, 405.

³¹³ Indeed, as Tentler, *American Catholics*, 247, mentions, “O’Hara [...] was said to police the shelves at the university library and personally destroy any books he regarded as dangerous to faith or morals” during his presidency of the Notre Dame.

³¹⁴ ADA II/6, 454.

³¹⁵ ADA II/6, 410.

supervision in America and over seminary education in general, probably also to have unitary norms on orthodoxy up against various streams across the American states. Moreover, Howard wishes that converts of preachers from other Christian denominations, not uncommon in a country of many Protestants, can be ordained as deacons while remaining married. They must also be trained for at least one year into fundamental theology, to comprehend and counter non-Catholic argumentations in teaching and preaching. If they wish to become priests, they must be trained in the Beda College in Rome. In the meantime, they can among other tasks provide catechesis, preach, teach in parish schools, and even engage in public schools.³¹⁶ Finally, Auxiliary Bishop Sheen of New York, alumnus of the KU Leuven, particularly criticizes the amount of vacation of seminarians and proposes instead that vacation could be a time for social training, the study of missiology and conferences for newly converted Catholics (though the latter is not clarified).³¹⁷ Finally, Archbishop Hunkeler of Kansas in Kansas City is in favor of a time of retreat among diocesan priests after having worked in the parish and/or taught in schools for two to three years. During such retreat, priests can focus again on the interior life and get up-to-date with the latest development in the educational field.³¹⁸

Regarding the schools, Bishop O'Connor and Archbishop Dearden of Detroit ask for clarity on the rights of the Church in education.³¹⁹ From the bishops having fled Soviet communist controlled territories, Latvian Auxiliary Bishop Rancans of Riga, but living in exile in Michigan, points to the need to maintain Latin in the Catholic school.³²⁰ The Greek-Catholic Ukraine born Bishop and Basilian Father Senyshyn of Stamford, also living in exile, wants to expose and counter communist tendencies within Catholic schools.³²¹ O'Hara, in a generalized way speaking of the discipline of the people universally, desires a strong implementation of Catholic education and Catholic schools in light of local circumstances and needs.³²² Finally, the three bishops Leech of Harrisburg, Waters of Raleigh, and Dwyer of Reno emphasize the obligation of Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools.³²³ As for the universities, Binz proposes "permanent assemblies" that enable dialogue with non-Catholic communities,³²⁴ not undesirable for the American context. Cushing wants to update moral theology in line with the recent moral developments and questions.³²⁵ Finally, Sheen wants to increase religious education across all the Catholic educational institutes: at least during five days a week in elementary school; for the secondary schools, colleges, and universities, at least for three days a week. In general, religious education should be equally treated alongside other disciplines.³²⁶ Auxiliary Bishop McNamarra of Washington is the most critical, pointing out that despite all hard

³¹⁶ ADA II/6, 411. Cf. Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 35-36.

³¹⁷ ADA II/6, 487-88.

³¹⁸ ADA II/6, 352.

³¹⁹ ADA II/6, 312, 368; Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 27.

³²⁰ ADA II/6, 506.

³²¹ ADA II/6, 456. Cf. Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 32.

³²² ADA II/6, 405.

³²³ ADA II/6, 336, 413, 415. Cf. Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 41.

³²⁴ ADA II/6, 315. This also includes in seminaries. Cf. Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 35.

³²⁵ ADA II/6, 281.

³²⁶ ADA II/6, 487. Cf. Komonchak, "US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II," 41.

work and efforts, Catholic education has not reaped “the desired fruits.” He urgently asks the Council to make sure that Catholic education can once again be “more fruitful.”³²⁷

As for the laity in general, Rummel asks to instruct the laity in dogmatic, philosophical, historical, and moral matters,³²⁸ and condemns, not unimportantly, segregation and racism.³²⁹ While the latter makes sense in the context of New Orleans, in other states, this was not yet established even after lawsuits favoring the end of school segregation. Moreover, for Rummel, it needs to be ensured that families provide religious education to their children, and that the laity continues to be formed in various aspects.³³⁰

Some bishops also discuss catechesis, but each contribution focuses on another aspect. O’Hara asks for an accurate catechesis for neophytes and those in mixed marriages.³³¹ O’Connor mentions that catechesis remains necessary as it is “useful and effective in schools, in study curricula and discussions, as well as in the mission”. Other modern tools for this purpose are also welcome.³³² Senyshyn, given his background, wants to ensure that the Oriental rite is provided as it will benefit a rapprochement with the Eastern Christians.³³³ Finally, Sheen wants more sermons surrounding catechetical lectures – at least five times – either during Mass or festive days.³³⁴

Two bishops briefly elaborate on the use of the Bible. Schulte asks for “practical guidelines” to interpret the Bible especially in light of scientific progress,³³⁵ while O’Hara wants the Council to define the “infallibility of the Sacred Scripture”.³³⁶ O’Hara seems more defensive, while Schulte is more in the middle. Regarding media tools, Rummel wants to Catholics to use them more to teach.³³⁷ Schulte promotes the establishment of a school in Rome where promising future priests of every nation can be sent in order to be trained to work in curial and diplomatic offices;³³⁸ not unimportant as many curial positions were largely held by Europeans, and Americans could be counted on one hand.

As for the *vota* of American universities, the Catholic University of America bemoans the decay of Latin in Catholic schools and seminaries and underlines the importance to teach the language (cf. Rummel, O’Hara, Rancans...). Special institutes promoting the knowledge of Latin were also recommended.³³⁹

2.3. Conclusion

Canadian and American *vota* are quite different, but that is nothing more but logical given the different legislations and histories. The few demands in Canada came from urban

³²⁷ ADA II/6, 500. Cf. *ibid.*, 41.

³²⁸ See Chapter I,

³²⁹ ADA II/6, 387. In fact, he was one of the few frontfigherts to condemn racism. Cf. Komonchak, “US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II,” 30.

³³⁰ ADA II/6, 390. Cf. Komonchak, *ibid.*, 41.

³³¹ ADA II/6, 405.

³³² ADA II/6, 454.

³³³ ADA II/6, 456.

³³⁴ ADA II/6, 489.

³³⁵ ADA II/6, 342-43. Cf. Komonchak, “US Bishops Suggestions for Vatican II,” 39.

³³⁶ ADA II/6, 404. Cf. *ibid.*, 39.

³³⁷ ADA II/6, 390. Cf. *ibid.*, 12.

³³⁸ ADA II/6, 343; Cf. *ibid.*, 18-19.

³³⁹ ADA IV/2, 629.

dioceses and universities located in the predominant English-speaking regions of Ontario and Alberta. In the USA, demands came from different states across the country, and most of the times these were particular to the diocese or the bishop as there was no uniformity in most of the demands for educational matters. Cross-comparing the two countries, one sees a variety of discussions. Regarding the seminaries, suggestions were made to enhance the study curriculum in the minor and major seminaries equivalent to that of the laity in schools (Cody of London, Pontifical Institute Ontario, Howard of Portland), a uniformity of teaching with the Americans explicitly asking for Rome to lead the matter (Cody of London, Pontifical Institute Ontario, O'Hara of Philadelphia, Howard of Portland). Regarding the content, demands vary: a stronger focus on Catholic Action (MacDonald of Edmonton), the apostolate (Binz of Dubuque), ascetic and mystical theology (Binz of Dubuque), pastoral theology (Rummel of New Orleans, O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois), spirituality (Rummel of New Orleans), Bible exegesis (O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Howard of Portland; the latter asking for guidance by the *Biblicum* – a Jesuit institute known for a more scientific approach), a retreat for priests after years of service (Hunkeler of Kansas City), and Thomism (Connolly of Seattle). Finally, the possibility to exchange professors internationally was asked (Cody of London). In general, complaints about decreasing vocations came forward from three states (MacDonald of Edmonton, Binz of Dubuque, Rummel of New Orleans).

As for the schools and universities, demands were most often particular as well and for most part from American *vota*. These had to do with clarifying the rights of the Church in education (O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Dearden of Detroit), the obligation for Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools (Leech Harrisburg, Waters of Raleigh, Dwyer of Reno), the need for the laity to teach religion in Catholic schools due to the lack of vocations (MacDonald of Edmonton), an increase of Catholic/religious education in schools from the east coast (O'Hara of Philadelphia, Sheen of New York), the lack of financial state support keeping open the question why Catholics ought to pay taxes (Binz of Dubuque, particularly relatable to the American context), exposing communism in schools (Synyshyn of Stamford), a criticism on the quality and efficiency of Catholic education in general (McNamarra of Washington), and countering modern philosophy in colleges and universities (Niagara Catholic University). Further demands for the universities included an enhancement of sacred sciences in Canadian universities and an easier access for alumni of Catholic schools to enter state universities (Ontario Pontifical Institute), and a stronger focus on ecumenical studies in universities despite the state being predominantly Catholic (Binz of Dubuque). The need to enhance ecumenical awareness in general, came from three American states (Binz of Dubuque, Schulte of Indianapolis, Rummel of New Orleans).

As far as catechesis was concerned, there was no uniformity, and the demands came from the USA. Catechesis had to be provided to neophytes and people in mixed marriages (not unimportant given the higher possibility of Protestants turning Catholics or mixed marriages between the two traditions) (O'Hara of Philadelphia), within schools (O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois), within the missions (many Americans had increasingly become active in the missions) (O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois), and in the Church (New York).

It could be spread by using modern tools (O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois), and had to include a stronger focus on the Orientals (Synyshyn of Stamford)

One bishop demanded to enhance the education of the religious sisters (Schulte of Indianapolis). In general, no demands really engaged with the teaching content, quality of teachers, new developments, finances, public schools. Moreover, there is a large silence on education in the missions; not unimportant given the fact that Americans and Canadians had lately contributed to missionaries in various African and Asian countries from the 19th century onwards. Another common silent matter is the fate of education of the indigenous peoples despite the uneasy, painful history to say the least.

3. Central America and the Caribbean

3.1. Mexico

The Mexican Catholic Church was slowly emerging from the decades long socio-political struggle against the hostile, secular inspired government of Mexico after the 1910 revolution that brought about widespread anti-clericalism, anti-Catholicism, and the nationalization and secularization of all schools. Clergy was banned from teaching in schools. The trauma of the Cristero war and its societal effects were still lurking as a shadow over the Church and society at large. While the 1940s gradually saw a shift in a less hostile stance towards the Church by the government, only the recent shift in the under the leadership of Lopez Mateos in 1958, brought some form of relief including the acceptance of the government of the first Mexican cardinal, Jose Garibi y Rivera. Nonetheless, things were far from settled, and anti-clericalist laws continued to exist. Catholic schools and the few universities were privatized, while the state maintained the further expansion of public and secular schools as much as possible. Priests were also still under the supervision of the state.³⁴⁰ First, the seminaries across Mexican vota. Bishop Garcia of Culiacán, in light of increasing individualism, wants seminarians to become more obedient in order to ensure a smooth relationship with the bishop after their studies. Moreover, practice-oriented courses need to be provided as he sees pastoral theology as insufficient to prepare priests. Alongside these courses, priests should return to the seminaries or religious houses after five years of ministry in order to self-reflect and to learn the latest scientific developments relevant for the apostolate.³⁴¹ Another topic to be discussed during the seminary studies is Catholic Action, and it should play a central role.³⁴²

Cardinal Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara is somewhat on a similar line with Garcia to elevate the practical preparation of seminarians, but he proposes to implement an apprenticeship for seminarians. He also agrees for priests to return to the seminary after five years of ministerial practice not only to know the latest scientific developments but also to

³⁴⁰ Dussel, "General Introduction," 14; Dussel, "The Church in Populist Regimes," 147; María Alicia Puente, "The Church in Mexico," in *The Church in Latin America, 1492-199*, ed. Enrique Dussel (Kent: Burns & Oates / Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), 217-30, 224; Johannes Meier, "The Religious Orders in Latin America," in *ibid.*, 375-90, 385; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 489.

³⁴¹ ADA II/6, 180.

³⁴² ADA II/6, 181, 188. The call for Catholic Action and its importance is also comprehensible in light of the government hostility.

engage in spiritual exercises and asceticism.³⁴³ Likewise, Archbishop Márquez y Tóriz of Puebla de Los Angeles who wants practical experience among seminarians but after having finished philosophy and theology. These tasks could consist of teaching in minor seminaries, apostolic schools or Catholic primary schools – all under the supervision of the Ordinary. Pastoral theology in general should be improved within the theological studies.³⁴⁴ Garibi y Rivera also asks to enhance religious education on the basis of pastoral tasks within the parish. Pastors should use their time for instructing the faithful.³⁴⁵ Clearly, the majority of Mexican bishops focus on the practical and pastoral education and formation of seminarians (and one on spirituality).

Regarding the schools, Bishop Sánchez Tinoco of Papantla wants Catholic schools to maintain a high quality of education, where the spiritual and moral aspects related to the faith are at the center of the curriculum.³⁴⁶ Garibi y Rivera wants the Council to ensure regulations regarding Catholic education in primary and secondary schools, to ensure that they remain institutes where intellectual growth coincides with Catholic actions in practice.³⁴⁷ He maintains that teachers of religious education should know and appropriate the latest developments in terms of methods, didactics and argumentations. As the “profane knowledge” is increasing, similarly, efforts need to be done to teach a “moral and Christian life”. For Garibi y Rivera, the quality of religious education is still insufficient, indeed “lacking”, including within Catholic schools and colleges.³⁴⁸ Finally, Auxiliar Bishop Alba Palacios of Antequera emphasizes the need for unity in “Christian education” and “Catholic schools”. Catholic pupils attending public schools in the sense that Catholics must also be protected at all costs. Moreover, the freedom of the parents and the Church to ensure religious education to children must at all times be ensured, and Catholics generally need to ensure national laws in favor of the Catholic religion.³⁴⁹ Surely all these vota defending the Catholic school and the right of religious education, can be placed in light of the wary situation the Mexican Catholic Church especially from the past decades when the secular laws were enforced in the constitution. It was also discussed earlier that both Garcia and Garibi y Rivera emphasize that religious orders should return back to their original role of educating poor people, if that is part of their fundamental original goal.³⁵⁰

Finally, Garcia and Alba Palacios discuss catechesis. Garcia insists on diocesan catechesis for the “discipline of the Christian people”. For him, the lack of catechesis and “bad religious education” has caused people to shift towards Protestantism.³⁵¹ It is the responsibility of priests and pastors to promote catechesis through the homily or lectures at other times of the day.³⁵² Alba Palacios also wants a “uniform text” – though he does not

³⁴³ ADA II/6, 191-92.

³⁴⁴ ADA II/6, 231.

³⁴⁵ ADA II/6, 197.

³⁴⁶ ADA II/6, 227.

³⁴⁷ ADA II/6, 196.

³⁴⁸ ADA II/6, 197.

³⁴⁹ ADA II/6, 253.

³⁵⁰ See the section on the Religious, in Chapter I.

³⁵¹ ADA II/6, 181.

³⁵² ADA II/6, 183.

elaborate whether that be on universal, national or diocesan level – on catechesis for children and adults.³⁵³

3.2. Guadeloupe

The island of Guadeloupe continued to be an overseas territory of the French government. The Church hierarchy and the education were imported from France, implying a distinction between public (secular) and private (Catholic) schools. Most of the native people lived in the rural areas, while mainly the small elite in the metropolis (oftentimes French immigrants) received education. This education prior to Vatican II was for a large part at odds with the local languages and culture, and things would only change for the better after Vatican II.³⁵⁴ Different from the Mexicans, the French Spiritan Bishop Gay of Basse-Terre et Pointe-a-Pitre criticizes the decrease of doctrinal knowledge within the seminaries. For him, the focus must be on theology rather than on history. Theology should be complemented with “modern social and apostolic issues”.³⁵⁵

3.3. Nicaragua

The Nicaraguan Catholic Church held a good relationship with the nationalist, dictatorial regime of Somoza family since 1934. In general, it could maintain its own educational network supported by the state alongside public schools and universities. In this endeavor, the country had seen, just as many other countries in Central America, of the large influx of foreign religious congregations such as Jesuits, Salesians, Dominicans, Capuchins and so on; whose main aim, among others, was to provide education and increase Catholic Action. By 1956, the Church was allowed to teach catechism in public schools. However, in general, most of the finances for Catholic schools and religious education had to be done without state aid. The use of radio to spread education was slowly emerging. At the same time, education was largely centered in the cities and illiteracy was still widespread in the country. Most of the religious still had quite a colonial mindset and were Spain-trained under the Franco-regime, and the close relationship of the hierarchy with the Somoza family all led to remorse among the country’s poor and soon gave rise to the Sandinista movement that would influence Catholics among the poor to counter the current state of affairs.³⁵⁶ In the country, one votum discusses education and formation in an extensive way. The significant and extensive contributions by the Nicaraguan born Bishop Oviedo y Reyes of León en Nicaragua, were already pointed out previously.³⁵⁷ But much more was written by his hand.

For Oviedo y Reyes, a “catechetical campaign” must be undertaken to protect the children and in which prayer has a central place. Such campaign would benefit vocations or the desire to become catechist and must for him especially happen in the public schools.³⁵⁸

³⁵³ ADA II/6, 253.

³⁵⁴ Philippe Gastaud, “Les organisations de jeunesse catholiques guadeloupéennes au XXe siècle. Une histoire de l’identité créole,” *Outre-Mers. Revue d’histoire* 92, nos. 344-45 (2004): 157-79, 168.

³⁵⁵ ADA II/6, 610-11.

³⁵⁶ Guillermo Meléndez, “Vida cristiana y sociedad en Centroamérica,” in *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en vísperas del Vaticano II*, 83-96, 88-91; Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 149; Rodolfo Cardenal, “The Church in Central America,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 243-70, 267; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 523.

³⁵⁷ Chapter I, sections on catechesis, the religious, the religious sisters, the laity, and media tools.

³⁵⁸ ADA II/6, 623. Cf. Jesús Delgado, “Ámerica Central,” in *Cristianismo e iglesias de América Latina en*

Next to catechesis, the bishop criticizes the financial exclusion in schools run by the religious. In these colleges, Oviedo y Reyes bemoans the high entrance fees which has led to elitism in Catholic education while poorer children enter public schools often hostile to Catholicism. The bishop also criticizes that the financial costs even extend beyond subscription as it also includes purchasing school uniforms.³⁵⁹ Clearly, the privatization and exemption of religious colleges did not satisfy the Nicaraguan needs. Aside from financial issues, the Oviedo y Reyes criticizes that, within all urban and rural educational institutes, there is a lack of religious education that embodies “spiritual formation” and “personal conviction”.³⁶⁰ More efforts need to be done by local clergy to provide religious knowledge in the country’s rural areas.³⁶¹

A major part of these problems for Oviedo y Reyes has to do with the texts used in schools and the training in seminaries. Regarding the texts used for religious education, he asks to revise the theological and Biblical texts by instead using passages that are practical in nature and more relevant for the contemporary problems and issues. The same holds for the seminary training. Teachers in colleges and seminaries must also be trained for this purpose, and they must make use of new didactic methods that is focused on the practical life and the apostolate.³⁶² His strong focus on the practical side of life resonates the suggestions of the Mexicans. Next to the focus on the practical side, the bishop wants to ensure that communistic texts and teachings are counteracted in Hispano-American universities and he particularly praises the statement made during a meeting of the Inter-American Council of Lima that mentioned that the Catholic religion should be taught within all these universities.³⁶³ Indeed, the bishop is referring to the Ibero-American Assembly of Catholic Universities that had met in 1944 for the first time in Lima. Finally, Oviedo y Reyes strongly wishes to restore a “missionary spirit” in society and the Church to ward off “neopaganism”. He particularly praises the Legion of Mary and the Movement for a Better World in doing this work.³⁶⁴ The role of these two recently established organizations had rapidly increased since the 1950s.

3.4. Dominican Republic

The Catholic Church had been exalted by president Trujillo since 1931. A concordat had been signed in 1954, which included, among other things, the right of the Church on schools, seminaries and convents. In public schools, the teaching was to be oriented towards Catholic religious and moral teachings. Bishops and priests were subsidized by the state and many other advantages were granted, yet the shadow of the Haitian massacres in the 1930s and the silence of the Church and local congregations in the country lured as a shadow. Moreover, most of the education was mainly serving the elite and racial discrimination was not uncommon. Only by 1959, the local episcopate had become increasingly more aware of

visperas del Vaticano II, 179-198, 190.

³⁵⁹ ADA II/6, 624.

³⁶⁰ ADA II/6, 624-25.

³⁶¹ ADA II/6, 625.

³⁶² ADA II/6, 620.

³⁶³ ADA II/6, 623.

³⁶⁴ ADA II/6, 622.

taking responsibility for the wider population.³⁶⁵ Moreover, as we saw among some South European nations, the exaltation and (quasi-)monopoly on education alongside the state, did not withhold bishops to express their criticism. Bishop Pepén y Soliman of Higüey criticizes elitism in Catholic schools and colleges and condemns any form of racial or social discrimination in this respect. Seemingly, like Nicaragua, elitism was quite widespread, and like in the US and elsewhere, Catholic education did not necessarily entail a respect for indigenous rights or equality. As for the religious, he wanted to ensure that spirituality is a constant concern and asked for a better theological formation of novices. Similarly, he wanted a better formation in seminaries that was based on pedagogical and sociological formation, and which would include contemporary disciplines.³⁶⁶ Equally, the religious were not trained sufficiently enough.

The second contributor, the Italian Salesian Archbishop Pittini Piusi of Santo Domingo who would soon pass away wants more clarity on how to deal with the new theologies and an investigation of errors in the faith.³⁶⁷ It is not clear which new theologies he is referring to. As for the discipline of the clerics, he simply points to matters to be discussed regarding their formation: “the spirit of freedom in seminaries”, “studies”, “means suitable for the times to be integrated in the formation”, “obedience”, “apostolic and social mentality”, “clerical habits”, “priestly dangers in the ministry”, and a balance between “interior life” and works.³⁶⁸ It was also pointed earlier how the bishop looks in a similar way to the formation of the religious, including the use of media tools.³⁶⁹ To ensure the discipline of the Christian faithful, more clarifications are needed regarding moral issues,³⁷⁰ and “a strong effort” is needed to make sure that children have access to lectures about the Christian doctrine. Talking in a more generalized way, and as a Salesian, the archbishop is adamant to have religious education implemented in all public schools within Catholic countries to be taught by committed teachers or “others”.³⁷¹

3.5. Conclusion

Within Central America, the main demands came from Mexico, Nicaragua, Guadeloupe, Dominican Republic, with Mexico standing out. All the ideas surrounding education and formation came from bishops located in urban and mostly capital cities of either local provinces (for Mexico, Nicaragua) or the country (Guadeloupe, Dominican Republic): Culiacán, Guadalajara, Oaxaca (Antequera), Papantla, Puebla (Mexico); León (Nicaragua), Basse-Terre (French Guadeloupe), Santo Domingo, and Higüey (Dominican Republic). First, catechesis was discussed in Mexico and Nicaragua. For Oviedo y Reyes (León), it had to be provided in public schools and to enhance vocations. Within Mexico, catechesis was to be given to children and adults (García of Culiacán, Alba Palacios of Antequera), on a daily basis and through sermons (García of Culiacán).

³⁶⁵ Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 149; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 269.

³⁶⁶ ADA II/6, 658. Cf. Armando Lampe, “El Caribe,” in *Cristianismo e iglesias*, 205-14, 209.

³⁶⁷ ADA II/6, 659.

³⁶⁸ ADA II/6, 660.

³⁶⁹ See Chapter I.

³⁷⁰ ADA II/6, 660-61.

³⁷¹ ADA II/6, 662.

Regarding Catholic education, demands in Nicaragua and Mexico came forward to have Christian formation as the central focus in Catholic institutes/schools (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Sánchez Tinoco of Papantla). Seemingly this was not always the case in these cities. The same urban bishops also agreed that Catholic schools had to enhance education by incorporating contemporary disciplines and to improve the quality of teachers (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Sánchez Tinoco of Papantla). Another likeminded complaint visible in Nicaragua, Mexico and the Dominican Republic, was the criticism on the elitism in Catholic schools mostly run by the religious at the cost of the poor (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Pepén y Soliman of Higuëy). One local demand in Mexico had to do with establishing unity across the Catholic schools, which in a way also shows at least a desire for episcopal control (Alba Palacios of Antequera). The same bishop also emphasized to protect Catholic students in public schools, not unimportant given that Mexico was the most secular country in the region. He also asked to influence the state as much as possible for the right of Catholic education. Other bishops from Nicaragua and Dominican Republic simply demanded to imbue public schools with Catholic teaching (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Santo Domingo). Only one bishop warned to counter communism in Hispano-American universities (Oviedo y Reyes of León).

As far as the seminaries were concerned, some Mexican bishops asked for episcopal control over the religious seminaries (Alba Palacios of Antequera, Garcia of Culiacán), while the Nicaraguan bishop demanded control over the religious in general (Oviedo y Reyes of León). Content wise, there were singular demands but also others that were similar across the cities. These had to do with a stronger focus on practice and an improvement of pastoral theology (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garcia of Culiacán, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Márquez y Tóriz of Puebla), modern disciplines (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Pepén y Soliman of Higuëy, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo), spirituality (Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo), pedagogy and sociology (Pepén y Soliman of Higuëy), social and apostolic issues (Gay of Basse-Terre). Surely the ever-growing urban population in changing mindscapes shows the demands of these bishops to have priests more pious, practical, and up to date with local needs. Another demand from Mexico was the need for a retreat after some years of practice to rejuvenate (Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Márquez y Tóriz of Puebla). As far as religious sisters were concerned, the León bishop asked for them to be active in schools. Finally, two demands came forward to incorporate modern tools for education (Oviedo y Reyes of León, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo).

4. Latin America

4.1. Ecuador

The Ecuadorian Catholic Church lived in a “*modus vivendi*” with the state since 1937 enshrined through a concordat, after decades of tensions with anti-clerical liberals in the country and subsequent governments. Public schools co-existed with private schools, Catholics being part of the latter and having the freedom to manage them. Many such private

schools were mostly for the middle and upper classes and had been established with the influx of Jesuits, de La Salle Brothers and Sacred Heart brothers and sisters in order to counter liberalism. The country had seen the establishment of the Catholic University of Quito in 1954 and two years later, the National Bishops Conference was established. Bishops, like their colleagues across the continent, had largely been trained in a strong Roman adherent way with educational issues largely derived from Europe, though on the verge of the Council, things started to grow in such a way that more democratic movements were slowly emerging, and the Church had to counter decades of ‘lethargy’. Only in the 60s and especially afterwards, the needs for the poor would be more met.³⁷² Among the vota from Ecuador,³⁷³ the seminaries and clerical formation form the largest part of their content. Bishop Villalba of Riobamba – the famous bishop who would come under scrutiny for his strong support of the indigenous rights and for instigating “profound pastoral reforms” especially after Vatican II³⁷⁴ – wants to reinvent clerical training in the sense that it is more based on a method of “persuasion” rather than purely defending the faith. This method consists for Villalba in three main foci: piety, theology, and apostolic and pastoral formation. As for piety, priests should be trained in such a way that they pursue a constant “intimate union with God” and in turn enter into dialogue with other people. Prayer and action are to be at the center. The action consists, among other things, of preaching, attending meetings and private gatherings. The theological training of seminarians must focus on knowing how to deal with the contemporary problems such as “materialism”, “scientific haughtiness”, and “immanentism”. As a counter-response, the “spiritual, supernatural and transcendental” should be at the center. Finally, the apostolic and pastoral formation should be founded on “a deep devotion”, “intuitive ideas”, and “strong love”. To enhance and maintain this formation, Villalba proposes to have priests to have a retreat for a couple of months after five years of ministry. Retreats are also required in order to uphold the “balance between ascetic life and apostolic activity”.³⁷⁵

Next to seminaries, Villalba seeks an increase of priestly vocations, particularly in regions where there are almost no priests active. As a solution, he wants to see more seminaries established, and a replacement of priests in regions where they are in abundance to regions where they are decreasing or lacking.³⁷⁶ This reminds us of similar problems seen earlier around Lyon in France. The Spanish Capuchin Prefect Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico, for his part, stresses the need for missionary work by multiple diocesan and regular priests along with bishops, laity in well-established dioceses to truly promote the Catholic religion and thus increase priestly vocations. He does ask for the Propaganda Fide to take a leading role in this matter.³⁷⁷

³⁷² Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 146; Jeffrey Klaiber, “The Church in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 285-94, 289; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 272.

³⁷³ For the Ecuadorian vota discussing the religious, the laity, media tools and catechesis, see the correlated sections in Chapter I. It concerns Villalba and Gamboa Satrustegui.

³⁷⁴ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 271.

³⁷⁵ ADA II/7, 25-26.

³⁷⁶ ADA II/7, 26.

³⁷⁷ ADA II/7, 41.

As for schools, Villalba wants a strong investigation of “all the problems in Catholic education in schools and colleges which are supported by or under the authority of the Church.”³⁷⁸ Remedies need to be provided for these problems, warning that the focus should not only be on growth. The bishop is also in favor of social equality between rich and poor,³⁷⁹ reminiscent of local school problems in Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. Regarding schools, colleges and Catholic universities, Gamboa Satrustegui as a Capuchin stresses the importance of “pedagogical action”. For him, this action should be based on the preceding educational works and letters of the popes and patron saints like Calasanz, de la Salle, Don Bosco, and Champagnat. By implementing a “modern pedagogical discipline” through teachers and professors, students will be better prepared. Finally, he is convinced that Catholic clerics and laity should do extra efforts to specialize in higher education; a demand, which was also discussed earlier among some of the European vota. This specialization should be provided by “theologians, canonists, missionaries, pedagogists, professors, preachers, etc.”³⁸⁰

As for the religious, the Auxiliary Jesuit Bishop Chiriboga of Quito is concerned with the educational standards of nuns and wants to enhance their training both in the sacred and profane sciences. Such enhancement of training will make them better fit to teach the laity.³⁸¹ As for the laity in general, Gamboa Satrustegui wants to ensure that children and adults are well-informed of what is required of them in Catholic Action. The faithful should also participate in evangelizing wider society.³⁸² This incorporation of the lay faithful in the Catholic endeavor is part of the broader discussion of CELAM on the continent.

4.2. Argentina

After the military coup, Argentina had recently shifted from Peron’s leadership to that of the ‘developmentist’ Frondizi in 1958, who, though initially not in favor of the educational advantage provided to the Catholic Church in the decades earlier, decided to allow private education next to public education. Catholic schools could continue to flourish. What is more, is that a law in 1959 gave concessions to the Catholic Church in that private universities could directly provide official certificates (which hitherto could only be done through public universities). Like elsewhere in the continent, Catholic education had mainly been open to the classes who could afford them, and the seminaries were primarily Roman centered also because many bishops had earlier been trained in the Pio Latin-American college in Rome. Moreover, other visions on Christian democracy with a more leftist tone had started to pop up from the bottom up and the JUC, the student branch of Catholic Action, was leading the way in this matter. Societal unrest, given the political fragility and the divisions, was large at the threshold of Vatican II as many were opposed regarding the new

³⁷⁸ ADA II/7, 26.

³⁷⁹ ADA II/7, 27.

³⁸⁰ ADA II/7, 41.

³⁸¹ ADA II/7, 38.

³⁸² ADA II/7, 40.

policies happening in the country including for education.³⁸³ Prior to Vatican II, in 1958, the Catholic University of Argentina in Buenos Aires had been founded.³⁸⁴

Two elaborate Argentinian vota are relevant here.³⁸⁵ Archbishop Esorto of Bahía Blanca wants to uplift the seminary training to the same level of that for the laity in schools, and especially with a stronger focus on technological knowledge and according to the norms of the Holy See. More seminaries or houses for religious education should be established only if there are enough priestly candidates or novices.³⁸⁶ As elsewhere across the continent, he favors a retreat for priests after some years of ministry for inner reflection and meditation.³⁸⁷ As for the schools, Esorto wants parish education to be adapted to the contemporary developments as well.³⁸⁸ The Italian Nuncio Mozzoni is more elaborate and comes up with an interesting suggestion that is not found elsewhere. He wants the Council to promote colleges in each parish to ensure children's religious education. He places such a decision in parallel with the success of seminaries after the Tridentine council, which – though taking multiple years and having to overcome local obstacles – successfully trained priests for their future ministry. Moreover, he sees a multiplication of parish schools across the globe as a cure against multiple deficiencies: first, the reduction of catechesis “to mere religious instruction”; secondly, the fact that families have all too easily given the state the authority to provide education to their children; finally, the lack of clear educational goals in Catholic Action and other forms of the apostolate.³⁸⁹ Clearly, catechesis was no longer sufficient (cf. Africa) to provide the best possible education while other Catholic movements missed educational goals. As for his opposition to state education, the precarious political situation in Argentina and across the continent definitely plays a role as many of the public schools and universities had received the support of liberal, anti-Catholic parties.

For the rest, it is only Esorto who points to other possibilities of education. More needs to be done to incorporate religious sociology in the studies to comprehend the classes in society and their relationship to the Church.³⁹⁰ Clearly, the issue of classes and social inequality plays a large role here, but also elsewhere across the continent. Modern tools should also be discussed in how they can be used.³⁹¹ It was previously pointed out how the laity should perform various pastoral tasks of the priest, and how the parish should function as a place of spiritual and practical life.³⁹² Esorto also wants to reestablish episcopal authority over the religious and some of their exemptions (cf. other vota).³⁹³ Catechesis and preaching need to be renewed with a stronger focus on the Bible and liturgy. Catechesis should not function as a “theological synthesis” but be easily comprehensible. Preaching during the

³⁸³ Enrique Dussel, “From the Second Vatican Council to the Present Day,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 160; Dussel, “General Introduction,” 13; Fortunato Mallimaci, “Argentina,” in *Cristianismo e iglesias*, 97-120, 110.

³⁸⁴ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 151.

³⁸⁵ But just like for instance in Poland, these vota are largely silent about the precarious situation of the Church in society. That Argentinian vota are silent on this matter, has also been highlighted by Mallimaci, “Argentina,” 110.

³⁸⁶ ADA II/7, 51.

³⁸⁷ ADA II/7, 51-52.

³⁸⁸ ADA II/7, 53.

³⁸⁹ ADA II/7, 96.

³⁹⁰ ADA II/7, 52.

³⁹¹ ADA II/7, 52.

³⁹² See Chapter I in the relevant sections.

³⁹³ ADA II/7, 51.

Mass should correspond to a “catechesis for adults”.³⁹⁴ Finally, he wants the establishment of catechist schools in which catechists are well trained to aid or supplement the priest in instructing the faithful. For Esorto, this is very important as he sees religious ignorance as “the root of all evil”.³⁹⁵ His preference on catechesis and catechist schools is more optimistic than the nuncio of his country who prefers colleges instead.

4.3. Brazil

Like other Latin-American countries, the period of nationalist/populist government had recently shifted towards more developmentalist governments open to multinational companies and primarily Western capital. While the Church had been flourishing under the nationalist government of Vargas before 1954, with the National Conference of Brazilian Bishops led by Fr. Helder Camara and the growing autonomy of the Brazilian Catholic Church opposing Roman dominance (Cardinal Leme had rejected a concordat), it now had to rethink its relationship with the state, the rise of democratism in the country, and the future of Catholic education. On the verge of the Council, Catholics had just started to engage with the government to establish a new treatise for the education in the country, that primarily focused on the right of state subsidies for the private school network. Recently, the state had allowed for free education on a secondary school, endangering the well-established Catholic school network in this regard. National associations and the National Catechetical Center established in 1959 all helped in this endeavor. In general, the Catholic influence on the country had increased ever since, also due to Leme’s intense work to ensure the evangelization on society as a whole through a variety of means including schools, universities, the press and above all, Catholic Action. Catholic universities had increased in the country, such as the Pontifical one in Rio de Janeiro (1921) Pernambuco (1951). Many congregations had increased schools in the country. A parallel denominational school network had been extended alongside the public-school network of the state, though Catholics had to ensure their own finances to run the schools, causing primarily a well-established network of secondary schools for the middle and upper classes as they could not compete with the free education provided by the state in primary schools. Through law, however, it had been able to ensure religious education in public schools. In the Northeast of the country, radio-schools in line with what happened in Colombia, were established to educate the poor people and underdeveloped people in that region, and it was more than merely literacy as it also included wider topics such as social, economic and political aspects – which was new for the time. Within the seminaries, the traditional Romanized approach was still prevalent. Most of the Brazilian bishops, despite their Portuguese mother tongue, studied at the Colegio Pio-Latino-Americano in Rome, but since 1934 new generation of priests also had access to their own Colegio Pio Brasileiro. At the same time, ‘cracks’ started to show in that many of the Christian students and some priests from the bottom-up were increasingly siding with the poor of society, critical of foreign influence in the country that characterized the new government and which had caused impoverishment despite rapid

³⁹⁴ ADA II/7, 54.

³⁹⁵ ADA II/7, 55, 94.

urbanization; all this also causing some friction with the hierarchy at some points. Moreover, while religious had increased, Brazil had started to face a shortage of priests.³⁹⁶

Brazil has the most contributions from Latin America, counting nine. Regarding the seminaries, the Redemptorist Bishop Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande points out that there are fewer properly qualified directors of seminaries due to a shortage of priests. He points out that bishops – whom he considers very much qualified to lead a seminary – are unable to find equivalent priests to take care of leading a seminary.³⁹⁷ Here is an example of bishop pointing to the vocational problem and its repercussions on seminary. The Capuchin Auxiliary Bishop Bampi of Caxias criticizes various educational developments within seminaries. He bemoans that the Bible and the correlated theological implications are interpreted in a way that is too liberal. Moreover, he is not in favor of incorporating psychology or psychiatry in the training at the cost of patristics.³⁹⁸ As for Auxiliary Bishop Battú Wichrowski of Santos, he asks for episcopal control over the minor seminaries to inspect the teachings and the administration, in line with the regulations provided by the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies.³⁹⁹ Beyond the seminaries, the Redemptorist Auxiliary Bishop Ferreira de Macedo of São Paulo wants to prohibit priests of teaching the profane sciences in public schools if that prevents him from doing his main tasks of pastoral care.⁴⁰⁰ On the other side, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Bishop and Basilian Martenetz of the Ordinariate of Brazil is in favor of priests teaching in schools and to provide instruction.⁴⁰¹

Regarding schools,⁴⁰² Muniz proposes wants to ensure that religious education is made relevant in accordance with the latest demands and questions while the authenticity of the Catholic tradition needs to be upheld.⁴⁰³ We have seen this demand recurrent across the continent, and it shows that religious education did not everywhere keep up with the times. Bishop Costa of Caetité asks for clear regulations regarding the education in Catholic schools with the aim of promoting Christian piety and morality.⁴⁰⁴ Once again, the criticism comes up that some schools no longer kept the Christian message central in the curriculum. Martenetz is on a similar line as he simply emphasizes that good education implies the formation of laity that live and act in accordance with the Catholic teaching.⁴⁰⁵ Bampi for his part bemoans the lack of “truly Catholic teachers” in Catholic educational institutes including the ones run by religious and mentions that the problem lies both with male and female teachers. He points to “divorced”, “secular”, “materialist”, “Protestant” or

³⁹⁶ Dussel, “General Introduction,” 13; José Oscar Beozzo, “The Church and Liberal States,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 117-38, 131; Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 144; Dussel, “From the Second Vatican Council to the Present Day,” 159; Eduardo Hoomaert, “The Church in Brazil,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 185-200, 196-97; Faustino Luiz Couto Teixeira, “Base Church Communities in Brazil,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 403-18, 406-07; José Oscar Beozzo, “Vida cristiana y sociedad en Brasil,” in *Cristianismo e Igrejas*, 49-82, 62-63, 75-76.

³⁹⁷ ADA II/7, 136.

³⁹⁸ ADA II/7, 337.

³⁹⁹ ADA II/7, 330.

⁴⁰⁰ ADA II/7, 316.

⁴⁰¹ ADA II/7, 333.

⁴⁰² For the criticism of the Italian Barnabite Coroli on schools, see section on schools in Chapter I.

⁴⁰³ ADA II/7, 136.

⁴⁰⁴ ADA II/7, 147.

⁴⁰⁵ ADA II/7, 333.

“Umbanda” teachers (the latter being a syncretic Afro-Brazilian religion of Catholicism, Spiritism and indigenous beliefs).⁴⁰⁶ Generally speaking for education, Bampi bemoans the decay of scholastic philosophy and texts for modern disciplines. He believes this caused a decay of doctrinal and supernatural truths, and in turn a decrease in priestly vocations. Here is another example of a bishop who is very pessimistic to all that is modern or new in education. Finally, but in line with his other criticisms, Bampi is critical of the development of coeducation.⁴⁰⁷

As for the universities and higher forms of education, Muniz wants to increase Catholic studies around the interpretation of the Bible and other doctrinal elements that are “attacked” by the “enemies of the Church”. Moreover, he wants a stricter vigilance over professors and students in higher education.⁴⁰⁸ While he does not specify, he seems to criticize the worldwide movement of historical criticism of the Bible and tradition. The Salesian Bishop Campelo de Aragão of Petrolina wants to implement the study on Catholic Action within universities, and particularly in humanities. This demand is comprehensible given the large role of Catholic Action in Brazilian society, including the JUC active in universities. Next to this desire, he also bemoans the widespread influence of “subverting teachings regarding faith and morality by pagans and agnostics” across multiple disciplines in higher education (cf. Bampi).⁴⁰⁹ Regarding the religious, media tools, and the laity, the relevant Brazilian vota were discussed earlier.⁴¹⁰

In general, thus, the Brazilian vota on education and formation are quite defensive and aimed at increasing the Catholic doctrine and evangelization in the country up against people with affinity to Protestantism, secularism, materialism and even the Umbanda religion. The spiritual war needs to be won on all fronts: the teaching in seminaries, schools, universities, and all means should be used to reach out to those among the poor in the rural areas through radio. However, nothing much is mentioned on ecumenical or interreligious dialogue, or a critical retrospection of Catholic education and formation in the institutes, nor state subsidies or the criticism of elitism in Catholic education at the cost of reaching out to the poor.

4.4. Bolivia

In Bolivia, the leftist Nationalist Revolutionary Movement was ruling the country since 1952. Education to the masses was in a slow pace across the country, both in terms of public and Catholic schools, even though both school systems had been under scrutiny of the state and (foreign) religious orders and congregations. Like elsewhere, Catholic education was a private matter but tolerated by the state. Catholic universities were non-existent. The 1955 Education Reform Act established the need to improve education and illiteracy, and it divided the education system into urban and rural areas. For the first time, education would become more widespread and accessible from what hitherto was mostly the case for the elite of society. Especially the rural areas had been underdeveloped including in educational and

⁴⁰⁶ ADA II/7, 337-38.

⁴⁰⁷ ADA II/7, 338.

⁴⁰⁸ ADA II/7, 135.

⁴⁰⁹ ADA II/7, 234.

⁴¹⁰ See the demands by Pires, Muniz, Coroli, and Battú Wichrowski in Chapter I.

clerical matters.⁴¹¹ The votum from Bishop Loayza Gumiel of Potosí bemoans the scarcity of priests and the decrease of priestly vocations in the Bolivian rural areas. As a remedy, he proposes to reduce the amount of study time accessible to both young and old people while maintaining a good quality to ensure knowledge and piety. Moreover, he is of the opinion that there should be an overarching Latin-American seminary located in Peru or Ecuador (neighboring countries) in which Latin-American seminarians are broadly and thoroughly trained in various disciplines that are relevant to the country in which they ought to fulfill their ministry. These include manners, history, and native languages. Such seminary should be a continuation of the already existing Pio-Latino-Americano College in Rome, and it should serve as a cure for priestly vocations. Finally, to stimulate more vocations among students in higher education, he proposes to decrease the amount of time for baccalaureate including in public schools to five years;⁴¹² although it is unclear why he precisely thinks that a decrease of the bachelor program would increase priestly vocations.

4.5. Chile

In Chile, the state did also not constitutionally endorse the Catholic Church, although it sometimes aided the Church in works such as education.⁴¹³ In this light, the Chilean Church had set the tone for the possibility to have a Catholic Church distanced from the nationalist populist movements and leading governments at the time, leading the way towards a more democratic model. Through Catholic Action, the Falange, the future Christian Democratic Party, had been established by the end of the 30s and had been defended by Bishop Larraín Errazuriz of Talca up against conservative attacks favoring more the nationalist government. In fact, Archbishop Mario Caro of Santiago who had just passed away before the Council, already had been a staunch defender of neutrality from the right-wing parties. Meanwhile, Larraín Errazuriz had established the Chilean Bishops Conference and was also a pioneer organizer for CELAM. Like elsewhere, the Chilean Church was separated from the state since 1925 and had to run its own educational private network. The country also had the Catholic University of Chile, Santiago, one of the eldest Catholic universities in the continent (1869). Seminaries had largely been Romanized, and many of the Chilean bishops had been trained in Rome at the Gregorian University, such as Silva Santiago.⁴¹⁴

Three Chilean vota discussed education and formation,⁴¹⁵ the one of Archbishop Silva Santiago of Concepción being a very extensive one (not surprising given his rectorship of the Catholic University of Chile, Santiago). In fact, he would also be a member in the conciliar commission on seminaries and university studies. First, Silva Santiago proposes to

⁴¹¹ Dussel, "The Church in Populist Regimes," 146; Klaiber, "The Church in Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia," 290; Pablo Regalsky and Nina Laurie, "The School, Whose Place Is This? The Deep Structures of the Hidden Curriculum in Indigenous Education in Bolivia," *Comparative Education* 43, no. 2 (2007): 231-51, 235-36; Weimar Giovanni Iñó Daza, "A View to Educational Reforms and the Formation of Citizenship in Bolivia (century XX and XXI)," *Alteridad: Revista de Educación* 12, no. 2 (2017): 144-54, 147-48.

⁴¹² ADA II/7, 114.

⁴¹³ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 227.

⁴¹⁴ Dussel, "General Introduction," 14; Beozzo, "The Church and the Liberal States," 131; Dussel, "The Church in Populist Regimes," 140, 142, 144-45; Maximiliano Salinas, "The Church in the Southern Cone: Chile, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay," 304; Maximiliano Salinas, "Chile," in *Cristianismo e iglesias*, 139.

⁴¹⁵ For the contributions of Vicuña Aránguiz and Fuenzalida on the decay of Latin in schools and the liturgy, see Chapter I. Similarly, some of the suggestions on minor seminaries by Silva Santiago was pointed out.

promulgate a “compendium of the faith” as he believes that “the fullness of revelation cannot be restricted to formulas” but should be “described in a compact form”. Such compendium has a threefold application. It can be useful for other Christians to get informed about the Catholic doctrines. It can serve as the basis for “a new theological orientation of the future”, as an inspiration for a balance in between theological and Biblical argumentations of the past and the new theological texts which include recent Biblical and liturgical investigations and the teachings of the Mystical Body of Christ. Finally, it will be useful for catechesis and the homily by providing a balance between doctrine and pastoral practice. In terms of content, the compendium should represent the Christian teachings in a “positive”, “inviting” way “avoiding the use of condemnations” (the latter being remarkable as the bishop would continuously seek to condemn communism during the Council). It should also include many Biblical references.⁴¹⁶ The topics to be discussed in the compendium are the following: “The Mystical Body of Christ with at the center the unity of faith of Christian life”, “the ecclesial hierarchy as a supernatural gift”, “the sacraments”, “Christian priesthood”, “the place of the faithful and priests within the Mystical Body of Christ”, “the doctrine of the Blessed Virgin in connection to Christ and the Church”, “grace as a genuine Catholic concept”, “faith”, “tradition”, “the Sacred Scripture and the Catholic interpretation”, “the worship of God and the saints”, “Christian philosophy”, “the social doctrine of the Church”, “the moral doctrines regarding the individual”, “family”, “social and public life”, “those returning the unity of the faith”, “regarding the progress of the homogenic doctrine and the rules”.⁴¹⁷

Next to the compendium, Silva Santiago also deals with the training of seminarians. He is convinced that ecclesiastic studies need to be rejuvenated, mainly with respect to theology and philosophy. More focus should be on spirituality and pastoral works. Along with these major themes, homiletics, catechesis, social and moral knowledge are important disciplines. He also seems to hint at yet another compendium – a “coursebook” – promulgated by the Council in which answers are provided to the recent philosophical, psychological and medical problems including psychotherapy, sterilization, birth control and so forth. The compendium should then be used as a source of teaching among various disciplines in ecclesial institutes and Catholic colleges.⁴¹⁸

Minor seminaries are also important in order to maintain priestly vocations, as primary and secondary schools that leave out spiritual and moral teaching will fail to captivate young students to have a vocation. For this purpose, minor seminaries ought to be optimized in which qualified professors with academic degrees are carefully selected. Silva Santiago even proposes to establish regional and inter-diocesan minor seminaries under the supervision of the bishops in consultation with the nuncio. This supervision would allow for student and professor selection and inspection. Bishops should be continuously informed about the developments in these seminaries as well as the financial situation.⁴¹⁹ Another solution to the scarcity of priests in certain regions like Latin-America and the lack of vocations, is to

⁴¹⁶ ADA II/7, 354.

⁴¹⁷ ADA II/7, 354-55.

⁴¹⁸ ADA II/7, 355.

⁴¹⁹ ADA II/7, 355-56.

establish a central office dependent on the Holy See which can overlook and investigate the various regions where apostolic labor is missing in consultation with local bishops. This office should have the task to think of solutions.⁴²⁰ Silva Santiago is one of the very few who actually deals with the minor seminaries in detail for the Latin American (and Central American) continent, and it shows the role these seminaries had played in the Chilean past (as in Belgium, France, Spain...)

Silva Santiago also elaborates in detail regarding the urgency of the Christian education of the youth. He is very much aware of the difficulties related to this topic, as he discusses how Christian education is dependent on regional contexts, which involve the abundance or the lack of Catholic schools, Christian education only accessible through public schools, or the existence of independent Catholic schools under the guidance of the Church. Regarding religious education in those regions where it is in public and/or Catholic schools, the archbishop points to two problems. First, within public schools, he considers religious education as oftentimes “inefficient” because the Catholic teachings are not discussed in detail, the teachers are non-Catholic and/or lack the expertise. Secondly, as for the religious education in Catholic schools, he criticizes that it oftentimes does not co-align with other disciplinary studies (i.e., “it lacks dialogue”). He then proposes solutions to Catholic education: “legal clarifications” for various issues, “reconfirming papal norms and suggestions while adding new ones”, a clear guideline of teaching methods, “more episcopal authority to inspect education in Catholic colleges” with the possibility “to intervene in the whole educational system”, “a reform of religious and ecclesial institutes”, a better formation of priestly and religious teachers in matters of “technical and pedagogical knowledge”, and the establishment of clear instructions under episcopal authority.⁴²¹ He does not elaborate on areas where Catholic schools do not exist, Church-state relations, or the financial aspects.

4.6. Colombia

In Colombia, there had just been a political pact between liberals and conservatives in 1957 called the “National Front” after a decade of civil war, in which largely the conservatives came out victorious. The Catholic Church strongly supported the conservatives, making the Colombian Church in turn much more dependent on the conservative party than for instance in Chile. A concordat signed earlier at the end of the 19th century that recognized the Catholic religion as the official religion of Colombia with the support of the state was reconfirmed after the civil war. As elsewhere, the Catholic educational system had been enlarged and was primarily run by religious congregations who had come from abroad and ran parallel to public education. Mainly the Catholic secondary schools were doing well. Catholic universities had also expanded, with the Pontifical Xaverian University in Bogotá opened in 1937 and the upgrade of the Catholic Bolivarian University to Pontifical in 1945. However, illiteracy was still prevalent and overall state aid was lacking. The distinction between urban and rural like Chile and elsewhere was high, as well as access to education between rich and poor. Meanwhile, the country had also been the pioneer in radio education, famously called

⁴²⁰ ADA II/7, 356-57.

⁴²¹ ADA II/7, 361.

Radio Sutatenza initiated by Mgr. Salcedo to reach out to people in the missions of the country. Seminaries followed the rule as discussed elsewhere among Latin-American countries.⁴²²

The discussion on seminaries, schools, the religious and catechesis runs parallel.⁴²³ Bishop Jaramillo Tobón of Jericó reconfirms the importance of theological and Biblical studies in the seminary formation. The bishop does point to the difficulties arising for bishops with respect to regional seminaries that are too far off from the episcopal reach. He further ponders whether the existing canon laws on minor seminaries could also be applied to lyceums and apostolic schools.⁴²⁴ Some of the contributions regarding the Lazarist Archbishop Botero Salazar of Medellín, who would also be a member on the Conciliar Commission on Studies and Seminaries, with respect to what the Congregation on Seminaries and University Studies ought to do were already pointed out previously. From these vota, it seemed that despite all the efforts in the previous decades, the religious apostolate still had to be increased as well as vocational training by means of more seminaries. He also wants the Congregation to discuss the necessity for each parish to have primary schools, that in each city there is at least one free atheneum, that seminarians should be obliged to perform one year of pastoral ministry, and that national seminaries need to be established.⁴²⁵ It seems that the Catholic primary schools were not successful due to financial needs in contrast to free primary education provided by the state. Catholic schools in the country and the wider continent were anyways popular mainly for their secondary schools. But Botero Salazar does not talk of how finances would be met for his demands. As for seminaries, unlike Jaramillo Tobón who focuses on the doctrinal and Biblical formation, Botero Salazar emphasizes the pastoral aspect; showing thus the differences of where priests are lacking in seminary training between the rural (Jaramillo Tobón) and the urban areas (Botero Salazar). Finally, Botero Salazar also wants the religious congregations within one parish to provide as much assistance as is possible within the parish, including being active in “free schools”⁴²⁶, which in the country primarily meant the primary public schools.

Auxiliary Bishop Zambrano Camader of Popayán seeks the establishment of offices for catechists within each parish, as well as a preparation center for catechists (cf. Botero Salazar).⁴²⁷ He is in favor of giving more authority to the Ordinary with respect to the admission of students into seminaries, including those coming from other seminaries or religious houses. Up against what he calls “proselytism” of Protestant groups, he seeks to ensure – among other things – proper schools and means of propagation.⁴²⁸ Bishop Castro Becerra of Palmira wants to ensure that catechesis is being taught in all the schools.⁴²⁹

⁴²² Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 142; Rodolfo de Roux, “The Church in Colombia and Venezuela,” in *The Church in Latin America*, 271-84, 278; Beozzo, “Vida cristiana,” 63; Ignacio Madera Vargas, S. D. S., “Colombia y Venezuela,” in *Cristianismo e iglesias*, 165-78, 168.

⁴²³ For Zambrano Camader and some of Botero Salazar’s suggestions on diocesan catechetical institutes, seminaries, and the religious schools and apostolate, see Chapter I.

⁴²⁴ ADA II/7, 412.

⁴²⁵ ADA II/7, 414-15.

⁴²⁶ ADA II/7, 418.

⁴²⁷ ADA II/7, 459.

⁴²⁸ ADA II/7, 460.

⁴²⁹ ADA II/7, 419.

Finally, the Pontifical Xaverian University (run by Jesuits) mentions that the Council should clarify issues related to salvation outside the Church and the historicity of the book Genesis (including evolutionism).⁴³⁰

4.7. *Venezuela*

Just prior to the Council, the Venezuelan government had been exchanged from a nationalist populist regime towards a ‘developmentist’ government under Betancourt in 1959 as similarly discussed for other countries earlier. Before that, in the first decades of the century and under the dictatorship of Gomez, foreign religious had been asked to deal with education, alongside hospitals and mission (as everywhere else) after a period of clashes between liberals and Catholics. This caused a staunch increase of regular clergy over secular and mainly foreign-born bishops. The dictator, however, kept a strict control over the clergy but anti-clericalism did continue to influence the country, nonetheless, causing a decrease of priests. The educational network was largely private and focused on the elite. After Gomez’ death, from the 40s onwards under different successive regimes, Catholic Action expanded in the country, and it countered vehement efforts by the left Democratic Action seeking to close Catholic schools. The success of Catholic Action even led to the formation of the Venezuelan Christian Democracy that would also keep balances in check with the subsequent ten-year dictatorship in the country from 1948-58.⁴³¹

The one relevant votum from Bishop Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo, urges to maintain the catechesis of children and adults by the priests and the religious up against religious ignorance. Though he admits it is getting more difficult to provide catechesis, he is of the opinion that priests and religious should be involved in catechesis from the first years of their apprenticeship. This might in turn inspire young Catholics to have a vocation.⁴³² Seemingly, schools in Venezuela did not function well enough to counter religious ignorance, but that also has largely to do with the fact that many from the upper classes could study. The poorer strata simply had to do with catechesis. Next to catechesis, he especially targets education for the Catholic youth as being “desperately in need for renovation”. Pulido Mendez criticizes that the norms of the Gospel are no longer at the center of education, making students in turn reliant on the teachings provided to them without adhering to Christ. After their studies, they therefore leave behind religious practices.⁴³³ It is unclear if he points to public or Catholic schools, but it is clear that his criticism of the lack of Christian formation at the center of the school is similar to what was discussed before in the wider continent. Finally, the bishop wants a stronger focus on the contemporary social questions within the studies of schools and seminaries. These include agricultural, industrial and business questions,⁴³⁴ not unimportant, as these were the exact questions which had divided the unstable political spectrum and had also caused the rise of the Christian democratic party

⁴³⁰ ADA IV/2, 49-50.

⁴³¹ Dussel, “General Introduction,” 14; Dussel, “The Church in Populist Regimes,” 147; de Roux, “The Church in Colombia and Venezuela,” 279-80.

⁴³² ADA II/7, 561.

⁴³³ ADA II/7, 561-62.

⁴³⁴ ADA II/7, 562.

in the country. Moreover, Maracaibo was a hub of industry and housed much of the country's oil.

4.8. Conclusion

The demands on education were prevalent among several bishops from Ecuador, Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, and Venezuela. Almost all these bishops were locals. Regionally, in Ecuador, the main demands came from the capital city Quito, Riobamba, a central city much dependent on local agriculture and the center of controversy after Vatican II, and Aguairico, an apostolic vicariate in the east focused on the missions. Mainly the last two dioceses were significant in contributions. For Argentina, it was the coastal city of Bahía Blanca. For Brazil, it concerned Barra do Rio Granda, adjacent to the greater eastern coastal city Salvador; the city of Caxias do Sul in the south; Santos, a coastal area adjacent to São Paulo; Guama near the coastal city Belém in the north; and the eastern rural dioceses of Caetité, Petrolina, Araçuaí, and Lages. In Bolivia, it concerned the bishop from the southern city of Potosí. The Chilean bishop much engaged belonged to Concepción, a coastal city in the west. For Colombia, it concerned the capital city Medellín, the city Popayán, Jericó (a recent rural diocese in the south), and the rural diocese of Palmira in the west. The Xaverian University run by Jesuits contributed as well. Finally, for Venezuela, it concerned Maracaibo, a major city near Lake Maracaibo where the oil industry flourished.

As far as the seminaries were concerned, there were local demands to change the study content also much dependent on local needs. These concerned an increase of pastoral theology (Villalba of Riobamba, Botero Salazar of Medellín), the apostolate (Villalba of Riobamba), technological studies (Esoto of Bahía Blanca), pedagogy (Silva Santiago of Concepción), agriculture, business and industrial questions (Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo), more Bible and doctrine (Jaramillo Tobón of Jericó), and a criticism on modern interpretations on the Bible (Bampi of Caxias do Sul). One bishop asked to equalize the curriculum as parallel with the laity (Esoto of Bahía Blanca), and in a similar vein, the Chilean asked for a state recognition of the degrees (Silva Santiago of Concepción). Two bishops also agreed to implement a priestly retreat after some years of work for inner reflection (Villalba of Riobamba, Esoto Bahía Blanca). Some proposed an enhanced Roman control over the local seminaries by means of implementing the study curriculum and inspection (Esoto of Bahía Blanca, Battú Wichrowski of Santos), and one in favor of episcopal control to ensure a stricter selection of incoming seminarians (Zambrano Camader of Popayán). Further demands included better educated teachers in minor seminaries (Silva Santiago of Concepción) and an increase of urban and rural seminaries (Botero Salazar of Medellín). The Bolivian Bishop Loayza Gumiel favored an international seminary in the region where local seminarians could be trained (Potosí).

It was also clear that many of these bishops pointed to a lack of vocations in various regions across the countries. Multiple causes, solutions, and correlated problems came forward. For the declining vocations, there were proposals to increase seminaries in Ecuador (Villalba of Riobamba) and minor seminaries in Chile (Silva Santiago of Concepción). These ideas were contradicted elsewhere in Brazil (Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande). Further

solutions included to import foreign clergy (Villalba of Riobamba), to increase the mission (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico), or to decrease the study time in rural seminaries (Loayza Gumiel of Potosí). Bampi saw the lack of scholastic training as the main cause for the declining vocations (Caxias do Sul). Elsewhere, Muniz mentioned that one of the effects of lacking vocations was the difficulty to maintain the seminaries (Barra do Rio Grande). From Chile, Silva Santiago proposed to have Rome take control in order to look at where clergy is lacking in the continent and to come up with solutions.

Regarding the Catholic schools most demands were local, with the demand to enhance the quality of education and remove defects (Villalba of Riobamba) and the quality of teachers (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico, Bampi of Caxias do Sul; both Capuchins), to enhance social equality among rich and poor (Villalba of Riobamba), to increase modern pedagogy (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico), to ensure that Christian formation is central (Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande, Costa of Caetité, Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo); and again a focus on questions concerning agriculture, business, and industry as with seminaries (Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo). From Chile came a more global demand, as Silva Santiago bemoaned that worldwide religious education was insufficient, and again the proposal for Rome to take matters in hand (Concepción). The same bishop pointed out that Christian education was contextually bound and thus had to be approached that way. Others asked to increase primary Catholic schools in the area (Botero Salazar of Medellín), or to increase primary and secondary Catholic schools across the globe (Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina).

As far as public schools were discussed, a strong criticism came from Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina to counter the popularity of these schools among the faithful by establishing more Catholic schools across the globe. Somewhat similarly militant, was Muniz of Barra do Rio Granda who bemoaned worldwide secularization and restrictions on Catholic schools. It is noticeable that both criticisms came from Italians, but that they not necessarily resonate with other Italian nuncios and bishops elsewhere. Other issues were related to ban clergy from teaching other topics beyond religious education in the public schools (Ferreira de Macedo of São Paulo) which was contradicted by the Greek-Catholic Bishop Martenetz in the country.

For Catholic universities, demands were related to an increase of pedagogy (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico), Catholic Action (Campelo de Aragão of Petrolina), to counter false teachings (Campelo de Aragão of Petrolina), true Christian teachers (Bampi of Caxias do Sul), and a stricter selection of teachers and students (Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande). Here it is noticeable that these demands all came from the religious bishops. For the ecclesiastical universities, the Chilean bishop asked for a stronger focus on the pastoral theology, spirituality and catechesis, once again led by Rome (Silva Santiago of Concepción).

Regarding catechesis, there was no consensus and those talking about it had different ideas. While one diocesan Bishop in Colombia's rural west asked to enhance catechesis in schools and churches (Castro Becerra of Palmira), the Nuncio Mozzino saw catechesis as insufficient and to be exchanged for Catholic schools instead. In Argentina, it was proposed to imply catechesis in the Mass, focused on Bible and liturgy (Esorto of Bahía Blanca). While some saw catechesis as a means against religious ignorance (Esorto of Bahía Blanca,

Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo), it was not the case for the Nuncio in Argentina. Others focus on the local context, asking for catechesis to be balanced between doctrine and practice (Silva Santiago of Concepción), or to be used to increase evangelization (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico, a mission region). Catechesis could be provided by the religious (Pires of Araçuaí), or by all clergy (Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo). Regarding the organization, only one asked for more catechist schools (Esorto of Bahía Blanca), while others pointed to the need of diocesan catechetical secretariats (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico, Botero Salazar of Medellín, Zambrano Camader of Popayán). Although not mentioning catechesis, one can place the demand for (inter)national and diocesan offices for Christian information under Roman control (note that it was an Italian Barnabite asking for this) (Coroli of Guama). Villalba of Riobamba instead focused on Catholic Action to educate the laity.

Regarding the religious, only one in Ecuador it was asked to enhance their education and formation in general (Villalba of Riobamba), and the sisters in particular on behalf of the Jesuit Chiriboga (Quito). Other demands had to do with an increase of religious to foster Colombia's apostolate to be supervised by Rome (Botero Salazar of Medellín), and the episcopal control over the religious (Botero Salazar of Medellín, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Pires of Araçuaí). Beyond the religious, episcopal control was also asked for the minor seminaries (Battù Wichrowski of Santos), (inter)diocesan seminaries (Silva Santiago of Concepción, Jaramillo Tobón of Jericó, Zambrano Camader of Popayán), schools (Silva Santiago of Concepción), and the mission in Ecuador combined with Roman control (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico).

Other demands were the use of media tools to educate from urban bishops (Villalba of Riobamba, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Muniz of Barre do Rio Grande), to need to foster Catholic doctrine among the Protestants (note that the bishop had been rector of the Papal University of Chile) (Silva Santiago of Concepción), the need to study other religions in the region and clarity on the Bible, typical for Jesuit university demands (Xaverian Pontifical University).

5. Middle East

5.1. Iraq

In Iraq, Christians lived as a minority alongside a predominant Muslim society, though not without important history and contributions. The Chaldean Church, under the loyalty of Rome, had been influencing local society since its origin in the 16th century when a split occurred in the Assyrian or formerly called Nestorian Church due to issues surrounding successorship. Since 1830 especially, Chaldean patriarchs continued to be in union with Rome and were seated in Mosul, though since 1946 their See had been moved to Baghdad close to the political center. Meanwhile, a similar event had also taken place within the Syriac Orthodox Church, in which a Uniate Church with Rome had been established, namely, the Syrian Catholic Church in the 17th century. Though headed in Lebanon (see below), many Syrian Catholics also lived in Iraq and would also settle later in Baghdad

alongside the Chaldeans. Alongside these four major traditions, Iraq also knew a small Latin Church mainly in Baghdad due to the influx of Western missionaries who closely collaborated with the Uniate churches, as well as an Armenian Orthodox presence derived from Iran and located in Basra and an Armenian Catholic Church which would also locate in Baghdad on the verge of the Council. Indeed, just prior to the Council, the kingdom of Iraq had been supplemented by a republic in 1958 and up until then, the Chaldean patriarch had been a member of the senate as his role had been reduced by the Church from a head of a nation to a religious leader. Moreover, unlike the Assyrian Church which had forcefully immigrated to the US due to political clash with the kingdom, the Chaldean Church had been the most flourishing. On the verge of the Council, the Chaldean patriarch was Paul II Cheiko, and under his supervision with the center in Baghdad, the Chaldean Church had started to grow in pastoral and parochial service to the Christians. At the same time, many Chaldeans had started to become Arabicized due to this shift to Baghdad. Largely, the Christian schools were left on their own resources, input and of course dependent on the respective Christian tradition. Most prominent were the Assyrian and Chaldean school network (mostly the latter), but also education by Western congregations were established, such as the al-Hikma University by the Jesuits established in 1956 that housed both Christians and Muslims. In general, since the beginning of the 20th century, Dominican Sisters from the Latin rite, Daughters of Mary Immaculate and from the Chaldean rite alongside Chaldean Sisters of the Sacred Heart, all had established educational schools. Seminaries, though few, were also there such as the major seminary of St John the Evangelist (including a minor seminary attached) led by the Dominicans in Mosul, though it was largely reduced after World War I but nonetheless continued to operate until the opening of the Council and primarily aimed at Chaldean and Syrian Catholics.⁴³⁵

The wish of Chaldean Auxiliary Bishop Sayegh of Mosul to establish more diocesan schools was mentioned earlier.⁴³⁶ However, the question remains open to what extent such demand could be enforced in a country where Chaldeans remained a small minority. Sayegh also wants to have better means for the mission among the Assyrian Christians in his country. He specifically points to the issue of schools. The Assyrians, whom he calls “fanatic”, mainly active in Baghdad and the north of Mosul, would only be converted by well-ordered schools. Clearly, unlike the teachings in the St John Seminary that offered both rites in liturgy, here is an example of animosity towards the Assyrian co-religionists in the country, also showing the mindset of some Chaldeans. The auxiliary bishop also points to the problem of few foreign missionaries in the country due to the hostile approach by the Iraqi government, which in turn has led to a stagnation of schools as these could only be run by Chaldeans. And the only solution he sees of converting the Assyrians is through Catholic education (note that he actually calls them Nestorians and not Assyrians).⁴³⁷ Therefore, he recommends that the few foreign missionaries who are at work in Iraq, should only focus their apostolate

⁴³⁵ Charles Chartouni, “Lebanon,” in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Mariz Tadros and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 114-26, 121; Herman G.B. Teule, “Iraq,” in *ibid*, 164-76, 169-71. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 392.

⁴³⁶ See Chapter I.

⁴³⁷ ADA II/4, 371-72.

on the schools but with caution. For Sayegh, they should indirectly and in accordance with the Ordinary try to convert the students. Moreover, he asks for episcopal control over the schools and convents run by missionaries; but more so for reasons as not to raise suspicion – so claims Sayegh.

The reason for his other demand for technical schools has to do with the fact that Sayegh sees these schools as guaranteeing “erudition”, “progress”, and the “future” of Mosul; but looking at the larger international picture, we see everywhere a growing call for technical education in light of national economic progress. Sayegh points out that Assyrians are more inclined towards manual labor in general, and the knowledge of technicalities in a Catholic light would “impress the local youth”.⁴³⁸

Regarding the priestly discipline – given the context of local priests who live with their relatives causing oftentimes decay of priestly care – Sayegh wants to ensure that priests are under the immediate episcopal control, and also wants the bishops to ensure that their priests have a sufficient income for a protection to illnesses, old age and poverty.⁴³⁹ It is unclear how he would ensure such financial security. In general, it is interesting to note his focus on the Assyrians while he remains silent about the other Eastern Catholics and Orthodox Christians when it comes to education (probably because that is not under his jurisdiction). Neither is there any focus on Muslims or universities.

5.2. *Lebanon*

Since Lebanon came under French mandate after World War I and the defeat of the Ottomans in 1920, the Maronites had played an important role in fostering the Lebanese national identity and was supported by the French. One year after the end of World War II, Lebanon became independent from the French mandate. The Maronites have played a large role in establishing and maintaining schools and university across the country. By the time of the Council, the Holy Spirit University of Kaslik had recently been founded. But religious orders and congregations from the West had also brought education, as varied as the Salesians, Franciscans, Capuchins, Vincentians, Jesuits, Carmelites, Dominicans, Christian Teaching Brothers, Marist Brothers, White Fathers and some female congregations. For instance, the French Jesuits had established the Saint Joseph University of Beirut in 1875. Meanwhile, as was the case in Iraq, due to the Armenian genocide at the hands of the national Turks, a large portion of the Armenian Catholic Church alongside the Armenian Apostolic Church had also been moved to Lebanon, each bringing their own education and institutions. In general, the country followed the inherited French education curriculum for which the French government heavily relied on French Catholic religious clergy. The majority of schools were therefore private and very popular on a secondary level. Given the plurality of religions, especially Islam, these Christian schools and universities also had to open their schools for Muslim populations, but they were also somewhat elitist. Vocational schools or seminaries, though few, followed in a similar line as well. In general, Maronites had also immigrated

⁴³⁸ ADA II/4, 372.

⁴³⁹ ADA II/4, 372.

across the world due to the unstable political situations across time (cf. Cyprus discussed earlier).⁴⁴⁰

Two vota related to Lebanon came from the Maronites and Armenian Catholics.⁴⁴¹ Méouchi wants the Council to clarify the extent to which the Church should contribute in spreading technical knowledge, “especially in underdeveloped countries”.⁴⁴² His call resonates well in light of the lack of technical and professional schools in Lebanon at the time, but in a way, also in other parts of the world (cf. Iraq). Moreover, he mentions a desire among the Maronites both within Lebanon and the diaspora to have a general organization surrounding the Christian school in Lebanon similar to Catholic Action.⁴⁴³ It is noteworthy that Méouchi does not discuss seminaries, as his confrater Farah did earlier (see Cyprus). At the same time, his focus on the Christian school also in the context of Lebanon shows the Maronites’ engagement with education in general and how they take the school serious.

The Georgian Patriarch of Celicia of the Armenian Catholic Church, Agagianian, who is also President of the Pontifical Commission for the Redaction of the Code of Oriental Canon Law and Pro-Prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, briefly mentions some lines regarding the Catholic school. His votum includes the co-signatures of eight other bishops related to the Armenian Catholic Church and one to the Syriac Catholic Church.⁴⁴⁴ For Agagianian, when the focus in the Christian school starts to become one of merely educating students into sciences and for graduation at the cost of “forming Christians”, then it serves no purpose. Here is a perfect example of how a patriarch looks at the Christian schools as not merely providing education to students but also formation (cf. in Latin and Central America discussed earlier). His observation would also resonate in the conciliar debates as to the question of what exactly defines the Catholic school and distinguishes it with public school. Moreover, he criticizes Catholic schools which admit non-Catholic students at the cost of Catholic students.⁴⁴⁵ His critique might also be placed in light of the wider Muslim context in Lebanon.

Finally, Saint Joseph University of Beirut (run by Jesuits) highlights the need for a better knowledge of oriental studies and law within Western (Latin) seminaries and universities.⁴⁴⁶ It also asks the Council to better clarify various theological insinuations such as “separated brothers”, to better distinguish between schism and heresy, to discuss the value of eastern sacraments and so forth.⁴⁴⁷ This call from a Jesuit institute is fully comprehensible in light of where the university is situated.

⁴⁴⁰ Razek Siriani, “Syria,” in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 102-13, 105, 107; Chartouni, “Lebanon,” 116-22; Jeniffer M. Dueck, “Educational Conquest: Schools as a Sphere of Politics in French Mandate Syria, 1936–1946,” *French History* 20, no. 4 (2006): 442-59, 447.

⁴⁴¹ For the suggestions of Méouchi on the Christian school and the laity, see Chapter I.

⁴⁴² ADA II/4, 385.

⁴⁴³ ADA II/4, 389.

⁴⁴⁴ These include the Turkish Archbishop Tayroyan of Baghdad, the Turkish Archbishop Kiredjian of Istanbul, the Turkish Bishop Gennangi of Kamichlié, the Turkish Capuchin Auxiliary Bishop Zohrabian of Celicia, the Turkish Auxiliary Patriarch Batanian of Celicia, the Moldovan Auxiliary Bishop Koguian of Beirut – also a Mechitarist of Vienna, the Syrian Archbishop Hindié of Alep, and the Lebanese Coadjutor Bishop Bayan of Iskanderiya – also part of the Institut du Clergé Patriarcal de Bzommar.

⁴⁴⁵ ADA II/4, 398.

⁴⁴⁶ ADA IV/2, 46.

⁴⁴⁷ ADA IV/2, 42.

5.3. *Israel & Palestine*

Within Israel, almost all of the Christian traditions including Eastern Catholics can be found. Since the inception of Israel in 1948, many of the Christians who historically belonged to the Palestinian communities, had either fled the country, or they came under Israeli (Israeli land by 1959 including West Jerusalem), Jordan (East Jerusalem and the West Bank), or Egyptian (Gaza) jurisdiction. The Catholic Church had a strong presence mainly in the Arab sections of the land, and since the end of the 19th century, educational facilities had increased significantly mainly thanks to foreign Latin rite religious congregations and orders.⁴⁴⁸ The Italian Apostolic Delegate to Jerusalem and Palestine, Sensi, argues that both laity and especially religious sisters needed a strong religious education. Among other things on priestly discipline, Sensi also asks how the “spiritual, intellectual and in particular pastoral formation” of priests can be further enhanced, how they can be assisted or replaced, if need be, and how they ought to engage in various forms of the apostolate.⁴⁴⁹

5.4. *Syria*

Like its neighbor Lebanon, Syria had been under French mandate after World War I until 1946 and had witnessed the importation of much of the French study curriculum for a major part thanks to the French religious congregations and orders. The most active were Jesuits, Lazarists and Marists. Much of the Catholic education had reached the country’s elite mostly from minority Islamic groups and mainly local and French Catholics, causing much tension with the majoritarian Sunni Muslims. As elsewhere in the region, it also housed the various other Christian schools. Syria had also seen a large influx of Chaldean, Syriac, Armenian and Greek refugees amidst World War I as seen in Lebanon and Iraq as well. After Syrian independence in 1946, a secular constitution had been adopted providing freedom of religion in the country. All what was French soon was abolished for Arab and Syrian culture, and private schools came under national inspection. The Syrian regime would also turn more favorable towards the demands from local Eastern Catholics to grant them the rights to continue the inherited French Latin rite educational network.⁴⁵⁰

Two vota by Eastern Catholics came to the fore.⁴⁵¹ The Maronite Patriarch Ayoub wants to increase the liturgical training in seminaries, religious houses, parishes and through the press.⁴⁵² In an Arabicized context, this makes sense very much. Next to liturgy and pedagogy, Ayoub also particularly wants a more open approach towards Orthodox Christians. He is convinced that Catholics could open seminaries for the Orthodox,⁴⁵³ or admit priestly candidates from among the Orthodox within the seminaries.⁴⁵⁴ Moreover, by means of schools, the Orthodox students and their parents could also get more involved. Finally, Catholic theologians should establish closer contacts with non-Catholic theologians

⁴⁴⁸ David Neuhaus SJ, “Israel,” in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 127-139, 127, 130, 137.

⁴⁴⁹ ADA II/4, 441. See also Chapter I for his other suggestions.

⁴⁵⁰ Siriani, “Syria,” 107; Dueck, “Educational Conquest,” 446-49, 455, 457-58.

⁴⁵¹ For the votum of the Maronite Ayoub on liturgy, pedagogy, and media tools, see Chapter I.

⁴⁵² ADA II/4, 447.

⁴⁵³ ADA II/4, 449-50. He provides the examples of Strasbourg University, and the training of Romanian Orthodox students under the lead of Maronite Bishop Dib of Cairo.

⁴⁵⁴ ADA II/4, 450.

“with a view to the common tradition”.⁴⁵⁵ Ayoub’s outreach to the Orthodox shows a much more inclusive approach and willingness to engage with other Christians, especially in a country where many of the Orthodox Churches had their hierarchies established (Armenian, Greeks...). He is also the only Maronite to discuss this issue.

The Greek Melkite Patriarch Maximos IV Saigh of Antioch, a champion for reconciliation between Orthodox and Latin Christians and respect for Eastern languages and traditions during the Council discussion, wants to have a broader discussion on the Church Fathers and modern philosophy within the major seminaries and clerical faculties. Up against the rise of children being educated in secular schools – causing “religious indifference” and “atheistic materialism” – Maximos IV wants that the Church provides various remedies: religious instruction, Catholic Action, increase of priestly vocations,⁴⁵⁶ and, as pointed out earlier, the use of media tools.⁴⁵⁷ Seemingly, the Patriarch is convinced that the solution does not necessarily lie within the Catholic school, but education beyond the school in various possible ways.

5.5. Turkey

Since the establishment of the Turkish Republic by Mustafa Kemal in 1923, Christians from all rites had difficulties maintaining their position in society while the government was gradually increasing oppression. The large-scale massacres on the Orthodox Christians and Eastern Catholics discussed earlier were already a preliminary of this dreary situation. The same held true for any initiative in the educational realm. Only the Latin and Eastern Catholics seemed to be still faring relatively well prior to Vatican II, mainly in Istanbul, Trabzon and Adana districts.⁴⁵⁸ Education by the Latin rite (foreign) religious was still allowed, although only on a secondary level and under strict government control.⁴⁵⁹ The Turkish Lazarist Archbishop Descuffi of Izmir emphasizes that Eastern Catholics should be further trained into the Catholic doctrines by Catholic teachers.⁴⁶⁰ Theological books used for teaching should be carefully selected and the archbishop also wants the local Christians to have more access to foreign schools.⁴⁶¹ Given the wary situation of the Christians in Turkey after the massacres and expulsion of various Orthodox and Eastern Catholics, the nationalization under Mustafa, and the fact that the Latin rite was the only one still thriving relatively well, one can comprehend the vatum of bringing together the flocks that are left behind and the need for educational collaboration. Moreover, since Christians had a meager outlook for further training in the country, the demand to have access abroad is comprehensible.

⁴⁵⁵ ADA II/4, 451.

⁴⁵⁶ ADA II/4, 457.

⁴⁵⁷ See Chapter I.

⁴⁵⁸ Hratch Tchilingirian and Ed Alden, “Turkey,” in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 92-101, 93-98.

⁴⁵⁹ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 682.

⁴⁶⁰ For his other suggestions, see the seminaries and the language questions in Chapter I.

⁴⁶¹ ADA II/4, 632-33.

5.6. Conclusion

The context of Eastern Catholic Churches and their Orthodox counterparts play a large role in the vota from the Middle East and the Levantine; not unsurprising given the complex history of the myriads of Christian traditions in the region and especially the cross-migration after the massacres amid World War I and the precarious situations in which they found themselves ever since. The first thing noticeable about these various vota, is that the Christian school gets a central place in the discussion. Indeed, whether Chaldean (Mosul), Armenian Catholic (Beirut), Maronite (Bkerke, Aleppo), Greek Melkite (Ain-Traz), or Catholics of the Latin rite (Palestine, Izmir), all discuss the Catholic schools but with different foci. What can be derived is that Catholic schools in Iraq are seen as a bulwark against religious decline and for converting locals, mainly Orthodox Assyrians (Sayegh of Mosul). Other demands have to do with the need to increase Catholic schools against all odds and to be led by Latin-rite religious given a lack of personnel (Mosul), an increase of technical schools both nationally (Sayegh of Mosul), and in underdeveloped nations (Bkerke), the need to enhance political and economic education (Méouchi of Bkerke), and to place Christian formation at the center of the Catholic school (Agagianian of Beirut). Some of the deficits concern the lack of Catholics at the cost of non-Catholics (Agagianian of Beirut), the need to have more orthodox students in schools (Ayoub of Aleppo), and more Eastern Catholics into foreign schools (Descuffi of Izmir). The Greek Catholics (Maximos IV of Ain-Traz) are more concerned with countering the popularity of public schools and see an increase of religious education, vocations and Catholic Action as a solution. Most likely, the Arabization and the control of the new Syrian government plays a significant role in this light. The staunch attack on public schools resonates with what other Greek Catholics across the world had discussed, as seen earlier. More nuanced was the Maronite in Lebanon asking for clarity on the relationship between church and state concerning schools, while taking into consideration contextual awareness (Méouchi of Bkerke). Another particular demand on the level of organization, came from the same diocese asking for a national Maronite secretariat dealing with schools.

Given the region's context, there were demands to have a stronger focus on oriental Christianity in the Catholic universities (Saint Joseph University, run by Jesuits), and non-Catholics in theological faculties (Ayoub of Aleppo). The demands on the seminaries were also correlated to the local demands, having to do with an increasing focus on oriental Christianity (Saint Joseph University), Church fathers and contemporary philosophy (given the Greek Orthodox tradition) (Maximos IV of Ain-Traz), and a stronger spiritual, pastoral and intellectual education (Sensi of Jerusalem). More Catholic seminaries for Orthodox students were also asked, if not, to increase these students in Latin rite seminaries (Ayoub of Aleppo).

Regarding the religious, more episcopal control was asked in Mosul but merely for the intention to protect Latin rite religious from suspicion by the local society in Iraq; an open ended question was formulated to what extent they had to be trained in non-religious disciplines (Méouchi of Bkerke); and for religious sisters to be strongly trained in religious education (Sensi of Jerusalem). Finally, the Greek Melkites favored using modern tools for

education (Maximos IV of Ain-Traz). In general, it is noticeable that nothing explicitly is mentioned about the need to convert local Muslims through the Catholic schooling system, although the Chaldean in Mosul and the Armenian Catholics in Beirut are pointing to this idea indirectly by asking to implement more Catholic schools (Sayegh of Mosul) or keeping Christian formation as a central point (Agagianian of Beirut). The Maronites are more hinting at a status quo, separating their school system from that of Muslims.

6. South Asia

6.1. India

India's secular constitution since 1950 allowed for religious freedom. As far as the educational landscape was concerned, religious instruction was mostly forbidden in India's public schools fully maintained by the state. For the private schools, some were aided by the state (if recognized) while others were fully independent. The religious institutes were free to run and maintain their own private educational network including the content of teaching.⁴⁶² Given the multireligious and vast continent, India had throughout the past centuries witnessed the educational influence of the Syriac Orthodox Church, the Latin Church, the Syro-Malankara and Syro-Malabar churches, the Anglican and protestant churches – all with their various congregations and orders – as well as Hindu, Muslim, Buddhist, Jain, Sikh and even Jewish and Zoroastrian types of schools. All across the country, schools, colleges and universities existed and at the time of the Council, the Indian states were for most part supervising and implanting their own education policies. Typical for the South Asian continent, the caste system was pertinent. The Indian churches never really managed to ban this system running deep in society. Educational repercussions in matters of caste were therefore still a hard reality across the various states.⁴⁶³ In general, a multitude of religious orders and congregations both from within India and from abroad were very active in a variety of sectors of society, including education and mission. The list, however, is too long to mention here.⁴⁶⁴

In the north of India, Catholic conversions had largely taken place among the Dalits and local tribes mainly through Jesuit influence in the past alongside other missionaries. Among the educational institutions, the most noteworthy was Vidyajyoti College of Theology, a seminary run by the Jesuits in the Himalayas at the time and under Pontifical authority, and St Albert's College, a major seminary in Ranchi.⁴⁶⁵ In Southwest India, the region where Christianity had been spread by the Portuguese that also entailed adapting to Portuguese culture, traditions and even language, many of the educational institutes coming from Catholic circles were run by Portuguese religious clergy from various orders. Though

⁴⁶² Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 375.

⁴⁶³ Daniel Jeyaraj, "Christianity in South and Central Asia," in *Christianity in South and Central Asia*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Daniel Jeyaraj and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 15-42, 15-16; Daniel Jeyaraj, "South India," in *ibid.*, 143-55, 143, 151; Felix Wilfred, "Catholics," in *ibid.*, 211-22, 213-16; Atola Longkumer, Faith and Culture, 303-14, 303; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 372-73.

⁴⁶⁴ For a comprehensive overview, see Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 380.

⁴⁶⁵ Leonard Fernando SJ, "North India," in *Christianity in South and Central Asia*, 119-30, 120-21, 128.

in decay, the final Portuguese settlements including Goa would only be given up once the Council was started in 1961. The strong connection with the Salazar government discussed earlier can also be placed in this light. Notable educational institutes included the College of St Paul College in Goa and various Xavier colleges in Mumbai.⁴⁶⁶

In South India, the region where Christianity had been the most active and the most kaleidoscopic, Catholic education had been influenced by the Latin Rite Portuguese, Italian and Spanish congregations and orders, and the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara Catholic churches. There were, however, important difference between rural and urban areas, with the latter mostly having schools that had been able to educate an elite while Catholic education in rural areas mainly focused on the poor and providing catechesis. Stark differences between Dalit theology from the bottom up against more higher caste theology from the top down was starting to increase by the start of the Council. Notable institutes at the time were Dharmaram Vidya Kshetram, a Pontifical Athenaeum of Philosophy, Theology and Canon Law in Bengaluru by the Carmelites; St Peter's Pontifical Institute Bengaluru established by the PIME Society; Loyola College in Bengaluru; St Joseph Pontifical Seminary in Alwaye in Kerala; St Joseph Seminary Mangalore in Karnataka; Stella Maris College in Chennai founded by the Franciscan missionaries of Mary and directed at higher education for women.⁴⁶⁷ Finally, in Northeast-India, the region was still largely one of the missions and was visited by German, Italian and Spanish missionaries on the Catholic side bringing with them mostly a Western mindset and customs contradicting local life and culture. This obviously brought the necessary problems also in education. In fact, Catholic education and conversion was never really successful there in contrast to the Baptist and Presbyterian mass conversions.⁴⁶⁸

Across the vota from South India, a first issue relates to the need to implement a more enhanced religious education within Catholic schools.⁴⁶⁹ Bishop Muthappa of Coimbatore seeks to reestablish the syllabi used within Catholic schools to be up-to-date with the modern needs, especially as he argues that religious ignorance is spreading globally.⁴⁷⁰ In a similar vein, the Syro-Malabar Bishop Alapatt of Trichur criticizes the religious education as he and points to the insufficient teaching of catechesis in schools, whether in elementary, secondary schools or higher education. For him, this has caused the popularity of communism.⁴⁷¹ Archbishop Gopu of Hyderabad, for his part, maintains the necessity of the clergy to continue providing catechesis.⁴⁷² From Northeast India, the Italian Jesuit Bishop Marengo of Dibrugarh seeks to implement one catechism related to religious education for all Catholic schools, which could function as a source for both the content of the education and the

⁴⁶⁶ Atul Y. Aghamkar, "West India," in *ibid.*, 131-42, 131-32, 138.

⁴⁶⁷ Jeyaraj, "South India," 143-44, 147, 152-54; Wilfred, "Catholics," 216.

⁴⁶⁸ Kaholi Zhimomi, "Northeast India," in *ibid.*, 156-67, 156-58; Wilfred, "Catholics," 216.

⁴⁶⁹ See: Archbishop Pothacamury of Bangalore (ADA II/4, 103-06), Bishop Muthappa of Coimbatore (ADA II/4, 121-23), Bishop Marengo of Dibrugarh (ADA II/4, 126), Archbishop Gopu of Hyderabad (ADA II/4, 132-35), Bishop Feuga of Mysore with auxiliary D'Souza of Myuriensis (ADA II/4, 175-77), Bishop Alapatt of Trichur (ADA II/4, 208-12), the Australian Nuncio Knox (ADA II/4, 223-24).

⁴⁷⁰ ADA II/4, 118.

⁴⁷¹ See chapter I.

⁴⁷² ADA II/4, 134, although he also sees a role for catechists and missionary regions.

curriculum in order to ensure that religion permeates in the study curriculum.⁴⁷³ Another topic to be taught in schools, but only mentioned by the Australian Nuncio Knox, is that “all people have the same origin”. His comment is not unimportant in a society predominated by caste and racial discriminations (at least on the social level).⁴⁷⁴

Related to the need to implement religious education, is an increase of primary schools for both genders in rural areas under the direction of the religious, and the dedication of religious brothers to technical schools, though this issue was prevalent only in Hyderabad.⁴⁷⁵ But the fact that this call resonates from Hyderabad makes sense in the context of the heavy industrialization in the city and the wider area. Moreover, the focus on rural areas is understandable in the wider context of South India where Christians were actively engaging with Dalits and tribes in the rural areas (see above). Other types of schools also need to be increased. Within the missions in India, the French MIP Bishop Feuga of Mysore in South-India co-writing with Auxiliary Bishop D’Souza, mentions that there should be an increase of catechist schools to train catechists.⁴⁷⁶ The Syro-Malabar Bishop Padiyara of Ootacamund, in South India as well, also seeks such increase of catechist schools.⁴⁷⁷

An increase of primary schools in the missions that need to exist alongside minor seminaries was also asked by the French Bishop in Mysore along with D’Souza, in the hope to increase priestly vocations. Those who have such vocation, could then be forwarded to the minor seminary.⁴⁷⁸ Alongside these proposals, an urgent critique comes from Archbishop Pothacamury of Bangalore, also in South India. He points out that the majority of Indian Catholics are poor, which makes it difficult for these families to send their children to Catholic schools due to financial issues. Pothacamury highlights that it is the responsibility of the Church and the religious clergy who run Catholic schools, to ensure that every Catholic child has access to school, no matter the financial situation. He wants the Council to provide a unified approach and regulation in this matter. In fact, in his own diocese, it has already occurred that many students in Catholic schools, colleges and even universities are predominantly non-Catholic which, in his opinion, signifies an “inconvenience” for poor Catholics that has to be solved.⁴⁷⁹ The fact that South India also knew a high conversion rate of Dalits without much financial means, plays a significant role in the background. A similar call for free education of the poor, especially in the missions, comes from the Syro-Malabar Padiyara (South India).⁴⁸⁰ One other critique against the establishment of schools in the missions, comes from Bishop Sundaram of Tanjore (South India) who argues that schools do not lead to the required conversions. Instead, he is of the opinion that an increase of medical works, hospitals, pharmacies and Catholic maternities would be more fruitful instead.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷³ ADA II/4, 126.

⁴⁷⁴ ADA II/4, 223.

⁴⁷⁵ ADA II/4, 130.

⁴⁷⁶ ADA II/4, 176. Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 86.

⁴⁷⁷ ADA II/4, 185.

⁴⁷⁸ See Chapter I. Cf. Pulikkan, *Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 95.

⁴⁷⁹ ADA II/4, 106. Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 112.

⁴⁸⁰ ADA II/4, 185. Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 112.

⁴⁸¹ ADA II/4, 199.

It becomes clear that the bishops dealing the most with schools are the bishops of South India. This is also understandable in light of the strong presence of Catholic Christianity in the whole area since the past centuries. Just as with the criticism among Eastern Catholics in the Middle East in the presence of Islam, south Indian bishops criticize that schools do not lead to conversions in the presence of other religions. The question comes forward of what the Catholic school actually entails if it does not lead to conversion or serves (poor) Christians.

A second issue among Indian bishops is the problems related to the seminaries. Multiple bishops and one cardinal (nine bishops from South India, one archbishop from East India that was formerly part of French India, and one cardinal from West India where the Portuguese had strongly influenced Bombay) criticize the practical training and cognitive skills of the priests which allow them to function decently according to the modern times.⁴⁸² Pastoral, catechetical, liturgical, homiletic and social training need to be improved among the clergy according to the two South Indian bishops Hogan (British Franciscan) and Muthappa.⁴⁸³ For Alapatt (South India), seminarians must engage with social studies once they finished the sacred sciences, in order to work among the poor and needy.⁴⁸⁴ In fact, it is even proposed by Hogan that priests should not be allowed to be ordained without such broad practical training.⁴⁸⁵ In any case, for Muthappa, a better practical training is correlated to a revision of the seminary studies. Seminarians must also be trained to defend themselves against the modern “errors”.⁴⁸⁶ The Council must do more to provide the rules and renew the teaching content that not only borrows from the tradition but also engages with contemporary issues.⁴⁸⁷ Syro-Malabar Archbishop Parecattil of Ernakulam (South India) adds that it can lead to a better understanding of “the theology and spirituality of the sacred ordinations”.⁴⁸⁸ Hogan goes a step further by requiring clerics to obtain an academic degree.⁴⁸⁹ Syro-Malankara Archbishop Thangalathil of Trivandrum (South India) emphasizes the need for “a spirit of poverty” among the seminarians, and more knowledge of modern philosophy and of the Sacred Scripture.⁴⁹⁰ Syro-Malabar Bishop Tharayil of Kottayam (South India) expresses the hope that practical studies of how to deal with modern problems will be provided.⁴⁹¹ Similarly focusing on seminary studies at the service of solving modern-day problems, is the votum of Syro-Malankara Bishop Polachirakal of Tiruvalla. For this purpose, he stresses the education of “pastoral, spiritual, and cultural

⁴⁸² See Bishop Hogan of Bellary (ADA II/4, 108), Cardinal Gracias of Bombay (ADA II/4, 114), Archbishop Kavukatt of Changanacherry (ADA II/4, 120), Bishop Muthappa of Coimbatore (ADA II/4, 123), Archbishop Gopu of Hyderabad (ADA II/4, 133), Bishop Tharayil of Kottayam (ADA II/4, 153), Archbishop Rayappan of Pondicherry and Cuddalore (ADA II/4, 190), Bishop Sundaram of Tanjore (ADA II/4, 199), Bishop Alapatt of Trichur (ADA II/4, 211), Syro-Malankara Bishop Polachirakal of Tiruvalla (ADA II/4, 206) and Syro-Malankara Archbishop Thangalathil of Trivandrum (ADA II/4, 214-15). Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 93.

⁴⁸³ ADA II/4, 108, 123.

⁴⁸⁴ ADA II/4, 210.

⁴⁸⁵ ADA II/4, 108. Cf. the proposal by Bishop Leonard of Mahurai of a probation period before a candidate’s entry into the seminary (ADA II/4, 166-67). Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 95.

⁴⁸⁶ ADA II/4, 123.

⁴⁸⁷ ADA II/4, 123.

⁴⁸⁸ ADA II/4, 129. Cf. ADA II/4, 210.

⁴⁸⁹ ADA II/4, 108. Cf. Pulikkan, “*Indian Church at Vatican II*,” 94-95.

⁴⁹⁰ ADA II/4, 214-15.

⁴⁹¹ ADA II/4, 153.

aspects, as well as Biblical and liturgical studies".⁴⁹² One notes the strong input of the Eastern Catholics, and it seems they were dealing more with the problem among their seminarians than their Latin confreres in the wider region.

Italian Capuchin Bishop de Vito of Lucknow (North India) envisions seminarians who are trained to the extent that they can autonomously comprehend their own spiritual needs.⁴⁹³ As a missionary cleric of a congregation that is active in Asia, the Dutch Bishop and Mill Hill Missionary Bouter of Nellore (South India), for his part, seeks to increase intercultural knowledge by allowing seminarians to study in different nations to foster missiological knowledge.⁴⁹⁴ Finally, multiple Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara bishops, not unsurprisingly, agree to increase the knowledge of the Oriental Churches among Latin seminarians and to implement indigenous priests to teach in seminaries (the Syro-Malabar Bishops Parecattil, Pothanamuzhi, Valiyaparampil, Valloppilly, and the Syro-Malanka Bishop Thangalathil).⁴⁹⁵

In general, the Indian bishops abstain from specifying the exact teaching content and methods which they seek to establish within seminaries, nor do they elaborate which intellectual disciplines priests ought to acquire in their formation. The only exception might be the Syro-Malabar Alapatt who mentions that next to the sacred sciences, priests should be well informed in social studies.⁴⁹⁶ Finally, the Papal Seminary and Atheneum of Pune (currently Jnaana Deepa) in West India, established as a pontifical seminary in 1893 in Kandy by Jesuits in modern day Sri Lanka but moved to India in 1955 after independence, asks for a summary of the most recent instructions on pastoral, catechetical, liturgical and social issues.⁴⁹⁷

As for the universities, only the Syro-Malabar Padiyara discusses that each nation should at least have one Catholic university accessible for students graduated at secondary Catholic schools. If such university is lacking, national Catholic schools should be related to a Catholic university of another nation.⁴⁹⁸ It is clear that the bishop is wary of any public or other private university for that matter by stressing the importance of higher Catholic education. Beyond the need for educational reforms in Catholic schools, partially through catechesis, and in seminaries, other proposals come to the fore. Religious brothers ought to ensure the teaching of the catechumenates and neophytes (Gopu of Hyderabad, South India).⁴⁹⁹

Among the Indian vota, not only can lay people and lay catechists substitute the work of missionaries within India (Gopu, Feuga & D'Souza, Simons, Sundaram),⁵⁰⁰ some even propose to reinstate the lay diaconate (Pothacamury, Feuga & D'Souza, Alapatt).⁵⁰¹ Gopu also emphasizes the need for a lay apostolate, in which religion should be profoundly studied

⁴⁹² ADA II/4, 206.

⁴⁹³ ADA II/4, 163.

⁴⁹⁴ ADA II/4, 182. Cf. Pulikkan, "*Indian Church at Vatican II*," 94.

⁴⁹⁵ ADA II/4, 129, 151, 188, 202, 214-15. Cf. Pulikkan, 94.

⁴⁹⁶ ADA II/4, 210.

⁴⁹⁷ ADA IV/2, 727.

⁴⁹⁸ ADA II/4, 185.

⁴⁹⁹ ADA II/4, 134.

⁵⁰⁰ ADA II/4, 134, 141-42, 176, 199.

⁵⁰¹ ADA II/4, 105, 176, 211.

correlated to a life of obedience to the Bishop and the priest.⁵⁰² Sundaram wants the education of lay “apostles” in the missions.⁵⁰³ All these proposals are mainly from South India. Various other means, such as study groups, libraries, periodicals, etc. need to be used to explain the Catholic faith to the faithful (Cardinal Gracias of Bombay);⁵⁰⁴ a demand from West India. Even the use of common books among ecclesial provinces for catechesis and during the mass could be helpful in this endeavour (the Syro-Malabar Pothanamuzhi).⁵⁰⁵

Though less prevalent, it should be noted that there is also an underlying urge to reform the religious in the sense that they ought to aid the bishop in various missionary and pastoral tasks, as well as being adapted to the current times and the apostolate (Gopu, Muthappa; all from South India).⁵⁰⁶ Finally, the Pune Papal Seminary asks to enhance the collaboration with Protestants and Eastern churches, including to enter into doctrinal discussions to reach unity. It asks for certain priests to be selected to focus on the reunification of non-Catholic Christians; clearly, a Jesuit seminary where ecumenism is of interest.⁵⁰⁷

It becomes overall clear that the South Indian episcopate including the Eastern Catholics have the most contributions and demands, especially in terms of schools, universities and seminaries.

6.2. Pakistan

In light of Indian independence, Pakistan (consistent of West- and East-Pakistan) emerged as a separate nation-state. Though an Islamic Republic with constitutional rights for minorities, it quickly embraced Islam as the religion of the state. The political situation was far from settled especially for minorities. The country had experienced political turmoil with subsequent coalitions bound to fail. On the verge of the Council, the first military dictatorship had been put into power.⁵⁰⁸ Catholics educational institutes were run privately. Christianity, a small minority at the verge of the Council, had largely been spread at the beginning of the century by Western congregations most notably the Belgian Capuchins, Italian PIME Fathers and Italian Dominicans, but also others (including three indigenous sister congregations). In West-Pakistan, the largest seminary was Christ the King Seminary in Karachi established in 1957, there were two minor seminaries in Lahore and Quetta, and various schools and colleges had been established across the country mainly in the Sindh and Punjab provinces.⁵⁰⁹ In East-Pakistan, Western orders and congregations had been active for four centuries, ranging from Jesuits to Holy Cross Fathers. The latter were most active at the threshold of Vatican II. Notable institutions in East-Pakistan were Notre Dame College and St Joseph Higher Secondary School founded by the Holy Cross Fathers, the St Francis

⁵⁰² ADA II/4, 134.

⁵⁰³ ADA II/4, 199.

⁵⁰⁴ ADA II/4, 110.

⁵⁰⁵ ADA II/4, 151.

⁵⁰⁶ E.g., ADA II/4, 133. See also Chapter I.

⁵⁰⁷ ADA IV/2, 728.

⁵⁰⁸ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 165-66, 543.

⁵⁰⁹ Mehak Arshad and Youshib Matthew John, “Pakistan,” in *Christianity in South and Central Asia*, 107-18, 107-10, 116; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 543. For the Belgian Capuchins, see Teuns, Kamiel O.F.M.Cap., and Teuns, Stan, O.F.M.Cap., *De aanwezigheid van de Vlaamse (Belgische) provincie van de Kapucijnen in de bisdommen Lahore (Pakistan) en Molegbe (Zaire), 1889-1978* (Leuven: Paters Kapucijnen. Missiesecretariaat, 1978).

Xavier's Green Herald International School by the Sisters of Our Lady of the Missions, and the Holy Cross Girls' High school established for girls; all in Dhaka.⁵¹⁰

In general, Pakistani vota are more silent on matters of education and formation,⁵¹¹ also probably because education and formation had only recently started off (unlike neighbour India), had been a private matter, and due to the small Christian flock in the country. The Italian Apostolic Internuncio Clarizio asks for religious sisters to be up-to-date with the modern times (the sisters were very active in East Pakistan), and emphasizes the increasing role of the lay apostolate, also within the missions, although he does not clarify any of these aspects in a more detailed way.⁵¹² Both Mumbai born Archbishop Cordeiro of Karachi and Italian Dominican Bishop Cialeo of Multan want the implementation of the vernacular in catechesis.⁵¹³ Cordeiro also wants it implemented during parts of the Mass related to the catechumenates.⁵¹⁴

6.3. Ceylon

Like India and Pakistan, Ceylon (nowadays Sri Lanka) had gained independence from the British though only in 1948. Unlike the other two countries, Ceylon had a large Sinhalese Buddhist population living in the south and the country had in the past been largely colonized by the Portuguese and Dutch in subsequent order, bringing in first Catholic (Portuguese) influences (as in South India) and then Protestant Dutch influences. The country also housed a minority Hindu Tamil community, though this one was larger than the Christians in the country and mainly located in the north and the east. As elsewhere in the region, Catholic missionaries had built schools run by the Latin religious clergy and the sisters, and especially along the coastal lines in the north and the west (Italian Dominicans, Belgian Jesuits, French Oblates of Mary Immaculate). These schools brought forward a small Christian elite which would also be active politically and obtain high positions. Catholic schools and seminaries existed alongside Anglican and (English speaking) Buddhist ones some of which had also become public schools. Catholic education was run privately, and Catholic universities were non-existent. At the same time after independence, the majoritarian Sinhalese Buddhists had grown fiercely nationalist and anti-Christian (and anti-Tamil as well). Leftist and communist parties were very popular and had gained power in a coalition at the verge of the Council that included the Buddhist nationalist party, in which Sinhala as the official language was promoted (causing unrest with Tamils and others).⁵¹⁵

In Ceylon, the Italian Jesuit Bishop Laudadio of Galle (South Sri Lanka with predominant Sinhalese Buddhists) points to the issue of Catholic schools in the missions of the country.⁵¹⁶ Against the backdrop of increasing state interference in matters of education, Laudadio mentions that the government was discussing three possible outcomes for the future of education in the country: the government would govern schools which, in turn,

⁵¹⁰ Pradeep Perez SJ, "Bangladesh," in *Christianity in South and Central Asia*, 184-96, 186-87, 190, 192.

⁵¹¹ For the votum of Obert of Dinajpur, see Chapter I.

⁵¹² ADA II/4, 434.

⁵¹³ ADA II/4, 428, 432.

⁵¹⁴ ADA II/4, 428.

⁵¹⁵ Prashan De Visser, "Sri Lanka," *Christianity in South and Central Asia*, 199-210, 200-03.

⁵¹⁶ ADA II/4, 47-49.

would protect other religions against Catholic influences; all students would have the right of religious education, thus leading Catholic schools to ensure religious instruction to both Catholics and non-Catholics alike; or other religious schools would be established and funded by the state, which would imply that it would be forbidden for a child of one religion to visit schools from another religion.⁵¹⁷ The above-mentioned political situation needs to be placed in light of this votum. In this impasse, Laudadio leans towards the second option, in which he proposes that Catholic schools should allow non-Catholic teachers in Catholic schools to give the necessary religious education to non-Catholic students. For him, the first option ought to be resisted in any form, while the last option would cause a further separation between Catholics and non-Catholics, leading to more obstructions for Christians to find a job after graduation. Moreover, it might lead Catholic parents to send their children to more efficient schools that are non-Catholic, especially when Catholic schools are geographically more distant than non-Catholic ones.⁵¹⁸ Here is a clear example of a votum that discusses the difficulties related to the Catholic school in light of government regulations that have been imposed by non-Catholics that are leftist and Buddhist. It is interesting to note his openness to have religious education belonging to another religion in a Catholic school and to be taught by non-Catholic teachers; a proposal unheard of in Western, Latin American or even Middle Eastern vota.

The Mexican Jesuit Bishop Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee (north east of the country, among Tamil populations),⁵¹⁹ for his part, focuses more on the education and formation of the clergy. He mentions that he, along with the rector of the National Seminary of Our Lady of Lanka in Kandy (the successor of the Kandy Pontifical Seminary that had been moved to Pune in India as discussed earlier), has noticed a progress in the intellectual and cultural formation of the priests in the country, but that more has to be done with respect to their spiritual formation. It seems that the spiritual training was far from sufficient to deal with the circumstances of the time though he refrains from defining them; but given the context, one could think of Marxism and leftist movements in the country as well as interreligious and ethnic tensions. As a remedy, Glennie seeks to establish either an inter-diocesan or diocesan house in which candidates for the seminary should be introduced into the spiritual life for six months or one year prior to their seminary studies, under the guidance of a relevant priest and expert in spiritual matters. After their studies, newly ordained priests should have a retreat prior to their ministry, in order to strengthen their spiritual life for another six months. He also points to the possibility to implement such spiritual training during the course of formation: three to six months prior to the philosophy studies, three months in between the philosophical and theological studies, and three months prior to the ministry.⁵²⁰ In a country where spirituality and meditations play an important role among Buddhists, this demand for the seminaries is significant. Another minor point, but not without importance, is that Glennie seeks to reappropriate an intensive study of Latin within

⁵¹⁷ ADA II/4, 48.

⁵¹⁸ ADA II/4, 49. Cf. Chapter I.

⁵¹⁹ ADA II/4, 53-54.

⁵²⁰ ADA II/4, 53.

schools in order to maintain ecclesial unity.⁵²¹ His demand must be placed in light of the Sinhala Act in 1956 that had enforced Sinhala as the official language of education in the country.

6.4. Conclusion

Across South Asia, demands came forward from India, Ceylon, and Pakistan. India, given its vast territory and more settled Catholic position, had the most contributions and that also mainly from the South and the East where Catholicism and Christianity had been rooted for the longest time. Most of the bishops contributing were locals and active in urban areas stretching across Kerala (the Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara bishops) (Trivandrum, Trichur, Kottayam), Tamil Nadu (Coimbatore, Tanjore), Karnataka (Mysore, Bangalore, Bellary), Andhra Pradesh (Nellore), Telangana (Hyderabad) and Maharashtra (Bombay, Pune). The only rural dioceses were in Ootacamund (Tamil Nadu) and Thiruvalla (Kerala) both led by Eastern Catholics. Few demands came from the north of India (Lucknow). Both across Pakistan (West and East) and Ceylon, Catholics were a small minority and the demands for education were relatively few. The demands were from Karachi, Multan, Dinajpur, Galle, and Trincomalee; all urban settings land-inwards (Dinajpur, Multan) or at the coast (Karachi, Galle, Trincomalee). Almost all of the Latin rite dioceses were still largely missionary in essence while the Syriac Churches were long established.

Regarding the Catholic schools, a majority of the discussions came from South Indian and Ceylonese vota. In general, religious education had to be enhanced. Beyond this common agreement were local demands and criticisms. These had to do with establishing new syllabi (Muthappa of Coimbatore), a criticism on elitism at the cost of the poor (Pothacamury of Bangalore), a criticism of selecting non-Catholics at the cost of Catholics (Pothacamury of Bangalore), and a criticism on the lack of conversion in Catholic schools (Sundaram of Tanjore). One other demand by the Italian Jesuit in Ceylon, given the country's political developments, was to implement non-Catholic teachers in Catholic schools to provide religious education as the best possibility to ensure the survival of Catholic schools (Laudadio of Galle). Generally speaking, it was asked to remove caste and racial differences (Nuncio Knox of India), and to increase primary schools in rural areas (Gopu of Hyderabad). Only once the demand came forward for national uniformity over diocesan and religious schools by means of Roman control from the same bishop who criticized Catholic schools the most (Pothacamury of Bangalore). But other bishops also agreed to tighten the episcopal control over diocesan and religious schools and works (Gopu of Hyderabad, Muthappa of Coimbatore, Obert of Dinajpur). Gopu also asked to increase rural primary schools by the religious and technical schools in general by teaching brothers – the latter being a demand that fitted the industrial and technological context of the city. Regarding the universities, nothing much was mentioned, except from a Syro-Malabar Bishop who universally was mentioning that there should be one Catholic university in each nation, if not, an easier access for students to access such universities internationally (Padiyara of Ootacamund).

⁵²¹ ADA II/4, 54.

As far as the seminaries were concerned, multiple aspects had to be changed but as usual, with some aspects resonating among multiple bishops with different traditions, while others being related to local demands. In general, South Indian bishops agreed to enhance knowledge on contemporary developments. Most of the Eastern Catholics also emphasized the need for an enhanced knowledge of Oriental Christianity. Further demands were made to increase the practical skills (Muthappa of Coimbatore, Tharayil of Kottayam), pastoral training (Hogan of Bellary, Muthappa of Coimbatore, Polachirakal of Tiruvalla), catechesis and homiletics (Hogan of Bellary, Muthappa of Coimbatore), piety/spirituality (Thangalathil of Trivandrum, De Vito of Lucknow, Kandy National Seminary, Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee), the Bible (Thangalathil of Trivandrum), modern philosophy (Thangalathil of Trivandrum), liturgy (Polachirakal of Tiruvalla), and cultural studies (Polachirakal of Tiruvalla, Simons of Nellore). Other demands were for priests to obtain academic degrees (Hogan of Bellary), and for seminarians to have access abroad to study missiology by the Dutch Mill Hill missionary Simons – a demand that resonated with other Dutch demands both in the Netherlands and abroad (Nellore).

To increase the vocations in some areas, a proposal was made to establish apostolic schools (Feuga and D'Souza of Mysore), or houses of spirituality (Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee) where young people can first go prior to being admitted to the seminary to ensure that there is a real vocation. For the missions, schools were to have the purpose to increase catechist vocations (Feuga and D'Souza of Mysore, Padiyara of Ootacamund). Indeed, across India, lay catechists were preferable above missionaries.

For catechesis, in Trichur, the Syro-Malabar Bishop Alapatt mentioned that it was a deficiency in schools and universities. Catechesis also had to be implemented in the Mass (Alapatt of Trichur, Cordeiro of Karachi, Cialeo of Multan). For Gopu (Hyderabad), catechesis had to be continuously provided by the clergy. Some singular demands came forward. In East-Pakistan, the education of the religious sisters had to be improved (Apostolic Internuncio Clarizo of East-Pakistan). The Portuguese Cardinal Gracis of Bombay wanted an increase of Catholic literature for the promotion of Catholicism. Finally, the Pune Papal Seminary, much influenced by the Jesuits, demanded a need for ecumenical interaction and collaboration with Eastern and Protestant Christians in the area with Protestants.

In general, interreligious dialogue as a topic was reduced to a minimum. Nothing much is discussed regarding Islam, Hinduism, Buddhism, Zoroastrianism, or other Christian traditions which had a large presence in all three countries. Nothing much is also being said about the tribal areas and the education there.

7. Southeast Asia

7.1. Burma

Burma remained difficult ground as Catholic conversions in a largely Buddhist country never really occurred. The only area where success was achieved, was by reaching out to the ethnic minorities in the hilly areas of the country. Like other South Asian countries, Burma

had been part of the British Empire and had recently gained independence after World War II in 1947. Ever since the independence up until the Council, the political situation was far from fixed and remained unstable. However, the dominant forces at work were left nationalist and communist parties in the country. The embracement of Buddhism as the country's national religion also gained popularity. As usual, education and formation through the Catholic schools and seminaries were a private matter without any state aid, and Catholic schools co-existed alongside a public school system that had been established by the British one century earlier and taken over and expanded by the Burmese government earlier. It must be said, however, that Catholic schools were very few in contrast to a relatively larger number of (minor) seminaries. Moreover, education had largely been in the hands of the French MEP Fathers since the end of the 19th century. Other private forms of education included the Theravada Buddhist, mainly the Sangha, education; however, this form also maintained a minority position as the state favoured public education.⁵²²

The Italian PIME Bishop Guercilena of Kengtung, a city in the northeast hosting the minority Shan people alongside other minority ethnic groups, bemoans the fact that there is a lack of Biblical knowledge among priests and seminarians, in the sense that they do not know Biblical passages by heart. He wants to ensure that priests actually read the Bible.⁵²³ It is clear that he also seeks to increase knowledge of the Bible beyond the priests towards the faithful in general, as he seeks the use of Scripture for catechetical education as well as an increase of Biblical pericopes to be read during the Mass.⁵²⁴ Next to the Bible, he also suggests an increase of "eucharistic education" within seminaries. Seemingly, this angle is not yet covered enough within the seminary formation in Burma, but doing so would allow seminarians and future priests to have a stronger spirit of collegiality and cooperation with others.⁵²⁵ Finally, Guercilena points out how the internal war in Burma – though not mentioning it by name, one can presume he talks of the internal conflicts among the socialist, communist and other political parties across the spectrum – has weakened the Catholic clergy in general as many priests had been taken into captivity. He hopes that superiors can guide them in the most difficult times.⁵²⁶

The French MEP Archbishop Falière of Mandalay, a city in the north where the majoritarian Bamar was predominant, along with the response of Auxiliary Bishop U Win of Mandalay, praises the laity as they have been helpful in assisting the priests in teaching catechesis in the missions.⁵²⁷ A different angle comes from the French MEP Archbishop Bazin of Rangoon (nowadays, Yangon) and serving as the capital city at the time where

⁵²² Hrang Hlei, "Myanmar," In *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Francis D. Alvarez SJ and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 145-54, 145-46; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 203-04. For a comprehensive overview of the collaboration between the French MEP Fathers and the British in education, see Aurore Candier, "De la collaboration coloniale: fortune des missions catholiques françaises en Birmanie, 1856-1918," *Outre-Mers. Revue d'histoire* 8, nos. 326/327, 177-203. For an excellent outline on how the Sangha provided education and how it became suppressed due to the British and later Burmese public education system, see Nick Cheesman, "School, State and Sangha in Burma," *Comparative Education* 39, no. 1 (2003): 45-63.

⁵²³ ADA II/4, 20.

⁵²⁴ ADA II/4, 20.

⁵²⁵ ADA II/4, 20.

⁵²⁶ ADA II/4, 21.

⁵²⁷ ADA II/4, 23.

many Bamar people lived as well. He is unhappy with the fact that Catholic students can hardly benefit from Catholic education, while the majority of non-Catholic students refrain from conversion. The bishops put the blame on Catholic education in schools, the lack of clerical teachers, and the lack of expertise of religious education among both the clerical and the lay staff. He thus asks whether the religious priests ought not to be better trained to provide religious education in Catholic schools and especially in the missions.⁵²⁸ His complaint has also been visible in other South Asian and Middle Eastern countries before. Moreover, Bazin highlights that up until recently, the focus in Catholic apologetics had mainly been on responding to Protestantism and secularism. He seeks to broaden apologetics to non-Christian religions to be taught in schools and seminaries. In doing so, it would better train the faithful to see the “unicum” of the Christian religion amongst other world religions, and media tools must be used for educating the wider society.⁵²⁹ His call is fully comprehensible in the Burmese context in which religion continued to play an important role among the majority Theravada Buddhists but also other minority groups such as Muslims. It is also interesting to note that he is one of the few to explicitly note this need for dealing with other non-Christian religions.

Finally, the Italian PIME Bishop Lanfranconi⁵³⁰ of the southern city Toungoo in the hills, where many Christians belonged to the minority Karen ethnic group, asks the Council to publish an authentic catechism text for schools.⁵³¹ Next to catechisms, he also envisions an “authentic exposition” regarding the Christian religion for non-Catholic people, in which the Christian religion is reasonably explained in an accessible way, not longer than one volume. It could contain a form of apologetics, but not to the extent that other religions are dealt with negatively.⁵³² This call resonates with the approach taken by his French colleague in Ragoon.

7.2. Laos

Laos had become independent in 1953 after being a French protectorate since the end of the 19th century with a short-lived Japanese occupation during World War II in between. With the arrival of the French, Laos became a vicariate. Catholic success was minor and private Catholic schools were few in the face of the larger presence of Theravada Buddhism (considered the state’s religion) and the correlated Pali schools.⁵³³ Most of the missionary activity was located near the Thai border and success was mainly among the tribes living in the hills (cf. Burma).⁵³⁴ The only votum from Laos, that of the French MEP Apostolic Prefect Arnaud of Thakhek, mentions that in the small mission that he represents in the largely communist country, the formation of the indigenous clergy is very difficult. This difficulty has mainly to do for Arnaud with the implementation of Western seminary programs and

⁵²⁸ ADA II/4, 25.

⁵²⁹ ADA II/4, 25.

⁵³⁰ For his suggestions on lay catechists, see Chapter I.

⁵³¹ ADA II/4, 27. Note that he also favors a universal catechism.

⁵³² ADA II/4, 27.

⁵³³ David Andrianoff, “Laos,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 167-74, 167; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 447-48.

⁵³⁴ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 448.

disciplinary studies into the Lao context that is very different. Due to this fact, many potential priestly candidates leave their studies which, in turn, leads to a decrease of priests. As a consequence, he asks to multiply catechists.⁵³⁵ Even if Arnaud merely describes the situation of seminarians in his region, one can read in between the lines that the Council ought to take into consideration the possibility to move away from the one-sided, predominantly Western approach of seminary studies. In this respect, he makes a similar call as some of the Indonesian vota (see further below).⁵³⁶

7.3. Siam

The Kingdom of Siam, nowadays Thailand, was the only Asian country never to have been colonized. The Theravada Buddhist king after World War II remained open to the other religions in the country. Siam maintained its own public education to the people along with the Sangha as discussed for Burma, and Catholic schools could be run privately. They were, however, under state inspection and religious instruction could only be provided after the school hours. While mainly French MEP Fathers, but also other congregations and orders like Salesians, Spiritans and indigenous female ones, tried to bring about conversions, the successes like in Laos and Burma were few.⁵³⁷ The vota from here were mostly focused on catechesis. Both the Italian Salesian Apostolic Vicar Carretto of Rajaburi⁵³⁸ and the French MEP Apostolic Vicar Bayet of Ubon widely discuss the role of catechists within the missions and their usefulness for the future. Carretto, like other vota discussed earlier, wants to restore the diaconate for catechists. In his region, most qualified catechists are ex-seminarians. Moreover, he also sees a role for retired men or widowers to join this rank, as well as lay brothers from congregations dedicated to teaching, without the need to study a complete course of theology.⁵³⁹ Bayet, though not mentioning the diaconate, mentions that catechists are a strong aid and seeks to train more catechists. For this purpose, he asks for a pontifical work of catechists for poor missions due to the lack of finances to build catechist schools.⁵⁴⁰

Bayet, for his part, wants more cautiousness for admitting men into priesthood, by implementing a probation period in between the end of the major seminary studies and the reception of the holy orders.⁵⁴¹ It is noteworthy that despite the lack of priests, and the demand for more catechists, Bayet still want to maintain a strict selection of priests.

7.4. Vietnam

As elsewhere in the region, Vietnam became independent from France in 1954 but immediately led to a split between the north that had come under communist control and the democratic south. As an effect many north Vietnamese, including Catholic Christians, fled

⁵³⁵ ADA II/4, 379.

⁵³⁶ ADA II/4, 379.

⁵³⁷ Sereee Lorgunpai and Sanurak Fongvarin, "Thailand," in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 155-66, 155; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 666-67. See also Alain Forest, *Les missionnaires français au Tonkin et au Siam : XVIIe-XVIIIe siècles : analyse comparée d'un relatif succès et d'un total échec* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1998), mainly the section on Siam.

⁵³⁸ Th other suggestions from his hand can be found in Chapter I, mainly on the the need for parental education.

⁵³⁹ ADA II/4, 616.

⁵⁴⁰ ADA II/4, 618-19.

⁵⁴¹ ADA II/4, 618-19.

to the south and mainly in the rural areas. Since then, the Catholic Church in the south grew significantly while the Church in the north stagnated although there it managed to be in union with Rome and mainly religious sisters and Redemptorists continued to provide catechesis. When the Council was about to start, the Vietnamese Catholic Church became an independent Church from the missions in 1960 but would soon find itself in the midst of rising confrontation between North and South Vietnam leading to the Vietnam war. Private Catholic schools and colleges (including minor seminaries) were for most part located in the South, were very successful and popular, especially those run by the Christian Teaching Brothers on the secondary level. In general, the country knew atheists, Amidist Buddhists, folk religions, and a minor part of Muslims.⁵⁴²

What both vicars Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Bù Chu⁵⁴³ and the French MEP Urrutia of Hué agree upon, is that priests ought to have a retreat after some time in the ministry in order to be re-educated and reformed. Pham-Ngoc-Chi does not elaborate much on the matter, only to point out that such retreat could happen after six months, three years, or five years.⁵⁴⁴ Urrutia is more elaborative. He points out that priests oftentimes lose the balance between their inner life and external works, causing a decay of interior spiritual life.⁵⁴⁵ Like Pham-Ngoc-Chi, Urrutia proposes a cessation of ministry to deal with this issue, after three, four or five years of ministry and for a period of four, six, or twelve months. But he also adds that such retreat should be implemented for the universal Church. The program of retreat should deal with reading and internalizing papal documents on the priesthood, courses on pastoral care, and studying and reciting the breviary. He also proposes that more topics could enter such program and points out that the main focus would be for the priest to realize once again the “greatness and seriousness of the priestly vocation”. Like monks, diocesan priests also need long periods of calmness, prayer and studies to strengthen the spiritual union with Christ.⁵⁴⁶

If Urrutia mainly focuses on the priestly retreats, Pham-Ngoc-Chi also adds other items. He seeks to change the method of teaching and the didactive material for the training of seminarians and in theological schools. While not going into detail, he points out that many items discussed in seminaries and theological schools at the time were useless, while other, more important and useful items were being omitted.⁵⁴⁷

7.5. Philippines

Unlike the other Southeast Asian countries so far mentioned, Catholicism had gained a large footage in the Philippine society. This was due to the extensive control of the Spanish for many centuries and the power of landowning Spanish friars. Once the Americans dominated the country at the beginning of the 20th century after the Spanish-American War and the suppression of Filipino independence (and an independent Filipino Catholic Church),

⁵⁴² Peter Phan, “Vietnam,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 187-99, 187-89, 194-95, 197; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 746-47; Forest, *Les missionnaires français au Tonkin et au Siam*, the sections on Tonkin.

⁵⁴³ For his views on the religious sisters and the lay apostolate, see Chapter I.

⁵⁴⁴ ADA II/4, 640.

⁵⁴⁵ ADA II/4, 641.

⁵⁴⁶ ADA II/4, 642.

⁵⁴⁷ ADA II/4, 639-40.

freedom of religion was pushed forward (although that would only be constitutionally anchored in the 1980s). Unlike the Spanish, the Americans imported education in English that was focused on the masses instead of a small elite. The main purpose was to knead the larger society to a self-governing Filipino society that had appropriated American culture and ideas. This system influenced society until the Japanese occupation during World War II and the country's independence in 1946. Despite these various developments, the Catholic Church remained very popular among most of the population and co-existed with Protestants and a minority of Muslims in the southern islands. Catholic schools, colleges and universities had been established since the arrival of the Spanish by Franciscans, Dominicans, Augustinians, and Jesuits (though the latter's position would be more unstable due to waves of expulsion). One of the oldest Catholic universities was already founded at the beginning of the 17th century, the University of Santo Tomas run by the Dominicans. After World War II, universities had further increased (e.g., University of San Carlos 1948, Xavier University in 1958, ...). Public schools had also expanded mainly in the rural areas, which however had experienced American educational policies.⁵⁴⁸ Regarding seminaries, the main education and formation was primarily influenced by a Western curriculum, like elsewhere in Asia.

Among the vota,⁵⁴⁹ the Spanish Apostolic Prefect and Augustinian Recollect Espiga e Infante of Palawan asks for more clarification regarding the hermeneutical sciences in Biblical studies, especially in the way it should be taught within Catholic schools and seminaries.⁵⁵⁰ He also wants the catechists to be more engaged in education in public schools,⁵⁵¹ and demands that those lay Catholics who seek to hold important civil positions can follow the sacred disciplines and philosophy. For this purpose, existing seminaries and Catholic institutes which can provide these degrees should be further enlarged, under the provisions of the Holy See.⁵⁵² Sison, for his part, asks for more practical experience among seminarians during their four years of theological studies, so that they are better prepared for a fifth intensive year of pastoral theology.⁵⁵³ It is clear among the Filipino vota that each bishop has a different focus. It also generally shows that the Catholicity is well rooted in society and continues to play a good part. Catholic schools are not discussed nor the universities.

Unlike the bishops, the Santo Tomas University provides many suggestions on seminary education giving a whole educational trajectory. For the minor seminaries, "authentic evidence" is needed of having completed elementary studies prior to pursuing studies in gymnasias. The teaching staff in minor seminaries must be increased, and their expertise as well. The state must recognize the studies in these seminaries, as well as the degrees so that students can enter other public institutes.⁵⁵⁴ Indeed, there was not yet a

⁵⁴⁸ Daniel Franklin E. Pilario cm, "Catholics," in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 316; Anne Paulet, "To Change the World: The Use of American Indian Education in the Philippines," *History of Education Quarterly* 47, no. 2 (2007), 175-76, 178, 183; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 564-65, 568.

⁵⁴⁹ For some of the suggestions of Frondosa (on the religious), Sison (on catechist centers), see Chapter I.

⁵⁵⁰ ADA II/4, 325.

⁵⁵¹ ADA II/4, 326.

⁵⁵² ADA II/4, 326-27.

⁵⁵³ ADA II/4, 338.

⁵⁵⁴ ADA IV/2, 334, 340.

consensus among the civil authorities regarding the fate of public schools and the exact content of the study curriculum, leaving private schools in the dark of what ought to be known by the students in secondary schools. As for the gymnasia, the Santo Tomas envisions them to be a place for literary, cultural, and religious studies imbued with the newest pedagogical methods. In contrast, the hard sciences should not be provided. The studies in gymnasia must be a preparation for later philosophical studies and future ministries. As for the content, the focus should first and foremost lie on religion, Latin and the native languages and literature; followed by two years of Greek mainly focused on the Bible and patristic, and another foreign language to be taught in the final two years. Students should master these languages through various exercises of reading, writing, speaking, debating and further research. Final examinations ought to take place to check the student's knowledge. Finally, the studies should not take more than five years and could be subdivided into two periods of three and two years.⁵⁵⁵ The Dominican university clearly upholds the classics as it had been provided for many decades, with the difference that it embraces new pedagogy.

After the gymnasia, students should follow at least a three-year track of philosophical studies with a main focus on "scholastic philosophy" (as a Dominican university, this is an obvious choice). There should also be an introduction to philosophy in general. Auxiliary disciplines could also be discussed, such as the history of philosophy, experimental psychology, sociology, pedagogy, advanced Latin, Italian and Greek literature, national literature, and international law/human rights ("ius gentium"). Some non-academic knowledge and skills also need to be provided, such as the oratory skills and apologetics. The professors teaching all these courses should be in the possession of relevant laureates or licentiates.⁵⁵⁶ Students ought to be prepared for theological studies, apostolic ministries, and to defend themselves against modern errors. Final examinations for each studied discipline must take place to obtain the degree of baccalaureate recognized by both the Church and the state. Outstanding students could then be motivated by the Ordinary to further pursue theological studies.⁵⁵⁷

The Santo Tomas then again provides a whole list of suggestions of how the four-year theological studies should look like. Apart from the obvious topics, noticeable are the demand to include specialized courses such as patristic liturgy, the Protestant Bible and missiology, as well as auxiliary courses such as pastoral theology and catechesis. Another noticeable demand is to include monthly scholastic debates in Latin for dogmatic and moral issues. All professors of sacred sciences must be in possession of a pontifical degree. Finally, the university encourages more libraries.⁵⁵⁸ The large proposal of Santo Tomas university reminds one of the extended proposals by other pontifical universities discussed earlier and mainly in Italy and Spain. Here, most of what the university proposes is the confirmation of what already had been, with some minor additions. The backing of existing canonical

⁵⁵⁵ ADA IV/2, 335, 340-41

⁵⁵⁶ ADA IV/2, 335, 341-43.

⁵⁵⁷ ADA IV/2, 336, 341-43.

⁵⁵⁸ ADA IV/2, 336, 343-47.

regulations also plays a significant role in the votum, and the university for a large part borrows from the schooling system in Italy.

In another part of the votum, the Santo Tomas wants the clergy to teach in schools, colleges, and Catholic universities after their studies. Each diocese should also have a minor and a major seminary, conform the canonical regulations (cf. Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies).⁵⁵⁹ Finally, the university spends several pages on the various versions of the Bible provided in Latin and some of the exegetical issues that arise. For the purposes of this chapter, it suffices to mention that the university reconfirms the divine inspiration of the Bible and as the tool for educating the clerics and lay alike, including the Vulgate.⁵⁶⁰

7.6. *Indonesia*

By 1945, Indonesia became independent, and the 1945 constitution emphasized freedom of religion, rooted in the famous Pancasila idea (“five rules”). This also implied that Catholics were free to build and maintain educational institutes and sometimes could obtain state aid. As far as public education was concerned, religion was an obligatory course in schools and universities, but students could choose one of the four following officially recognized options: Islam, Protestantism, Catholicism or “Hindu-Buddhism”.⁵⁶¹ Among the religions, Islam was predominant, while among the Christians, Protestants were in the majority. While the Dutch schools had mainly been elitist, mainly for a European elite settled in Batavia, and many had been run by Dutch teachers (and Japanese for a while as well during occupation), Indonesia had to reinvent its educational system to serve the larger masses. Catholics continued to expand both secondary schools, minor and major seminaries. These had mainly been provided for by Dutch Catholic religious clergy thanks to granting of religious freedom by the Dutch king in the colonies decades earlier. The most noticeable religious orders and congregations were the Jesuits, Capuchins, Sacred Heart missionaries, Ursulines, Franciscans, and Scheutists, who all increased the education of the indigenous peoples. Catholic works were oftentimes translated in Javanese and at the verge of the Council, the indigenous Catholics (mainly in Java) had outgrown the European immigrants.⁵⁶² Since 1947, (diocesan) seminaries had also increased.⁵⁶³

As for the Indonesian vota, Dutch Capuchin and Apostolic Vicar van Valenberg of Borneo shares a copy of what was discussed in the votum of the Indonesian Episcopal Conference (signed by the Capuchin van der Burgt) regarding moral and pastoral theology. The most significant suggestion is the consensus that there should be an intense missionary and ecumenical training among the seminarians. The need for comparing religions is an important part as well. Both demands are very relevant for the context in which the Indonesian Catholic Church was active. The Episcopal Conference also suggests to ensue

⁵⁵⁹ ADA IV/2, 337.

⁵⁶⁰ ADA IV/2, 259-74.

⁵⁶¹ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 385.

⁵⁶² Sulistyowati Irianto, “Indonesia,” *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 200-11, 200-02, 204-07.

⁵⁶³ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 387.

pastoral care of the Asian and African students studying in Europe.⁵⁶⁴ The Dutch Apostolic Vicar and Scheutist Schneiders of Makassar, for his part, wants enhance the role of the lay catechists with various tasks.⁵⁶⁵

Lastly, both van der Burgt and the Dutch Apostolic Prefect and Franciscan Geise of Sukabumi point in their own way to the need for a continuous diversification of the Catholic Church. Turning away from a predominantly Western representation, van der Burgt wants to have an appropriate admission and education of priests, and possibly the laity, from countries outside Europe and the United States for the diplomatic services of the Church. He does see a stronger role for the religious candidates in this regard.⁵⁶⁶ Geise, for his part, seeks to expand the Europe-centeredness by including sociological and ethnological sciences in the self-understanding of the Church. For him, the Sacred Congregation De Propaganda Fide should play a central role in this matter and could establish a convent of experts in the fields of sociology and ethnology, who then regularly visit and serve Ordinaries in the missions.⁵⁶⁷

7.7. Conclusion

The Southeast countries which were discussed were Burma (Myanmar), Laos, Siam (Thailand), Vietnam, Philippines and Indonesia. More than elsewhere, the bishops contributing to education and formation in the vota were born in European countries and were religious. They mostly resided in urban dioceses or apostolic vicariates. It concerned Italian PIME fathers in the cities of Kengtung and Toungoo in the north and south where minority ethnic groups lived (Burma), and a Salesian as apostolic vicar in Rajaburi in the southwest (Siam); French MEP fathers in the capital city Rangoon and the northern city of Mandalay (Burma) and the ones residing over the apostolic vicariates of Thakhek with many Vietnamese immigrants (Laos), the eastern city of Ubon (Siam), and the city Hué in the central east (Vietnam); the Spanish Augustinian Recollect as apostolic prefect in the Philippines; and the Dutch Capuchin in Borneo (an island of which a part belonged to Indonesia), Scheutist in the urban city of Makassar in the east (Indonesia), and a Franciscan in the city of Sukabumi in West-Java (Indonesia). Further contributions from local bishops were related to the apostolic vicar in the Búi Chu province in the north (Vietnam), the rural area of Nueva Segovia (now: Lal-Lo) in the north near the sea (Philippines), the province of Capiz as part of the central island Panay (Philippines), and the Indonesian Episcopal Conference where many Dutch were active. From the universities, only the Santo Tomas with a strong Dominican tradition in Manilla gave contributions.

Looking at the Catholic schools, there were multiple criticisms by the hand of the Archbishop Bazin of Rangoon: they did not lead to the conversion, the religious education was insufficient, and there was a lack of Catholic students. Another suggestion included a stronger focus on other religions, which was also shared by the Lanfranconi in Toungoo. Different local demands came from other areas, with the demand for Catholic schools to be guided by religious sisters (Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu), a stronger focus on the Bible

⁵⁶⁴ ADA II/4, 264, 273.

⁵⁶⁵ ADA II/4, 234.

⁵⁶⁶ ADA II/4, 240.

⁵⁶⁷ ADA II/4, 270.

(Espiga e Infante of Palawan), and the implementation of new pedagogy in minor seminaries (Santo Tomas University). Clearly, the disposition of the Catholic Church in these different areas influenced the local demands of the bishops mentioned here.

For the universities, the Indonesian Episcopal Conference, in line with other Dutch demands discussed before, asked for more care of African and Asian students in European universities. In a somewhat new demand, the Dutch Franciscan Geise in Sukabumi pointed to the De Propaganda Fide to lead studies in ethnology, sociology, related for the missions. In other words, he favored seminarians to follow studies in Rome than for instance at KU Nijmegen.

Much more discussed were the seminaries (as usual). The need to incorporate a variety of foci in the studies of the seminarians came forward: it concerned a stronger focus on the Bible (Guercilena of Kengtung, Espiga e Infante of Palawan), liturgical education (Guercilena of Kengtung), non-Christian religions (Bazin of Rangoon, van Valenberg of Borneo, Indonesian Episcopal Conference), spirituality (Arnaud of Thakhek), pastoral care (Arnaud of Thakhek, Sison of Nueva Segovia), philosophy (Santo Tomas University), ecumenism (van Valenberg of Borneo, Indonesian Episcopal Conference), missiology (Bazin of Rangoon, van Valenbeg of Borneo, Indonesian Episcopal Conference). Further issues were related to a criticism on the use of Western syllabi unrelated to the context (Arnaud of Thakhek, Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu), a retreat needed to be re-educated after some years of ministry (Arnaud of Thakhek, Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu), a stricter selection of future seminarians (Froncosa of Capiz), qualified teachers in minor and major seminaries (Santo Tomas University), the necessity to have at least one minor and major in each diocese (Santo Tomas University), and degrees to be recognized by the state (Santo Tomas University). Santo Tomass was also the only one to mention the necessity of the clergy to teach in Catholic schools and universities. It is clear that the demands from the Philippines can only be possible given the better conditions of vocations there. Indeed, a warning on the lack of vocations came explicitly up by the apostolic vicars active in Vietnam. Pham-Ngoc-Chi (Búi Chu), as a solution, asked for more tasks to be provided to the laity. He was not alone. We see that across most of the countries in Southeast Asia, clergy (and missionaries) are lacking. And as a solution, many religious bishops ask for the lay catechists to take up a stronger role in the missions (Falière of Mandalay, Lanfranconi of Toungoo, Arnaud of Thakhek, Carretto of Rajaburi, Bayet of Ubon, Schneiders of Makassar). However, Carretto prefers ex-seminarians, widowers, or lay congregations. Espiga e Infante of Palawan sees a role for the catechists in public schools. Regarding catechist schools, only Bayet of Ubon favored their establishment but pointed to the lack of finances, asking for a pontifical work to take over instead. National and diocesan catechist centers were asked for in Nueva Segovia. As far as catechesis was concerned, only Guercilena of Kengtung favored to improve catechesis during the Mass.

Finally, regarding the religious, it is, perhaps unsurprisingly, noticeable that the demands came from Froncosa of Capiz who demanded for them to be more academically educated, and the Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu, who particularly asked for the religious to live a life of poverty. However, the latter was also very much praising the work of the

religious sisters. He is probably among the few who, rather than demanding more of the sisters, applauded their work.

8. East Asia

8.1. Korea

After World War II, Korea had gained independence from Japanese occupation that had lasted for almost four decades, although it was now split into a northern part under Soviet influence and a southern part under American influence with both sides having a regime installed that clearly leaned towards the ideology of either side. Not long after, in 1950, the three-year Korean war broke out leading to no success on either side and leaving the country demarcated into North and South Korea. In general, Catholics had been active for the past three centuries and it has often been claimed that it entered the country through a converted Korean from China in the 18th century, but it would later on be empowered through French and German Benedictine missionaries. The country had largely also housed Mahayana Buddhists. The establishment of a Soviet style North Korea of course led to the expulsion of foreign missionaries, the imprisonment of local Christians, and the closure of Catholic educational institutes. Many Catholics had either fled or continued underground, and the education was quasi non-existent especially from 1960 onwards. In South Korea, Catholic Christianity could continue to flourish. As far as education was concerned, the Education Act of 1949 based itself on American educational policies in that all citizens must attend school (cf. Philippines) and the state was to control all educational institutes although it would treat both public and private schools equally. Education had become more modernized, democratized up against previous totalitarian Japanese education.⁵⁶⁸

The Italian Apostolic Delegate Righi-Lambertini is of the opinion that seminarians should no longer be withheld of gaining knowledge regarding “exterior events”. Instead, they should be taught about political and social events occurring on a national and international level. This should be provided by competent teachers who can teach seminarians to place these events “in the light of Catholic doctrine, in relation to salvation of souls”.⁵⁶⁹ This remark is true in light of seminaries also in other parts of the world in which seminarians were in a way ghettoized from the larger world prior to the Council (see e.g., USA). Given the Korean context and the recent war, this is all the more important. The American Apostolic Vicar and Maryknoll missionary Pardy of Cheong-ju, for his part, wants to elevate the role of catechists to lead the faithful. For him, this is all the more important should the priest be taken into captivity;⁵⁷⁰ once again, like in some Southeast Asian countries where communist or other anti-Catholic threats were looming, the role of the lay catechists is elevated in light of imprisonment of priests (e.g., Burma, Laos).

⁵⁶⁸ Phile Kim, “North Korea,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 112-18, 112-13; Meehyun Chung, “South-Korea,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 119-31, 119, 127; Don-Hee Lee et al., *Education in South Korea: Reflections on a Seventy-Year Journey* (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2022), 26-30, 40.

⁵⁶⁹ ADA II/4, 60.

⁵⁷⁰ ADA II/4, 61.

8.2. People's Republic China

The Chinese communist party had ruled the country since a decade at the time of the vota. Since 1951, all educational institutes had been nationalized and all foreign missionaries (a majority of European and North Americans) had been expelled. Local Chinese clergy had been imprisoned. Just prior to Vatican II, the Chinese Catholic Patriotic Association (CCPA) had been established in 1957 which, in correspondence with the government, appointed bishops without the Vatican's approval. This, of course, caused a condemnation from Rome, seeing it as schismatic. Those who opposed the CCPA, however, were prone to persecution and had to go underground.⁵⁷¹ Despite this political situation, a collection of vota related to the PRC still occurred in the *Acta et Documenta*, but all of the contributors lived in exile, despite having been assigned to a Chinese diocese, and the vota must also be read in this light.

Among the vota,⁵⁷² seminaries, catechesis and the laity are the more popular topics. Regarding the seminaries, the Italian Conventual Franciscan and Prefect Maleddu of Ankang, for his part, wants three major implementations: spiritual teachers and directors, preparatory colleges to enhance vocations, and the reorganization of the studies. Regarding the teachers and directors, he asks to increase their expertise in light of modern developments. As for the preparatory colleges, Maleddu thinks it would be wise to implement them in higher secondary education instead of lower secondary education. His suggestion seems to undermine the minor seminary. While in public schools and colleges, humanistic and scientific education is provided to the students, the colleges must be a place where a profound religious instruction is provided. To enhance vocations, Maleddu is of the opinion that seminarians ought to have one year of pastoral experience under supervision, before they are allowed to be ordained.⁵⁷³ The studies need to incorporate contemporary social studies and the study of media tools and the press. Finally, seminarians should be trained in such a way that they cannot be ordained before the age of thirty.⁵⁷⁴ For the Belgian Scheutist Oste of Jinzhou, the study of Latin in seminaries and religious institutions needs to be maintained.⁵⁷⁵

As for catechesis, the Ching-ping of Chumatien, who lives in the USA, wants that catechesis involves defense against communistic theories;⁵⁷⁶ not unimportant given what his country had gone through. The Italian Capuchin Bishop Pasini of Sanyüan seeks to maintain catechesis to protect Catholic families from false doctrines. The faithful should regularly attend catechesis and must be taught in such a way "that it is believed, performed, and lived". Next to catechesis, through schools and associations related to Catholic Action, strong methods are required to protect families.⁵⁷⁷ Maleddu, for his part, recognizes the importance

⁵⁷¹ Edmond Tang, "Mainland China (Catholic)," in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 51-62, 52-53, 55; Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 232.

⁵⁷² For some of the suggestions by Oste, Pasini, Ching-ping, Kovalski, Dillon, O'Gara on the laity, the obligations of parents, media tools, and the religious, see Chapter I.

⁵⁷³ ADA II/4, 592.

⁵⁷⁴ ADA II/4, 593.

⁵⁷⁵ ADA II/4, 507.

⁵⁷⁶ ADA II/4, 486-87.

⁵⁷⁷ ADA II/4, 544-45.

of catechetical schools. At first, he proposes the establishment of private catechetical schools for boys and girls. Once this has been finalized, the final formation should take place in the parishes by means of a scholastic discussion.⁵⁷⁸ Belonging to a religious order, this prefect seemingly criticizes the fact that the catechetical schools of the religious receive more means than other catechetical schools. It would therefore be appropriate, after having lifted this discrimination, to place such schools under the authority of the local pastor.

As for the schools and universities, the Canadian Passionist Bishop O’Gara of Yuanling, living in USA, bemoans the widespread secularization in the Catholic universities, Catholic schools (and seminaries) and asks the Council to counter this development.⁵⁷⁹ Ching-ping wants to have more studies on communism “in schools of all levels”,⁵⁸⁰ in line with his demands for catechesis and universities. Though not mentioning universities, Quint asks the Council to come up with a declaration that deals with “the relation of revelation and theology with modern sciences and philosophy”.⁵⁸¹

8.3. *Hong Kong*

Hong Kong was so far spared from the PRC’s control, and after the Japanese occupation during WWII, it had received a special settlement with the UK for its governance. The state’s policy was secular, allowing religious freedom. Since the 19th century, the Catholic Church had increased with the arrival of various Western missionaries such as Franciscans, Dominicans, PIME Fathers, Sisters of St Paul De Chartres, and later in the 20th century Jesuits, Maryknoll Sisters, Salesians, and Sacred Heart missionaries. More would come once the PRC came under communist control and when many Chinese fled to Hong Kong, causing yet another boom of Catholicism during the 1950s. Most of the students in the private Catholic schools, however, were non-Catholic.⁵⁸²

Along with his suggestions on media tools discussed earlier, the Italian PIME Bishop Bianchi of Hong-Kong wants to restructure theological and philosophical studies in such a way that they also include “concepts” and “morality” of Eastern nations, also within the local vernacular. More focus should also be on the theology of labor.⁵⁸³ His views befit the larger context, also that of the question of workers popular among communists. In general, Bianchi does want a strong balance of clerical formation in between the traditional sciences, law and philosophy, on the one hand, and theology, philosophy and the social sciences, on the other hand. He rather prefers a strong “education and formation” above a quick ordination.⁵⁸⁴

8.4. *Japan*

Christianity could thrive in Japan due to the renewed educational reforms in the country post-World War II and the short occupation of the Americans. Religious freedom had

⁵⁷⁸ ADA II/4, 590-91.

⁵⁷⁹ ADA II/4, 582.

⁵⁸⁰ ADA II/4, 486-87.

⁵⁸¹ ADA II/4, 605.

⁵⁸² Fuk-tsang Ying, “Hong Kong,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 74-75, 77-80, 84. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 362-63.

⁵⁸³ ADA II/4, 494.

⁵⁸⁴ ADA II/4, 495.

already been established by the end of the 19th century after centuries of Christian persecution. The Japanese Catholic Church was a fully independent and led by the Japanese Episcopal Conference established in 1940. Catholic educational institutes were private. In the country, the Sisters of Saint-Paul de Chartres had opened the female Shirayuri University since 1881, and Jesuits had opened the Sophia University in 1913 with its reputation further enhanced after World War II. Another Catholic university was the Nanzan University established by the Divine Word Missionaries in 1946. Catholic education was primarily directed at the poorer classes of society, and Catholicism was generally thriving well in the 50s due to the untiring work of pioneer Japanese Catholic intellectuals and priests. Much Western Catholic works including on medieval philosophy had been translated into Japanese, and its content was widely spread and appropriated within Japanese society. In the meantime, Japanese Catholicism was aided by Western missionaries, mainly the French MEP Fathers, the Spanish and German Jesuits. Catholic sisters also played a significant role in (female) education since the end of the 19th century, most notably les Dames de Saint-Maur, la Congrégation des Soeurs de l'Enfant-Jésus de Chauffailles, les Soeurs de Saint-Paul de Chartres.⁵⁸⁵

From the Japanese vota, both Archbishop Doi of Tokyo and Bishop Satowaki of Kagoshima discuss seminaries. Satowaki wants to reform seminary studies within major seminaries, as he argues that the seminarians are not trained enough to deal with “a world under revolution”. More disciplines need to be taught, and he provides anthropology, sociology, social and didactic psychology.⁵⁸⁶ In the rapid changing Japanese political context and the wider region, his call is in line with what for instance was discussed in Korea. Doi asks to implement the vernacular in the studies of philosophy and theology, as it will help seminarians to better comprehend the texts and later pass on the Christian doctrines to the faithful, catechumens and non-Christian when they become priests.⁵⁸⁷ His demand fits the wider thriving Japanese Catholic context in which many theological and philosophical literature had been translated into Japanese.

Bishop Senyemon Fukahori of Fukuoka asks to clarify the condemnation of books in the Index and modify some of these regulations within Catholic schools where the majority of the students are non-Catholics.⁵⁸⁸ Seemingly, it makes matters difficult to reach out to non-Catholic students, if some of the books of their respective backgrounds are being banned. The Jesuit Catholic University of Sophia is on a similar line as the knowledge of Japanese works in particular, would help in the formation of Japanese clergy.⁵⁸⁹

Finally, other topics mainly elaborated by Doi were pointed out, such as his preference of episcopal authority over the works of the religious (cf. other parts of the world) and his emphasis on parental responsibility to educate their children (cf. neighboring PRC).⁵⁹⁰ It

⁵⁸⁵ Akemi Kugimiya, “Japan,” in *Christianity in East and Southeast Asia*, 134-35, 137-39, 141-43.

⁵⁸⁶ ADA II/4, 75.

⁵⁸⁷ ADA II/4, 91.

⁵⁸⁸ ADA II/4, 75.

⁵⁸⁹ ADA IV/2, 570.

⁵⁹⁰ See Chapter I.

should be added that he also wants the Council to answer – among other things – the current state of education and the right to education.⁵⁹¹

8.5. Conclusion

When it comes to East-Asia, one must distinguish the vota related to the PRC from those of Hong Kong, Korea, and Japan, as in the first country, many of the bishops were living in exile in the last ten years. Looking at the few vota on education and formation from the last three mentioned countries, one sees that in Korea and Hong Kong, it were mainly foreign religious bishops writing (for Korea, the Italian Apostolic Delegate and the American Maryknoll father, and for Hong Kong, the Italian PIME bishop) while in Japan it were the local bishops from the urban dioceses of the capital city Tokyo, Fukuoka and Kagoshima. From the universities, only Sophia University in Tokyo with a strong Jesuit influence contributed. Looking at the content, nothing was discussed on Catholic schools, but more so on seminaries and other aspects. For the seminaries, it was proposed to enhance the political studies (Righi-Lambertini, Apostolic Delegate of Korea), discussions surrounding labor (Bianchi of Hong Kong), eastern concepts and ideas fitting the context (Bianchi of Hong Kong), sociology, didactic psychology, anthropology (Satowaki of Kagoshima), and Japanese literature in national seminaries (Sophia University). These demands were very much context based in light of the socio-political developments at play with the exception of Kagoshima. Further local demands had to do with enhancing catechists (Pardy of Cheongju), the use of media tools for educational purposes (Bianchi of Hong Kong), the need for parents to enhance and provide the religious education to their children (Doi of Tokyo), episcopal control over the religious (Doi of Tokyo), and the simplification of accessing works on the Index (Doi of Tokyo, Sophia University).

As far as the PRC vota were concerned, almost all of them came from foreign religious bishops who had been active in Ankang (Italian Conventual Franciscan), Sanyuan (Italian Capuchin), Jinzhou (Belgian Scheutist), Yuanling (Canadian Passionist), Shashi (American Franciscan). Only one bishop in exile in the USA was born in China (Ching-Ping of Chumatien). Most demands were bound to the author. For the seminaries, it was mainly the Bishop Maleddu who asked to enhance the practical experience among seminarians and have better educated teachers and directors (Ankang). Bishop Ching-Ping of Chumatien time again emphasized a stronger focus on communism in order to counter it. Maleddu asked to increase catechist schools, and the use of modern tools. He also pointed to the lack of vocations especially in the rural areas, a concern that was shared by the Belgian Oste of Jinzhou, and as a solution was convinced that the practical skills learnt in the seminaries, would help to counter it. Oste opted for an increase of the lay apostolate instead. He, along with the Apostolic Prefect Dillon (Shashi), emphasized for parents to provide religious education to their children.

Final remarks were from the Pasini of Sanyuan appreciating catechesis to instruct the faithful, in line with many other Italians in the homeland; the Bishop O'Gara (Yuanling)

⁵⁹¹ ADA II/4, 84-85, 87.

bemoaning secularization in schools and universities worldwide; and the demand of the Chinese Bishop for religious to reappropriate their original goals wherever possible.

9. Africa

9.1. Egypt

Egypt housed a variety of Christians, most notably the Coptic Orthodox but also Coptic Catholics (under a Patriarch), Roman-Catholics, Melkites, Chaldean Catholics, Syriac Catholics, Maronites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Anglicans and a variety of protestants. The relationship between the Coptic Orthodox and the Coptic Catholics had historically been quite hostile, but both lived under the pressure of a majoritarian Muslim society. By 1952, Egypt had seen a military coup starting the nationalization of Egypt under Nasser. His government strongly pushed for pan-Arabic nationalism, an ideology that did not resonate with the Copts on both sides. Public education was enhanced, Arabic the dominant language, and Egypt became the forerunner for free education on all educational levels and accessibility to all strata of society even attracting international students. Private schools were not nationalized, however, thus Catholic schools alongside other private schools could continue to exist but not without hostility (especially towards Coptic Orthodox schools). A Secretariat dealing with Catholic schools had also been active in the country since the 50s. Nonetheless, Catholic educational outreach had dwindled due to many Muslims going to free public schools, and pressure for internal change was felt in religious education, study books and so on. Meanwhile, some Orthodox and Catholic Copts had migrated to Sudan and continued to operate there (see below).⁵⁹² Many of the Egyptian sister congregations would be asked for advice during the conciliar period within the commission of seminaries and university studies.

Coptic Catholic Patriarch Sidarouss of Alexandria,⁵⁹³ in a critical exposition, rhetorically asked whether the schools established by the religious reached their apostolic mission of rapprochement and unity. While admitting such schools had done so to a minor extent, he points out that the majority of Egypt's poor classes had not been able to enjoy education in these schools. Moreover, due to the persecution experienced by local Christians with many of them living in rural areas, they had not been made aware of Catholic schools. Because of a lacking access, the Patriarch points out that many Catholic Copts had shifted to Protestantism or to public schools as these alternatives brought more remedies. He also points out that the missionary schools in Egypt held too long to Latinism while ignoring the local languages (mainly Arabic), which in turn alienated the local population.⁵⁹⁴ Clearly, despite the small success of Coptic Catholicism, the Patriarch points to the failures of Catholic education.

⁵⁹² Samuel Tadros, "Egypt," in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 68-79, 68-75, 77.

⁵⁹³ See also Chapter I for some of his suggestions.

⁵⁹⁴ ADA II/4, 376-77

9.2. Sudan

Prior to the independence of Sudan in 1956, Sudan had been closely related to Egypt as it was for a large part under one territory with Egypt during the latter's expansion in the 18th century, and afterwards under British rule established in the Anglo-Egypt condominium. Under the British it maintained some form of regional independence though in practice the British were predominant. The British also ensured that each missionary station was assigned to a Catholic or Protestant mission. The country had been divided into a northern (Muslim) and southern (mainly Christian) administration. In the South, mainly the Comboni Missionaries, White Fathers and Mill Hill Missionaries had been active. In 1956, Sudan had become independent from both Britain and Egypt, but tensions between the north and the south continued due to the fact that predominant northern Muslim sought to make the whole of Sudan an Islamic nation. This led to the country's first long civil war as the south consisting of mostly black Christians and other indigenous tribes disagreed with this political outlook. Meanwhile, the Sudanese government had nationalized all schools up against the wishes of Catholic clergy whose presence had been increased especially since the missionary movement of the 50s. Catholic education thus continued to take place privately in the midst of civil war alongside protestants and Coptic Orthodox schools. Indeed, it also should be noted that the country housed many Orthodox Copts as Sudan given the close history with Egypt. Moreover, alongside Christianity and Islam, communist and leftist parties had also gained a strong foothold in the country's politics and education.⁵⁹⁵

The Sudanese Apostolic Vicar Dud of Rumbek (South Sudan) wants to maintain Latin in the seminaries.⁵⁹⁶ He asks for a strong condemnation of racism and points out that the major problems in the African continent have to do with communism and Islam (though this generalized comment was especially comprehensible in Sudan's context). He warns that communistic support has spread within universities, in turn influencing the beliefs and worldview of students who would take up important roles in the society. As for Islam, he observes that the religion is providing "better social conditions and opportunities" in schools increasing the religion's popularity.⁵⁹⁷ In another suggestions, he wants Radio Vatican to operate as a major station so that its reach is more global, especially in Africa. For him, the laity wants to hear Catholic answers regarding social matters – more so than what the state can offer.⁵⁹⁸

The Italian Comboni Missionary and Apostolic Vicar Baroni of Khartoum,⁵⁹⁹ the capital city and mainly located in the north, is more focused on catechesis which has become more difficult to provide for an extended period of time. In order to strengthen catechesis, he suggests providing it right after the mass or on other times deemed relevant by the bishop. Catechetical lectures should be prepared by experts of each diocese or country and these

⁵⁹⁵ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 87, 90, 95, 108, 111; John Eibner "Sudan," in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 56-67, 56, 62-64; Richard Nnyombi MAfr, "Uganda and South Sudan," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), 132-43, 132, 135-36.

⁵⁹⁶ ADA II/5, 465. For his suggestions on the vernacular in Vatican periodicals, see Chapter I.

⁵⁹⁷ ADA II/5, 466.

⁵⁹⁸ ADA II/5, 466.

⁵⁹⁹ For his suggestions on catechesis through media tools, see Chapter I.

lectures should be distributed to local families on a regular basis.⁶⁰⁰ His call for catechesis through media tools, as discussed earlier, resonates with other demands for catechesis in the African missions and dioceses, but is also comprehensible given his presence in Khartoum where Christianity is more in the minority, where schools have become nationalized, and where catechesis serves as one of the few means to provide Christian education.

9.3. Morocco

In 1956, Morocco had gained its independence from being split into French and Spanish protectorates (though with Spain some areas were not settled yet) after one century of foreign control. The main Catholic areas lied in the cities of Casablanca (Spain) and Rabat (French). Tangier, where Catholicism was popular as well, was a separate case as this city was divided among France, Spain, Britain and Italy. As in other French colonies and protectorates, the imported French educational system meant the importation of French language and culture and primarily focused on the elite. Catholics and mainly congregations and orders tried to maintain their own education institutions across the protectorate next to Muslim and Jewish schools. In the Spanish protectorate, there were three options of Spanish, Spanish-Arab, and Spanish-Jewish schools dependent on the religion and ethnicity of the local populations. While the Spanish language was taught along with the imported curriculum, Arabs and Jews could follow their own religious education and language within their respective schools modelled in line with madrassas and Talmud schools (although the latter was more ambiguous). Each of these three could be public or private depending on who was financing them. Despite these differences, they shared in common that they were modelled to ensure pro-Spanish sentiment. In fact, these schools were mainly separated to ensure political control and supervision, and they were still rather focused on the few and elitist. Moroccan schools defying the Spanish imported system were also existent. After the independence, attempts were made to Arabicize the public education. The main congregation active in the country were the Franciscans, who also funded schools; however, soon criticism would pop up that the Franciscan mission was hijacked by the Spanish. After independence, many European Catholics left Morocco to go back to the mainland, though some clergy remained there to maintain the Church in the midst of Islamic resurgence.⁶⁰¹

In an outline on “catechesis and the kerygma”, the French Franciscan Lefevre of Rabat discusses various issues related to schools and the education of the youth. At first, he wants to ensure that specialists in Catholic universities are not only well trained in their respective disciplines but also ready as “Christian soldiers” to ward off “modern errors”.⁶⁰² Regarding the Catholic schools, Lefevre points to the deficiency of “religious and spiritual education”. In order to solve this issue, he asks to increase the didactic competences of clerical and the lay teachers, and to select more strictly. Moreover, adolescents should not only be initiated

⁶⁰⁰ ADA II/5, 458-59.

⁶⁰¹ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 87, 90; Jack Wald, “Morocco and Western Sahara,” in *Christianity in North Africa and West Asia*, 41-44, 41; Irene González González, “The Political Instrumentalisation of an Educational Model in a Colonial Context: Spanish-Arab Schools in Spanish Morocco (1912–1956),” *The Journal of North African Studies* 20, no. 2 (2015): 265-83, 266-68, 278-79 (note 4).

⁶⁰² ADA II/5, 306-07.

through catechesis, but also be trained in apologetics, prayer, works of charity, and the apostolate at large. Lefevre did not consider the operations of the JEC efficient enough in providing these trainings.⁶⁰³ Clearly, Lefevre is on the defence as it seems that Catholicism in Morocco is decaying; not unsurprising after the recent independence. Finally, it was already briefly pointed out that Lefevre is a strong supporter of the use of media tools – though he nuances that they are insufficient for conversion. Radio, periodicals, newspapers and other tools should be used carefully and universally to spread the Gospel and to “illuminate” people without force.⁶⁰⁴

9.4. Tunisia

Tunisia, a country with a majoritarian Muslim population alongside Jews and mainly Catholics, had been under French control as a protectorate. This enabled the reestablishment of the seat of Carthage since the end of the 19th century. For educational matters, it followed a similar pattern as how the French ruled French-Morocco. The country gained independence in 1956, causing a mass migration of European Catholics back to Europe, and the start of the reformation of state education for the benefit of the wider society. In general, the foreign religious could continue operating their educational institutes.⁶⁰⁵

The French Archbishop Perrin of Carthage is more critical for seminarians to be educated in modern tools and other topics that are focused on having priests active in some sectors of society, as he is convinced that it often works against their favor. Other deficiencies are the decay of Latin among seminarians.⁶⁰⁶ The establishment of a “theological commission” is necessary to collect and respond to the new vital questions. Perrin provides the examples of “labor theology” and “theology of female labor in society”.⁶⁰⁷

The Christian people also ought to be disciplined. They should be protected against “egoism”, “moral liberties”, capitalist tendencies, and most importantly the “religious ignorance regarding the catechism” that seemingly had led to false opinions among students in schools. Liberal education of children had to be countered.⁶⁰⁸ On other topics, Perrin wants to increase “theological, pastoral, and missionary research” regarding Marxism and atheistic existentialism in order to understand these ideologies and provide a counter-response, an increase of catechesis in the cities, and the study and application of pastoral actions within the poor nations.⁶⁰⁹ His focus on labor and Marxism could also be placed in light of the success of the center-left government in the country. It is also clear that the archbishop is rather negative on the direction of the Catholic faith and religious education in the country, both for the clergy and the laity, and remains conservative to counter these tendencies mainly through the classical approaches of catechesis, preaching and conversions.

⁶⁰³ ADA II/5, 307.

⁶⁰⁴ ADA II/5, 307-08.

⁶⁰⁵ Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 678.

⁶⁰⁶ ADA II/5, 503.

⁶⁰⁷ ADA II/5, 506.

⁶⁰⁸ ADA II/5, 503-04.

⁶⁰⁹ ADA II/5, 505.

9.5. Niger

Niger had been under French colonial control for almost sixty years, being part of the wider French West Africa, until it had become an autonomous state in 1958 within a last attempt of France to control its colonies under a French Union. However, in 1960, it would become fully independent. Catholic missions had only entered by the 1930s via the French control and it were mainly the SMA-Fathers who worked in this region. All in all, the Church flock was very small, and most local Catholics were actually foreigners from the West. The main Catholic population mainly lived in the prefecture of Niamey while the majority of Niger's population was Muslim. National literacy was very low. Nevertheless, once Niger's constitution would be promulgated in 1960-61, it was established that the state would aid private (Catholic) schools.⁶¹⁰ No studies have really come forward, thus far, describing the educational situation in Niger prior to Vatican II, but given the developments elsewhere in the region, the same aim to establish and maintain schools alongside other institutes and forms of education on behalf of the Catholic religious to evangelize local society, is a given. Moreover, alongside SMA Fathers, the Redemptorists were also active. This becomes visible in the votum described below.

The French Redemptorist and Apostolic Prefect Quillard of Niamey desires that more students within Niamey's schools who are well qualified should follow academic studies and obtain academic degrees. In this respect, they are considered to be an asset for the Catholic religion should they later obtain important positions within civil society. Quillard refers to the regions of Dahomey (nowadays part of Benin) and the Republic of the Upper-Volta (nowadays Burkina Faso) where this was already the case. He points out that there are already some students within the Redemptorist missions and schools who are being trained to obtain degrees such as baccalaureates and licentiates.⁶¹¹ The Republic of the Upper-Volta had housed many White Fathers and there the Catholic Church had been more successful and even already house native African bishops. The Republic of Dahomey for its part also had seen an influx of French missionaries who had been successful in converting the locals. Moreover, typical of French West Africa, Catholic ministers were trained as much as possible.⁶¹² As Catholic universities were quasi non-existent in the region, the Prefect seeks for bright students in his diocese to easily be granted access to French universities in mainland France.

9.6. Belgian Congo

When the vota were being written from Belgian Congo, the country had not yet reached full independence, which it would only obtain in 1960 after almost seventy years of foreign control. Unlike most of the other parts of the Africa, Belgian Congo was still rigidly controlled by white missionaries not so much in favor of an independent Congolese Catholic Church. The educational network had largely been dominated by the Sacred Heart

⁶¹⁰ Emmanuel Foro SJ, "Niger, Mauritania, Mali, Chad and Burkina Faso," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 225-38, 225. Barrett ed., *World Christian Encyclopedia*, 525-26.

⁶¹¹ ADA II/5, 93. Cf. Chapter I.

⁶¹² Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 108-09, 113-14, 119.

missionaries, Scheutists, and Jesuits who oftentimes closely collaborated with the Catholic University in Leuven and specialists from the university. This often caused the necessary tensions among these groups. Catholic seminarians were widely trained in the country. Only recently, the Belgian government had started to implement public education, while it also subsidized some of the Catholic schools. In 1954, the Catholic University of Leuven had established Lovanium in Kinshasa which was probably the most qualified university of the continent, though it mainly followed the direction of its Belgian mother university in terms of teaching content and mindset. Despite the wide involvement to educate and evangelize the wider society, local population still held a strong resentment against the white settlement and the fact that the Catholic Church in the area was authoritarian and seen as a puppet of the Belgian state. Once the civil war broke out in the 60s, anti-clericalism would run high. In Zaire, the Kambunguists, a Christian movement that demanded an independent Congolese Church from the white missionaries but was fiercely oppressed at the beginning of the century, were still popular.⁶¹³

Not many vota come forward on education and formation, probably because of the large grip over local schools. The Belgian Sacred Heart Missionary and Apostolic Vicar Vermeiren of Coquilhatville bemoans the fact that Biblical readings in Christian schools resemble much of the profane sciences. As a solution, he wants to have the Bible read daily in schools.⁶¹⁴

The largest votum comes from the Lovanium in Kinshasa.⁶¹⁵ It argues that “the better catechetical training of the Christian faithful is intimately connected with the religious and theological formation of the clergy.”⁶¹⁶ To ameliorate this theological formation, the university asks to spend more time on interpreting the Bible as the source and inspiration of Catholic theology (cf. the other Congolese vota). Moreover, the Bible along with the tradition and the Magisterium should serve as the fundament for systematic theology and should be further enhanced by means of catechesis.⁶¹⁷ Within the universities and faculties, this “Biblical formation” must also be enhanced. Students must also be trained in a way that philosophy is enlightened by theology and explained by means of “modern ways of thinking” and “cultural values”.⁶¹⁸

Another topic is the major seminaries in the missions. It is discussed that clerics destined to work in the missions and the indigenous clergy active in the missions should all be educated into missiology. This includes a knowledge of the “local institutions”, “indigenous religions”, “local mindsets and beliefs”, as well as the possibility “to counter non-Christian elements and enlighten those elements that are already leaning towards the Christian point of view”. Seminarians should also know other religions and ideologies – Islam, Protestantism, and atheistic Marxism are referred to – and be able to either oppose or

⁶¹³ Hastings, *African Christianity*, 12, 32; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 90, 94, 109, 135-36, 170-71; De Volder, “Belgium,” 79; Ruben Mantels and Jo Tollebeek, “Highly Educated Mission: The University of Leuven, the Missionary Congregations and Congo, 1885-1960,” *Exchange* 36 (2007): 359-85, 361-64, 371-72.

⁶¹⁴ ADA II/5, 172.

⁶¹⁵ For the views on the laity, see Chapter I.

⁶¹⁶ ADA IV/2, 174.

⁶¹⁷ ADA IV/2, 174.

⁶¹⁸ ADA IV/2, 174-75.

transform their adherents wherever necessary.⁶¹⁹ This call is comprehensible in light of the predominance of Islam in the multiple African countries in the north, west, and east; but also the large influence of Protestant schools and missionaries that had entered across the continent by Anglicans, methodists, Pentecostals, ... Moreover, the rise of Marxism was also spreading among some African circles (cf. the demands in Sudan).

Lovanium also favours a close relationship with the Holy See for the seminaries; not unimportant given the rise of independence movements across the continent with some African countries already having gained independence. While scholastic philosophy can still be provided in seminaries, due attention must also be given to Marxism, other modern philosophies, sciences such as cosmology or biology; literary and historical studies. Finally, the Bible should be taught at least four hours a week for five years in the African seminaries.⁶²⁰ The success of Protestant missionaries with its strong focus on the Bible can be placed in this light. Protestants had also recently been given permission to missionize in Congo.

9.7. *Gambia*

Gambia was a British colony and protectorate, and part of British West Africa, for more than a century and remained so at the verge of the Council. The majority of the country was predominantly Muslim while the Catholic bulwarks lied mainly in the west and south of the country. Since the 1931 it became a vicariate and an independent mission and since 1957 an independent diocese. In general, Catholics were a small minority. The missions were primarily led by the Spiritans since the 19th century, and Bathurst (later Banjul) was the main city where they were active and indeed where Catholicism was very strong. Only when Gambia became a vicariate, stronger efforts were done to reach out the rest of the (rural) areas. Schools had been established on a primary and secondary level, although since 1945 the British government had started to increase control over these schools. Attempts to take over secondary schools from the congregation had failed.⁶²¹

Though he does not really talk of education or formation, the Irish Spiritan Bishop Moloney of Bathurst in Gambia criticizes the fact that missionaries are oftentimes already happy with the works of charity such as schools, orphanages and hospitals, while he is of the opinion that they should instead do more to preach the Gospel to Muslims.⁶²² In a way, here is another example of someone who criticizes the fact that Catholic schools are simply not sufficient enough to convert local people (cf. Middle East, Southeast Asia).

9.8. *Cape Verde*

Cape Verde was a Portuguese overseas territory since 1951 but for long a colony. As elsewhere and typical of Portuguese colonies, Cape Verde had been transformed through Portuguese language and culture and the Catholic Church remained a collaborator with the

⁶¹⁹ ADA IV/2, 175.

⁶²⁰ ADA IV/2, 176.

⁶²¹ Henry J. Koren CSSp., *The Spiritans: A History of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost*, Duquesne Studies, Spiritan Series 1 (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1958), 521-22; Simon Kossi Dossou, "Senegal, the Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 214-24, 218.

⁶²² ADA II/5, 215.

Portuguese state. The Church's free hand to expand its educational system through the religious clergy was even further enhanced during Salazar's reign as discussed for Portugal. Public schools had been established, but prior to Vatican II, not all of the people had access as there were often too less schools in ratio to Cape Verde's population.⁶²³

The Indian Bishop Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago, born in Goa, a Portuguese stronghold, points out that the lack of decent catechesis for children and adults is because there are many different catechism formulas in various locations. Moreover, the bishop is convinced that the use of various media like newspapers, conferences, congresses, publishers and cinema can help to educate children and adults and influence non-Christians to study religion. He points out that priests within Catholic Action and lay organizations should do this work.⁶²⁴

9.9. *Mauritius*

Since the British took over from the French in the 19th century, the country changed socio-politically with many new settlers and imported forced labor (slavery) as well as increasing Anglican and Protestant churches (as elsewhere in Africa where the British ruled). In other words, Europeans, Africans, Indians and even Chinese were inhabiting the island. Therefore, Hinduism, Islam, and other forms of Asian folk beliefs were also present. Catholics were still able to maintain their presence by establishing mainly secondary schools, and the religion was adhered to by almost one third of the country and was very popular among the descendants of former slaves.⁶²⁵ The Spiritans had gained strong footage thanks to the collaboration with the local Salesian bishop and the works of the Spiritan Jacques-Désiré Laval. However, the educational mission through colleges and schools had been due to the needed finances, a lack of efficient and Catholic staff, and the tightening control of the British government for private schools to follow British established education and include English speaking staff. Besides that, the demands of the local bishop often contradicted the wishes of the Spiritans (and with them even Jesuits and Vincentians). Things turned into a better direction once the Seminary-College at Quatres Bornes could finally be established. Prior to Vatican II, there were about "seventy-five primary and secondary schools staffed by Brothers, Sisters, and approximately seven hundred and fifty devoted lay teachers."⁶²⁶

The Irish Spiritan Bishop Liston of Port-Louis points out that students who pursue their studies within seminaries or ecclesial universities should become more aware of issues like positivism, existentialism or communism that have become widespread in schools and universities. He most likely also alludes to the European ecclesiastical universities, as Mauritius did not house any university. As of the time of his writing, students were mainly trained in modern theological, philosophical, social questions – which, though very important – were not enough to deal with other issues. He also wants an increase of knowledge among the seminarians regarding modern tools and how to use them for the

⁶²³ Kossi Dossou, "Senegal, the Gambia...", 222-23; Alcides Fernandes da Moura, "The Cape Verde Education System in Social and Historical Coordinates," *Revista brasileira de história da educação* 16, no. 1 [40] (2016): 79-109, 85, 90.

⁶²⁴ ADA II/5, 229-30.

⁶²⁵ Rodney Curpanen, "Mauritius," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 94-96; Koren CSSP, *The Spiritans*, 427.

⁶²⁶ Koren CSSP, *The Spiritans*, 427-30.

pastoral work. More efforts should be done to know about technical sciences, the radio and the television in order to use them fruitfully.⁶²⁷

9.10. Kenya

Kenya had been under British control since the end of the 19th century, first as part of the East Africa protectorate and later as a colony. The 1950s had seen a rebellion and demand for independence of the Kikuyu revolutionary movement but was crushed down in 1955. Though the country was given more governmental freedom in 1958, Kenya would only truly gain independence in 1963. All across the country, an increase of Catholic mission became a fact both in Central Kenya and remote areas mainly brought in by Spiritans, Mill Hill Missionaries and Consolata Missionaries. They also established schools across the country, among other things. The training of local seminarians in Kenya gained a very slow pace however.⁶²⁸

Two Italian Consolata Missionaries and one Kiltegan Father send their wishes on education in schools and seminaries. The Italian Bishop Bessone of Meru asks to clarify the relationship between Church and state in the missions, especially to protect Catholic schools there. Rules need to be implemented regarding religious education in public schools.⁶²⁹ Bessone's demand is important, as it shows his awareness of the rising demands for independence especially after the Kikuyu movement, and the fate of Catholic schools for the future of Kenya and Africa at large.

The Italian Bishop Cavallera of Nyeri, for his part, wants to see a theological seminar for each ecclesial province in order to amplify the formation of seminarians.⁶³⁰ He also wants more clarification regarding the local clergy in the missions and their education in seminars (whether regional or parish seminars). More clarification is also needed regarding the clergy as to whether they should collaborate with foreign missionaries and/or the religious or be assigned to their own superiors and be dependent on the Ordinary.⁶³¹ Like his confrere, Cavallera already foresees the difficulties arising of a Church too much dependent on missionaries in light of rising independence, and seeks to uplift the position of the clergy to become more knowledgeable and able to lead the national Church of the future. It is clear that more efforts are needed to increase local seminarians.

Cavallera furthermore emphasizes the need for religious education in each parish under the supervision of the local Ordinary; probably to guard the content. In parallel with elementary, secondary and higher schools, the religious education should be like an "academic training", conform with the age and intellectual development of the student and taking into consideration the moral, intellectual and social problems. This also includes the topic of marital life; not unimportant given the traditions of polygamy in the wider area. Cavallera proposes, for this purpose, a commission representative for the whole church

⁶²⁷ ADA II/5, 239-40.

⁶²⁸ Hastings, *African Christianity*, 33; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 87, 92, 108, 132; Wanyiru M. Gitau, "Kenya and Tanzania," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 106-18, 107-08.

⁶²⁹ ADA II/5, 254.

⁶³⁰ ADA II/5, 260.

⁶³¹ ADA II/5, 261.

which should promulgate a “manual of popular theology” to be used for the universal church.⁶³² Legislations for Catholic schools in missions are also necessary (cf. Bessone).⁶³³ Norms regarding method, time, and form of education of the catechumens within missions should also be established.⁶³⁴ The expertise and awareness of the Comboni Missionaries in their demands on education is quite remarkable in contrast to other demands from Africa seen thus far.

Finally, the Irish Kiltegan Father and Vicar General Cullen of Eldoret is currently happy with the way educational institutions in Europe and the United States are taking care of African students in their respective schools and colleges. However, he asks that the local Ordinaries should do more effort to ensure that these institutions – at the time working each individually – are brought together into one global structure in such a way that African students can register even more easily.⁶³⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that he does not talk of increasing local schools and universities to take care of the African student population.

9.11. Nigeria

Nigeria was one of the earliest African countries in which Christianity had thrived the most since the end of the 19th century, consistent of a myriad of indigenous Black churches, Protestant and Anglican churches, and the Catholic Church. The country had followed a similar path like others in the region under British protectorate and colonial rule successively. By 1954, however, it had a larger role of self-control while full independence would follow by 1960. Catholics expanded mainly with the Irish as British Africa opened itself to Catholic missionaries in the 50s. But the country was not homogenous, with the north predominantly housing Muslims and the South housing Christians. In fact, the north had been underdeveloped at the cost of the more educated south, causing for tensions in the country. Especially the north felt a fear of losing self-governance at the cost of the south. At the same time, Catholic missions had expanded to the north, where it had not been active hitherto, and was mainly led by the SMA, Holy Ghost Fathers and later the Irish Augustinians and American Dominicans. In East Nigeria, movements had come up to nationalize the schools though that was countered by Christians in the region. In the southeast, however, the Spiritans had been very successful in the missions, especially through education since the 1920s that was funded indirectly by the British government. The best students would soon become teacher, while older teachers would expand the schooling network. Technical schools and colleges for higher studies had also been established, and teacher preparation was common. In general, Catholic bishops and congregations controlled a vast network of private Catholic schools and seminaries focused on the larger middle class of the wider society. The quality of teaching was better than other parts of Africa, though a

⁶³² ADA II/5, 261.

⁶³³ ADA II/5, 262.

⁶³⁴ ADA II/5, 261.

⁶³⁵ ADA II/5, 266.

collaboration of orders and congregations was sought after to improve the quality even more which would prove to be a difficult matter.⁶³⁶

Despite all this progress, the Irish Kiltegan Father and Bishop Moynagh of Calabar⁶³⁷ criticizes “the lack of theologians and canonical experts”, and “contemplative monasteries in which the contemplative life is introduced to Christian neophytes”.⁶³⁸ As a bishop active in the south, he is also more concerned with the missions elsewhere and one could also think of the northern part of the country. As for the Nigerian Spiritan Bishop Nwedo of Umuahia, he not only wants more clarification regarding co-education of the genders in non-Catholic schools,⁶³⁹ but also wants clear guidelines regarding the position of children in non-Catholic schools in light of increasing state-education in the regions.⁶⁴⁰ Indeed, as elsewhere, Britain had also introduced public schools in the country that also included coeducation.

9.12. Nyasaland

Nyasaland had been part of the Central African Protectorate under British rule and continued to be so under a Federation with Northern Rhodesia. Unlike other British colonies, this region continued to be strongly controlled by the white including in public education with fewer governmental freedom. Despite the bleak political outlook, Catholics continued their educational work for local people and was in line with what was described for other British African regions. The country also housed one of the few African bishops at the time.⁶⁴¹

Bishop Chitsulo of Dedza, originating from Nyasa (later Malawi), ponders whether the Church should not reconsider the age of young children with respect to their ability to reason. As of the time, this was fixed on age seven, but Chitsulo – pointing to the parallel government laws in public primary schools in which children enter from the age of six – is convinced that the Church should follow in a similar manner. Aside from this issue, he also wants the revival of the catechists. He further points to the drop-out of seminarians from major seminaries due to the issue of celibacy,⁶⁴² the latter being a major problem in other African regions as well.

9.13. Ruanda-Urundi

Ruanda-Urundi (nowadays Rwanda and Burundi), had been part of the United Nations trust territory, implying that the United Nations had an oversight in the country which was being administered by the Belgians after World War I. This meant that the Belgian government was mainly responsible to bring about societal development. In general, the government gave this development for a large part in Catholic hands, and especially for education (as in Belgian Congo for that matter) which it subsidized. The region had recently seen mass conversions during the 50s due to the large influx of white missionaries (who had been active

⁶³⁶ Hastings, *African Christianity*, 10, 12, 34; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 90, 92, 95, 108, 110; J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, “Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa,” in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 19-42, 28; Elijah Obinna, “Nigeria,” in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 189-200, 191; Koren, *The Spiritans*, 527, 531-32.

⁶³⁷ For his suggestions on the lack of educational resources in the missions, see Chapter I.

⁶³⁸ ADA II/5, 341.

⁶³⁹ See chapter I, footnote X.

⁶⁴⁰ ADA II/5, 353.

⁶⁴¹ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 89, 113-14.

⁶⁴² ADA II/5, 362.

since 1900), and mainly White Fathers. In Rwanda this was even more enhanced as the king converted. Catholic missionaries had expanded a large educational network both on primary and secondary level, and seminaries as well. In fact, it controlled for a large part the public schools and housed schools for the sons of the chiefs of the region. It also housed some of the few African bishops, with Kagame perhaps being the most famous one calling for an indigenous African Catholic Church. In Burundi, however, Catholicism had been spread more in a forceful way as the mission there had been less successful. 1954-56 also saw the forceful establishment of lay schools as demanded by the liberal-socialist government in Belgium, causing a crack for the first time in the full educational freedom that the Church had enjoyed. On the verge of the Council, independent movements especially from the Hutu Kingdom in Urundi had started to fiercely grow to the fear of the local Catholic Church.⁶⁴³

The Ruandese Bishop Ntuyahaga of Usumbura wants the religious who are not teaching in schools, to train catechists as part of the diaconate. The same applies to intelligent ex-seminarians who still want to remain at the service of the Church. Catechists should be well trained to deal with all kinds of ecclesiastic issues and might receive remuneration from the local parish. The bishop is convinced that fewer catechists, but well-educated ones, are better than multiple catechists with a weak formation.⁶⁴⁴ His call is not unimportant, since in Ruanda-Urundi and other African missions, catechesis had been and continued to be a primary way of educating the local populations mainly in religious matters. However, this form of education and formation had grown increasingly unqualified for the growing educational needs of various African regions and especially with the rise of public and private schools and universities all across the continent. Many of the catechists were still white missionaries who had grown old and whose pedagogical preparation and educational know-how had grown increasingly outdated.⁶⁴⁵ The Swiss White Father and Apostolic Vicar Perraudin of Kabgayi, also in Ruanda, also wants to restore the diaconate. One of the roles of the deacon should consist of providing catechesis.⁶⁴⁶ It shows that the region was still very much dependent on catechesis for education purposes, in line with many other (mainly rural) areas in the large continent.

9.14. Tanganyika

Being a British colony after World War I (after being a German colony first), Tanganyika followed the same development as in other British African colonies. Since the end of the 19th century, French Spiritans, White Fathers, and primarily German and Swiss Benedictines had been active in the country and expanded their network, especially schools and seminaries, as was discussed for other countries. Especially the Phelps Stokes Commission of 1923, whereby cooperation between government and missionaries was highlighted, gave a further boost to the increase and success of educational institutes. During the 50s, political independence was brewing, most notably under the prominent figure and later minister

⁶⁴³ Tharcisse Gatwa, "Rwanda and Burundi," in *Christianity in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 119-20, 123-24, 126, 129-30; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 119-31, 108, 113-14, 119.

⁶⁴⁴ ADA II/5, 426-27.

⁶⁴⁵ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 114.

⁶⁴⁶ ADA II/5, 429.

Nyerere who was a Roman Catholic and former teacher and had studied at Catholic schools and Edinburgh University. The country would reach its independence in 1961. Meanwhile, the Catholic education was quite successful in the country, and many local clergy were being actively trained, and it also housed African bishops. The country had been provided with more governmental freedom, though full independence would take place in 1961.⁶⁴⁷

The Irish Rosminian Arthurs of Tanga wanted to see a commission that revises the teaching methods in schools, especially regarding contemporary moral issues. The theory should be taught in such a way that it coincides with the practical usage and applications. Moreover, that same commission should look for a revision of teaching methods within seminaries so that students can deal with contemporary challenges.⁶⁴⁸ Of course, this would be taken up by the commission under discussion in the next chapter. It was also pointed out that he sees an increasing participation of lay in the apostolate as a solution for the decline in priests and priestly candidates as fewer priests can no longer be active in various services at the same time.⁶⁴⁹

9.15. Uganda

Uganda was part of the British protectorate and had some form of self-governing as it was never made a colony and consisted of various kingdoms. Islam was also popular in the country alongside the traditional religions. As elsewhere, the 50s saw political unrest brewing for independence mainly through the Protestant oriented kingdom of Buganda. Unlike some other parts of Africa, in Uganda Catholics and Protestants were rather hostile to each other especially in political matters that would continue all the way up to independence in 1962 and beyond. In the country, mainly the Comboni Missionaries, White Fathers, and the Mill Hill Missionaries had been active spreading various types of schools including catechist and teacher training schools, and seminaries. Women congregations were active as well, such as Missionary Sisters of Our Lady of Africa, Franciscan and Comboni Sisters. In the 50s, missions especially spread towards the north. Ugandan seminarians were actively trained, and it also had indigenous bishops.⁶⁵⁰

The Italian Comboni Missionary Cesana of Gulu (north Uganda) wants to have renewed diocesan catechisms by including the ecclesial social doctrines against communism as well as the doctrine regarding the Body of Christ in relation to the Church, the Christian individual, the life of grace and worldwide fraternity. The explanation of these doctrines should be simplified so that people can easily comprehend them. Within seminaries, the scholastic theses should be prescribed as in line with recent papal and magisterial decrees. Finally, more time should be spent on the explanation of the Catholic truth in Catholic

⁶⁴⁷ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 92, 111, 113-14; Gitau, "Kenya and Tanzania," 112-14; Christine Egger, "The Importance of Difference in the Making of Transnationality: Biographies and Networks of the Benedictine Mission in Tanganyika (1922–65)," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 25, nos. 3-4: 450-61, 460-61; Richard Hölzl, "Educating Missions. Teachers and Catechists in Southern Tanganyika, 1890s and 1940s," *Itinerario* 40, no. 3 (2016): 405-28, 407-09; Hansjörg Dilger, *Learning Morality, Inequalities, and Faith Christian and Muslim Schools in Tanzania* (Cambridge: CUP, 2021), 177.

⁶⁴⁸ ADA II/5, 484.

⁶⁴⁹ See Chapter I, X.

⁶⁵⁰ Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 88-89, 108, 111, 113-14; Nnyombi MAfr, "Uganda and South Sudan," 132-35, 139.

schools and to the Christian faithful in general.⁶⁵¹ His demand can be placed in light of the mission in north Uganda. His view on seminary training is not innovative and seeks to maintain the current Western form in Africa. As for communism, Uganda also experienced a rising popularity of socialist political parties.

The Ugandan White Father and Bishop Kiwanuka of Masaka, who was also strongly involved in political matters, mentions that he continues to recommend catechesis to the priests in his diocese, even though catechesis has become more challenging to captivate young people. Although Kiwanuka praises the work of priests and catechists, using every available method, he does come back to his fear that catechesis is simply not powerful enough for empowering the Christians.⁶⁵² Here is an example of a White Father, unlike for instance in Ruanda, who foresees that catechesis alone will no longer be sufficient to keep the laity satisfied, but he refrains from mentioning schools and universities. This silence has most likely to do with the fact that White Fathers were simply not experts in pedagogy and schools, did not have schools, and were mainly active, among other things, in providing catechesis. The other point of concern for him is to ensure that local families provide Christian education to their children. He sees a strong role for Catholic Action in this endeavor.⁶⁵³

9.16. South-Africa

Finally, South-Africa had experienced a vitality of Christianity alongside Nigeria from the end of the 19th century, home to a myriad of independent, Anglican, Protestant and Catholic churches. It housed Dutch immigrants from centuries earlier along with British and other Europeans, next to indigenous black people and a large community of Indian immigrants who had been brought in for labor (cf. Mauritius). But it was also still strongly controlled by the white British who had introduced the apartheid regime since 1948 including in education, despite being an autonomous nation. This (educational) apartheid was countered by multiple Christian leaders from all denominations. The Bantu Education Act had removed any state aid for private schools that housed black people as it demanded that all students should be educated in the white supremacist philosophies brought forward by the South African minister Verwoerd. Given the financial dire outlook, many Anglicans handed over their schools to the British government (cf. what happened in the UK after World War II) while Catholics could manage to run their schools with the support of the missions and overseas Catholics and without government interference. But while the Catholic Church could manage to maintain schools and seminaries, it also lost a significant number of secondary schools. Moreover, segregation still influenced some of these private schools in reality.⁶⁵⁴

Among the South African vota,⁶⁵⁵ Archbishop McCann of Cape Town wants clarity regarding the role of the bishop and that of the religious with respect to various matters in

⁶⁵¹ ADA II/5, 511.

⁶⁵² ADA II/5, 518-19.

⁶⁵³ ADA II/5, 519.

⁶⁵⁴ Hastings, *African Christianity*, 9, 12; Hastings, *A History of African Christianity*, 92-93, 103-04, 106-07, 136.

⁶⁵⁵ For some of the suggestions of McCann, see Chapter I.

secondary schools: the curriculum, the finances, the labor and so on.⁶⁵⁶ McCann sees religious ignorance on behalf of the faithful also as the main cause for multiple errors. He does, however, strongly oppose racism.⁶⁵⁷ The German Pallottine Bishop Hippel of Oudtshoorn seeks the establishment of new catechist schools and the installment of indigenous catechists, which might improve priestly vocations.⁶⁵⁸ Their function should be similar to the role of the lay religious brothers assisting missionaries and priests in schools.⁶⁵⁹ Clearly, his demand fits the social problems in the country and the lacking access of black people to dignified schools. The Belgian Benedictine Abbot Van Hoeck of Pietersburg points to the role of Catholic Action as participating in the apostolate to spread the Christian faith – mostly consistent of teaching, for instance through catechists and teachers of religious education in schools.⁶⁶⁰

9.17. Conclusion

Looking at the African vota, the majority of contributions come from regions under British control (Gambia, Kenya, Nigeria, Tanganyika, Uganda, Nyasaland, Mauritius, South Africa), followed by the recently independent nation states in north Africa (Egypt, Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia), and the regions under French (Mali, Niger), Belgian (Congo, Ruanda-Burundi), and Portuguese control (Cape Verde). The vota were sent mostly from urban areas, foreign religious bishops, with a majority of the cities in mission territories: the coastal city of Bathurst in the west of Gambia (Irish Spiritan), the capital city Rabat in Morocco (French Franciscan), Nyeri in the south of Kenya (Italian Consolata Missionary), Gulu in the north of Uganda (Italian Comboni Missionary), Pietersburg in South Africa (Belgian Benedictine), the capital city Niamey of Niger (French Redemptorist), the city of Coquilhatville near the Congo stream (Belgian Sacred Heart Missionary), the coastal city of Tanga in the northeast of Tanganyika (Irish Rosminian), the city of Meru in central Kenya (Italian Consolata Missionary), the capital city Khartoum of Sudan (Italian Comboni Missionary), Kabgayi in the south of Ruanda (Swiss White Father), the rural diocese of Oudtshoorn (German Pallottine), Calabar in the south of Nigeria (Irish Kiltegan Father), Eldoret in West-Kenya (Irish Kiltegan Father). One foreign bishop was secular (Carthage). Other native (religious) bishops were active in the cities of Masaka in Uganda (White Father), Alexandria in Egypt (Coptic Catholic), Rumbek (Sudan), Dedza (Nyasaland), Umuahia (Nigeria), Usumbura near Lake Tanganyika (Burundi), Santiago (Cape Verde), Port-Louis (Mauritius), and Cape Town (South Africa). From the universities, suggestions came from Lovanium, one of the few universities of the continent.

Regarding the Catholic schools, most criticism came from regions where Islam had a stronger presence in the wider society. The most critical was the Coptic Catholic Patriarch, bemoaning that the Catholic schools run by the Latin religious had failed to reach out to the poor and to the Christians in the rural areas, lacked unity, were too Western-centered, and

⁶⁵⁶ ADA II/5, 537.

⁶⁵⁷ ADA II/5, 536.

⁶⁵⁸ ADA II/5, 551.

⁶⁵⁹ ADA II/5, 552.

⁶⁶⁰ ADA II/5, 562-63.

had failed to lead to conversions (Sidarouss of Alexandria). This last criticism was also shared by the Bishop Moloney active in Gambia (Bathurst). Other criticisms pointed to Catholic schools having failed to captivate the population due to success of Islamic schools and communism (Dud of Rumbek), and in the north of Africa, more qualified clerical teachers of religion (Lefevre of Rabat) and militant religious education was needed (Perrin of Carthage). More nuanced but also asking for an enhanced religious education came from other British led regions (Cavallera of Nyeri, Cesana of Gulu, Van Hoeck of Pietersburg). In other parts of Africa, local demands were made by the bishops, such as the increase of using the Bible (Vermeiren of Coquilhatville), Catholic schools to be protected in the missions of Kenya to be comprehended against the rising independence movements as the Mau Mau recently (Bessone of Meru and Cavallera of Nyeri), more practical education (Arthurs of Tanga), the use of modern tools (Liston of Port-Louis), lowering the entrance age in primary schools (Chitsulo of Dedza), and the possibility of students to enter universities given the lack of it (Quillard of Niamey). Episcopal control over the religious education in diocesan Catholic schools was only in asked by Cavallera of Nyeri, showing thus his desire to leave matters in religious hands. In an opposite manner, from Cape Town, McCann asked for episcopal control over the religious schools and finances

As far as the public schools were concerned, the few mentioning it were rather protective, pointing to the need to enhance religious education (Bessone of Meru), and a clarity on the fate of Catholic students (Nwedo of Umuahia). Regarding the education in universities, it was asked to have a more militant Christian education (Lefevre of Rabat), a stronger focus on the Bible (Lovanium, cf. Vermeiren of Coquilhatville discussed earlier), and cultural studies (Lovanium), contemporary philosophy (Lovanium). The Irish Kiltegan Fathers, for their part, asked to further simplify access for African students in Western universities given the lack of them (Cullen of Eldoret, cf. Quillard of Niamey), or bemoaned the lack of qualified teachers (Moynagh of Calabar). One other recurrent was the demand by some to enhance the teaching on Marxism in order to counter it (Lovanium, Perrin of Carthage, Liston of Port-Louis) or simply the success of communism at the cost of Catholic education (Baroni of Khartoum). It shows the gaining popularity of the ideology in these regions, and a cause of concern by the authors of these vota.

For catechesis, some of the bishops having discussed the schools also highlight the need for catechesis in different ways. It had to be provided to all faithful (Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago, Baroni of Khartoum) after the Mass (Baroni of Khartoum). It was considered necessary (Lefevre of Rabat, Kiwanuka of Masaka), especially in urban areas (Perrin of Carthage). Catechesis had to be provided by well-educated clergy (Lovanium) or deacons (Ntuyahaga of Usumbura). In other parts, the lay catechists were favored instead (Chitsulo of Dedza, Van Hoeck of Pietersburg, Perraudin of Kabgayi, German Hippel of Oudtshoorn), but for the White Father Perraudin, these catechists had to be trained by ex-seminarians or religious (showing thus the favored role of religious) while for the Pallottine Hippel they had to be indigenous catechists to have more impact (to be comprehended in the segregation of South Africa). For this purpose, only Hippel proposed catechist schools (Oudtshoorn) while Baroni of Khartoum wanted to see national and diocesan catechist centres.

For the seminaries, one sees local demands similar to the schools discussed earlier. For instance, Perrin of Carthage again repeats militant religious education, the Lovanium the Bible and enhanced education, and Arthurs of Tanga more practical education. Other demands had to do with a stronger focus on missiology, local and non-Catholic religions for those destined in the missions (Lovanium), scholasticism (Cesana of Gulu) a clarity surrounding the future of local clergy (Cavallera of Nyeri), and the lack of pious directors (Moynagh of Calabar). Beyond the content, the Lovanium favored a stronger direction from Rome to lead the local seminaries, while Cavallera sought an increase of major seminaries in the dioceses.

From three regions, there was a problem of vocations (Chitsulo of Dedza, Arthurs of Tanga, Hippel of Oudtshoorn). The native born bishop of the first diocese saw celibacy as the major hurdle, while the foreign religious bishops of the latter two dioceses only focus on a solution: to enhance the laity (Arthurs) and to enhance indigenous catechists (Hippel). The modern tools were by some appreciated as a means for catechesis (Baroni of Khartoum, who had already engaged with catechesis in detail), for evangelism (Lefevre of Rabat, Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago). Only in Calabar, was there the problem of a lack of resources (Moynagh).

Finally singular demands had to do with revising the Index (Lovanium), the open-ended question about the future in Nyeri regarding the foreign religious control or local episcopal control (Cavallera), and the need for Catholic Action to educate families (Perraudin of Masaka) or for parents to do more (McCann of Cape Town).

In general, nothing is discussed regarding indigenous studies, while this was a major problem for the time as much of the teaching content was imported from the West and even taught in the national languages of French, English or Portuguese, while indigenous culture, history or the vernacular was completely omitted in education. Given the large control of religious clergy and the dependence of native clergy on the white missionaries, it is also interesting to note that nowhere does a religious exemption problem really recur for educational matters.

10. Oceania

10.1. Australia

Catholicism in Australia had primarily been spread through the Irish since the late 18th century, as many had been sent there into penal colonies due to their participation in the Irish rebellion against the British. Roughly two centuries later and after multiple tossing back-and-forth for fighting for the Catholic rights with the British government, on the verge of the council, Catholic education had increased across the country due to the immense work of a variety of male and female congregations, including Jesuits, Christian Brothers, Marist Brothers, and Benedictines that came from Ireland, England and France. Among the female ones, were the Sisters of Mercy, the Sisters of Charity, and the Sisters of St. Joseph. Schools, colleges, seminaries were active everywhere as much as was possible and had all been funded privately and co-existed with the governmental public schools despite many demands

to have these schools funded by the state. Catholic universities were non-existent yet. One other major problem however, as we saw with Canada, was the way in which Indigenous people were treated in the entire country including in educational matters. Most of the education was very much imported from the West and rather colonial. Relaxation towards the funding of Catholic schools would only start to take shape post Vatican II.⁶⁶¹

Bishop Farrelly of Lismore focuses on the promotion of Catholic schools to be done by local priests, as he is proud to declare that “Catholic schools are the bulwark of the faith and costs can never be too much in building them”. Finally, regarding the religious superiors in both male and female congregations, he urges them to ensure higher graduation possibilities for their members by using the “recent methods” within schools and by promoting academic laureates.⁶⁶² Bishop Lyons of Sale, for his part, bemoans the difficulties between the Bishop and the male and female religious in multiple dioceses with respect to existing institutes like schools and charity houses;⁶⁶³ an issue we saw everywhere before and which also brought difficulties in Australia.

10.2. Polynesia

A large part of Polynesia was under French protectorate influence as part of the larger French New Caledonian colony. The islands Wallis and Futuna had been missionized by the French Marist Fathers since the 19th century and they had managed to bring about large conversions among the local tribal kingdoms, mainly in Wallis and later gradually in Futuna. The Tonga Islands, for their part, were under British protection and, there, Catholicism was a minority religion with much more difficulties. Catholic private education there had to deal with strong competition from the methodists.⁶⁶⁴

Apostolic Vicar Poncet of Wallis and Futuna Islands seeks more clarification regarding the interpretation of the Bible in light of current exegetical developments so that teachers of the Bible have more clarity how to teach it within seminaries, elementary and secondary schools, catechist schools or during the sermon.⁶⁶⁵ The close proximity of protestant missionaries across Polynesia should be placed in the background. The other Apostolic Vicar Blanc of the Tonga Islands, emphasizes that catechesis in Catholic schools and parishes should continue to take place even though the Catholic teaching is increasingly pushed to the private sphere in multiple countries.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶¹ Andrew Dutney, “Australia,” in *Christianity in Oceania*, ed. Kenneth R. Ross, Katalina Tahaafe-Williams, and Todd M. Johnson, Edinburgh Companions to Global Christianity (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017), 142-43, 147; Rocio Figueroa and Philip Gibbs, “Catholics,” in *ibid.*, 195, 198-99; Thomas A. O'Donoghue, and David Byrne, “Historical Inquiry into the Construction of Religion as a School Subject Historical Inquiry into the Construction of Religion as a School Subject for Catholic Schools in Australia,” *eJournal of Catholic Education in Australasia* 1, no. 1 (2014): 2.

⁶⁶² ADA II/7, 594.

⁶⁶³ ADA II/7, 599.

⁶⁶⁴ Richard A. Davis and Marc Pohue, “French Polynesia,” in *Christianity in Oceania*, 27; Solo Tafokitau, “Tonga,” in *ibid.*, 42, 46; Nathalie Cawidrone, “New Caledonia, and Wallis and Futuna Islands,” in *ibid.*, 88-89. For an excellent overview of how the French Marists spread the mission in Polynesia, see Alois Greiler SM, ed., *Catholic Beginnings in Oceania: Marist Missionary Perspectives* (Hindmarsh: ATF Press, 2009).

⁶⁶⁵ ADA II/7, 664.

⁶⁶⁶ ADA II/7, 668.

From Western New-Guinee, an area that was under Dutch control despite multiple struggles against Australia, Germany, Britain and Japan, Dutch Apostolic Vicar and Sacred Heart Missionary Tillemans of Merauke mentions that both the Dutch Apostolic Vicar and Divine Missionary van Bekkum of Ruteng – active in Indonesia – and the Jesuit Hoffinger, director of the Institute for Missionary Apologetics – active in the Philippines – expect an adaptation of the way catechesis is taught.⁶⁶⁷

10.3. Conclusion

Within Australia, the major contribution on Catholic education came from the Australian Bishop Farrelly in the city of Lismore all the way in the east in the province of New South Wales. For him, Catholic schools were very much praised as a means for evangelization and needed to be increased. Clergy had continued to play an important teaching role there. He also favored an enhanced academical training for the religious. His colleague Lyons in the city Sale in the southern state Victoria, preferred an episcopal control over the religious. In Polynesia, the French Marist Poncet of the Wallis and Futuna Islands was clearly concerned with the more clarity on the use of the Bible in Catholic schools, seminaries, and catechesis. For the latter, clarity was asked in general (Tillemans of Merauke) while the other French Marist Blanc of the Tonga Islands wanted it to be implanted in schools.

11. Conclusion

Based on the analyses of this chapter, it becomes clear that most of the demands on education and formation were local demands made by the diocesan and religious clergy, universities and religious superiors. Taken together, however, one could find similarities all over the world. For most of these demands, it became clear that they were related to the context and/or identity of the bishop, the university or the religious congregation and order. The foci must be comprehended in this light, and this chapter shows where these demands were most needed, but also where matters were only reduced to a handful of demands. They also show the educational agenda of these authors. Some noticeable aspects is that most authors did not show a deep comprehension of the education of the laity, the future of the Catholic school or university, or the newest intellectual and pedagogical developments. Instead, most often, the demands were rather defensive, and a majority simply asked to reestablish the authority of the Catholic Church, the religious education and formation, in the educational institutes (note that we are still in a timeframe where the policies of Pius XII had a strong influence). Most complaints were related to the lack of expertise or staff to keep the religious education on a high pedestal, and the Catholic school as a bulwark against secularization and all kinds of modern deviations from the faith. In that case, Fouilloux's distinction between Roman and non-Roman vota do not really hold for educational matters, and that has perhaps also to do with the very fact that all of the Church's hierarchy had been trained and educated in seminaries and in Rome. In other words, they were more aware of the education and formation of seminarians, than that of the laity which in most areas was not yet established. This observation is also valid if one sees that most vota are more concerned with the

⁶⁶⁷ ADA II/7, 640-42.

education and formation in seminaries than in other educational institutes. For the laity, often catechesis is highlighted instead. For most part, they ought to be formed and educated rather than teach and form. Moreover, quite often, one sees a demand among the vota to ensure that the priestly training is as qualitative and advanced as the education of the laity in schools and universities. It shows that the authors of the vota are often more concerned to ensure that the future clergy and its authority should not vail to the expertise (and perhaps authority) of the laity in society. Nevertheless, there were some bishops, religious and universities which did show some expertise on the Catholic education in schools, universities and the laity, including within the didactic and pedagogical realm. This will be shown below in the schematic representation.

As far as silences are concerned, it was noticeable that most authors of the vota did not at all engage with the complex national socio-political and legislative background of Catholic education. This might lead the historian to ask whether this realm was not the expertise of most of the authors, whether they were simply not aware of these settlements, or whether they did not see it fit to engage with these matters in the vota. At most, state monopoly was condemned, or the rights of the Church and the families were highlighted both in public and private schools. This reminds one of the rather deductive approach taken by *DIM*, the most significant encyclical which many of the authors were grown up with. It also became clear that no votum discussed the fate of the indigenous in a primarily Western imported school and education system, whether in the Americas, Asia, Oceania or Africa. Nothing was also mentioned about any form of abuse scandal, but again the pertinent question comes to the fore whether these concerns were fitting for a conciliar topic. Moreover, as they were diocesan concerns, it would be remarkable that any votum would openly admit local problems and concerns. Finally, it is striking how nothing in particular is mentioned about the education of girls and women.

As discussed in the introduction, the results of this chapter necessitate a final representation in schematic form. Each heading will show the demands from the diocese or university. If a religious bishop was presiding over a diocese, the order/congregation along with the nationality will be provided in between brackets. The same holds for Eastern Catholics. Some of these religious had also resigned, which will be shown with 'Em.' prior to their name and title. The nuncios are mentioned along with the country they were active. Finally, where detailed information is necessary, this will also be provided in between brackets. For instance, where (primary) is mentioned for schools, it means that the demand was related to primary schools alone.

Catechesis

<i>Mass</i>	Nuncio Bafile of Germany (Italian), Ferentino, Massimiliani of Modigliani, Sheen of New York (Auxiliary), Garcia of Cualiacán, Palmira, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Alapatt of Trichur (Syro-Malabar), Cordeiro of Karachi, Cialeo of Multan (Italian Dominican), Guercilena of Kengtung (Italian PIME), Baroni of Khartoum (Italian Comboni)
<i>Schools</i>	Conway of Armagh (primary), Mazzocco of Adria, Massimiliani of Modigliani, Poletti of Novara, Schoiswohl of Seckau (Sunday schools), O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Oviedo y Reyes of León (public), Saboia Bandeira de Mello of Palmira, Alapatt of Trichur (Syro-Malabar), Espiga e Infante of Palawan (Spanish Augustinian Recollect) (public), Blanc of Tonga Islands (French Marist)
<i>Seminaries</i>	Weber of Strasbourg, Poletti of Novara, Lateranum
<i>Missions</i>	O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin) (to evangelize)
<i>Daily</i>	Garcia of Cualiacán
<i>To children</i>	Nuncio Marella of France (Italian), Leonetti of Ferentino
<i>To adults</i>	Mistrorigo of Treviso, Carraro of Verona, O'Hara of Philadelphia (mixed marriages and neophytes)
<i>To children and adults</i>	Castaldo of Napoli, Poletti of Novara, Pangrazio of Livorno, Lateranum, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone, Garcia of Culiacán, Alba Palacios of Antequera, Pasini of Sanyüan (Italian Capuchin), Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago, Baroni of Khartoum (Italian Comboni)
<i>To be provided by clergy</i>	Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo, Pires of Araçuaí (only religious), Gopu of Hyderabad, Lovanium (well-educated) <-> Nntuyahaga of Usumbura (deacons)
<i>Crucial</i>	Lefevre of Rabat (French Franciscan), Kiwanuka of Masaka (White Father), Perrin of Carthage (French), Poncet of Wallis and Futuna Islands (French Marist)
<i>Insufficient/to be complemented</i>	Schoiswohl of Seckau, Ursi of Nardò, Nuncio Marella of France (Italian), Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina (Italian) <-> Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Pulido Mendez Maracaibo, Tillemans of New Guinee (Dutch Divine Missionary) (clarity)
<i>Diocesan catechesis centers</i>	Mutsaerts of Den Bosch, Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin), Botero Salazar of Medellín, Zambrano Camader of Popayán, Sison of Nueva Segovia, Baroni of Khartoum (Italian Comboni)

<i>National catechesis centers</i>	Tinivella of Diano-Teggiano, Mistrorigo of Treviso, Lateranum, Farah of Cipro (Maronite), Sison of Nueva Segovia, Baroni of Khartoum (Italian Comboni)
<i>Catechist schools</i>	Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Bayet of Ubon (French MEP, but to be led by pontifical work), Maleddu of Ankang (Italian Conventualist), Hippel of Oudtshoorn (German Pallottine)
<i>Lay catechists</i>	Righi-Lambertini of Korea (Italian), Dedza, Van Hoeck of Pietersburg (Belgian Benedictine), Perraudin of Kabgayi (Swiss White Father), Hippel of Oudtshoorn (German Pallottine)
<i>Through media tools</i>	O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois
<i>Focus on oriental Christians</i>	Synyshyn of Stamford (Ukrainian Basilian, Greek-Catholic)

Education

<i>Diocesan education centers</i>	Paris Catholic Institute, Lach of Zagreb (Auxiliary)
<i>National education centers</i>	Salesiana, Principio of Loreto (Apostolic Administrator), Nuncio Dellepiane of Austria (Italian), Lacho f Zagreb (Auxiliary), Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite),
<i>Catholic Action to educate the laity</i>	Villalba of Riobamba, Perraudin of Masaka (Swiss White Father)
<i>Parents to enhance religious education to their children</i>	Doi of Tokyo, Oste of Jinzhou (Belgian Scheutist), Dillon of Shashi (American Franciscan), McCann of Cape Town, Benedictine Abbot President Riha (Austrian)
<i>Increase Catholic literature</i>	Garcia of Cualiacán, Moshi Em. Apostolic Vicar Zanzibar (Irish Spiritan)
<i>Criticism secularization in schools</i>	O'Gara of Yuanling (Canadian Passionist), Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina (Italian), Rupp (Faithful of the Eastern Rites, France)
<i>Criticism religious education worldwide</i>	Silva Santiago of Concepción (to be led by Rome)
<i>Teach Marxism / communism to counter it</i>	Lovanium, Perrin of Carthage (French), Liston of Port-Louis (Irish Spiritan), Ching Ping of Chumatien, Synyshyn of Stamford (Ukrainian Basilian, Greek-Catholic)
<i>Enhance ecumenical awareness / engage with other Christians</i>	Jaeger of Paderborn, Fribourg University, Binz of Dubuque, Schulte of Indianapolis, Rummel of New Orleans, Silva Santiago of Concepción, Pune Papal Seminary, Indonesian Episcopal Conference, van Valenberg of Borneo (Dutch)

Engage with other religions

Capuchin), Benedictine Abbot President Riha (Austrian) (especially for clergy)

Xaverian Pontifical University, Gregoriana

Catholic Schools

Enhance the education of teachers (academically)

Imberti of Vercelli, Catholic Institute Paris, Salesiana, Lateranum, Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin), Bampi Caxias do Sul (Capuchin Auxiliary), Lefevre of Rabat (French Franciscan)

Enhance religious education

South-India, Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP), Espiga e Infante of Palawan (Spanish Augustinian Recollect) (Bible), Vermeiren of Coquilhatville (Belgian Sacred Heart) (Bible), Poncet of Wallis and Futuna Island (French Marist) (Bible), Lefevre of Rabat (French Franciscan), Perrin of Carthage (French), Cavallera of Nyeri (Italian Consolata Missionary), Cesana of Gulu (Italian Comboni), Van Hoeck of Pietersburg (Belgian Benedictine), Superior Eugenio Ayape of the Augustinian Order of the Recollects (Spanish), Superior Gattuso of the Mercedarians (Italian), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian) (in maternal schools and higher education), Superior Tomek of the Piarists (Slovakian), Superior Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German), Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (Indian)

Stronger implementation of pedagogy

Imberti of Vercelli, Parente of Perugia, Salesiana, Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin), Santo Tomas University (in secondary schools)

Christian formation at the center of the studies

Imberti of Vercelli, Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Xalapa, Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande (Redemptorist), Costa of Caetité, Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo, Agagnianian of Beirut (Armenian Catholics co-signed)

Study curriculum to be contemporized

Parente of Perugia, Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Villalba of Riobamba, Muthappa of Coimbatore, Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (science)

Stronger implementation of apostolicity

Rinaldi of San Marco Argentano e Bisignano, Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian)

<i>Stronger implementation of pastoral care</i>	Rinaldi of San Marco Argentano e Bisignano
<i>Stronger implementation of sociology and psychology</i>	Salesiana
<i>Economic and political questions</i>	Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite), Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo (agriculture, business, and industry), Münster Catholic University (labor and industry)
<i>Incorporation and discussion on other religions</i>	Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP), Lanfranconi of Toungoo (Italian PIME)
<i>Criticism Western centeredness of curriculum</i>	Sidarouss of Alexandria (Coptic Catholic), Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (Indian), MEP Superior Lemaire (French) (especially in Asia)
<i>Contextual consideration</i>	Salesiana, Silva Santiago of Concepción, Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (Indian), MEP Superior Lemaire (French)
<i>Lack of poor having access / too elitist</i>	Oviedo y Reyes of León, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Pepén y Soliman Higüey, Villalba of Riobamba, Pothacamury of Bangalore, Sidarouss of Alexandria (Coptic Catholic)
<i>Lack of conversions</i>	Sundaram of Tanjore, Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP), Sidarouss of Alexandria (Coptic Catholic), Moloney of Bathurst (Irish Spiritan)
<i>Lack of Catholic students at the cost of non-Catholics</i>	Agagnianian of Beirut (Armenian Catholic), Pothacamury of Bangalore, Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP) <-> Ayoub of Aleppo (Maronite) (more Orthodox students)
<i>Increase of technical schools</i>	Sayegh of Mosul (Chaldean), Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite) (for underdeveloped nations), Gopu of Hyderabad, Arthurs of Tanga (Irish Rosminian) (more practical education)
<i>Counter secularism and communism</i>	de Arriba y Castro of Tarragona, Synyshyn of Stamford (Ukranian Basilian, Greek-Catholic) (communism), Ching Ping of Chumatien (communism), Niagara Catholic University (modern philosophy), Villalba of Riobamba, Nuncio Knox of India (Australian)
<i>Increase of schools</i>	García y García de Castro of Granada (parish schools), O'Hara of Philadelphia, Sheen of New York (Auxiliary), Botero Salazar of Medellín (primary schools), Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina (Italian) (Catholic schools worldwide), Sayegh of Mosul (Chaldean), Gopu of Hyderabad (primary schools in rural areas), Superior

<i>Episcopal control over the religious schools</i>	Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German) (children to attend schools), Superior Goison of the Sons of Charity (French) (increase of schools and associations by Catholic Action) Murphy of Shrewsbury, Cowderoy of Southwark, Restieaux of Plymouth, O'Doherty of Dromore, Hervás y Benet of Ciudad Real, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone, Imberti of Vercelli, Micci of Larino, Massimiliani of Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese, Allorio of Pavia, Principi of Loreto (Italian Apostolic Administrator), Baziak of Lwów, Wyszyński of Warsaw e Gziesno, Gopu of Hyderabad, Muthappa of Coimbatore, Obert Dinajpur (Italian PIME), Cavallera of Nyeri (Italian Consolata Missionary) (religious education in diocesan schools), McCann of Cape Town
<i>Clarity on religious schools</i>	Moro Briz of Avila, Cantero Cuadrado of Huelva, Livraghi of Veroli-Frosinone
<i>Laity to teach in schools</i>	MacDonald of Edmonton
<i>Non-Catholic teachers to teach religious education to non-Catholic students</i>	Laudadio of Galle (Italian Jesuit)
<i>Unity needed</i>	Alba Palacios of Antequera, Pothacamury of Bangalore (to be led by Rome), Sidarouss of Alexandria (Coptic Catholic)
<i>Praised for evangelization</i>	Sayegh of Mosul (Chaldean), Farrelly of Lismore <-> Dud of Rumbek (lack of it)
<i>Access abroad</i>	Descuffi of Izmir (Lazarist) (for Eastern Catholics)
<i>Protection of schools in the missions</i>	Cavallera of Nyeri (Italian Consolata Missionary), Cesana of Gulu (Italian Comboni)
<i>Lower entry age in primary schools</i>	Chitsulo of Dedza

Universities

<i>Enhancement of sacred sciences</i>	Ontario Pontifical Institute (in Canadian universities), Lefevre of Rabat (French Franciscan) (enhanced religious education)
<i>Easier access to universities</i>	Ontario Pontifical Institute (in state universities), Quillard of Niamey (French Redemptorist) (foreign universities), Cullen of Eldoret (Irish Kiltegan Father), Padiyara of Ootacamund (Syro-Malabar) (foreign universities if national Catholic universities are lacking), Indonesian Episcopal Conference (taking care of African and Asian students in European universities)

<i>Enhanced focus on ecumenism</i>	Binz of Dubuque, Fribourg University, Jaeger of Paderborn
<i>Stronger focus on pedagogy</i>	Salesiana, Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin), Escuin of Malaga (Auxiliary, new teaching methods)
<i>Stronger focus on Catholic Action</i>	Campelo de Aragão of Petrolina
<i>Stronger focus on modern philosophy</i>	Lovanium
<i>Stronger focus on cultural studies</i>	Lovanium
<i>Stronger focus on the Bible</i>	Lovanium, Vermeiren of Coquilhatville (Belgian Sacred Heart)
<i>Stronger focus on sociology of religion</i>	Catholic University of Münster
<i>Stronger focus on Latin</i>	Herrera y Oria of Malaga (including Greek), Castán Lacoma of Sigüenza-Guadalajara, Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina, Superior Constantini of the Conventual Franciscans, Superior Tomek of the Piarists, Catholic University of Washington
<i>Maintain scholasticism</i>	Čekada of Skopje, Buswell of Puebla (USA), Santo Tomas Manila, Catholic University of Niagara, Lateranum
<i>Stronger focus on labor</i>	Catholic University of Münster
<i>Catholics must enter Catholic universities</i>	Angers Catholic Institute
<i>Counter errors</i>	Campelo de Aragão of Petrolina, Ching Ping of Chumatien (Chinese bishop in exile in USA), Calewaert of Ghent
<i>Qualified teachers</i>	Bampi of Caxias do Sul (Auxiliary), Moynagh of Calabar (Irish Kiltegan Father)
<i>Enhance pastoral theology, spirituality and catechesis</i>	Silva Santiago of Concepción (in ecclesiastical universities, led by Rome)
<i>Studies on oriental Christians/non-Catholics</i>	Saint Joseph University, Ayoub of Aleppo (Maronite)
<i>Studies of other religions</i>	Jaeger of Paderborn
<i>Stricter selection of students and teachers</i>	Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande (Remptorist), Printesis (Athens, especially ecclesiastical universities)
<i>Urbaniana to lead missiology</i>	Geise of Sukabumi (Dutch Franciscan)
<i>Missiology</i>	Paulissen of Kumasi (Dutch Em., SMA), Catholic University Nijmegen, Urbaniana

<i>Christian formation to be central</i>	Hernández of Leon (Spain)
<i>Increase universities</i>	Padiyara of Ootacamund (Syro-Malabar), Catholic University Turin, Augustinian Superior Rubio (Spanish) (one universal ecclesiastical academy)
<i>Rome to increase inspection</i>	Superior O'Toole of the Holy Cross (American)

Public Schools and Universities

<i>Parents to overlook religious education</i>	Guerry of Cambrai, Imberti of Vercelli, Romero Menjibar of Jaén, Salesiana
<i>Protection of Catholic students</i>	Alba Palacios of Antequera, Nwedo of Umuahia
<i>Imbue Catholic education in public schools</i>	Oviedo y Reyes of León, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo (Italian Salesian), Bessone of Meru (Italian Consolata Missionary), Salesiana, Superior Tomek of Piarists (Slovakian)
<i>To be countered / Catholics not to enter</i>	Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina (Italian), Rupp of France (Eastern Rites), Maximos IV Saigh of Ain-Traz (Greek Melkites co-signed)
<i>To embrace public education</i>	Nuncio Marella of France (Italian), Rémond of Nice, Guerry of Cambrai
<i>Clarity asked for public schools</i>	Flusin of Saint-Claude, Fourry of Belley
<i>Imbue Catholic education in public universities</i>	Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American) (mainly in USA), Superior Tomek of Piarists (Slovakian)
<i>(Theological) chairs in state universities to be led by lay faithful</i>	Superior Tomek of Piarists (Slovakian)

Seminaries

<i>Enhancement of ascetic and spiritual formation</i>	Richaud of Bordeaux, Weber of Strasbourg, Dubois of Besançon, Addazzi of Trani e Berlatta, Toulouse Catholic Institute, Binz of Dubuque, Rummel of New Orleans, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo (Italian Salesian), Sensi of Jerusalem (Italian Apostolic Delegate), Thangalathil of Trivandrum (Syro-Malankara), De Vito of Lucknow (Italian Capuchin), Kandy Seminary, Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee (Mexican Jesuit), Arnaud of Thakhek (French MEP), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian)
<i>Enhancement of pastoral and practical theology</i>	Geeraerts of Bukavu (Apostolic Vicar Em., Belgian White Father), Suenes of Malines (Auxiliary), Catholic University of Louvain, Massimiliani of Castellammare di Stabia, Rummel of New Orleans, O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Léon, Garcia of Culiacán, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Márquez y Toriz of Puebla, Villalba of Riobamba, Botero Salazar of Medellín, Sensi of Jerusalem (Italian Apostolic Delegate), Muthappa of Coimbatore, Tharayil of Kottayam (Syro-Malabar), Hogan of Bellary (British Franciscan), Polachirakal of Tiruvalla (Syro-Malankara), Arnaud of Thakhek (French MEP), Sison of Nueva Segovia, Maleddu of Ankang (Italian Coventual Franciscan), Arthurs of Tanga (Irish Rosminian), Benedictine Abbot President Rha (Austrian), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian)
<i>Enhancement of homiletics/oral skills</i>	Weber of Strasbourg, Staunton of Ferns, Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Hogan of Bellary (British Franciscan), Muthappa of Coimbatore
<i>Enhancement of scholasticism</i>	Richaud of Bordeaux, Connolly of Seattle, Santo Tomas University, Cesana of Gulu (Italian Comboni) <-> Maximos IV Saigh of Ain-Traz (Greek Melkites), Thangalathil of Trivandrum (Syro-Malankara), Benedictine Abbot President Riha (Austrian), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian) (on contemporary philosophy)
<i>Enhancement of the Bible</i>	Herrera y Oria of Malaga, O'Connor of Springfield in Illinois, Howard of Portland (to be led by the Biblicum), Jaramillo Tobón of Jericó, Bampi of Caxias do Sul (Auxiliary, against modern interpretations), Thangalathil of Trivandrum (Syro-Malankara), Guercilena of Kengtung (Italian PIME), Espiga e Infante of Palawan (Spanish Augustinian Recollect), Lovanium, Poncet of Wallis and Futuna Islands (French Marist)

<i>Enhancement of Greek</i>	Godfrey of Westminster, O'Callaghan of Clogher <-> Benedictine Abbot President Riha (Austrian) (one Asian language, especially Russian)
<i>Enhancement of pedagogy</i>	Cardoso Cunha of Beja, Farah of Cipro (Maronite), Salesiana, Pepén y Solimano f Higuëy, Silva Santiago of Concepción
<i>Enhancement of sociology</i>	Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Farah of Cipro (Maronite), Gregoriana, Salesiana, Pepén y Soliman of Higuëy, Satowaki of Kagoshima, Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Enhancement of psychology</i>	Addazi of Trani e Berlatta, Farah of Cipro (Maronite), Salesiana, Sacro Cuore Milan, Satowaki of Kagoshima, Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Enhancement of modern disciplines</i>	Oviedo y Reyes of León, Pepén y Soliman of Higuëy, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo (Italian Salesian), Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo (economical questions on business, industry and agriculture), South India, Righi-Lambertini of Korea (Apostolic Delegate, Italian) (political studies), Bianchi of Hong Kong (Italian PIME) (labor questions), Satowaki of Kagoshima (anthropology), Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Enhancement of (religious) education</i>	Lovanium, Perrin of Carthage (French),
<i>Enhancement of the Church Fathers</i>	Maximos IV Saigh of Ain-Traz (Greek Melkites)
<i>The need for an internship</i>	Toulouse Catholic Institute, Nuncio Marella of France, Farah of Cipro (Maronite)
<i>The need for a retreat after years of ministry</i>	Hunkeler of Kansas City, Garibi y Rivera of Guadalajara, Márquez y Toriz of Puebla, Villalba of Riobamba, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Arnaud of Thakhek (French MEP), Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Bui Chu, Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian)
<i>Teachers with more expertise and academic qualifications</i>	Lyon Catholic Institute, Paris Catholic Institute, Lateranum, Wojtyła of Kraków, Santo Tomas University, Maleddu of Ankang (Italian Coventual Franciscan), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian) (especially in humanities), Superior Pensa of the Sons of Divinity (Italian)
<i>Spiritual and qualified directors</i>	Addazi of Trani e Berlatta, Maleddu of Ankang (Italian Coventual Franciscan in exile), Moynagh of Calabar (Irish Kiltegan Father), Superior Pensa of the Sons of Divinity (Italian)

<i>Stricter selection of seminarians</i>	Naples University, Zambrano Camader of Popayán, Frondosa of Capiz, Superior Pensa of the Sons of Divinity (Italian)
<i>Stronger scientific formation</i>	Lateranum, Esorto of Bahía Blanca (technology), Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American) (physics)
<i>Increase of seminaries</i>	Botero Salazar of Medellín, Santo Tomas University, Cavallera of Nyeri (Italian Consolata Missionary), Superior Comber of the Maryknoll (American) (regional above diocesan to cut down expenses).
<i>Studies on non-Catholic / Eastern Catholic Christians, or for them to study in seminaries</i>	De Bazelaire de Ruppierre of Chambéry, Nijmegen Catholic University, Co-auditor Katkoff of the Byzantine Rite (Russian Marian Father), Saint Joseph University, Ayoub of Aleppo (Maronite) (Orthodox to enter seminaries), Eastern Catholic episcopate in South India (Syro-Malabar, Syro-Malankara), van Valenberg of Borneo (Dutch Capuchin) (other Christians to enter), Indonesian Episcopal Conference (other Christians to enter)
<i>Missiology</i>	Urbaniana, Simons of Nellore (Dutch Mill Hill) (seminarians to study missiology abroad), Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP), van Valenberg of Borneo (Dutch Capuchin), Indonesian Episcopal Conference, Lovanium, Superior Pensa of the Sons of Divinity (Italian) (missionary journals)
<i>Study of other religions</i>	Gregoriana, Bazin of Rangoon (French MEP), Borneo (Dutch Capuchin), Indonesian Episcopal Conference, Lovanium
<i>Apostolate</i>	Vaz das Neves of Braga, Binz of Dubuque, Gay of Basse-Terre (French Spiritan), Villalba of Riobamba
<i>Catholic Action studies</i>	MacDonald of Edmonton
<i>Media tools studies</i>	Le Bellec of Vannes, Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Liturgical studies</i>	Polachirakal of Tiruvalla (Syro-Malankara), Guercilena of Kengtung (Italian PIME)
<i>Cultural studies</i>	Polachirakal of Tiruvalla (Syro-Malankara), Simons of Nellore (Dutch Mill Hill)
<i>National uniformity to be led by the Roman dicastery</i>	Nuncio Antoniutti of Spain (Italian), Salamanca Pontifical University, Principi of Loreto (Apostolic Administrator), Parente of Perugia, Cody of London (Canada), Pontifical Institute Ontario, O'Hara of Philadelphia, Howard of Portland, Esorto Bahía Blanca, Battú Wichrowski of Santos, Lovanium
<i>Contextual awareness</i>	Richaud of Bordeaux, Frings of Cologne, Cavallera of Nyeri (Italian Consolata Missionary) (the future of native clergy)

<i>To ensure that the education is enhanced/ runs parallel with lay education</i>	Cody of London (Canada), Pontifical Institute Ontario, Oregon, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Silva Santiago of Concepción, Santo Tomas University (state to recognize degrees), Augustinian Superior Rubio (Spanish) (seminarians to know all disciplines in accordance with canon law)
<i>International seminary</i>	Loayza Gumiel of Potósi (for Latin America) <-> Superior Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German) (more regional seminaries)
<i>Criticism of Western syllabi</i>	Arnaud Thakhek (French MEP), Phom-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu, Bianchi of Hong Kong (Italian PIME) (eastern concepts), Sophia University (Japanese literature)
<i>Clergy to teach in schools</i>	Gerlier of Lyon, Bottino of Turin (Auxiliary), Cuglieri Seminary, Lateranum, Camozzo of Pisa (only primary), Santo Tomas University, Cuglieri Seminary (only universities), Farrelly of Lismore, Ferreira da Macedo São Paulo (only religion in public schools), Martenetz of the Eastern Rites (Brazil, Ukrainian Greek-Catholic)
<i>Only religious clergy Clergy not to teach in schools</i>	Le Bellec of Vannes, Cuglieri Seminary, Lateranum Mennona of Muro Lucano, Carli of Segni, Brustia of Andria, Ursi of Nardò (deacons)

Minor Seminaries

<i>Increase scientific education</i>	Vaz das Neves of Braga
<i>Increase sacred sciences</i>	Dal Prà of Terni e Narni <-> Vaz das Neves of Braga, Cardoso Cunha of Beja, Naples University
<i>To enhance education parallel to lay education</i>	Urbaniana, Cody of London (Canada), Pontifical Institute Ontario, Howard of Portland, Santo Tomas University
<i>Teachers with academic degrees and expertise</i>	Lacho f Zagreb (auxiliary), Lateranum, Silva Santiago of Concepción, Santo Tomas University
<i>Increase of minor seminaries</i>	Casullo of Nusco, Wyszyński of Warsaw and Gziesno, Santo Tomas University (state to recognize degrees), Superior Comber of the Maryknoll (American) (regional above diocesan to cut down expenses)

Crisis of Vocations

<i>Local problems</i>	Carli of Segni, Brustia of Andria, MacDonald of Edmonton, Binz of Dubuque, Rummel of New Orleans, Villalba of Riobamba, Silva Santiago of Concepción, Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande (Redemptorist), Bampi of Caxias do Sul (Auxiliary), Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin), Loayza Gumiel of Potosí, Gerlier of Lyon (urban), Toulouse Catholic Institute (some French areas), Feuga and D'Souza of Mysore (French MEP with native auxiliary), Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee (Mexican Jesuit), Southeast Asia (Siam, Laos, Vietnam), Maleddu of Ankang (Italian Conventual Franciscan in exile), Oste Jinzhou (Belgian Scheutist in exile), Chitsulo of Dedza, Arthurs of Tanga (Irish Rosminian), Hippel of Oudtshoorn (German Pallottine), Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Cause: lack of scholasticism</i>	Bampi of Caxias do Sul (Auxiliary)
<i>Solution 1: Increase (minor) seminaries</i>	Villalba of Riobamba, Silva Santiago of Concepción <-> Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande (Redemptorist) (difficult to maintain)
<i>Solution 2: Increase practical skills in seminaries</i>	Oste of Jinzhou (Belgian Scheutist)
<i>Solution 3: Import foreign clergy</i>	Villalba of Riobamba
<i>Solution 4: Increase mission</i>	Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin)
<i>Solution 5: Enhance religious education in schools</i>	Superior Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German)
<i>Solution 6: Decrease study time in seminaries</i>	Loayza Gumiel of Potosí, Superior Comber of the Maryknoll (American) (especially neophytes)
<i>Solution 7: Increase of scientific and modern disciplines in seminaries</i>	Superior O'Toole of the Holy Cross (American)
<i>Solution 8: Clergy to travel across dioceses</i>	Toulouse Catholic Institute, Gerlier of Lyon
<i>Solution 9: Rome to take control and bring solutions</i>	Silva Santiago of Concepción

<i>Solution 10: Increase apostolic/spiritual schools</i>	Feuga and D'Souza Mysore (French MEP along with native auxiliary), Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee (Mexican Jesuit), Superior Comber of the Maryknoll (American) (pre-seminary courses)
<i>Solution 11: laity/lay catechists to take over tasks of clergy and/or missionaries</i>	Arnaud of Thakhek (French MEP), Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Bù Chu, Falière of Mandalay (French MEP), Lanfranconi of Toungoo (Italian PIME), Carretto of Rajaburi (Italian Salesian), Bayet of Ubon (French MEP), Schneiders of Makassar (Dutch Scheutist), Oste of Jinzhou (Belgian Scheutist in exile), Arthurs of Tanga (Irish Rosminian), Hippel of Oudtshoorn (German Pallottine), Obert of East-Pakistan (Italian Internuncio), South India

The Church and the State

<i>Cooperation Church and state</i>	Nuncio Marella of France (Italian), Nice (Rémond), Cambrai (Guerry)
<i>Clarity on the rights of education</i>	Flusin of Saint-Claude, Fourry of Belley, Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite)
<i>Contextual awareness and complexity of education across the globe</i>	Salesiana, Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite)
<i>Against state monopoly / favoring freedom of education</i>	De Jonghe D'Ardoye of Egypt (Belgian MEP Em.), Salesiana, Shvoy of Székesfehérvár, Alba Palacios of Antequera, Superior Tomek of Piarists (Slovakian)
<i>State to build schools and pay teachers</i>	Moshi (Em. Irish Spiritan Zanzibar)
<i>Catholic organizations to influence state regulations and work on an (inter)national level</i>	Salesiana, Imberti of Vercelli
<i>Criticism on paying taxes without state support for Catholic schools</i>	Binz of Dubuque, Superior Tomek of Piarists (Slovakian)
<i>To legally ensure religious education in all primary schools and higher education</i>	Superior Eugenio Ayape of the Augustinian Order of the Recollects (Spanish)
<i>Catholic to increase primary schools and higher education institutes in non-Catholic countries</i>	Superior Eugenio Ayape of the Augustinian Order of the Recollects (Spanish)
<i>Take care of Irish immigrants in England's Catholic education</i>	Superior Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German)

Missions

<i>Increase Catholic educational institutes</i>	Urbaniana, Guffens of Koango o Kwango (Belgian Jesuit Apostolic Vicar Em.), Superior O'Toole of the Congregation of the Holy Cross (American) (especially higher education)
<i>Increase education and leadership of natives</i>	Guffens of Koango o Kwango (Belgian Jesuit Apostolic Vicar Em.), Paulissen of Kumasi (Em. Dutch SMA), Urbaniana
<i>Enhanced study curriculum based on local demands such as ethnology, comparative religions</i>	Urbaniana, Nijmegen Catholic University
<i>Increase of local literature and media tools</i>	Moshi of Zanzibar (Em. Apostolic Vicar Irish Spiritan)
<i>Schools to increase catechist vocations</i>	Feuga and D'Souza of Mysore (French MEP with Auxiliary), Padiyara of Ootacamund (Syro-Malabar)

Religious

<i>Enhance education and formation</i>	Villalba of Riobamba, Méouchi of Bkerke (Maronite) (open-ended question), Frondosa of Capiz, Farrelly of Lismore, Salesian Superior Zaggiotti (Italian)
<i>Increase needed for the apostolate</i>	Botero Salazar of Medellín
<i>To reappropriate the original goals of the order</i>	Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Bùì Chu, Ching Ping of Chumatien (in exile), cf. table on Catholic schools (Poor at the cost of rich)
<i>Episcopal control in general</i>	Botero Salazar of Medellín, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Pires of Araçuaí, Sayegh of Mosul (Latin-rite for protection), Doi of Tokyo, Lyons of Sale
<i>Episcopal control in schools</i>	Cf. table on Catholic schools
<i>Episcopal control in seminaries</i>	Battù Wichrowski of Santos (minor seminaries), Silva Santiago of Concepción, Jaramillo Tonón of Jericó, Zambrano Camader of Popayán
<i>Episcopal control in missions</i>	Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Spanish Capuchin) (with Rome)
<i>The right to establish apostolic schools</i>	Superior Saverese of the Minims (Italian)
<i>Cooperation with diocesan clergy</i>	Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (Indian)

Religious Sisters

<i>To enhance educational activity</i>	Tinivella of Diano-Teggiano, Oviedo y Reyes of León en Nicaragua (in schools) <-> Cuglieri Seminary, Marianum
<i>To enhance their education and formation</i>	Schulte of Indianapolis, de la Torre of Quito (Jesuit), Sensi of Jerusalem (Italian Apostolic Delegate) (for religious education), Obert of East-Pakistan (Italian)
<i>To be praised for the work and to enhance their vocations</i>	Pham-Ngoc-Chi of Búi Chu

Media Tools

<i>For education and evangelization</i>	Herrera y Oria of Malaga, Le Bellec of Vannes, Bagnoli of Fiesole, De Giuli of Albenga, Mazzocco of Adria, Livraghi of Veroli e Frosione, Lateranum, Urbaniana, Salesiana, Cuglieri Seminary, Marianum, Oviedo y Reyes of León en Nicaragua, Pittini Piussi of Santo Domingo (Italian Salesian), Villalba of Riobamba, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Muniz of Barra do Rio Grande (Redemptorist), Bianchi of Hong Kong (Italian PIME), Baroni of Khartoum (Italian Comboni), Lefevre of Rabat (French Franciscan), Do Carmo Colaço of Santiago, Moynagh of Calabar (Irish Kiltegan Father), Liston of Port-Louis (Irish Spiritan), Superior Savarese of the Minims (Italian), Superior Tomek of the Piarists (Slovakian), Superior Schweizer of the Salvatorians (German)
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CHAPTER III

THE WORK OF THE *COMMISSIO PRAEPARATORIA* *DE STUDIIS ET SEMINARIIS*

Schematic representation of the preparatory drafts of the schemata and the timing

	<i>De Scholis Catholicis</i> <i>R: Suárez Díez SchP C-R: Stickler SDB</i>	<i>De Universitatibus Catholicis et Ecclesiasticis</i> <i>(i) De Universitatibus Ecclesiasticis R: Muñoz Vega SJ, C-R: Sticker SDB</i> <i>(ii) De Universitatibus Catholicis R: Blanchet C-R: Vito</i>	<i>De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium in tradendis Disciplinis Sacris</i> <i>(i) Notae fundamentalis R: Dezza SJ, Masi C-R: Combes</i> <i>(ii) De ratione docendi S. Scripturam R: Jacono, C-R: Spadafora, Herlihy</i> <i>(iii) De Doctrina S. Thomae servanda R: Fabro, C-R: Combes</i>
<i>February 1961</i>	Draft 1 (i)		
<i>March 1961</i>	Draft 1		Draft 1 (ii)
<i>April 1961</i>	Drafts 2-3 (i)		
<i>May 1961</i>		Draft 4 (i)	Draft 1 (iii) Draft 2 (ii)
<i>June 1961</i>			Draft 3 (ii)
<i>July 1961</i>		Draft 1 (ii) Draft 5 (i)	Draft 2 (iii)
<i>September 1961</i>		Draft 6 (i) Final	Draft 1 (i)
<i>October 1961</i>	Draft 2	Draft 2 (ii)	

<i>November 1961</i>	Draft 3		Draft 4 (ii) Final
<i>December 1961</i>		Draft 3 (ii) Final	Draft 2 (i) Draft 3 (iii)
<i>January 1962</i>	Draft 4	<i>Final drafts sent to CPC</i>	
<i>February 1962</i>		CPC Meeting	
<i>March 1962</i>	Draft 5 Final	<i>Final drafts reworked</i>	Draft 3 (i) Draft 4 (iii) Final
<i>April 1962</i>			Draft 4 (i) Final
<i>May 1962</i>		<i>Final drafts sent to CPC</i>	
<i>June 1962</i>		CPC Meeting	
<i>July 1962</i>		<i>Final drafts reworked</i>	

* *R = Relator(s); C-R = Co-relator; CPC = Central Preparatory Commission*

On June 5, 1960, the pre-preparatory phase was officially closed with the publication of the *Motu proprio Superno Dei* by Pope John XXIII. About a month later, on July 2, the Preparatory Commission *De studiis et seminariis* received the information to deal with the matter related to the obedience to the Magisterial authority, the Scripture, the position of Thomas Aquinas, Catholic schools and universities.¹ The CPC asked the Preparatory Commission for the Studies and the Seminaries to reflect on the following related topics assembled in questionnaires:² (i) regarding studies, ecclesiastical studies and the classics, and philosophy and theology in the Catholic universities and faculties; concerning educational questions, the need to extend the curriculum in secondary schools and universities; the criteria to distinguish between the seminary and the university curriculum; the educational level required in order to obtain an academic degree in ecclesiastical sciences;³ (ii) regarding Catholic Schools, the right of the Church to establish educational institutes, the right of the parents to choose the school for their children, the duties of the state to offer the necessary support, the organization of the religious and scientific formation of the students.⁴ Alongside these questionnaires, two more documents appeared. The first one was concerned with the universities and focused on four points of interest: (i) the universal importance of universities for the promotion of higher studies among Catholics and for imbuing the Christian principles into the entire culture; (ii) the promotion of the scientific vigor in Catholic universities and to elevate respect for these universities; (iii) the important place of the faculty of theology within Catholic universities; (iv) the cooperation

¹ As discussed in the introduction, the commission was also asked to deal with the education and formation of seminarians, along with Latin as well, which are not covered in this chapter.

² Busta 1155. Cf. Fusi *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 24; Alberigo, 201-04, Sinistrero, *Il Vaticano II e l'educazione*, 34.

³ Busta 1155.

⁴ Busta 1155.

of the universities with the Magisterial authority, including the mutual exchange of teaching, works, academic acts, publications, and dissertations.⁵

These lists were received by the head of the commission, Cardinal Giuseppe Pizzardo, and the secretary, the Benedictine monk Paul Augustin Mayer, rector of the Sant'Anselmo University. The lists were to be placed in light of some of the already existing papal documents on education and formation.⁶ In total, the commission would come up with six schemata during the Preparatory Period, to be presented at the meetings of the Central Preparatory Commission, on February 20-27 (fourth session) and June 12-20, 1962 (seventh session) respectively, but for the purposes of this dissertation, four are discussed: the decree on the academic studies at Catholic universities, the ecclesiastical universities, the constitution on Catholic schools, and the schema on the obedience to the Magisterial authority (that incorporated sections on the Scripture and Thomas Aquinas).⁷ By the end of the preparatory period, however, the schemata on Catholic school, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities were incorporated into one preparatory constitution on Catholic schools and academic studies. The schema on the obedience would never reach the conciliar floor, as it was decided that the theological commission would take charge over the schema. However, it would never do anything substantial with the schema in the aftermath.⁸

Somewhere at the beginning of August 1960, Pericle Felici sent a letter to Pizzardo stating that the first and third volume of the *Acta et Documenta apparando* containing all the desires of some of the European bishops and the sacred congregations will be sent as soon as possible.⁹ On August 11, the CPC through Felici confirmed the choice of Giuseppe Baldanza who had been selected by Pizzardo as writer-archivist for his commission.¹⁰ On August 23, the Secretariat of State sent the elenchus of the members and consultants to the commission. Most members were invited shortly thereafter as the first letters of gratitude arrived at the commission on September 3. By then, the CPC had also sent the second volume of the *Acta et Documenta* that contained the rest of the European vota.¹¹ On September 23, 1960, Pizzardo sent a letter to the various nuncios and apostolic delegates of the respective countries from which the members and consultants were to be appointed, telling them about the related appointments. An oath (giuramento) was attached in which the appointed members and consultants had to accept their task, swear secrecy, and the rejection of any gifts. Future appointments had to be followed in a similar way.¹² While many members and consultants would be appointed, not all would come to play a significant role during the

⁵ See also Busta 1132.

⁶ Multiple are mentioned: Leo XIII, *Aeterni Patris* (1879), *Fin dal Principio* (1902); Pius X, *E supremi* (1903), *Pieni l'animo* (1906), *Haerent animo* (1908); Benedict XV, *Spiritus Paraclitus* (1920), *Vixdum haec sacra congregatio* (1921); Pius XI, *I Romani Pontefici* (1928), *Quam ingens ecclesiae* (1930), *In conventu plenario* (1935), *Ad catholici sacerdotii* (1935); Pius XII, *Nell'opera* (1945), *Menti nostrae* (1950), *En quelques diocèses de France* (1953), *Sacra virginitas* (1954), *Magna equidem* (1955); John XXIII, *Sacerdotii Nostri primordia* (1959), *De aliquibus formationis ecclesiasticae quaestionibus* (1959 and 1960).

⁷ See Alberigo and Komonchak, *History of Vatican II*, Vol. I, 189-92; Fusi *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 24-6; ADA II/1, 147-52, 412-13; ADA II/2, 738-862; ADA II/3 71-188; ADA II/4, 24-220.

⁸ Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 26-7.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Baldanza would effectively start working on September 28, 1960. See the letter of Mayer to Sergio Querri, secretary of the administrative Secretariat during the preparatory period, in busta 1132.

¹¹ Busta 1132, 1152.

¹² Busta 1132.

various sessions in which the relevant schemata for this chapter would be discussed. However, in order to comprehend the foci of the members and consultants who did contribute significantly – also because of the ecclesial and national contexts – it is important to provide an overview including when they were invited and followed by some short biographical data that relate to the educational career as mainly provided in the buste.

1. Members of the Preparatory Commission

In general, almost of all the thirty-eight members of the commission originated in Europe.¹³ From the total of eighteen bishops, fourteen were European, two American, one Indian, and one Chilean (the latter actually worked his whole career in Italy). From the fourteen European bishops, six were Italian, four French, one Spanish, one Portuguese, one German and one Swiss. Clearly the Italians had the overhand. Moreover, all the bishops with the exception of the Swiss and German one, were from South Europe and Romance speaking countries. From these European bishops, two were religious: one Salesian (Spanish), and one from the Congregation of Saint Nicolas and Bernard de Montjoux (Swiss). The Indian bishop was from the Syro-Malabar rite. Along with the bishops, twenty other priests and religious (some of whom would later become bishop as well) – all of whom had different positions – were appointed as members. From these twenty, eighteen were European, one was from the USA, and one from Ecuador. Among the eighteen Europeans, thirteen were Italian, two French, one was Spanish, one German (BRD), and one Austrian. From the all the priests, seven were religious: two Jesuits (one Italian, one Ecuadorian), one Capuchin (Italian), one Stigmatine (Italian), one Servite (Italian), one Dominican (French), and one Salesian (Austrian). However, it should be noted that the Ecuadorian and the Austrian also lived and worked in Rome. Thus, only the two Americans and the one Indian member – three bishops – were required and able to travel to Rome from outside Europe.

Given these statistics, the overall commission was very Western and Roman centered, and the Italians were predominant (almost 50% of the total members). Moreover, when talking of Western centeredness, it also implies the ‘free world’ westwards (and mainly southwards). For instance, there are no Oceanic members representative. In general, African, East-European, Middle Eastern and the vast majority of Asian contributors are not representative at all. Even the ones from Latin America, in fact lived in Rome. What follows is an overview of those members and consultants that contributed more or less significantly on the schemata under consideration.

1.1. *Episcopal members: an overview*

With respect to the Italians bishops, Bishop Giuseppe Carraro of Verona (°1899), appointed on August 23, 1960, had previously studied natural sciences at the university of Padova and was rector of the seminary of Treviso from 1944-52. Multiple ascetic works regarding the

¹³ It is unclear why other literature provides different statistics. For instance, Alberto Melloni, ed., *Vatican II: The Complete History* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2015), 70, only mentions 37 members omitting the name of Bishop Keller. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 22-23, for his part, mentions 39 members. However, a bit further, he only provides 31 names leaving out Ferreira Gomes, Girard, Jedin, Marty, Jancono, Bertoglio and Lane.

cross, prayer and other topics came from his hand.¹⁴ Auxiliary Bishop Paolo Savino of Naples (°1894), appointed on November 20, 1960, held degrees in philosophy, theology, and law from the Sacred Heart University of Milan, canon law from the Lateranum and in diplomatic studies from the Papal Ecclesial Academy of Rome. He was a professor of church diplomacy, was presided over the Papal Ecclesial Academy, and consultor at the Congregation of the Rites.¹⁵ Auxiliary Bishop Giovanni Colombo of Milan (°1902), appointed on the same date, had obtained degrees in theology and the arts from the Theological Faculty of Milan and the Sacro Cuore respectively. At the time of his appointment, he was the head of various seminaries in Milan (including the theological seminary) and was active as professor in the regional seminaries and at Sacro Cuore. He published books and articles regarding the religious aspects of contemporary literature and also on spiritual theology and the history of the seminary life.¹⁶ Francesco Bertoglio (°1923), appointed on February 21, 1961, was a canon of St Peter's Basilica, had received a licentiate from the Gregoriana and was already twenty-seven years rector of the Papal seminary of Ambrosius and Carolus de Urbe in Lombardy.¹⁷ Bishop Vincenzo M. Jacono (°1898), appointed on the same date, held a doctoral degree in theology and Biblical sciences from the Biblicum. For many years (1924-52), he gave lectures in seminaries.¹⁸

As for the French bishops, Archbishop Louis-Marie-Fernand de Bazelaire de Ruppierre of Chambéry (°1893) was appointed as member immediately at the start. He held a licentiate of philosophy and a doctoral degree from the Catholic University of Paris and the Angelicum. Between 1920-47, he was superior of, and professor at, the major seminary of Nancy. His publications involved the laity in the Church.¹⁹ Émile Arsène Blanchet (°1886) who acted as Bishop over Saint-Dié from 1940-46 was the rector of the Catholic University of Paris from 1946 onwards and got appointed as preparatory member on October 10, 1960. He obtained a licentiate in philosophy in the St Joseph Institute and an honorary doctoral degree from Laval.²⁰ Bishop Roger A.M. Johan of Agen (°1902) became member from October 10, 1960, as well. He was held a doctoral degree in philosophy and theology from the Gregoriana, and other degrees in philosophy and arts from the University of Caen. He presided over the local minor seminary and taught there as well. He published multiple works on theology, spirituality and philosophy.²¹ Finally, Archbishop François Marty of Reims (°1904) initially acted as consultor in the commission from September 1960 onwards but would be elevated to full member later in January 1961. He held a doctoral degree in theology and studied at the Catholic Institute of Toulouse.²²

The Spanish Archbishop Marcelino Olaechea Loizaga SDB of Valencia (°1889), member from the start, was the provincial of the Salesian congregation and apostolic

¹⁴ Busta 1107.

¹⁵ Busta 1109.

¹⁶ Busta 1107.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Busta 1108.

¹⁹ Busta 1107.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Busta 1108.

²² Busta 1109.

visitor of the Spanish seminaries. He received his formation by the Salesians and had studied sociology in Léon, Spain.²³ The Swiss Bishop François Nestor Adam of Sion (°1903) was also member since the start and belonged to the Congregation of Saint Nicolas and Bernard de Montjoux. His expertise lied in canon law which had studied in Turin.²⁴ Finally, the Portuguese Bishop António Ferreira Gomes of Porto (°1906), who would become a member on October 24, 1960. He held degrees in philosophy and theology from the Gregoriana.²⁵ In other words, many episcopal members that had been elevated to the title of (arch)bishop all had a long educational curriculum with links to Roman institutes.

1.2. Priestly and religious members: an overview

Starting with the Italian members active in the discussions of the schemata under discussion, five became member of the Preparatory Commission from the beginning on August 23, 1960. Andreas Combes (°1899) studied at the Catholic universities of Toulouse and Paris, the Sorbonne, and the EPHE. He held a licentiate in classics, and a laureate in theology. At the time of the Council, he was professor at the Lateranum and director of research at the CNRS in France. In general, he published multiple works on Gerson, de Montreuil, and Ruusbroec.²⁶ Paolo Dezza SJ (°1901) studied philosophy in Spain and theology in Innsbruck and Naples and held a laureate of both disciplines. From 1941-51, he was the rector of the Gregoriana and had published multiple works on neo-Thomism.²⁷ Gabriele Roschini OSM (°1900) studied philosophy at the St. Alexis Falconieri International College and theology at the Urbana and held doctoral degrees in both disciplines. During the preparatory period, he was active at the Holy Office, member of the Congregation for the Religious (mainly regarding formation), and consultor at the Congregation of the Rites. Moreover, he was a member of the Papal Roman Theological Academy, vice president of the Papal Academy of the Immaculate Conception and a member of the Papal Commission of St Thomas of Aquinas. He was also a president of the theological faculty of the Marianum, and founder and director of the journal Marianum. He published multiple works, mainly on Mariology.²⁸

Hilarino da Milano (Alfredo Marchesi) OFMCap (°1905) held a doctoral degree in theology from the Sacro Cuore in Milan, and another one in historical sciences from KU Leuven. He was a professor at the Urbaniana and in Perugia and was Apostolic Preacher of the pontifical house. He was very well versed in the Middle Ages and published multiple works on heresies and booklets regarding mass devotion.²⁹ Finally, Pier Carlo Landucci (°1900) was a civil engineer, and a doctor in philosophy (1927) and theology (1930). He was the dean of the Papal Roman Minor Seminary, spiritual director of the major seminary, canon of Saint John of Lateranum, member of the Papal Roman Theological Commission, consultor of the parallel Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, and Prelate of

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Busta 1107.

²⁵ Busta 1108.

²⁶ Busta 1107.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Busta 1109.

²⁹ Busta 1108

Honor. He had published books regarding seminary formation, vocation, the sacraments and the modern life.³⁰

Four days later on August 27, Cornelio Fabro CSS (°1911) became a member. He obtained a doctoral degree in philosophy from the Lateranum (1931) and theology from the Angelicum (1937). From 1940-46, he held a position as professor in the Urbaniana and was a director of the institute *De atheismo*. He published multiple works on Kierkegaard, Marx, Hegel and Aquinas.³¹ More members were appointed on November 20, 1960. Roberto Masi (°1914) held degrees in theology, philosophy and physics, domains in which he published multiple works. He was a dean of the Papal Roman Seminary for law studies, and professor of theology in both the Lateranum and the Urbaniana. Furthermore, he was a corresponding member of the Papal Roman Theological Academy.³² Plinio Pascoli was a rector of the Papal Major Seminary of Rome.³³ Francesco Spadafora (° 1913) studied at the regional seminary of Catanzaro, got a licentiate in theology from S. Luigi in Napoli (1936) and a doctoral degree in Biblical studies from the Biblicum (1938). He was a professor of Biblical Hebrew and Greek at the Lateranum from 1956 onwards and in 1960 also of Biblical exegesis. Moreover, he was a teacher of the Bible, Hebrew and Greek at the Seminary of Benevento. In between 1950-60, he taught exegesis at the Marianum and the international Calasanctianum. He published multiple books such as on eschatology, and articles in a variety of journals like *Rivista Biblica*.³⁴

Within nine days, the last two Italian consultants joined. On November 25, Vincenzo Faraoni (°1905) joined. He held degrees in theology, civil and canon law from the Lateranum. He was a professor at the Regional Seminary of Fano and episcopal delegate of Catholic Action of the diocese of Camagoli. His published works focused on the priesthood, the apostolate, and the eucharist.³⁵ Finally, Rudolph G. Bandas (°1921), though being asked to be a consultant on October 10, would become member on November 29. He held a doctoral degree in theology from Louvain and one of philosophy from the Angelicum. He was a magister as well with knowledge of Slavic, German, and Italian. He was a former president of the Major Seminary Saint Paul (USA), a member of the Papal Theological Academy, and guest professor at the Lateranum. Various works from his hand were translated in multiple languages, especially his book *Confraternity and Catechetical Methods* (Japanese, Italian, Spanish, French).³⁶

As for the two French religious members, one was appointed from the beginning, and another one not much later on October 24, 1960. The first one, Benoît Lavaud OP (°1890), held a doctoral degree in philosophy from the Angelicum, was lector and later teacher in theology. He first taught at the seminary of La Rochelle (1920-24), afterwards in the theological college of Saint Maxime (1925-30) being recently admitted to the Dominicans, then the University of Fribourg (1930-43), the Catholic Institute of Toulouse (1954-55), and

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

³² Busta 1109

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Busta 1108.

³⁶ Busta 1107.

finally at the Angelicum (1954-60). He published multiple works among others on Thomas of Aquinas, the modern world and the Christian marriage.³⁷ The other Frenchman, Pierre Girard (°1892), was appointed Superior of the Sulpicians in 1952 and kept this position while the Council started. He had studied civil law in Clermont and Dijon, philosophy and theology in the major seminary of Clermont and in the Angelicum and held a licentiate in theology. He was professor emeritus of the theological faculty of Lyon and held multiple positions between 1930-52. Up until 1934, he was the dean of philosophy, and afterwards theology professor at the University of Lyon. From 1945-52, he was the dean of the diocesan St Irenée seminary.³⁸

The Austrian Alfons Maria Stickler SDB (°1910) was a member from the beginning on August 23, 1960. He studied theology at Benediktbeuern and Torino and studied canon law in the Lateranum (1936-40). He was a professor of canon law and history of canon law at the Salesiana. He had been dean there in the attached pontifical faculty of Latinity (1954-58) and at the start of the commission he was a rector of this university (1958 onwards). Moreover, he was a member of the Pontifical Committee for Historical Sciences during the preparatory period and was, among other things, publisher of *Historia Iuris Canonici Latina*. I. *Historia Fontium*.³⁹ Finally, Paolo Muñoz Vega SJ (°1903) from Ecuador was also a member from the beginning. He held degrees in philosophy from the Jesuit Colegio Maximo, and theology from the Gregoriana. He was professor at the latter (1937-49), head of the Jesuits in Ecuador (1949-55), dean of the Papal College of Latin America (1955-57), and rector of the Gregoriana from 1957 onwards, a position he retained while the commission held its meetings. He published works, the majority on Augustine but also on Church and state and other topics.⁴⁰

For a schematic representation of the members involved in the schemata under discussion, including the dates of appointment:

<i>Date</i>	<i>(Arch)bishops</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Religious</i>
<i>August 23, 1960</i>	Olaechea Loizaga, Blanchet, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Adam, Carraro, Johan	Landucci, Combes	Lavaud OP, Hilarino da Milano OFM Cap, Roschini OSM, Dezza SJ, Muñoz Vega SJ, Fabro CSS, Stickler SDB
<i>October 24, 1960</i>	Ferreira Gomes		Girard PSS
<i>November 20, 1960</i>	Savino, Colombo	Pascoli, Faraoni, Masi, Spadafora	
<i>November 29, 1960</i>	Bandas (shifted from consultor)		

³⁷ Busta 1109.

³⁸ Busta 1108.

³⁹ Busta 1109. Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 29 (footnote 34).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

February 8, 1961	Marty
February 21, 1961	Bertoglio

1.3. *The consultors: an overview*

In total, there were thirty-four consultors though two would soon after the start of the preparatory period be upgraded to member as already discussed above: the Italians Bandas and Angioni.⁴¹ The list of consultors followed a similar pattern as the members: the majority were Italians while the outlook was still Western-centered. However, the balance had now favored more input from Northwestern priests in comparison to the predominant Southwestern input of the members and had expanded into Central and Latin America. The list is as follows: thirteen Italians (of which two would shift to member), four French, four West-Germans (BRD), four Spanish, two Americans, one Irish (but actually living and working in the USA), one Austrian, one Belgian, one East-German (DDR), one Guatemalan, one Chilean, and one Mexican. It should be noted that some of the non-Italian consultors actually lived and resided in Rome. Moreover, the Belgian had been active in Congo, while one of the Italians lived and worked in Jerusalem. From the thirty-four consultors, eight are religious: four Jesuits (two French, one Belgian, one Guatemalan), two Dominicans (one French, one Spanish), one Capuchin (Italian), one Piarist (Italian), and one Oratorian (French). From the total of consultors, all were priests or bishops, while only one was a lay person: Francesco Vito, rector of the Sacro Cuore. Just like with the members, some consultors were appointed from the beginning while others joined later in 1960 and 1961. In general, consultors were not required to be physically present at the Preparatory Commission and could thus send their remarks from abroad. Indeed, unlike the members whose travel and accommodations costs were most often provided for, consultors had to pay their own expenses. In other words, consultors residing outside Italy would have less impact during the various preparatory discussions.

Not all have significantly contributed to the schemata under discussion, and thus the most important are highlighted. As for the Italian consultors, Archbishop Egidio Bignamini of Ancona (° 1887) appointed from the beginning, studied at the seminary of Milan and had been a spiritual moderator in the convict of the Brothers of the Christian schools (1910-30). He published multiple works on spirituality.⁴² Archbishop Giuseppe Amici of Modena (°1901), appointed October 3, 1960, was a specialist regarding Catholic schools and therefore asked to send his remarks on multiple occasions.⁴³ On November 20, 1960, Francesco Vito (°1902) as the only lay person and rector of the Sacro Cuore, was appointed

⁴¹ Again, statistics differ. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 22-23, refers to 38 consultors but later he only names 25. In this respect, he leaves out De Luca, Perini, D'Avack, Geyer, Bettazzi, Suárez Diéz SchP, Pitton, Albereda Herrera OD and Kleinedam. Melloni, *Vatican II*, 70, lists 32 consultors, leaving out Bandas and Angioni who were initially acting as consultor but after two (Bandas) and three (Angioni) months would be uplifted to member.

⁴² Busta 1110.

⁴³ Ibid.

and asked for his expertise on Catholic universities. Along with being rector, Vito was an ordinarius of political economy and director of the Institute of Economic Sciences. He taught in multiple countries like France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, United States, Mexico, and Chile.⁴⁴ On August 28, 1961, Giuseppe D'Avack (°1899), Archbishop of Camerino since 1946, became a consultor. He held a licentiate in theology from the Lateranum (1922), a doctoral degree in civil law from the state university of Rome and a diploma of bookkeeping from the technical state institute of Rome. D'Avack was a bookkeeper at the institute 'Works of Religion SCV'. He published works on Catholic power, the priesthood and the love of Mary, etc.⁴⁵

As for the French consultors, the Dominican Thomas Pierre Camelot OP (°1901) was asked to consult from the beginning. Camelot studied at the seminary and theological faculty of Lille, and also with the Dominicans. In 1943, he became a doctor in theology and twelve years later magister in 1955. He also held a licentiate in the arts. In his professional life, he was professor at Le Saulchoir in Etoilles, where both Chenu and Congar had taught, and was dean of the theological faculty since 1956. Prior to being dean, he had been dean of studies and rector of Le Saulchoir (1950-56). He published works on some of the major Christian theologians such as Clement of Alexandria, Ignatius, Athanasius, Augustine, and Thomas Aquinas.⁴⁶ Louis Bouyer CO (°1913), for his part, was invited on November 25, 1960. He was a former Lutheran minister turned Catholic and held a licentiate in arts and a doctoral degree in theology from the Catholic University of Paris. He was a professor there of church history, and ascetic and mystical theology. Bouyer published multiple books on Erasmus of Rotterdam, John Henry Newman, and the Bible.⁴⁷

As for West-German consultors, only Albert Lang (°1890) contributed significantly in the schemata under discussion. He was consultor from the beginning and had just finished his term as professor of fundamental theology at the University of Bonn (1939-59) prior to the start of the Preparatory Period. Before that, he had taught for four years in Münster and published works regarding Melchior Cano and on fundamental theology. However, due to his hearing inabilities, Lang could not join the audiences which did not prevent him from contributing.⁴⁸ As for the Spanish consultors, only one would be asked to become consultor from the beginning. Vicente Beltrán de Heredia OP (°1885) was a professor of history of theology, with a particular focus on Spain, at the University of Salamanca (1940-56). Prior to this position, he was professor of church history and patrology at the Sanctus Stephanus study house in Salamanca (1934-40) and was twice leader of *La ciencia Tomista* (1922-28, 1944-48). Beltrán de Heredia contributed a lot on the history of the Dominican reformation in Spain, on the history of Francisco de Vitoria, Bañez and Domingo de Soto.⁴⁹ In 1961, one more Spanish consultor playing a strong role would join the team: Laureano Suárez Díez SchP (°1913) who became consultor on February 26. Despite his late appointment, he

⁴⁴ Busta 1111.

⁴⁵ Busta 1110.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

immediately became the relator for the schema on Catholic schools. He held a licentiate in theology (1932-37) and another one in canon law (1953-55) from the Gregoriana. He was professor of moral theology, canon law and philosophy at the papal institute Regina Mundi. Suárez Díez was also the spiritual director (1946-48), secretary general (1948-55), and assistant of the general (1955 onwards) of the Piarists. At the time of the preparatory period, he lived in Rome.⁵⁰

The Belgian Léopold Denis SJ (°1900) was appointed as consultant from the beginning. He held a doctoral degree in the arts, philosophy and theology from the Jesuit study house in Louvain. He was active in the regional seminary of Saint Bellarmine of Mayidi and was professor of fundamental theology there. He was also active as professor of missionary catechesis at the Gregoriana since 1959 and provided lectures there during the preparatory period. He founded and directed the *Revue du Clergé Africain* and was secretary-adjoint of the Permanent Committee of Ordinaries of Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Burundi (1951-58). Thus, he was very much aware of the situation of the Church there. He published works in Latin, on the Belgian Jesuits in Kwango, and on Belgian Congo in general on the verge of Congolese independence.⁵¹

As for the Americans, Archbishop Patrick Aloysius O'Boyle (°1896) of Washington was present from the beginning. He studied at the Seminary of New York and followed lectures at the New York School of Social Work. He was a chancellor of the Catholic University of America and received honorary doctoral degrees from Georgetown University, Saint John in Brooklyn, Notre Dame University and Saint Bonaventure. In his professional life, he worked for Childcare (1933-36) and was Executive Director of the War Relief Services of New York (1943-47). O'Boyle would not be physically present at the audiences but would closely collaborate with McDonald.⁵² Indeed, though of Irish decent, Joseph William McDonald (°1904) lived and worked in San Francisco. He became a consultant on November 20, 1960. He received his master and doctoral degree from the Catholic University of America. Afterwards, he was professor there (1940-54), vice-rector (1954-57), rector since 1957, and president of the Federation of Catholic Universities from 1960 onwards. McDonald was editor-in-chief of *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* and author of multiple works such as on Thomas Aquinas, the Catholic College, etc.⁵³

The final three consultants came from Central and Latin American and were all active as consultant from the beginning. The Guatemalan Bishop Luis Manresa Formosa (°1915) of Quetzaltenango held licentiates in philosophy and theology and was prefect of studies and discipline at various colleges, and spiritual director of the seminary of Guatemala.⁵⁴ The Chilean Archbishop Alfredo Cifuentes Gómez (°1890) of La Serena studied theology at the Gregoriana and obtained a baccalaureate in theology and law. He was a director of the work on priestly vocations, vice-rector of the seminary of Santiago, rector of both the seminary of Concepción and the institute Abdón Cifuentes in San Felipe, apostolic visitor, and visitor

⁵⁰ Busta 1111. Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 29 (footnote 34).

⁵¹ Busta 1110.

⁵² Busta 1111.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

of religious houses. His published works that mainly dealt with spiritual guidance.⁵⁵ Finally, the Mexican Bishop Octaviano Márquez Toriz (°1904) of Puebla de los Angeles studied in Rome (1921-27) and obtained doctoral degrees in philosophy, theology and canon law. Afterwards, he was professor of fundamental theology at the seminary of Puebla de los Angeles and also spiritual director. He was involved with the priestly vocations of his diocese and once held the position of president of the Mexican Bishop conference. Márquez Toriz published on issues related to seminarians, the oeuvre of Don Trinidad Sanchez Santos, etc.⁵⁶

For a schematic representation of the members involved in the schemata under discussion, including the dates of appointment, see the following:⁵⁷

<i>Date</i>	<i>(Arch)bishops</i>	<i>Priests</i>	<i>Religious</i>	<i>Lay</i>
<i>August 23, 1960</i>	Cifuentes Gomez, Bignamini, O'Boyle, Marquez Toriz, Amici, Marty, Manresa Formosa SJ	Lang, Bandas	Camelot OP, Denis SJ	
<i>November 20, 1960</i>	McDonald		Bouyer CO	Vito
<i>February 26, 1961</i>			Suárez Díez SchP	
<i>August 28, 1961</i>	D'Avack			

1.4. The external theological advisers: an overview

The advice of external theological advisers would be asked from March 1961 onwards (see further below in the chapter). In total, there were twelve people from Western Europe, United States and Canada. Regarding the European theological advisers: Albert Fünke, who held the episcopal seat (*Hauptstelle*) for schools and education in Köln; Georg Andrew Beck, Bishop of Salford who headed the Catholic Education Council for England and Wales in London. He would often write through his secretary F. Cunningham; Frans Op De Coul, the president of the Central Catholic Office for Instruction and Education in The Hague; Michel Descamps, head of the National Secretariat for Free Education in Paris; Jules-Victor Daem, president of the National Secretariat for Catholic Education in Brussels; J. Koroschetz, holding the episcopal seat for instruction and education in Vienna; Giuseppe Giampietro SI, who headed the FIDAE in Rome; the Spanish Eduardo Regatillo SJ from the Canon Law Faculty of the Comillas Pontifical University; the Belgian Gommarus Michiels OFMCap teaching at the Lateranum; and the Italian Vincenzo Sinistrero SDB, professor at the Salesiana. From the USA, Edward B. Rooney SJ of the Jesuit Educational Association in New York. From Canada, E. Carter Canon, active at St Joseph Teachers College in Montreal.

⁵⁵ Busta 1110.

⁵⁶ Busta 1111.

⁵⁷ For the appointments of the consultants by the secretary of state in 1960-61, see busta 1132.

Finally, from Colombia, Eustasio Pieschacon SJ speaking on behalf of the Inter-American Council of the CIEC.⁵⁸

2. The Start of the Preparatory Commission

Unlike Alberigo's and Fusi's claim (and Pohlschneider as well) that the real work started only in November 1960 and ended in February 1962, the work of the commission actually started much earlier on September 22, 1960, on the basis of instructions and norms as given by the Secretary General of the Council, Felici, and would actually end only somewhere in July 1962.⁵⁹ These norms meant that every commission had to do its work independently. As soon as possible, a secretariat was supposed to be established, and 100.000 lire was made available for this purpose. The nuncios outside Italy were supposed to obtain the oaths of all the invited members and consultants, while the residents in Rome had to be available at the meetings whenever possible. Some of the rich dioceses and great orders were asked to pay for the travel expenses themselves, while poorer ones could receive funding for travels. Moreover, in the absence of Pizzardo, Mayer as secretary was supposed to preside. For our commission, this was often the case. On September 23, 1960, letters were sent to all nuncios and apostolic delegates in order to collect the oaths of all members and consultants of the commission living outside Italy. The members living in Rome were invited to do the same in the seat of the commission.

2.1. First meeting of the members living in Rome (September 30, 1960)

The first meeting, with the members residing in Rome, took place on September 30, 1960. At the first meeting were present: Mayer, Muñoz Vega, Stickler, Hilarino Da Milano, Dezza, Roschini, Denis, while Fabro and Landucci were excused.⁶⁰ As Pizzardo made clear, the Preparatory Commission expected much of the Roman members and consultants, given their proximity to Rome and the know-how of the seminary education.⁶¹ While insisting on the commission's independence, Pizzardo mentioned the topics to look with the possibility to add more. The main sources to be used were the vota of the bishops and prelates,⁶² the proposals and monita of the Roman Curial Congregations, especially those of the Congregation for Seminaries and Universities, the wishes presented by the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, and the acts and speeches of the pope.⁶³ Pizzardo suggested to follow the order of the program as offered by the pope, thus starting with ecclesiastical vocations and with the ratio of studies of the seminaries,⁶⁴ meaning thus that the schemata under discussion in this chapter would only come afterwards.

⁵⁸ Busta 1122, 1132.

⁵⁹ Busta 1156. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 23-24, claims that the work started on November 1960, omitting the important work and meetings of the members living in Rome prior to that. In fact, he relies on Alberigo's work, and in this respect, Alberigo's claim is inaccurate as well. Pohlschneider, "Declaration on Christian Education," 2, for his part, puts the end in March 1962.

⁶⁰ Busta 1156.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² At that moment, the printing was still work in progress. See busta 1156.

⁶³ Busta 1156.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

2.2. *Second meeting of the members living in Rome (October 19, 1960)*

The following people were present at this meeting:⁶⁵ Muñoz Vega, Dezza, Hilarino Da Milano, Fabro, Stickler. Mayer was presiding the meeting and announced that the first volume of the *Acta* had arrived and could be consulted. He also mentioned that the pope would hold a speech for the members and consultors on November 14, 1960; a reason why the first plenary session of this preparatory commission would be held from November 12-16. In order to prepare for this meeting, the mode of proceeding was to be determined. Regarding the study of the questions, Mayer proposed a delineation: all the wishes of the members and consultors were to be signed through three exemplars. These exemplars would be provided to one appointed member who would in turn examine them and give a judgement as *membrum ponens*. After signing the three exemplars, they would be distributed again to all members while another member would be appointed as co-relator. The ratio of the two would then be discussed during the plenary session, in which the texts could be amended or rejected. If some issues were a matter of controversy, new advice could be asked. Finally, there would be a deliberation about the questions that were sufficiently examined.⁶⁶ The result of the votes about a given topic would then be transferred to the CPC.

Multiple suggestions then came forward. Pizzardo also suggested to reflect on the preparation of those who offer catechesis in schools as they often lacked the necessary training needed for this task. Hilarino Da Milano asked to pay special attention to the ratio of studies with regard to disciplines that involve religion, such as philosophy, the history of religions and social disciplines. Stickler simply asked for a fundamental revision of the ratio of studies in ecclesiastical universities as many of these universities lacked a curriculum to let people become specialists in their chosen subject. He suggested the establishment of an institutional body which coordinates the scientific work of the Church, with a special attention for more contemporary methods. Fabro wanted to distinguish between the aspect of studies and the aspect of discipline. According to him, a higher board of experts in university matters should be established, in order to promote an increase of ecclesiastical universities and their collaboration.

Mayer then proposed to divide the topic on studies into the following parts: the studies up to secondary classical studies, philosophical and theological studies, and university studies. However, given the vast differences among countries and continents on educational matters, Dezza proposed that there should be a uniformity between the general ecclesiastical legislation and the cultural conditions of other continents. Even in Europe, the variety of school structures preparing for the university was so diverse and he hoped that the commission could provide the necessary input. At the end of the meeting, Dezza was asked to be the relator with regard to secondary classical studies and philosophy and theology. Muñoz Vega would become the relator for the university studies.⁶⁷ Both accepted this task.

⁶⁵ For the minutes, see busta 1156.

⁶⁶ If the written votes of those absent had arrived before the meeting, they would also be taken into account.

⁶⁷ Note that, at this stage, we are not yet talking of the schemata on Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, as provided in the summarized table at the beginning of this chapter.

Some weeks after this meeting, Pizzardo received a letter by Carlo Balic OFM on October 30 in which he praised the American Father James Van der Veldt OFM, former professor at St Joseph Seminary in Dunwoodie, current professor at the University of Washington, and advisor to the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies. For years, he had engaged with contemporary psychology through a Catholic lens. Balic asked Pizzardo to give Van der Veldt a place in the Preparatory Commission as member, if not, at least as consultor. Attached, he provided a correspondence of Van der Veldt to Balic twenty days earlier. In that letter of October 10, Van der Veldt summarized the discussion he had with Balic at the end of September: the problem of the lack of Latin knowledge among seminarians in the USA, and the naturalistic and materialistic tendencies in American Catholic universities influenced by what was being taught in state universities. As for the latter, he specifically focused on the psychology department, in which it was argued that the soul was non-existent thereby reducing man to either an animal or machine. Freudian influences were high within all aspects of psychology such as psychotherapy, psychiatry, clinical psychology, counseling...: determinism through compulsion (free will was considered non-existent) which in turn had high repercussions on doctrinal aspects. Clear rules were needed for Catholic professors and students as he considered the teachings of Pius XII were insufficient for the contemporary church.⁶⁸

3. First General Meeting of the Preparatory Commission (November 12-16, 1960)

The members and consultors of the commission met for the first time in plenum from November 12-16, 1960.⁶⁹

3.1. First plenary meeting

The first general session took place on November 12, 1960, with the following people present: Pizzardo, Olachea Loizaga, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Botto, Blanchet, Cody, Keller, Ferreira Gomez, Adam, Carraro, Saba, Johan, Combes, Girard, Roschini, Dezza, Muñoz Vega, Fabro, Stickler and the consultors Marty, Gabriel and Bandas. The sessions were directed by Mayer, with the help of Pozzi and Baldanza. The following members asked to be excused: Vayalil, Figini, and Lavaud. Landucci would only come for the speech of the pope on November 14, 1960.

At the start, Mayer emphasized that the work of the commission mainly consisted of proposals, as it was not a legislative body that discerns and orders. He also added that the commission was not expected to propose problems to the Council, but to answer the questions. Mayer also announced that the CPC was preparing a synthesis of all the vota sent by the bishops which would be distributed, once ready. The first plenary meeting thus had a rather informative character.

⁶⁸ Busta 1132.

⁶⁹ For the minutes of the plenary meetings, see busta 1156.

3.2. Second plenary meeting

The second general session was held on November 15, 1960. Apart from the members present at the previous meeting, Hilarino Da Milano was also present while the consultants were not invited this time. Mayer thanked the members who had submitted vota. He further observed that the work of this commission had to do with both doctrinal and practical aspects. The commission had to search for equality regarding the essentials and the necessary aspects, while the educational customs and uses as received and practiced across different regions, had to be respected in light of these essentials. Mayer further mentioned that some of the topics under discussion were closely aligned with the competence of other commissions. However, it did not have to prevent the commission to speak about it all. In other words, the large scope of Catholic education and formation already discussed in detail in Chapters I-II, forewarned this tension of delineation and expertise of the preparatory commissions. This is visible here in Mayer's remarks and will in fact recur later as well.

Next, the members were asked whether they wanted to add topics to the list as provided by the CPC. Apart from suggestions on seminaries and vocations, Fabro believed that the importance of studies and the questions related to it should be further explained and discussed in detail. Much that had to do with ecclesiastical universities was also to be amended. Moreover, he argued that the constitution *Deus Scientiarum Dominus* should be revised as it had become rather outdated. Muñoz Vega missed in the question an explicit attention to reflect on the ratio of studies in universities (see further below in this session).

Dezza, for his part, insisted on the importance of preparing teachers of religion. While the laity were increasingly better equipped in comprehending the Catholic doctrine, they were not yet always well prepared – even when they were teaching in parishes, primary and secondary schools. More needed to be done for the laity to appropriate teaching content and didactical and pedagogical tools.⁷⁰ For Dezza, institutes were to be created to train the lay people. While accepting the remark of Keller that this was a topic for the commission on clergy and Christian people, he nonetheless insisted that training of the laity also had to do with the current commission. The proposal was accepted, and Mayer proposed to discuss it with the relevant commission.

Another topic of discussion during this meeting, suggested by Hilarino Da Milano, was the preparation of bright students to head chairs at state universities, especially for those topics closely related to religion, such as history of religion, Christianity, sociological sciences. He pointed out that the professors of these disciplines were oftentimes erroneous. Mayer replied that this was also a topic of other commissions, in this case the lay apostolate, but Hilarino Da Milano's proposal was met with approval. Stickler asked to create a center of scientific studies about the methods of apostolate, adapted to the modern world. He pointed out that communists created institutes in which people were prepared "to preach the gospel of communism". Catholics needed an institute that collects on a scientific basis statistic material about the religious conditions of the whole world and integral and recent

⁷⁰ Here is in fact an example of someone who appreciates the role of the laity and their need for further education and expertise, unlike with what we have seen with many vota discussed in Chapters I-II.

knowledge with regard to all what was needed for the pastoral action: the conditions of nature, the state of culture, the intellectual evolution, the civil and economic progress, the conditions of life, and the like. People had to become familiar with these scientific methods, and in such a way that one was not only informed about the temporal conditions, but also about the multiple needs of the Catholic world, to resist “the enemies of the Christian religion”, and to protect and to promote the faith among faithful and unbelievers. He concluded that a central institute in Rome governed by the Congregation for the Seminaries and University Studies was needed, which could coordinate the work of regional institutes. Stickler’s idea was well received by the members, though some also referred to the economic consequences. Another proposal of Stickler had to do with the creation of an institute in Rome to edit ecclesiastical texts in a critical way. This institute should also have a pastoral character and ensure that previous ecclesiastical texts are well preserved and well-known among the faithful.

In the week after the second plenary meeting, it was decided to plan a restricted meeting of members and consultors living in Rome to discuss the ratio of studies in universities and faculties in a more thorough way. Muñoz Vega was appointed president.

4. Developments after the First General Meeting (November 1960 – January 1961)

The CPC informed the commission on November 19, 1960, that the members and consultors could make use of “experts and wise collaborators”.⁷¹ During the course of November, thirty-three replies were submitted,⁷² both in Latin and in national languages.⁷³ Members sometimes submitted their texts handwritten while the secretariat had to copy type them. The answers showed a great familiarity with the scholastic approaches and concepts. Many simply agreed with the proposals of the Congregation,⁷⁴ while others answered in a very detailed way,⁷⁵ and asked for a more accurate phrasing.⁷⁶ Some already submitted their own texts.

On November 19, Archbishop McIntyre of Los Angeles wrote in an English letter to Pizzardo that he had met Van der Veldt in Washington DC during an episcopal meeting and that he had known the latter when he was chancellor of New York. Like Balíc earlier, he recommends Van der Veldt as he could be of great help for the commission and especially fit the more “conservative group”. He attached a letter by the hand of Van der Veldt to McIntyre, in which he again reiterated what he had mentioned to Balíc: the problem of the theory of compulsion that was very influential on American and European professors and in

⁷¹ Busta 1152.

⁷² However, nine other members and consultors would submit their remarks between December 29, 1960 and February 18, 1961; see busta 1112.

⁷³ Ibid. Especially the Italians submitted their texts in Italian. Non-Italians such as the German Lang also submitted their text in the vernacular. As a result, the secretariat translated such vota in Latin, observing that the redaction was not made by the author, adding that the Latin redaction was shorter. However, this was not always done; see the vota of Vayalil (English) and Cifuentes (Spanish). The remarks of Bendas, in English, were not translated and in the margin of his text, some Italian key words were added.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., Bignamini, votum of 14 October 1960, in busta 1112.

⁷⁵ Landucci submitted a report of six pages, see his votum in *ibid.* Long texts were also submitted by, e.g., Carraro, Keller, and Vayalil.

⁷⁶ Muñoz Vega wrote a whole treatise, full of references, on the nature of ecclesiastical vocations (13 pages).

which moral responsibilities were downplayed especially on sexual matters. Multiple aspects within the department of psychology needed to be addressed by the Council, including consciousness and freedom of will.⁷⁷

Between November 22 and the beginning of January, Mayer sent the questionnaire with regard to the studies to the members and consultors, stating that they could make use of secretaries and periti for the preparation of their work.⁷⁸ However, despite others being late, those already appointed by this time were asked to provide their answers before Christmas. It consisted of three categories: secondary studies, philosophical and theological seminary studies; and university or academic studies. The following questions were to be taken into consideration: the duration of the curriculum, the criteria to distinguish between a seminary and university curriculum, and the grade of science required to obtain academic degrees in ecclesiastical sciences.⁷⁹ While these questionnaires were being sent out, on December 9, some parts of the vota of the Congregation for Universities and Seminary Studies were sent to almost all the members and the consultors⁸⁰

The answers⁸¹ arrived in Rome between December 12, 1960, and February 6, 1961. Alongside the majority of replies were related to minor seminaries and the training for the priesthood, some suggestions on the university studies arrived. As for the study of philosophy, most of the responses were in favor of the present system of two years of philosophy.⁸² The study had to be preferably done in Latin, but not to the extent that Latin would act as a hindrance to fully comprehend the content. In fact, students had to discuss philosophical matters in the vernacular. Fabro argued that philosophy was considered to be more important for the laity than in the ecclesiastical formation. Camelot argued that some space should be given to ethics, social philosophy, political economy and contemporary philosophy, especially Marxism. He suggested that competent professors must be prepared and formed for these disciplines. Dezza, for his part, insisted on a profound philosophical training and warned for the errors that turned people away from the doctrine of the Church. For Manresa Formosa, the study of philosophy had to take at least three years in order to incorporate other topics such as ethics, psychology, sociology, pedagogy and political law. The concern to pay attention to social sciences was mentioned several times.

As for the relation between seminary formation and university training, Roschini, Bignamini, Adam and Dezza argued that the first formation should focus on the preparation for the pastoral work, while the second should focus on the preparation for research.⁸³ Olachea Loizaga proposed to reserve university studies for the best candidates while Cifuentes Gomez suggested organizing an entry exam. Bignamini insisted on the fact that only those institutions deserved to be universities where a library was available, the staff had

⁷⁷ Busta 1132.

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Busta 1156.

⁸⁰ Busta 1152.

⁸¹ For the answers, see busta 1155.

⁸² At the same time, Dezza, in busta 1155, observed that in some regions such as Québec (Canada), students already followed philosophy in their last two years of the baccalaureate. It would therefore be unfortunate to ask seminarians in this region to follow a two-year philosophical study.

⁸³ It needs to be emphasized that many of the Roman faculties were in fact providing seminary training and therefore courses related to this training. However, the programs related to gaining the title of doctor were more 'academic'.

excellent expertise, the number of students sufficient, and the colleges appropriate to the needs of the students.⁸⁴ Camelot complained about the fact that the ever-increasing urge for specialization resulted in a multitude of disciplines and schools. As a result, students had to take too many courses and no longer had the time to invest in personal study and work. He suggested organizing more seminars instead of lectures. He, like many others,⁸⁵ was in favor of substantial licentiates and doctorates. Beltrán de Heredia was critical for the so-called “positive study”, which implied that texts would only be approached on the surface without paying attention to the meta-level of the text (i.e., beyond the mere theological). Such an approach could lead to historicism and relativism, considered dangerous for a sound doctrine. For him, Thomas Aquinas had to be central instead. Manresa Formosa did not like the distinction between seminary and university training as this could affect the quality of the formation and result in clergy who do not meet the requirements need for today.

Moreover, some of the consultors and members liked the idea to create a council, dependent on the Congregation for the Seminaries and University Studies (Roschini, Botto, Márquez; Saba, Fabro). However, people like Denis added that such council had to consist of men from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds and with expertise in pedagogical matters. They should also have personal experience with the formation of the clergy. Manresa Formosa insisted instead on representatives from ecclesiastical and civil universities. He was of the opinion that the efficiency could be increased if national boards were simultaneously created, thus revealing the diversity among universities, colleges, and seminaries all over the world. On the other side of the spectrum, Dezza (supported by Adam) argued that such a council was unnecessary, given the fact that the Congregation for Seminaries and University Studies already made use of consultors. Of course, one needs to bear in mind the ecclesiastical relationships vis-à-vis leading figures in the Curia. In fact, the tension between the centralized authority of the Curia and those at the periphery is a recurrent throughout the Council and the whole *aggiornamento* development.

Another long discussion was related to the use of Latin in ecclesiastical studies, mainly within seminaries. For the purposes of this chapter, it suffices to say that some were of the opinion Latin could be used in faculties and universities (Bignamini, Lang).⁸⁶ While the answers on the second questionnaire were arriving, Mayer meanwhile transmitted the other *vota* prepared by the Congregation for the Council on December 9, 1960, to all members and consultors (with the exception of Vito, Adam, and Figini).⁸⁷ These *vota* would be among the sources for further work.⁸⁸ At this point, however, the Preparatory Commission had not yet received the synthesis report of the CPC with regard to the *vota* submitted by the bishops. They were expected somewhere in March 1961. Nonetheless, all members and consultors were expected to study the *vota* and to consider two questions: what about the speculative and practical value of the texts? Should the Council intervene in these matters? On the basis

⁸⁴ Similar observations were made by Bishop Saba of Nicotera e Tropea (see busta 1155).

⁸⁵ Cf. also the answers of Roschini in busta 1155.

⁸⁶ A similar idea was defended by Nestor Adam; see busta 1155.

⁸⁷ Busta 1152.

⁸⁸ See ADA I/3, 311-406. This also explains why several of the members and consultors also commented on these texts.

of these aspects, the commission would be able to come to a conclusion by means of a vote on the matter and on the opportunity for a decision in the Council.⁸⁹

5. The Work of the Preparatory Commission towards the Second General Meeting

In January 1961, Muñoz Vega was appointed as the relator for the ecclesiastical universities. The co-relator was Stickler.⁹⁰ On January 4, Pizzardo sent a letter to Felici asking to appoint Van der Veldt as consultor.⁹¹ On January 5, Pizzardo sent a letter to Angelo Dell'Acqua, secretary of state, in which he stated the great work that had been done in the past decade through documents related to the Magisterium in matters of "ecclesiastical formation and the Christian education of the youth". In this light, he asked for a complete package of the speeches and radio messages by Pius XII, as the latter placed education and formation at the center of his apostolic mandate.⁹² On January 9, Mayer sent a copy of the costs to Sergio Querri, secretary of the administrative secretariat during the preparatory period, in which it is clear that "all texts relating to this commission" from the *Acta et Documenta Antepreparatoria* volume II/2 (Europe) and II/4 (Asia) have been copied and distributed.⁹³ It is not clear which related texts and in fact it is surprising that Asia is mentioned as these vota do not seem to come back in any other discussion.

5.1. Fourth meeting of the members residing in Rome (January 13, 1961)

Mayer first gave a survey about the activities of the commission in the months before. The focus then shifted to the current state of things and the appointment of relators. During this meeting,⁹⁴ Mayer pointed out that several topics had to be discussed with other commissions, such as the rationale for the teaching of Scripture (Theological Commission), or the training of teachers of religion (the Commission for the Discipline of the Clergy and the Christian People).⁹⁵ After Dezza's long report on the revision of the studies in seminaries, Muñoz Vega presented the work of his sub-commission, observing that the apostolic constitution *Deus scientiarum Dominus* (1931) had to be perfected. In other words, we are three months further and only then a serious discussion on studies of universities had started, while the other schemata under discussion in this chapter had not yet even made it to the sessional discussions. Muñoz Vega mentioned that students in ecclesiastical universities were to

⁸⁹ The members were informed about this in a letter of December 9, that accompanied the document; for the letter, see busta 1155.

⁹⁰ Busta 1152.

⁹¹ Busta 1132. On January 9, Felici informs Pizzardo that the matter has been forwarded to the Pope. However, the appointment of Van der Veldt as consultor would never make it.

⁹² Busta 1132. On February 13, Dell'Acqua replied that his office will send the desired volume as soon as possible. On March 7, Pizzardo expresses his gratitude for having received the copy, adding that "[t]he very rich legacy [...] will be of undoubted advantage for this secretary and for those, members and consultors, who work tirelessly to prepare their important work."

⁹³ Busta 1132.

⁹⁴ For the minutes of this meeting, see busta 1156.

⁹⁵ In busta 1132, excerpts were found from the commission for sacraments (regarding the diaconate), the Secretariat for the promotion of Christian unity (to foster the ecumenical spirit in the seminaries), the commission for liturgy (the full schema), the commission on the lay apostolate (social apostolate in the preparation of priests), and finally the commission for modern tools (the formation of seminarians in this matter, the magisterial dependence, the contribution of Catholic schools in media and social communication for the youth, the wariness of modern tools in university teaching, and the fostering of the apostolate through radio and cinema). However, there is no additional information as to how these excerpts were used or to what extent they were discussed in any meeting.

receive both a scientific and a pastoral training. To realize this, the study time had to be increased. He proposed to preserve four years of theology in the seminaries, followed with four years in faculties, in which students receive a pastoral training and are better introduced in dogmatic theology. After that, a specialization would be required for four years (first licentiate or bachelor), with an additional two years (second licentiate), and one final year (laureate) The proposal was met with approval. In the aftermath of the fourth meeting of the members residing in Rome, Stickler was asked to send some remarks on the ecclesiastical studies as co-relator.⁹⁶ On February 9, Fabro was appointed as relator for *De doctrina Thomae* and was invited to submit some vota.⁹⁷

6. Second General Meeting of the Preparatory Commission (February 27-March 4, 1961)

At this meeting,⁹⁸ the following people were present: Pizzardo, Mayer, Olaechea Loizaga, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Botto, Blanchet, Cody, Keller, Ferreira Gomes, Adam, Carraro, Saba, Johan, Jacono, Bertoglio, Savino, Colombo, Landucci, Pascoli, Herlihy, Faraoni, Masi, Angioni, Bandas, Combes, Lores, Spadafora, Jedin, Girard, Roschini, Hilarino Da Milano, Muñoz Vega, Dezza, Fabro, Stickler and the secretaries Pozzi and Baldanza.

6.1. Fifth session (March 2, 1961, morning session)

The fifth meeting started with the report of the co-relator Stickler on ecclesiastical universities, which emphasized the need for specialization across all studies. Next to some references to the need of priestly formation, he added a long list of points, dealing with the fundamental method to discuss sciences. He criticized moral theology as too juridical. Courses in general lacked a unified approach. Both the speculative and positive methods had to be respected, while theology had to be more systematic and synthetic. The important role of professors, namely their tasks, grades, and duties regarding the students, had to be further discussed. Concerning the universities, he observed that the biblical and theological faculties should collaborate more harmoniously.

During the discussion, the relator Muñoz Vega defended the importance of quality at ecclesiastical universities. He was less in favor of elevating courses in seminaries to the same level as in universities. In fact, he suggested that what was proposed by certain bishops would not contribute to the realization of a qualitative university. Girard, in line with Blanchet and Colombo, argued that all students should receive scientific training. Admission to an academic curriculum had to be done by means of a rigorous exam. Hilarino Da Milano pointed out that seminaries were not meant to prepare for universities, but some affiliation could be offered to increase the quality of studies in seminaries. However, Roschini insisted on the difference between the seminary and university, as a decline of quality could otherwise be the consequence. Dezza argued that one should be able to receive the baccalaureate after the theological studies either in the seminary or at the university. The

⁹⁶ Busta 1156.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ For the minutes of the different sessions, see busta 1156.

teaching should nonetheless be of excellent quality, both on the scientific and pastoral level. Fabro argued that one was not to mix up solid scientific formation with priestly formation. In the end, it was agreed that one could only obtain a licentiate after two years of studies at a university, after having finished a four-year seminary training.

6.2. Seventh session (March 3, 1961, afternoon session)

After a discussion on Latin, the members engaged with the aspects of Scripture and Thomism. At this stage, it was a short presentation of their own positions. Jacono, the relator of the schema on Scripture, mentioned that the teachers of Scripture must have obtained an academic degree and be obedient to the Magisterium.⁹⁹ Regarding the method of instruction, the inerrancy of the Scripture had to be highlighted along with a tractate on the divine. Clarity was needed for the literary, textual and historical criticisms. He also agreed to increase the exegesis in universities. Fabro as relator on Thomas Aquinas was then given the floor. He made four points: the judgement of the Magisterium with respect to the Thomistic doctrine; a comparison between sacred sciences prior to the Council and how it was faring at this point, the authority the doctrine and method of the Angelic doctor; and finally, the Thomistic doctrine in light of the progress of science. The schema had to deal with the fact that Thomistic principles were “vivid” and not merely “a deposit of theses”.¹⁰⁰

7. Developments between the Second and the Third General Meeting (March 5 – May 2, 1961): The Start of the *De Scholis Catholicis*

Four days after the general session on March 8, for the first time, *De Scholis Catholicis* comes to the fore. It was thus the last schema ‘to get in action’, and the relator was the Spanish consultor Suárez Díez (note again: a consultor and not a member!). In common agreement, both Pizzardo and Suárez Díez asked for the advice of the external experts Fünke, Beck (and Cunningham), Op De Coul, Giampietro SI, Daem, Descamps, Koroschetz, Rooney SJ, Alonso SJ; Chaloux; Carter; and Pieschacon SJ.¹⁰¹ Unlike other schemata, here we see the immediate help of external experts on schools, showing thus the inexperience of this preparatory commission on this topic. For the replies of these experts, it needs to be mentioned that the answers would continue to come up until after the summer of 1961 (but Suárez Díez would not wait to already make a draft until then). To make matters as clear as possible, this section includes the responses as far as 1962 in order to comprehend the suggestions on the Catholic schools by external periti while deviating from the chronological order that characterizes this chapter.

On March 10, Pizzardo sent a letter to these experts telling them that they are “most suitable” to provide their vota on a range of topics related to the Catholic schools. Indeed, all these external advisers were very much engaged in matters related to Catholic schools. They were free to comment on the various aspects or to emphasize those aspects which they considered urgent for the commission to discuss. These topics/aspects had to do with (i) the

⁹⁹ In this way, he reiterates the votum of the Congregation of the Seminaries and University Studies as discussed in Chapter I.

¹⁰⁰ Busta 1152; Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 59-60.

¹⁰¹ See the experts described earlier in this chapter. For their replies see busta 1121, 1132, and 1152.

nature, purpose and importance of education; (ii) the natural and divine law(s) regarding the (right) of education – mainly pertaining to society, the Church and the state; (iii) Christian education and the importance of religious instruction, and how the Church can achieve the goal of education; (iv) schools, in particular Catholic schools, and the right of the Church to establish schools of every grade and order; (v) the difficulties related to the Church mainly in matters of rights, theoretical and practical errors; (vi) the means to strengthen the Church in protecting and increasing its rights, as well as the federation of colleges, the (inter)national cooperations; (vii) the role of Catholic schools active in a variety of contexts; (viii) the increase of appreciation of the Catholic school by state and the families, the role of religious congregations to teach, and the role of teachers in general.¹⁰²

Already in a letter of March 16, Descamps asks for a delay of his reply given the fact that he just traveled to Rabat for a conference on Catholic schools.¹⁰³ Meanwhile, on March 20, Suárez Díez, had prepared a questionnaire, separate from the letter of Pizzardo, to be sent out to three other experts on education: Regatillo SJ, Michiels OFM, and Sinistrero SDB.¹⁰⁴ In fact, along with Suárez Díez' questionnaire, these experts would also receive Pizzardo's letter on March 25 (Regatillo, Michiels) and March 29 (Sinistrero) which he had sent out earlier to the above-mentioned experts to be discussed alongside the questionnaire.¹⁰⁵ In the questionnaire of Suárez Díez, the following topics were mentioned: the first part dealt with education in general. More specifically, the experts had to discuss (i) the present state of education, (ii) the false opinions surrounding education, (iii) the nature, aim and moment of education, (iv) Christian education including religious and moral training as the only true and integral education, (v) the rights of the family, church, and the state, (vi) the means the church must use to fulfill the Christian education of the youth, including catechesis, schools, youth associations, spiritual exercises, sermons, missions, and modern tools (press, cinema, radio, television). As for the youth associations, he included Catholic Action, the Marist congregations, and other religious associations; even the Scouts movement was mentioned. The second part of the questionnaire dealt with the Catholic school as an ecclesiastical institution.

More specifically, experts had to consider (i) current questions such as whether or not the Catholic school is necessary, on the meaning of the true apostolate (evangelization, conserving and preserving the faith) as the main mean of education; (ii) the current errors such as liberal and communist statism, secularism; (iii) the accusations against Catholic schools and the things lacking; (iv) the urgent problems, like freedom and independence in light of the state and the press, the various associations involved (parents, colleges, students

¹⁰² Busta 1131. Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 28, though he only argues that the first three topics specifically relate to education. In contrast, here I argue that one cannot disconnect the other five topics from the first three, as all relate to education. Moreover, Fusi does not provide any details as to which experts were contacted, nor on the extra questionnaire sent out by Suárez Díez, and in fact strongly relies on the literature of Baldanza.

¹⁰³ Busta 1131.

¹⁰⁴ See the discussion on the external experts at the beginning of this chapter.

¹⁰⁵ Buste, 1121, 1131. One part of Pizzardo's letter reads: "haec pontificia commissio ut munere sibi commissa satisfacere valeat, auctoritate pollet non tantum membra quibus constat sed etiam alios interrogandi qui tum officio tum peculiari peritia maxime idonei inveniantur ad consilia animadversionesque suppeditanda. A te igitur, quem in iis quae ad scholas catholicas spectant versatum novimus, votum exquirere audemus in quo ea potissimum quae in folio adnexo enuntiantur perspicue et dilucide enucleanda erunt." ...

and alumni), economic and financial issues (collections, taxes, subsidies for Catholic schools and families, funds...); (v) the nature and various types of Catholic schools be they public or private, existing on a diocesan or religious level, and this on the elementary, secondary (consisting of classic, scientific, and special schools), or higher/superior levels; (vi) the nature of the power of the magisterium of the Church; (vii) the right of the Church to establish schools; (viii) the nature of the power of the Church to establish, govern and supervise schools – whether this only concerns the religious disciplines or the teaching of the profane disciplines as well; (ix) the equal right and mandate of diocesan and religious schools to carry education, including that of moral and religious instruction (exception: the exclusive right of inspection of ecclesiastical teachers as to faith and morals).

The third part to be considered dealt with organization of the Catholic schools. This included the way professional training ought to be provided in order to provide educational qualifications; the cooperation between religious and diocesan clergy; the fate of Catholics schools in regions under control of a state (semi-)hostile to the Catholic school and the freedom of Catholic education (the religious and moral training, the philosophical education, study of Latin). Finally, the three experts were asked to consider the organization on a higher level: how to deal with Catholic education from a central or hierarchical organization, the need for a Roman pontifical office (an independent dicastery, or part of the Congregation on Seminaries and University Studies, or even as a right of other congregations),¹⁰⁶ the national organization (episcopal conferences, national technical commission, educational didactic inspections), the religious federations, and the diocesan organization (school offices, religious inspection...). Interestingly, the questionnaire Suárez Díez sent to the three experts already foregrounded his exposition and outline on a schema on Catholic schools.

7.1. The response of Bernier

While Regatillo, Michiels and Sinistrero received this questionnaire along with Pizzardo's demands, through the mediation of the CPC a pro-memoria of Archbishop Paul Bernier of Québec was sent on behalf of the regional episcopal assembly of Québec. The remarks were sent on March 20 and received by April 6.¹⁰⁷ Bernier described the history of educational laws in Québec and the current state at the time of his writing. In his region, the Catholic committee overseeing public education was in a favorable role given its history. Without going too much into the details, given the long centuries of struggle on behalf the Canadian Catholic Church to achieve a great independent role in overseeing and maintaining the Catholic schools while having the support from the State and given the fact that this process in Bernier's eyes has also recently taken place in England, Belgium or France, there was no way that the Catholic school could be abolished or not taken care of in a serious way by the Council. He pointed out that confessional education won more and more terrain in Western nations, and alongside the declaration of human rights by the UN and also the deliberations by UNESCO, the "social and cultural value of free education and confessional education" was too important to be ignored. Bernier also referred to the difficult struggle in neighboring

¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, this sentence was first crossed out, but then left open again with the Latin "vive".

¹⁰⁷ A copy of a part of the text was also sent to Felici on March 28, which was received by the CPC on April 6.

United States, where a “giant struggle” took place to finally achieve the rights for the parish schools. Thus, the preparatory commission for him should only discuss the improvements of the Catholic school.¹⁰⁸

7.2. *The response of Michiels*

On April 6 (received two days later), the Flemish Michiels replied that he felt “at a loss” with the letter and questionnaire received as he felt unqualified to deal with the issues at stake. Nevertheless, he did send his remarks and observations.¹⁰⁹ Replying to the questionnaire, first, regarding the theological and juridical fundamentals, Michiels envisioned education to be a “harmonious development” that involves all the faculties of the child, i.e., physical, intellectual (both scientific and aesthetic), and the will (morality). Through education, the person, also member of the larger society, had to discover and reach the true end: both in the religious and civil sense, in the mundane and the ultimate, the immediate and the eternal, all provided by God. Christian education in particular provides that development as the person is incorporated in the church by means of baptism. The person is aware of the supernatural end by means of faith and grace provided by the church. Religious instruction (the truths of the faith), the Christian morals and virtues (moral formation) and the empowerment of supernatural means (ascetic formation) form the core of Christian education. Regarding the state, any state monopoly should be opposed. The common good should be at the core and that includes suitable education for the youth. The freedom to establish schools is necessary; compulsory instruction should be prescribed, which includes a minimum study program for all. Schools should be inspected and visited on private and public level in all territories; free choice of parents to attend public schools; free instruction for all children in legally established and well-organized schools; and the teaching qualifications are required.

As to the purpose and function of the Church, Michiels emphasized “the divine right to teach all in the truth of the faith”, as it holds the supernatural means. It can provide the “perfect Christian education in every way” and establish Catholic schools on all levels. This includes both the religious and the profane disciplines, as the Catholic school provides a “total formation” that is moral, scientific and physical in the Catholic spirit. In all schools, including non-Catholic ones, the Church should have the right to inspect the religious instruction and education that are followed by Christian pupils. He furthermore asked to adapt and apply the existing canonical chapters on these matters.¹¹⁰

Further comments and vota from his hand: pedagogical schools need to be established to prepare teachers for elementary and secondary Catholic schools. Internal government of Catholic schools is required to deal with the appointment of teachers, the study material and the content of the sacred and profane disciplines. The Ordinary should be allowed to inspect. Non-Catholic, neutral and mixed schools should be avoided by Catholics and the Ordinary

¹⁰⁸ Busta 1121.

¹⁰⁹ Busta 1131.

¹¹⁰ This concerned can. 1372-1375, 1379, and 1381-82.

could play a strong role in this. In case Catholic schools are not present, the Ordinary must provide Christian education outside the school.¹¹¹

7.3. *The response of Descamps*

The letter of Descamps, from the free schools in France, arrived on April 29, 1961 (unclear when he sent it). It was a lengthy document of thirty-six pages. Therefore, only a summary is possible. In the first section on the aim of education, he writes that the Catholic doctrine of education constitutes the true formation of becoming human, as it enables the person to become what he was created for not only as an individual but also as a member of both the temporal and supernatural society (this harmony embodied in the church). Education consists in developing all the potentialities and all the potential values in the child and the adolescent. Teachers need to approach the child as “a person to be Christianized and as a Christian to be humanized”. Descamps likes to refer oftentimes to *DIM*, which we also see with other experts, to defend his theses. Moreover, Descamps distinguishes between the education of the youth, and the permanent education; the former is the basic education, to mend a Christian conscience to maturity. The other one consists of aiding the Christian to reach personal and communal perfection, and it comes via the Church. While the teacher helps, ultimately God is the great educator, thus love is involved. The parents therefore also play a role. In the second section on societies, the natural and divine law, he writes that all societies should engage in education by all involved: parents, state and Church. Family precedes the state and family needs to elevate the child in the physical, intellectual and moral senses including the spiritual aspect. Christian education also belongs to the church, which he describes as the “mother” and “teacher” holding the “Truth”. The Church should engage both with the sacred and profane sciences as she holds the true concept of humanity and its destination. As the Church is spiritual of nature, she must engage with elevating the baptized person to his or her supernatural destination. The Christian school therefore consists of the unity of the natural and the supernatural, the family and the Church, the “two maternities”; it has not merely a Christian characterization, the Christian school as an institute has its origins in the Church and it functions on behalf of the unity of both family and the Church. Teachers, whether priests, religious or the laity, are nominated by bishops and act as agents of the Church to pass on the Christian message and ensure Christian formation of the baptized and the conversion the non-baptized.

As for the state, its main purpose lies in providing order and establishing and regulating relationships among citizens in light of the various functions and hierarchies in society. It has a substitute function in promoting the intellectual and moral training of children. It needs to protect the family and the individual, who both preceded the state and have the natural law to educate their children. The state appreciates that education belongs to the parents and the Church and the related teachers. Nevertheless, it can control and inspect the schools, and it should focus on the common good. As for the latter, where the state is opposed to the rights of the Church, the only solution is to rely on the common good of the city (“cité”).

¹¹¹ Busta 1121.

As for religious education, it is part of Christian education and the spiritual growth of the baptized. It involves the knowledge of the doctrines and the apostolic development. The Church is therefore inherently involved, and with it, the Christian school. The first aim of the Church is to provide the possibility to acquire intelligence and knowledge of the truth with the hope that “the Trinitarian God” will lead adolescents to the full truth. Conversion is not the primary end. It is at this crosspoint of the terrestrial and the eternal, the human and supernatural vocation, that the school situates itself. It is the place where the Christian is formed. Non-Catholics can only benefit from the Christian school in that it will make them more ready to participate in this truth by their own will, and therefore the Christian school is open to all. It believes that spiritual nourishment is necessary to all. The Church has the right to establish Catholic schools as it is a “mother” and a “female master of the truth”. The mission not only exists in providing religious, theological and moral education, but also the profane sciences and scientific progress as it involves the full conception of the world, society and man. Therefore, primary, secondary and superior Catholic schools can be established. In the current times, more needs to be done in establishing professional and technical schools. More also needs to be done for young women. Descamps focuses on providing housekeeping education in all female schools so that they are adapted to “the disciplines most appropriate to their gender”. A true humanism is needed, which implies the “respect for the person and in function of the development of the person in his proper vocation and service to society.” In this way, the Catholic school is a “witness of culture and civilization”. Universities are similarly needed as a fruitful synthesis between theology and the sciences can be achieved. The access to Christian education should also be ensured in secular countries or countries led by other ideologies and religions. Current threats like *laïcité*, naturalism, socialism mixed with individualism, statism in all forms including in some democracies, and the separation of instruction from education, all need to be countered.

Descamps further defends Catholic schools on the basis of the universal declaration of human rights and all related documents affirming the rights of the family, the positive impact it brings to the individual and the persons’ place in society to the service of the nation, and finally the freedom of Catholics in light of the principles of democracy and liberty pronounced by modern nation states. In all countries, Catholic education implies a “service”, a “communal teaching” that is “non-monolithic”. National organizations on Catholic teaching are therefore needed as well, which can deal with the various schools, create superior schools for the professional formation (engineering, business, ...) or schools for the training of teachers and professors of all kinds of degrees and disciplines, the distribution of specialists, the establishment of lay professors who can enjoy security and stability, the introduction of new disciplines like the media, the finances.... Existing problems in the Catholic schools also need to be solved. These include a one-sided focus on the profane sciences, a constant concern of quantity of students over quality of content (especially pedagogy and technical sciences), a ghetto mindset which does not enable youngsters to be part of the world, the lack of the Catholic faith among teachers... “the school is made for the students and not the students for the school”. The Catholic school involves apostolicity, and it should prepare the students for Catholic Action. Catholic teachers ought to follow the

magisterial directions and teach the truth as the Christian school is “missionary in nature and function”. Religious therefore also ought to engage in it, as it is common for missionary congregations to always establish schools prior to churches in the missions. Those religious seeking to turn to other apostolic activities than their original aim of teaching ought to be countered. Priests should also continue to teach both in religious and scientific education, as the school is the instrument of the apostolate. Priests therefore need to be thoroughly trained to teach different disciplines beyond theology and philosophy. Christian parents should be obliged to send their children to Catholic schools.

7.4. *The response of Regatillo*

Regatillo’s letter arrived on May 19. Two documents were attached: one replying to the questionnaire, the other to Pizzardo’s letter. In his remarks on the questionnaire, he first highlighted the already existing *DIM* which he considered sufficient and profound enough to deal with the matter. Nevertheless, he added more remarks. Regarding education in general, like Michiels, he emphasized the education of the person in his/her totality (physical, intellectual, moral), in which the individual and the social, the natural and the supernatural co-exist. If the latter is excluded, then it is a false pedagogy. To become a true Christian is the final end, which means that Christian education is vital and crucial.¹¹² State monopoly needs to be countered as the Church has the full right to teach (he refers to Vatican I’s schema on *Ecclesia Christi*), to oversee religious training and education. He considered co-education (both genders) a danger as well. Regarding the three-partite rights (family, church, state), parents are always prior to the state while the latter needs to ensure the common good by protecting and helping the family, and meanwhile to respect the Church. As for the latter, education is part of the essence as it provides baptism and involves spiritual motherhood.

As for the Catholic school in particular, instruction and education coincide. While the first deals with scientific, thus intellectual development, the latter involves the manners, virtues and thus the will. Along with this, physical education is also necessary. Like Michiels, various grades exist under public or private supervision, while some could be confessional and other neutral. A Catholic school is only Catholic if it provides matters of faith, morals and the Catholic discipline. Quality must be entailed especially when Catholic schools are public schools. Regatillo also spends some time on the Spanish context in which many religious colleges exist (839) alongside a minority of diocesan colleges (14-18) and asks to what extent the former should be recognized as church colleges. Seemingly, many of them were not considered so, leaving open the question of the fulfilment of the divine mission of education in Spain. He therefore asks the Council to make these religious colleges fully church colleges, so that they have an equal right and mandate to exercise diocesan schools (cf. can. 1381-82). Moreover, given the fact that in Spain and other countries some religious federation overseeing education coincide with other family associations and/or national episcopal conferences on education, Regatillo proposes the Council to recommend a concord and to ensure that at least one religious member is assigned to an episcopal

¹¹² He refers to *DIM*, Tertullian and Augustine.

commission with the equal vote of the bishop. His comment actually projects a larger ecclesiastical issue at the time, i.e., the at sometimes hefty tensions between diocesan and religious rights on establishing and maintaining colleges. Oftentimes, diocesan colleges enjoyed more rights based on the respective Bishop at the cost of the religious ones. What Regatillo alludes to, as a Jesuit and expert in canon law, is that religious colleges should enjoy equal rights as diocesan colleges within canon law.

As for the magisterium, Regatillo maintains that its primary task lies in the diffusion, preservation and defense of the Catholic faith. Therefore, it is a logical consequence that the magisterium and thus the Church has the right to establish schools and provide education of both the sacred and profane disciplines up against any form of state monopoly. Where state monopoly on secular education is prevailing, the Church should provide guidelines to protect the youth there. In other parts, concordats on religious instruction are a good way forward. He hails the concordat of Spain in this regard where Catholics have full freedom and provide education in accordance with what is mentioned above. The only thing lacking, for him, is the qualification of priests and professors teaching religion in secondary and higher colleges so much so to the detriment of the faith. Therefore, ordinaries should be more vigilant to nominate well qualified and educated priests with the needed pedagogical qualities. All in all, he proposed to maintain the ‘mindset’ of *DIM* while dealing with education of the youth and the Catholic school has to be promoted in all possible ways.¹¹³

In the other attachment, Regatillo engages with Pizzardo’s letter. Apart from some reiterations of what was already mentioned above, Regatillo writes, here summarized, that the technical education for professional and industrial work is more than ever needed and to be placed in light of Catholic education. In this respect, the Church ought to use ecclesiastical powers and religious institutions to create professional schools, and to elevate professional training on equal footing with the classic education. If not, people will be attracted to communism and socialism. Ordinaries and religious superiors therefore have to ensure qualified training for future teachers on this matter. Indeed, professional training even involves the higher studies (e.g., engineering, architect) and Regatillo suggests that both religious and secular priests should obtain academic titles in these matters, and in turn uplift the professional schools in the secondary level by teaching there. Another addition is that Regatillo is in favor of a “secretariat of education of a universal character” in Rome which would deal with “several functions”, although he does not elaborate further. Like before, he also wants national organizations where both bishops and religious cooperate, especially since bishops seem to oftentimes ignore the religious.¹¹⁴

7.5. *The response of Beck*

In a letter received on July 3, 1961,¹¹⁵ Beck from Salford writes in Latin that universal education for children and adolescents has become inherent in at least the Western countries

¹¹³ Busta 1121.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ Earlier on, Cunningham, acting as the secretary for the Catholic education Council chaired by Bishop Beck of Salford, had replied on March 27 (which only arrived on May 19) that he would share the letter with the council members and send a reply as soon as possible. See busta 1131.

while less so in African and Asian countries. He argues that this worldwide reality needs to push the Church to further its leading position in education. In this way, finances are more than ever needed to increase Catholic education as well as Catholic teachers with more expertise. But as finances will mostly have to come from the state, it will be necessary to accept more influence of the government in pedagogical matters, and any form of school separatism on behalf of the Church needs to be abolished. Instead, the Church needs to collaborate with the state on agreed parts, while for religious instruction and the appointment of Catholic teachers, the Church should maintain its liberty. Beck also recommends the collaboration with non-Catholic schools as much as is possible. Such approach not only benefits the social reality in many countries where Catholics are the minority but will also further the relations with various governments that are not officially anti-Catholic. While parents and Church have the first responsibility of educating children, it has become more than ever necessary for state magistrates to provide the best education, especially since the disciplinary developments have made children more knowledgeable than their parents. The greatest influence of parents will be in the religious education, but Beck asks how that can continue to take place if parents have become increasingly ill-informed about the Christian faith. Therefore, parents and teachers need to closely work together in order to ensure educational progress. Moreover, as lay teachers will continue to increase and given the problem of parish-secondary school, chaplains are required on schools. On top of that, Beck foresees the further decline of religious and priests to spend their time in education. In this way, the solid preparation of the laity is the only way forward to teach in Catholic schools and to lead other Catholic laity forward in the faith.

Beck's response is noteworthy, as he is among the few to actually see the positive aspects of state involvement in education, and the need for Catholic education to collaborate with other private educational institutes. His suggestions are very different from what we have seen with the vota in the previous chapters, and they show his expertise in the realm of educational policies in a country where Catholicism had been a minority position. He further mentions that for countries where the state looks with suspicion to the Church or which actively attacks the Church, the fundamental rights of the parents need to be underlined especially in religious instruction. But Catholic parents need to be continuously updated about their role, the essence of Catholic education, and why it is superior. National and international organizations on education and of Catholic parents and teachers are for this purpose required. Especially international aid in education is the path forward mainly through international Catholic collaborations.¹¹⁶

7.6. The response of Rooney

In a letter written in English on June 30 and received on July 3, 1961, Rooney writes that *DIM* has all what it needs when it comes to the nature, purpose, and importance of education. The only thing that should be done is to bring it up to date with the times and with new problems that have arisen since then. To address these problems, the expertise of Catholic leaders in matters of education outside of Rome, Italy, and even Europe in general is needed

¹¹⁶ Busta 1121.

in order to comprehend the fate of the Church in other countries. As an example, he points out to the idea of co-education (both genders together in school), often abhorred in the West, but sometimes the only option in maintaining Catholic education in the face of “irreligious public education” in primary and secondary schools. Rather than condemning coeducation, the complexities need to be addressed in a treatment on Catholic education and in the canon law. Moreover, Rooney finds the tendency to emphasize professional and technical training over the top as the focus on supernatural values, the human person and social obligations has become neglected.

As for the chapter dealing with the rights, Rooney wants to first highlight the rights and obligations of the state in educational matters as that would in turn benefit the rights of the Church and the family. Education belongs to the common good and therefore the state is obliged to provide for the needs. No education means a lack of peace and security. Such emphasis on the state is politically more realistic as much of the modern-day world has become pluralistic.

As for the chapter dealing with Christian education and religious instruction, Rooney stresses the importance of parochial schools and Catholic high schools across the US and Canada. More needs to be done as well on the religious education of parents, as many have become increasingly unaware of the religious and even the latest secular education and the moral issues correlated with that. In fact, Rooney criticizes the assumption that parents can sufficiently train their children in their faith. This has also led to a decrease of parents sending their children to Catholic schools, while this importance needs to be continuously highlighted. A quote of Rooney’s stance says it all: “many Catholic students who are becoming eminently competent in science and the professions are doctrinal morons with no more grasp of the faith than they have garnered from a primary or secondary school education.”

Regarding the chapter on the right of the church to establish (Catholic) schools, the importance of Catholic education needs to be continuously highlighted up against secular education encouraging relativism and indifferentism. He is also not keen on the Newman Clubs across American secular schools as this has encouraged Catholic parents to send their children to secular schools and universities. Moreover, only ¼ of Catholic students can really enjoy these clubs, and this is still not a guarantee that Catholics will be protected by secular influences. While the rights of the Church in educational matters need to be stressed, so do the correlative duties. These imply the need to open more Catholic schools and that they meet basic educational standards. Quality prevails over quantity. Religious orders and congregations need to live up to their educational traditions and those who seek to turn away from it need to be rejected so that they can fully focus on their apostolic activity of education. To leave education only to the diocesan priests would lead to discontent. Moreover, Catholic higher academic schools should still be separated, and a strict selection of students should be maintained to keep the quality high. Catholic high schools need to be active on all levels: general high schools, classical high schools, high schools need to focus on the sciences and technical high schools. While Catholic institutions of higher learning (including seminaries)

are important, for Rooney, they do not need to be multiplied due to the financial burdens (scholarships, competition, ...).

As for the current difficulties, Rooney sees two: a state monopoly or quasi-monopoly in educational matters as well as the refusal of state aid. The Church cannot be happy with simply the toleration of private education and the provision of financial support to public education alone. To get aid from the state in this matter, cooperation with other religious denominations will be necessary. As for the improvement of the Catholic school, Catholic institutions and educators should be active in non-religious educational associations on a regional, national, and international level. As for Catholic educational (inter)national associations and federations, they must be thoroughly organized and have equal quality like their non-Catholic counterparts. They should enjoy the freedom to take decisions without the hierarchy directly involved, and this includes the finances, the selection of officers, establishing programs and so forth. This does not apply to the official Secretariats of education. On the curial level, the congregation of seminaries and university studies, as well as the one of the religious, should be more focused on the fate of universities. People who know how a university is run and the problems involved should be appointed as members. Moreover, these congregations need to become more aware about the regional realities and differences all around the world, for in his contacts with many outside Europe, he often heard complaints about the lack of touch of reality of these Roman congregations.

As for the current problems for Catholic education, Rooney points to the lack of adequately trained teachers and the lack of finances to attract the best teachers. In higher education, the problems are the same and there is also a lack of dedication to research and publications. More Catholics, including priests, need to be active in public universities. Catholic colleges need to further contemplate how to provide a wholesome intellectual training. Emotional care and well-being of the students still need to be uplifted, including a sense of social responsibility and moral and spiritual understanding.

In order to counter these problems, Catholic teachers active in all levels should be better trained and prepared. Rooney specifically points to the lack of quality among religious women. But he also puts the blame for this on the bishops and priests who push religious women to teach while they are not fully prepared yet. Teaching is part of apostolicity, and the laity has a strong part to play in it as well.

7.7. The response of Koroschetz

The letter of Koroschetz arrived on July 18, 1961.¹¹⁷ His letter written in Latin mostly simply describes the educational situations in Austria, which should not be repeated again here.¹¹⁸ What can be derived relevant for the Preparatory Commission, is that he complains about the lack of financial means to properly run Catholic schools and the lack of qualified staff to teach. The latter problem is also due to the fact that (financial) security is larger in public schools even in the long term (pension) than in the private Catholic school. The result is also that Catholic schools only receive those teachers who are pedagogically unfit for public

¹¹⁷ A full copy of his letter is also available in busta 1122.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter II for this matter.

schools or who are unfit for political reasons. Moreover, due to the lack of state aid, the financial burden on both parents and Catholic schools are high. In other words, the biggest problem for the fate of Catholic schools in Austria, is the lack of state aid and recognition. Many of the problems of finances, access, and quality would be removed if the state would change its direction, aid the Catholic school and live up according to the concordat. This is all the more necessary given the fact that Catholic schools are still highly preferred by Catholics and non-Catholics alike and that Catholic schools still have a large influx of students in Austria. Korschetz sees socialist education also as a threat to religious education and the Catholic faith, as it gives rise to relativism and subjectivism. Catholic teachers and parents need to be very conscious, aware and knowledgeable about the Catholic faith. Sunday lectures on educational matters in the parish are desirable (but again mainly in Austria), and Catholic Action needs to be further expanded to increase visibility also in educational matters.

7.8. The response of Pieschacon

Pieschacon's letter in Spanish was written on August 29 from Colombia and received on September 8, 1961. The reason for his delay of replying had to do with Pieschacon's choice to first attend the second Inter-American Council of the CIEC in Rio de Janeiro, July 22-26, and discuss with all the representatives there the questions at stake from Pizzardo's letter. The result: Pieschacon's observations have the support of fifteen American nations. Regarding (i) (nature...): a lot has been already said in *DIM*, but the purposes of education should be highlighted more, especially the social training. However, the main point is that education is not about adding something to the individual, but to make the most from all the gifts provided by God to humankind. For (ii) there needs to be a specification of the "hierarchy of rights", which for Pieschacon consists of "the right to objective truth", "the right to the subjective truth", "the right of the individual", "the right of parents", "the school establishment" either from the church or not, and the right of the state. For the improvement of the common good, the complexity of modern life needs to be taken into consideration, which includes the formation of humans in light of their economic, social and cultural needs.

For (iii): the Latin-American fathers are convinced that education is a life-long process, starting already during the infant years. Since culture continuously changes and new issues and difficulties pop up, it is necessary to provide religious instruction and keep it up to date with the newest profane knowledge and vice versa. The laity and priests need be thoroughly trained for this purpose, including in the technical sciences. The religious instruction not only should focus on dogma, but also on the pastoral aspect so that teachers can accompany young people in their growth. A focus on all the aspects is needed to come to a comprehensive education: the intellect, the arts, psychology, and all this with a focus on and unity with God. Regarding (iv): Pieschacon proposes to unify all the various existing Catholic schools (i.e., nomenclature) into one common denominator as opposed to state schools. He proposes the following: the first are public schools which run on tax money and voluntary contributions and provide accessible education to all regardless of class or social background. Official and non-official schools (the latter consisting of private and church

schools) are all public schools. As to the official schools, they belong to the state even if run by the religious communities or ecclesiastics. Non-official schools are founded by entities or individuals, and these can be church schools and private schools. Church schools are those who have an ecclesiastical legal character granted by the ecclesiastical authorities or belonging to ecclesiastical entities (can. 1489). The legal aspect makes these schools non-private, and the whole organization, direction and sponsoring comes from the ecclesiastic authority/entity. Private schools, for their part, are founded and led by persons (by nature or by law) who are either Catholic or non-Catholic depending on the ideology of the founder. To foster Catholic schools, more parish schools are needed, a larger scope of social classes is necessary (especially among the poor), free or semi-free schools as part of larger church schools run by the religious need to be established (if not: at least religious should supervise schools for the poor lest the poor are influenced by communism).

Regarding (v): the dangers lie in “Masonic secularism” and statism across America, as well as the tendency to make education a form of a business. To counter the latter, the council should explicitly show that Church and Catholic education are a help for the national economies and should therefore receive financial aid from the state. As for (vi): union of educational forces across diocesan, national and international associations and federations are more than ever needed (like the existing ICCE of this group). A global organization could even be established, bringing together all the regional organizations. Moreover, all Catholic schools should become one in a federation to counter fights among secular and regular clergy. All organizations should be like civil associations to be more effective. As for (vii), the biggest threat is individualism. For (viii): although Catholic schools across America enjoy great esteem, it will be necessary to prepare teachers better pedagogically and technically in light of the state’s endeavors in this regard in its own schools. Finally, congregations tending to lean toward the social field at the cost of the educational field need to be countered, as teaching has been the core mission of the Church throughout history to transform people, train children and defend all against errors and moral dangers. It is therefore necessary to continuously meet the demands of the times which can come to light through local, national and international meetings.

7.9. The response of Daem

Daem probably had the longest reply of 38 pages all written in Latin. Regarding (i): education has primarily to do with adults (parents and teachers) supporting the children. They advise and guide the child while the child and adolescent shape themselves, it is a relationship bond. Education concerns the whole person, physical, intellectual, moral, and religious. This is even more needed in times of scientific and technical progress. The primary aim of the school though is intellectual formation, which involves both the technical preparation and the moral and religious attitude so that children and adolescents can grow into maturity. To counter all kinds of errors, which Daem sees as a consequence of educational failures, education, its purpose and its importance for society, needs to be defined. The common good is the goal which comes from training the person to perform

his/her social functions. The personal and the common good coincide (up against socialists who focus on the subjective).

As for (ii): the only complete education is Christian education, as it includes both the human and the divine life which the youth needs. Those who teach and guide children should themselves live or lead an exemplary Christian life seeking perfection. A reference to *DIM* is provided. In Catholic schools, specific and general formation needs to be provided through the directors. The specific one includes religious instruction and initiation, that is the practice of piety and liturgy and the focus on apostolic works. The general one focuses on the profane knowledge by means of a “Christian humanism”, i.e., a focus on the will and the heart, culture and relations. Christian life does not exist without Christian instruction, and Daem refers to Biblical passages (John 17:3, Rom 10:17). The mind needs to be enlightened by the faith to bring about a whole Christian vision, and that is what teachers need to provide. One danger that has arisen, though, is the shortage of teachers and catechists leading to a quick selection of new catechists and teachers who do not have enjoyed a solid preparation. Moreover, catechesis is no longer adequate. The psychology of children and adolescents is also important (cf. Pius XII), as each individual has his/her own character, psychology and capacity. In order to obtain the best possible Christian education, priests and religious need to live an exemplary life, need to have competence in human and divine matters. In the seminaries and religious houses, the clergy needs to be thoroughly prepared for the “apostolic mission”, i.e., scientific and ascetic training to be used through catechesis. Moreover, collaborations of the laity and parents are more than ever needed. Catholic associations focused on child education (and marriage) are needed. Bishops should encourage such associations. The best means need to be available in Catholic schools to maintain quality. Associations like Catholic Action for the youth are also very beneficial for their formation next to the family and the school. In countries with predominant neutral state schools, all Catholics (priests, religious, lay) need to be active in the apostolate to reach out in and outside these schools. Finally, diocesan catechetical institutions will be helpful to prepare future teachers to give religious instruction. Across the globe, no matter the circumstances, “the divine mission of Christians remains the same”. This mission will be applied in and outside schools. All must be done to ensure a complete Christian instruction through various means, even when Catholic schools are not possible.

For (iii): education belongs to the family, “civil society” as a natural order, the Church as a supernatural order. The Church teaches parents religious and moral matters and tells them about their duties to their children. Education remains a primary service to children. Parents cannot do this on their own but need to freely collaborate with other individuals and the schools. This freedom is crucial, also in light of the universal right of the parents as highlighted in universal declarations. Daem refers to the declaration and additional protocols of the European convention of the rights of man, parents and that of children as well. As for the Church, three factors make it authoritative in matters of education and instruction: the divine mission installed to her, the supernatural motherhood of her identity, and the history of schools. Due to her divine mission, the Church has the exclusive right to provide religious formation in all public and private schools. It can appoint religious teachers, prescribe

religious books, and inspect religious instruction. The same right is given to train ministers in seminaries and religious houses. The right to establish schools is also part of the Church including teaching the profane disciplines. As Daem argues, “general formation is necessarily connected with religious formation”, but this general formation should be understood as a subsidiary and not as a primary right. Both the family and the Church should promote the common good. The state, for its part, must protect the duties and rights of parents and schools. Moreover, it should establish schools for the parents and should ensure that citizens are able to obtain “a level of culture”.

Catholics need to continue to establish and expand Catholic schools in countries, mainly in countries where the state financially aids Catholic schools. In countries where this is not the case and where mainly the religious have established schools, they can only continue to expand schools if given permission by the local ordinary lest there is too much competition or too many schools. Catholic parents need to support Catholic schools in all ways, and they need to foster all kinds of collaborations for this end. Catholic schools also need to make more advertisement of themselves through various modern means to obtain more recognition by local inhabitants. Directors of Catholic schools need to be equipped with value and efficiency to provide education and instruction. The Church needs to continuously remind the parents to choose for Catholic schools, and they need to be convinced that merely some Catholic influence in state schools is insufficient. In countries which are Catholic, the Church needs to be prudent about public schools. The Catholic school needs to have all the desired conditions as described by the ecclesiastical authority.

Regarding (iv): problems for the Catholic schools and/or religious instruction arise from state monopoly on education either on behalf of socialists and communists, or liberal absolutists. Even in the case where some liberals and socialists favor state aid to Catholic schools, most of them seek to monopolize the education or deny state aid. Their influences are especially promoted by the freemasons. Catholic teachers in state schools are also under pressure to follow relativism and scientism including through course material. Naturalism and materialism opposing the idea of original sin need to be contradicted as well. Catholic teachers and catechists need to be trained to counter these influences. Another point of discussion and wariness is issues related to sexual education.

As for (v): since there are multiple Catholic schools not equipped with the best didactic means, it is important to keep educational quality high. This can only occur by increasing the pedagogical and didactic competence of the teachers and the organization of the school in general. Psychological education of teachers is also needed. To further pedagogical progress, parents’ associations are needed. Such parent associations are also helpful against the moral and religious dangers and statism. In fact, associations in general are the way forward to protect the Catholic school: All kinds of Catholic schools should function into one national federation as this will make them more valuable and solid to fight for the necessary rights like state aid. It will also appreciate the activity of the Church. Freedom of schools need to be defended against the state, and parents need to be up to date with all the values of the Catholic schools. It also hoped that some associations established by the national ecclesiastical hierarchy can achieve canonical status. Catholics must also be active

on in international organizations like. Through modern technical means, information and dialogue have become ever easier. Daem specifically praises the OIEC, but clarity is needed regarding the relationship of this office and national offices. The same goes for UNESCO.

As for (vi): There are some problems in that the demographic and students' growth can no longer be coped with in Catholic schools (at least in north Europe): all Catholic schools are full making it difficult to follow each student individually. This is all the more enhanced in light of a lack of teachers, especially in scientific disciplines. While for Belgium, matters seem to go quite well, more could be done to enable the technical and professional preparation of students. Demographic and economic factors have become very important to deal with and all this must be done in light of the apostolic function. Lay teachers need to be prepared in the best way to counter the influence of state schools, as Daem is convinced that a qualitative preparation was still lacking. Their preparation has become more demanding than ever before: they need to know their subject very well not only by reasoning (as was done then), but also to be better informed by the latest scientific, psychological, pedagogical, and didactic knowledge. Moreover, teachers should have an apostolic sense and true calling, only then should they be selected. Another problem has to do with the amount of work on the principals and teacher – clergy and lay alike. The burden needs to be lessened. Lay teachers need to be better integrated in the school life run by the priests and/or religious. Again, collaboration is required among the two groups, and Daem especially points to the religious to do so with the laity. Closer relationships with individual students is needed to ensure each one can be directed in the right direction. Moreover, ghettoization needs to be countered so that students are prepared for the society and engagement with non-Christians. Directors of different schools should also meet more often for assistance and mutual learning.

For (vii): the state needs to financially aid the Catholic school in such a way that teachers and directors of the latter enjoy the same esteem as public schools. National associations of schools and the collaboration of parents will foster power in front of the state. Experience from some countries have taught that, such as in the Netherlands. Future priests trained in religious houses and seminaries need to be further trained beyond apostolicity, catechesis and some of the profane disciplines (especially as some do not go to universities). This should be done by providing preparation programs for teaching in the first or second years of philosophy and in the last years of theology. It is one thing to have a solid scientific, philosophical and theological formation, but another thing to also have a teaching method for religion and other disciplines. Junior teachers should be continuously supervised and guided by senior teachers and directors. Christ needs to be central in the lives. Finally, congregations leaving their educational mission should be thoroughly inspected regarding the (in)valid reasons for doing so. In practice, only when the order can no longer provide qualified teachers, the work could be handed over to other Catholic schools or the laity.

7.10. The response of Funke

Funke's letter in Latin was only transmitted on January 9, 1962. And it remains rather generalized and very much focused on man as an individual. For him, education is to develop

the character of the person to teach the temporal and eternal goal. It shapes the future of the individual up until the “eternal kingdom”. It involves the person in his/her totality who is fully unique in all facets, has the awareness of being created by God due to life’s finitude, and is called to live a life in imitation of Christ. For him, that is the goal and essence of Catholic education, that has to operate against neo-paganism. Parents enjoy natural rights and obligations in the educational work and have the first the right to educate children as opposed to absolutist claims (such as communism or nationalism). Teachers must use that right as it is delegated to them through the parents. Similarly, the Church also has the right to educate as it has paternal and maternal rights to develop supernatural characters. The current dangers are moral relativism, materialism, and religious eradication through the latter two (neo-paganism). Christians ought not only to hear, receive, or to be formed, but to teach, give and form others as well. As for the state, it needs to ensure the common good, so it needs to supply parents and the church with educational aid if they ask for it.

After this short letter, Funke attached a copy of a volume of *Liberté d’enseignement* (November 1959) in which he had published an article on the primary schools in the German Federal Republic.¹¹⁹ Without going into details,¹²⁰ there is some relevant information that shows Funke’s vision on the Catholic school. He writes that the new Catholic school for the times must no longer be based on the confessional school idea but based also on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as a school respecting the conscience of non-Catholics and their rights. For Funke, everyone has the right to follow their own philosophy or religious education within a school. One aspect that is missing in Germany which Netherlands, France or Belgium have, is the possibility to establish Catholic free primary schools, independent from the state. Funke is convinced that this should be possible in Germany as well, based on a visit he made to Montreal, Canada. Moreover, he is in favor of a coordination of education provided by the school and the family, a so-called class and school sponsorships as it is done in the canton-system in Switzerland. But unlike Switzerland where school communities consisting of parents of students have an impact in decision-making in school policies (e.g., they can nominate professors, require financial contributions from the community...) due to the cantons, in Germany, such communities should be purely consultative, where parents and professors can exchange ideas and suggestions. Things such as inspection or making accusations should not be possible.

On January 25, 1962, Funke sent another letter (received February 17) in which he mentions that the Catholic schools from the North-African coast, the Levant and the Middle East had met for the first time in their existence at a common conference in Rome (9-13 January 1962).

7.11. The response of Op De Coul

Op de Coul responds on April 8 (received 18 April) accepting the invitation. However, Op de Coul would pass away later that year in July without ever having sent advice. On

¹¹⁹ This was done alongside another copy of the law zur Ordnung des Schulwesens im Land Nordrhein-Westfalen (as written on April 8, 1952).

¹²⁰ See Chapter II for that matter.

September 6, 1961 (received September 15), Giuseppe Beltrami, Apostolic Nuncio of Holland, replies to Pizzardo about the passing away of Op de Coul and that he was followed by Cornelis E. Schelfhout until a new director would be appointed. Schelfhout asked Beltrami to ask Pizzardo in turn how to proceed with the matter now that Op De Coul passed away. On September 18, Pizzardo replies that although the vota requested from Op De Coul had a personal character, the Pontifical Commission would be grateful if Schelfhout sends his opinion on the matter; however, it would be appropriate for Schelfhout to take the oath given the confidentiality of the Council. But then nothing seems to happen afterwards.

7.12. The response of Amici

Meanwhile, the consultor Amici was also asked to give his opinion alongside the theological experts. Amici's letter in Latin arrived on February 10, 1962, and it immediately spent a good amount of the rather short letter on the threat of communist schools and the attack of communists on the rights of the Church and Catholic education. In a next step he vehemently argues against the fact that many "atheist" or "agnostic" states deny financial aid to (private) Catholic schools unlike public schools. He also bemoans that the Christian faithful do not give enough financial aid to Catholic education themselves. As for Catholic universities worldwide, there is the big problem of a lack of adequate teachers; however, the Catholic university remains necessary to spread the Catholic doctrine and provide laureates. Moreover, to enhance the relation between Catholic universities and theological faculties, theological teachers active in the seminaries and theological faculties of each diocese should keep themselves up to date by participating in study days related to doctrinal orthodoxy. As for the diocesan Catholic schools, unity and agreement is needed to ensure all social groups can be taught.

7.13. Other Developments

While the opinions surrounding the Catholic schools were pouring in, meanwhile Fabro promised had made a first report on Thomas Aquinas by April 11, 1961. In this text, the oeuvre of Thomas Aquinas was praised as it always was reflective of a deep comprehension of various issues in this world in light of the Christian faith handed down by the Church. This methodology and intellectual exercise was to be kept intact and remained crucial for contemporary issues, and therefore studies on Thomas Aquinas had to be enhanced in both Catholic and public universities.¹²¹

8. The Third General Meeting (May 2-May 6, 1961)

During the third general meeting, the members of the commission discussed various texts in different sessions.¹²²

¹²¹ Busta 1152; Lamberigts, "The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission," 60-61.

¹²² For the minutes of the different sessions, see buste 1129, 1156.

8.1. First session (May 2, 1961)

In his introduction, Mayer insisted on having the drafts ready that could be approved by the Council. He mentioned that all topics provided by the CPC had to be discussed during this general meeting. Alongside three other texts,¹²³ he hoped that the draft on the studies in ecclesiastical universities already presented in March, now ready for a second reading, could be approved and sent to the CPC, even though it was not yet determined whether the text would become part of a decree or a constitution. Towards the end of the first session, the discussion on the ecclesiastical studies at universities started. The text of this second version was already distributed before the meeting. However, the text was considered too rhetorical; incorrect when stating that the Church was the mother of all sciences; and the introduction as too polemical and defensive (Blanchet, seconded by Marty, Ferreira Gomes, Adam). For many, the text was also too long.

8.2. Second session (May 3, 1961, morning)

The discussion on ecclesiastical university studies continued. In the introduction, Mayer repeated that there was an agreement that the redaction should be more sober and shorter (a desire that was expressed by many) and that negative and apologetic statements had to be avoided. In the discussion, more attention was asked for contemporary philosophy (Masi; Combes; Roschini). Fabro was even more radical, stating that the norms described about philosophical studies would not at all suffice for the philosophical formation. In the end, it was clear that the first part still needed a lot of revision – especially the structure and style of the text, and the part on modern philosophy.

Then, the second part dealing with theological studies was discussed after Muñoz Vega had mentioned some (smaller) changes. Blanchet observed that the regulations to be admitted for theological studies at university level differed from country to country. Carraro and Colombo asked for a new redaction of the decree, being supported by Johan, Savino, Bertoglio, Faraoni, Bandas, Angioni, Combes, and Roschini. Marty asked to include pastoral formation in the university studies (supported by Landucci, Girard). At the end, Mayer summed up things: people asked for a new redaction; the norms had to be generalized, avoiding particularities; something had to be said regarding the pastoral training in universities; and the difference between theological studies at seminaries and at universities had to be more clearly explained.

In the last part of the meeting, the third part on other specialized studies was discussed. Muñoz Vega made it clear that Scripture had to receive its own place in the curriculum, and that liturgical and pastoral sciences were to be considered as being part of the theological sections. The second paragraph was reduced, and it was asked to avoid particularities. De Bazelaire de Ruppierre asked whether something on catechesis had to be mentioned, to which Muñoz Vega replied that this was already included in the section on pastoral theology. Mayer concluded that the sub-commission should determine the requirements to follow specialized studies, and what the ecclesiastical matters consisted of. Multiple people

¹²³ On studies in seminaries; On the promotion of priestly vocations; On Latin.

expressed their doubts about this fourth section, especially regarding the method as being too scholastic or speculative. Given the complicated matter, it was decided at the end to establish the following sub-commissions: *On ecclesiastical university studies*: Muñoz Vega SJ, Stickler as co-relator, and Keller, Masi, Herlihy, Dezza, Fabro, Hilarino Da Milano, Roschini; *On Catholic universities*: Blanchet as relator, Vito as co-relator, Colombo, Jedin, Albareda-Herrera, McDonald, Hilarino Da Milano, and Dezza. As is visible, both Dezza and Da Milano played a role in both sub-commissions. In fact, at some times, Dezza would take up a leading role (see further below).

8.3. Third session (May 3, 1961, afternoon)

During this session, a major part of the discussion focused on Catholic Schools. Before this meeting, the members had received a relatio of Suárez Díez consisting of fourteen pages. This relatio was based on some of the replies of the external consultors who had submitted them before on time, along with Suárez Díez his own input. The text discussed a concise historical overview; the current questions regarding education; the same regarding the schools; and the major problems. Other general remarks were added, namely: the discussion should be considered under a threefold aspect: dogmatic, doctrinal and disciplinary. Moreover, the discussion was written in such a way it would start with general principles of education to the more particular question of the Catholic school, and finally some urgent problems. Finally, it was mentioned that there were already several ecclesiastical documents which were of the greatest value on the topic (*DIM*, *Non abbiamo bisogno*, and *Mit brennender Sorge*).

Regarding the brief history, the text discussed the origin and the evolution of school education, and the development of the Church's awareness about problems connected with education and school. It discussed the development of education as being part of the cultural development of any people and civilization. Education was part of constructing society intellectually and professionally (the examples of Egypt, Greece, Rome and even the Hebrews who added the religious and moral ends in education). Christ also asked us to go and teach (*"euntes [...] docete"*) with soon afterwards the first Christian schools sprouting. First, they existed next to the pagan ones in the early years, and were very much focused on catechesis; later, the first confessional schools came into existence showing the necessity to establish Catholic schools in light of the prohibition of Christians to engage in pagan schools. After the Constantine turn and in light of the decay of the Western Roman Empire, schools evolved into monastic, episcopal, presbyterial and parish schools, universities and superior schools and later the missionary schools. It was pointed out that from the beginning, the church was aware that it was the mother and teacher of all humanity, which would teach all men the way of salvation.

The contemporary questions for today focused on the issues of naturalism and laicism, the insufficient religious instruction and the ignorance regarding this matter, the lack of full surrender to the vocation of teaching and schools (the interior spiritual life). What had been established for the overseeing of the universities and the magisterial teaching (i.e., the congregation of seminaries and university studies), the same had to be done for schools and

education. It was pointed out that the previous council had not really dealt with this very important problem. The same applied to the issues regarding the state, its rights and limitations, and the role of the Church in society up against laicism, state monopoly (Nazism, Marxism...) etc.

Regarding the current questions on schools, more had to be done with the question of the apostolate and the schools. Multiple references were provided from the councils in Lebanon, Westminster, Baltimore, and Ludovici regarding the necessity of Catholic schools up against moral and religious corruption, and the full surrender of teachers in this regard. The rights of the Church, the children and the families must prevail, which were actually under oppression in various countries like for instance in Hungary. Such a violation had to be condemned. The same had to be said against secularized schools where Christian education was not provided.

Finally, the urgent problems were examined: theoretical principles had to be defined, and practical solutions discerned. The influence of materialism and secularism leading to an alienation from the Church were condemned. The right of the Church to be aided by the state in maintaining Catholic schools was highlighted. Priests, religious and lay had to be made aware of the serious task of education and to keep it in the right lines. As for the Catholic school, it had to be free, and all had to be done to influence the public opinion that free (Catholic) schools contribute to the good of society. Teachers in Catholic schools were required to have the necessary didactic and pedagogical preparations. The Church was to obtain a strong central educational organization. Problems of salaries and taxes had to be cleared up and discussed vis-à-vis the state. In general, it was urgently need for secular and religious priests to cooperate and collaborate. Lastly, it was discussed that more effort was needed to see what could be done for the Christian education of the youth in those countries where Catholic schools were non-existent.

Alongside the *relatio*, an *adumbratio schematis* was added. The introduction discussed the divine command on which the sacred teaching is based, as well as the rights proclaimed by the Church. The second point mentioned various suggestions related to the nature of education in the fullest sense, the usefulness of the school, its necessity and condition for the true apostolate, the conditions of a truly Catholic school, the freedom of the school, the rights and duties to impart education and to establish schools, the state's obligation to recognize the independence of the school and to support denominational schools. After that, at least indirectly, some of the modern errors were discussed (secularism, statism, liberalism, materialism, naturalism). As for the third point, more practical issues were to be discussed: the make Catholics well aware of their rights and obligations regarding education and the school, especially those who, through social action (parents, associations, legislators, etc.), can exert a greater influence on the passing of civil laws. They should not only be well informed but also prepared to assert their rights and fulfill their obligations. Action had to be carried out with every effort, using the most suitable means for propagation, agreements with civil authorities and associations so that the free school may enjoy the support and assistance of the public opinion. Catholic schools were to receive equal payments from the state, so that they can afford to provide free access and can reach out to both rich and poor

classes (especially the latter). Certain arrangements were to be made regarding the obligation of professional, didactic and pedagogical preparation, required for teachers, so that Catholic schools do not lose their appreciation. As for the organization, certain things would have to be contained in the decree: Catholic schools should fulfill all the necessary conditions to be truly Catholic; a central organization had to be established as was done for the universities to ensure that Catholic can be independent public schools (not only as private schools); finally, the cooperation of both secular and religious clergy in an intimate, fraternal, perfect way.¹²⁴

Both the outline and the draft were discussed with the general assembly present and would later be transmitted on June 23, 1961, to the consultants who had not participated in that meeting but were expected to submit their comments.¹²⁵ To make matters clear, both the opinions of those present and absent are discussed here (first those present, afterwards those absent).¹²⁶ Vayalil was of the opinion that the text bypassed the realities of the missions. Dezza asked to include the natural right to education to include the non-Catholics, rather than merely highlighting the rights of the Church. Something had also to be added regarding the role of Catholics in public schools. Dezza concluded, asking whether the principles in this text were also valid for universities. Lang emphasized that Catholic schools should not only provide one-sided religious instruction but must ensure that a wholesome education is offered that covers all facets of life. A general intellectual and moral education must be provided, in which cultural, national, and professional goals are the center. Parents and Church should always seek to involve the state for the responsibility and obligation of education towards children. A harmonious cooperation is desired considering God's values. A Catholic schools must also imply qualitative teaching, which also implies that didactic and pedagogical methods in Catholic schools must meet the highest standards. External regulations or a central Roman organization was to be avoided as this might be interpreted as "foreign interference". Instead, the focus should be on the interests of the parents and the willingness of the teachers to take care of the Catholic school. Beltrán de Heredia briefly mentioned that almost everything that had to be said regarding Catholic education and schools had already been provided for in most of the magisterial texts and especially *DIM*.

Denis highlighted that neutral education is non-existent given the different religious convictions of parents. The limelight should be on the right of parents and the family, as also discussed by the European convention of the rights of men. As for the confessional schools, he stated that such educational system would be valid for all religious schools and not only for the Catholic school. Moreover, he warned not to overburden Christians by leaving them with difficult choices in countries where the Church was already in a dire situation. Public and Catholics schools were not to be opposites, and he asked for norms that could also be

¹²⁴ Busta 1121; Lamberigts, "*De Scholis Catholicis*," 319-20.

¹²⁵ It concerned the members Langs (whose comments arrived on July 18, 1961), Beltrán de Herrera (July 21), Denis (July 22), Camelot (July 27), Bignamini (July 28), Manresa Formosa (July 31), Marquez (August 1), Cifuentes (August 1), Amici (August 3), Donald (August 7), O'Boyle (August 7). See: busta 1121.

¹²⁶ Cf. Lamberigts, "*De Scholis Catholicis*," 320-22.

applicable to Africa, Asia or in countries under communist regimes.¹²⁷ It had to be shown that the council was aware of the various contexts in the world. Next to these suggestions, he also engaged with some passages. For instance, regarding the intro, he asked what role the Church played in the histories of other regions in the world beyond the West. He mentioned that “historical rights must give way to present needs”. For the second paragraph, the benefit of Catholic schools in the missions had to be discussed, especially as many had mainly reduced the role of schools in the missions as a means for evangelization. For no. 3, Denis pointed out not to confuse the free school with the Catholic school as Protestant schools could also be free or a public school could also be a Catholic one at the same time. A clearer definition of the Catholic school is needed, especially since the canon law did not provide such description. The means that are very effective in defending the rights of the Catholic schools should also be highlighted, such as the national central organizations of Catholic schools, the international organizations, confederations of alumni... In general, some of the passages in canon law on schools could be revised.

Camelot like Beltrán de Heredia pointed out that *DIM* already mentioned much what was discussed in in the schema but added that the style of the encyclical could be updated to a more positive tone that avoids polemics. Bignamini insisted on the inalienable right of parents to choose schools and teachers, and for parents to supervise them. But since the family is imperfect, it needs schools and teachers to delegate authority. He argued that the state should financially aid to ensure the freedom on behalf of the parents to choose schools and to educate their children in a Christian way. Private schools must in this way be aided, and as Catholics paid taxes, they had the right to have state support for their schools. The state has an obligation to admit and protect school independence and to support denominational schools (cf. *DIM*). It should also provide for an appropriate formation that includes moral and religious education and protect the children against harmful education. In any case, a state monopoly in school matters is never possible.

Manresa Formosa focused on the female religious pointing to their insufficient formation, which for him should be improved on equal level like their male priestly and religious counterparts. Marquez Toriz of Los Angeles insisted on the right of Catholics to receive Catholic education which could only be fully provided in Catholic schools and universities. The bishops therefore had the authority to guide in this matter: to promote religious education, to supervise schools run by the religious and the parishes, including the catechesis, instruction, books and teachers/professors (as in the canon law). He firmly opposed secular and anti-Catholic schools. Moreover, societies of parents and alumni were crucial means to promote Christianity. As for the state, it should ensure the freedom of schools and aid the confessional school (cf. *DIM*). Multiple publications, sermons and study groups were needed to further promote Catholic education. A stronger emphasis was needed to promote the social action by Catholics regarding education and schools to obtain civil

¹²⁷ His comment has to be placed in light of the changing political landscapes as it was not clear what the future of Catholic schools would be under new (decolonized) regimes: either Catholic schools would be simply sacked/taken over (a rich possession indeed) or a new common agreement could be find with Catholics and local regimes to keep these schools running.

laws. All in all, the doctrinal exposition of the schema should not merely be theoretical but logically provide the practical solutions. It should provide a synthesis of all that has been passed by the Church on this matter (laws, decrees, norms, papal documents...).

Like Marquez Toriz, Cifuentes emphasized the role of the Catholic school as providing a true Catholic formation as well as the role of the bishops to supervise them. All means are needed to fight to obtain a true (Christian) freedom of teaching, without which Catholic teaching institutes find themselves incapable of providing an integral education within the Catholic population. For Cifuentes, it is essential that associations of parents of students be formed in all colleges and associations of Catholic teachers in all countries. Leaders of Catholic Action should also be prepared especially in matters of education, with profound knowledge of the pontifical norms in this matter and especially *DIM*.

Amici, for his part, argued that Catholic and private schools in general must faithfully observe the civil laws regarding the election and remuneration of teachers and other officials; to choose the teachers and superiors who know the doctrine, and have faith and honesty. Ordinaries, priests, and faithful teachers should educate both about the rights and obligations of the church, the family and the state with regard to education and schools, and about the good that comes from the Catholic education of the youth, and the bad that comes from neutral or irreligious schools. They should also promote other means leading to this end, besides the ordinary catechesis, such as newspapers, periodicals and books which correctly explain and protect the rights of the church and the family. As for the state, it had to be recognized that it also has the right to establish schools yet at the same time promoting freedom of choice by allowing other schools to flourish. The state should protect the children in general. Finally, Catholics should be well aware of their rights and obligations regarding education and school (associations, civil pacts).

McDonald opined that in Catholic schools, all students must be taught about the rights and obligations of Catholic parents in the education of children. Parish priests should be directed by the Ordinary to preach to the people about the rights and obligations towards education and Catholic schools as well. Moreover, Catholic schools should have the best religious and lay teachers who are well qualified by the necessary degrees. These teachers should ideally have followed higher academic studies. Especially lay teachers should be increasingly hired due to their pedagogical know-how. In general, the quality of Catholic education must also be excelled. Catholic groups of teachers should discuss the latest educational rights; experts of philosophy of Catholic education should be invited to do lead discussions on this matter. Legal actions must also be initiated so that the Catholic opinions are known among those who preside in the state.

Finally, O'Boyle mentioned that a Catholic school is only Catholic when it consists of clerical and lay teachers who appropriated the Christian doctrines. Moreover, like McDonald, he asked for well qualified teachers who have academical degrees. He pointed to the difficult situation for the Catholic school in the US since state support was legally not possible and that Protestants in general try to oppose any aid to the Catholic school if the same is not provided to them. Another aspect he points to, is that parish priests and diocesan newspapers should make the faithful aware of the modern errors and how to resist them. In

general, Catholics should know their rights and obligations well. Finally, cooperation of the religious and the priests is necessary.

In other words, most of these comments showed strong support for the Catholic schools, emphasized the rights of the Church, and opposed state monopoly. Next to the discussion on the *De Scholis Catholicis*, the relator Jacono then introduced the discussion on the schema related to the ratio for teaching Scripture. Keller asked whether this text was not supposed to be a topic for the Theological Commission. More positive aspects about the work of exegetes had to be mentioned.¹²⁸

8.4. Fourth session (May 4, 1961)

The discussion continued the next morning, concentrating on the third and the fourth part of the decree. When people asked why “the holiness of the exegetes” was mentioned, Jacono replied that the reason for doing so was because exegetes otherwise ran the risk of being reduced to philologists. Blanchet was not convinced, however: the decree was about discipline, not the people’s spirituality. Marty did not see anything new in the schema. Carraro asked to pay attention to the unity of Scripture and its unique relation to Christ; the text not only had to thoroughly express the love for Scripture but also make it more practical in predication and catechesis, in the liturgical and spiritual formation of all Christians; an enhanced formulation on the basis of pontifical documents was necessary in order to avoid the dangers of misusing the Scripture among teachers, students, and the faithful. He concluded by asking to pay attention to the spiritual and pastoral importance of Scripture. Johan stressed that teachers should not offer their own ideas but the “sensus of the Church” (cf. the vota of the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies). In general, the importance of Scripture, nourishing spiritual life and pastoral activity was underlined by several people. Landucci observed that exegetes not only had to task of nourishing theologians but that they also should be influenced by theologians. Masi observed that exegetes were simultaneously theologians and that Scripture, with the aim to support the theological dogmas. Bertoglio argued that seminarians should have read the whole Scripture before ordination. Bandas warned for the dangers, mentioning that in Saint Paul (USA), invited professors were denying the historicity of Adam and Noah. The demands by Bertoglio and Bandas resonate with what was discussed in the previous chapters on the vota. Roschini considered the schema inadequate to the needs and dangers of the times. It should offer more particular norms. What was said about the use of Scripture by the laity had to be left. Dezza replied, referring to Pius XII, that one was not to be opposed to ideas simply because they were new, and that in expressing judgements, people should consider equity, justice, and love. Muñoz Vega argued that the schema should concentrate on three aspects: the formation of future priests, theologians and exegetes. The last part was neglected.

Mayer concluded the discussion: the formal ratio of the decree could be approved; the actual and future importance had to be put in light, thus clearly indicating the dangers and demanding prudence of the spirit of faith as well as docility towards the Church from the teachers; an enhanced text structure was needed; the pastoral importance, catechetical and

¹²⁸ Busta 1152.

liturgical aspects all had to be highlighted; and the relation between scripture and theology also had to be maintained. This summary was considered as a fair resumé, and all agreed on the question whether the schema should focus on the ratio concerning the teaching of scripture. The relator accepted all the remarks and agreed to work on a new redaction, insisting on prudence in teaching and on the principle of inerrancy. The commission agreed on these two points, along with the pastoral importance of the relation of dogma to Scripture.

8.5. Fifth session (May 5, 1961, morning)

Fabro presented his relatio on Thomas Aquinas, already received by the members prior to this meeting. In general, while some praised the work such as Mayer and Camelot, accepting the important role of Thomas of Aquinas in Catholic thought including for the future, others like Adam and Dezza had their reservations. Their reservations had to do, among other things, with the fact that “modern terminology” was missing in the text (Adam), or that the text had to be more generalized as what was described would not be felt in the same way by other ecclesiastical people involved in the Church (Dezza). Fabro, however, persisted that the Thomistic truths remained central. In the end, it was decided that he and Combes would work together on the schema.¹²⁹

8.6. Seventh session (May 6, 1961, morning)

During the seventh session, the schema on the ratio for studies in universities and ecclesiastical faculties was revised and the discussion of it took most of the time. In his introduction, Mayer summarized the discussion of the day before. The discussion had focused on specialization, the organic unity of programs, the improvement of quality in order to be comparable to state universities (preparation and selection of professors, the necessary means and finances), the need to specialize in other branches than philosophy and theology. Muñoz Vega presented the new text. For the introduction, nothing substantial was added. For no. 1 on philosophy, the focus was kept on the essential things. De Bazelaire de Ruppierre asked to say something about modern philosophy during the first year of studies (Muñoz Vega referred to the broad domain of contemporary philosophy, thus explaining the difficulty for selections in the first year). Muñoz Vega replied this would be better in the second year, as the first year was intended to make students familiar with scholastic philosophy (Fabro and Ferreira Gomes had still problems with this term, Fabro thinking of perennial). Fabro also argued that current culture has made much progress. Another discussion centered around what was to be expected of “quality” and the duration of studies. Here, the various differences between countries became clear. As for Italy, the state recognized the value of ecclesiastical studies. Muñoz Vega agreed with Blanchet with regard to the value of studies, adding that bishops want to see their students doctors as soon as possible. All agreed that quality should be protected and promoted. Mayer concluded that the degree of licentiate should become more difficult to obtain and more efficient, that the doctoral degree should also become more difficult to obtain, and that there was a

¹²⁹ See also Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 61-62. Combes would send his text on May 13, 1961; see busta 1152.

disagreement about the terms ‘scholastic’ and ‘perennial’ and whether to leave it in or out the text. In the discussion on theological studies, no major problems appeared.

8.7. Eighth session (May 6, 1961, afternoon)

In the final session, the text on ecclesiastical studies was discussed, again starting with the topic on specialization; a text that had been corrected by the sub-commission on May 3 and 4. Blanchet asked about the unity and the diversity in methods. The relator answered that the text was acting as a *via media* to promote the unity in method between theologians and exegetes – a very important aspect. Blanchet referred to the diversity of methods related to the various faculties and did not believe in a unity on the level of method. For Adam, all other sciences were directly or indirectly the handmaid of theology, just like it was perceived during the Middle Ages. Savino then suggested incorporating the methodology of Thomas Aquinas, but Faraoni contradicted that this did not belong in a conciliar decree. The relator thus suggested changing the term method and speaking of the ratio of teaching other disciplines. However, according to Fabro, the method was the key to science and errors were often the result of false methods. If the Council were to speak about the method, it had to be done in an elegant way. In the end, it was agreed that one should speak about methods in a general way, while the sub-commission was asked to prepare a formulation.

As for the fifth section dealing with the professors, Faraoni and Savino argued that a Council should mention them. Others counterargued that this was done in the CIC, where explicit mention was made about the qualities of professors. The text in general also had to be shorter, thus it was decided that no.1, 3, 4 were placed into one paragraph. The sixth section on the foundation of new universities and on affiliation also received the remark whether it belonged to a Council. Some had asked to determine the regulations for affiliation. What was, for instance, the difference between affiliation and aggregation? Dezza warned not to overemphasize the creation of new institutes, as financial means were not necessarily present. Fabro observed that too many universities might result in a decline of quality. The seventh section on specialized institutes was only shortly discussed. In general, the whole schema was substantially approved but many remarks still had to be discussed in the sub-commission.

Regarding the Catholic universities, Dezza had received the task from his sub-commission to read the rapport. A text on Catholic universities first had to deal with its nature. While the norm of establishing ecclesiastical universities by means of the Holy See still existed, this was no longer the case for the public universities. Thus, the origin and the nature of a Catholic university had to be highlighted. Catholic universities also needed the recognition by the state to provide academic degrees. The aim for Catholic universities was to impart the Christian doctrine in all parts of modern sciences. As for the distinction between Christians working in public and Catholic universities, the focus had to be on a permanent and structured way in all what is taught. As the Catholic university implied research according to the scientific approach, it was also enlightened by faith. Adolescents were thus trained in such a way that they would become, as faithful, experts in their domain. Important in this regard was the interaction between the theological faculty and the other

faculties. Where it was not always possible to have a theological faculty, a theological institute or center was required in order to investigate the relation with other disciplines in such a way that the whole scientific research and scholastic formation harmoniously conjoined with a Christian way of reasoning. In any case, all were required to offer intellectual help to the Holy See and to the episcopal meetings to instigate the contemporary apostolate. All what was necessary for a modern university had to be made available (means, libraries, etc.). Where this was not always possible, collaborations were necessary.

In general, all had to be done to establish Catholic universities and Catholics were strongly advised to join them. It was also pointed out that students of the southern hemisphere coming to the north to do universities studies were often greatly endangering their faith and morals. Given the fact that many students could only go to state universities (cf. lack of means), Catholic centers in state universities had to be created, not only for exercising spiritual ministry, but also for promoting intellectual debates about the relation of science and faith, thus filling in what was actually the task of a Catholic university. Then, the meeting ended.

9. Developments between the Third and Fourth General Sessions

After the third general session, Combes sent a text on *De doctrina S. Thomae servanda* on May 13, which was forwarded to Fabro five days later on May 19.¹³⁰ On the same day, the president of the CPC asked for a report of the activities in the commission¹³¹ in view of the meeting of the CPC that was to be held later from June 12-22, 1961. On June 22, a conspectus regarding the work done, and personal traveling cards were sent to the members of the commission and the same was done for the arrangements regarding the decree *De Scholis Catholicis* on June 23 (the list of names was different – it was probably again for those who were working in the sub-commission on schools).¹³² On July 11, the relatio on *De Universitatibus Catholicis* of Dezza was sent to the members.¹³³ On the same day, Blanchet also sent vota on the Catholic universities which were presented during the meeting in May earlier that year.¹³⁴

By the end of June 1961, a huge relatio of 145 pages on the Catholic school made by Suárez Díez was sent out. A note was added with three specifics. First, it was mentioned that the report was this long for the reason that any discussion on the Catholic school is too enormous, for the reason that it was the first time that an ecumenical council would deal with the scholastic matter in its entirety, and that despite all this, not all issues were covered or elaborated upon. Second, the note mentioned that many documents were presented in order to highlight the multitude of sources and the need to include the history behind important matters. Third, the method of the text was explained, claiming that each chapter had the same structure of ecclesiastical documents, the reasons explained, the advice of bishops and prelates, and conclusions. An index was provided as well. The relatio was divided into three

¹³⁰ Busta 1152.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

sections. The first one on education in general, the second on the ecclesiastical institution of the Catholic school and the third one on the organization of the Catholic school. For the first part, current questions were discussed: the nature, aim and direction of education; the necessity of Christian education; some fundamental principles; false opinions on education; various means which the Church can use to reach this end. The second part provided a brief historical overview; the current questions regarding schools; false opinions and errors surrounding the schools; accusations against Catholic schools; about the actors of teaching, the nature of Catholic schools, the public ecclesial schools as religious and diocesan schools, the right to teach, ecclesial documents; vota of the bishops and the prelates, conclusive propositions, urgent problems surrounding catholic schools. The third part provided preliminary questions, organization of catholic schools that includes inspections, commissions on national and technical level etc.

9.1. *A particular meeting in Sion*

From July 12-14,¹³⁵ a meeting in Sion took place on the invitation of Bishop Adam. At this meeting there were present: Mayer, Baldanza, Adam, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Carraro, Colombo, Mayer, Pozzi, and the periti Pascoli, Girard, and Martil. Marty was excused for work-related pastoral reasons and Keller for being ill. Because the general secretariat asked for documentation, it was discussed and decided that with regard to the studies, three schemata could be organized: on Catholic schools, on the university training, and on the formation of seminarians in which the schema on the promotion of vocations could be inserted. The following minor decrees were also qualified: next to Latin, “De ratione docendi S. Scripturam”, and “De doctrina S. Thomae servanda”.

9.2. *Developments after the meeting in Sion*

Later in the summer of 1961, on July 31, Fabro transmitted the reworked decree *De doctrina S. Thomae servanda*.¹³⁶ Meanwhile, on the same day, Part I (introduction) and Part II (first part of the decree on *De Scholis Catholicis*) arrived at the commission's secretariat.¹³⁷ On August 1, Blanchet sent observations on the decree *De Universitatibus Catholicis*.¹³⁸ On August 4, the decrees on the Catholic schools (Parts I & II), and on Thomas of Aquinas were sent to the members alongside the decree on the studies in seminaries.¹³⁹ On September 4, Felici asked whether the commission had material available for the printer.¹⁴⁰ Three days later, Part III (probative-expository) and Part IV (appendix) of *De Scholis Catholicis* arrived at the secretariat.¹⁴¹ The complete text of Suárez Díez with all the parts was still quite extensive (79 pages).¹⁴² In general, a full exposition on education and schools in light of the

¹³⁵ For the minutes, see busta 1156. In order to organize such meeting, a permission was asked to Felici; see busta 1152.

¹³⁶ Busta 1152. Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 62.

¹³⁷ Busta 1121.

¹³⁸ Busta 1152.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ Busta 1121.

¹⁴² Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 30-31, is reliant on the source found in the General Archive of the Pious Schools (AGSP) in Piazza dei Massimi in Rome, mentions 72 pages. The difference might have to do with copy work and font type and size. In my investigation, I did not consult this archive.

Catholic doctrine was offered. The emphasis lied on the good of the individual, family, Church and society at large. Catholic schools had to be organized very well on a national and international level, had to be adapted to the times and had to excel in quality. Opposing ideologies and errors were exposed as well. As for the specific content, no. 1 quoted Mt 28:18 and Eph 4:13 to emphasize the Church's mission to teach and educate as a mother. Part I (nos. 2-5) the true concept of Catholic education was discussed in which the person in its full capacities stood central. The earthly and the spiritual are held in balance, the natural and the supernatural. Culture, education and the school were all intimately connected, almost inseparable. Together, they show the development and perfection any society has reached. The Church for its history has always been part of this development; school and education were always very important. Then, education, the school and its organization were discussed. Next, the rights of the individual, the family and the need for social education were dealt with, followed by a discussion on the Church and then the state. Then the various specific states were discussed and how that affects the work of the Church in these countries: secular, atheistic, non-denominational, Catholic and pagan states. Cooperation with authorities was needed wherever possible. Private Catholic schools should be established as well as public ones (religious or diocesan), confirming the freedom of the school.

In Part II (nos. 5-11), the rights and duties of the children, parents, church and the state in educational matters were discussed. It was discussed how, among the many means used by the Church to educate the children and adolescents and to ensure the preservation and propagation of faith (catechesis, sermons, associations, study groups...), the school is considered to be very highly effective and necessary. The school not only brings instruction but also education and hosts an "apostolic army" appropriate to the contemporary needs. Then, the various Catholic schools were discussed (classic, scientific, technical, professional) and how they exist in various grades. They could be public and private and diocesan or religious. The right to establish schools came back; the importance of fostering Catholic schools through various actions and organizations; the full awareness of teaching as part of the apostolate by priests, religious lay; apostolic cooperation; high quality of teachers...

Part III (nos. 12-22) described the authority of the Church over the Catholic school and the notion that the Christian spirit permeates Catholic schools. State monopoly was countered; the right to establish schools by the Church emphasized and the financial aid it should receive for that by the faithful. The state had the right to deal with its own schools. Part IV (nos. 24-36) further discussed the promotion of Catholic schools through private initiatives, the awareness on behalf of the faithful, the free access to schools, professional training of the teachers, and the need to establish a central organization with a special place for the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies.

All in all, the *decretum* was thus as follows: intro (no. 1), the positive aspect about education (no. 2) then followed by a rebuke of the errors (nos. 3-5), the grave obligation for this end (n6), the rights of the child (no. 7), of parents (n8), of the church (nos. 9-10), the state (no. 10) as a harmonious cooperation; the state is focused on the *bonum commune* (no. 11), the importance of school (no. 12), the required conditions in Catholic schools (no. 13),

the Catholic school (no. 14), the right of the freedom of the school, and therefore on unjust monopoly (nos. 15-16), on the rights of each one competent for education (nos. 17-22), the necessary actions and organizations (nos. 23-24), the importance of education and the necessary cooperation on behalf of the actors of the church (nos. 25-26), the urge for free schools (nos. 27-30), the need for professional formation of teachers (nos. 31-32), influencing the public opinion through media, Catholic Action, associations... (nos. 33-34), the organization (congregation, national commissions, diocesan offices) (nos. 35-36), and finally the apostolic cooperation (no. 37) followed by an appendix (most references to Pius XI and especially *DIM*).¹⁴³

Meanwhile, Stickler as co-relator had prepared a *schema decreti* that was submitted on September 7 as well (alongside his comments). Indeed, at this point of time, tensions had flared between him and Suárez Díez prompting Stickler to come up with an alternative schema. In general, Stickler disagreed with the highly defensive tone and approach taken by Suárez Díez. Stickler's schema was based on his own conviction that the text should not deal with the Catholic school, but with Christian education instead, and it counted for eight pages (22 nos.). Briefly, the outline was as follows: Introduction with again Mt 28:18 & Eph 4:1t3 (no. 1), the concept of Christian education and the receiver (ultimate end including the supernatural one with more Biblical references) (nos. 2-3), the right and obligation of teaching and learning (no. 4), the rights and duties of parents (no. 5), the church as a supernatural society (no. 6), the rights of the state and the focus on the common good (no. 7), the good cooperation and harmony between the three (no. 8), the means of Christian training and the need for adaptation to time and context (no. 9), the use of sermons, catechesis, spiritual exercises for this purpose also in the missions (no. 10), the school of any grade and any name for this purpose for all genders (no. 11), associations of various grades (no. 12), the use of modern media (radio, cinema, television) (no. 13), against state monopoly (no. 14), public school and the approval of ecclesiastical authority (no. 15), the divine right and duty of the church for catechetical training of young and old (no. 16), the dissemination and rootedness of the Catholic principle of Christian education and the lay faithful (nos. 17-18), the cooperation of multiple organizations (ecclesial commissions cooperating for the doctrine, technical, didactic inspections...), objects (accurate methods of instruction, textbooks and didactic media...) and grades (diocesan councils and offices for inspection, national and regional ones and international ones) (nos. 19-22). Stickler's schema was

¹⁴³ See also Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 31-45 for his description and analysis of the text. Some important things to note here from his reading are as follows: the school in the current educational and cultural context is at the center of the text. The topic is a complex one given the multitude of (f)actors that have to be taken into account such as the parents, the Church, the state, the reality of the school, the natural and supernatural relationship, and the relationship with a dynamic culture as such to which a person needs to relate through education. This relating to the culture has become complicated due to the secular turn of education and the question arises where Christian culture or religion comes into play and how religious education relates to secular education: will it condemn errors or will there be a path of dialogue? In the text, education is approached for its positive and negative aspects, ultimately hinting at the idea that education can only be wholesome when it focuses on the supernatural end. But unlike the dialogue aspect which will be the approach in the conciliar text, here in the schema of Suárez Díez, it is more about the Catholic interpretation of education overcoming and prevailing over the other (secular) forms of education. Therefore, in order to delineate the authority of Catholic education as the true education, the Catholic school is defined in juridical tones that is very similar to the approach found in *DIM*. A new addition is the distinction between private and public schools that can both be inspired by the Christian (Catholic) spirit depending on the "nature of power". Neutral school as a concept is being rejected, as religious plurality exists everywhere. Finally, access to schools should be granted also for the poor.

however not accepted, as at this point, the commission felt the need to restrict the decree to Catholic schools.¹⁴⁴ The broader vision as described by Stickler on instruction and education was tackled by other commissions.¹⁴⁵

On September 8, Mayer informed the commission that the next meeting of the Central commission would take place from November 7-13.¹⁴⁶ On September 20, Mayer sent Parts III & IV of *De Scholis Catholicis* to the members of the commission, together with the agenda of the 4th general meeting held on 1-10 October 1961.

The *animadversiones* were coming later in September.¹⁴⁷ In general, some were glad about the new text, while others still made a variety of critical remarks. A new structure was asked (Bertoglio, Masi, Stickler), a reduction of the text (Masi, Perini, Savino, Girard, Jacono, Adam, Olachea Loizaga, Jedin, Perini, Angioni, Lores, Dezza, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre); or additions on the rights of the state in education (Muñoz-Vega), the right and duty of teachers (Keller), adult education (Keller), a number on seminaries (Pharaoni), the error of denying humankind's creation (Muñoz-Vega), the error of merely civil education (Ferreira Gomes). Some were happy with the way the text was (Bandas, Saba, McDonald); other asked to delete specific numbers such as no. 29 (Keller, Faraoni, Lores), the right to impose taxes in n21 (Dezza), definitions of culture and education and no. 32 as it is not applicable to the German educational situation (Keller), the nos 16, 21, 29 and 31 (Lores). Some asked for substitution of terms and phrases: e.g., civil society instead of state (Ferreira Gomes), a less negative phrasing of the secular and pluralist nations (Ferreira Gomes), a more normative and conciliar tone dealing rather with Christian education than schools alone (Stickler), a distinction between education and instruction (Bertoglio), the term 'mixed school' does not sound well (Pharaoni), the term private school has different applications in various contexts and cannot be used as if it is universal (Johan). Some of the other critical remarks included avoiding a polemic dichotomy between church and state (Jedin, Dezza). The cause or legal reason of a school being Catholic (including those of religious congregations and the parishes) was also asked (Ferreira Gomes, Vayalil, Keller).¹⁴⁸

On September 21 and 22 respectively, Fabro and Combes were asked to prepare the discussion on *De doctrina Thomae servanda* (Fabro).¹⁴⁹ Meanwhile, on September 22, the text *De Universitatibus Ecclesiasticis* was sent to all the members, except for Carraro, Cody and Bandas.¹⁵⁰ One day later, the same was done for the decree *De Institutione intellectualium clericorum et magisterio*.¹⁵¹ Around this time, Fabro had received the multiple objections on

¹⁴⁴ Busta 1121.

¹⁴⁵ This point is interesting, as in the end, Stickler's broader vision on Christian education would see the daylight only from 1964 onwards. But by then, the decree had been 'diminished' to a declaration.

¹⁴⁶ Busta 1152.

¹⁴⁷ Twenty-two responses were submitted: Olachea, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Botto, Saba, Marty, Ferreira Gomes, Vayalil, Adam, Johan, Savino, Jacono, Bertoglio, Keller, Faraoni, Masi, Bandas, Angioni, Lores, Jedin, Girard, Dezza, Muñoz-Vega. The conspectus of these views would be presented by the relator in the fourth session of the fourth general meeting on October 4, 1961 (see below).

¹⁴⁸ Of course, multiple other remarks came for each point separately, but these are too numerous to be all mentioned here. See busta 1121.

¹⁴⁹ Busta 1152.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

the text on Thomas Aquinas as he sent some specifications on the observations of the members shortly before September 27.¹⁵²

10. Fourth General Meeting (October 2-10, 1961)

During this eight-day meeting,¹⁵³ forty members were present, of which six consultants: Steinmüller, Martil, Camelot, Suárez Díez, Bouyer, and Amici.¹⁵⁴

10.1. First session (October 2, 1961, afternoon session)

In his introduction, Mayer informed the members that the CPC would have a meeting in November, but that no document of their commission would be discussed as Felici preferred only finalized constitutions. According to Mayer, three constitutions could thus far be distinguished: on the Catholic schools; on Academic Studies (consisting of two particular decrees on Catholic universities and on ecclesiastical universities – both of which were an answer to the task given by the CPC); and on Seminaries and the Training of Students (consisting of four particular decrees on the promotion of ecclesiastical vocations, on the spiritual formation and the discipline in seminaries, on the ratio of studies in seminaries, and on pastoral training).

It was still to be decided where the schema *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium* (consisting of three decrees on the attitude of the theological institution to the magisterium of the Church, on Thomas, on the ratio to teach Scripture) had to be inserted: either in the decree on the studies in seminaries or in the constitution on the universities. All three decrees part of this schema expressed the importance given to the magisterium in discussing sacred disciplines. Mayer hoped that at least the decree on ecclesiastical universities could be approved in this general meeting. Mayer also informed the members that for some points that might be subject of discussion in other commissions, information was asked from the commissions on the Discipline of Sacraments, the Lay Apostolate, and the Governance of Dioceses. It is unclear, however, whether he had received responses from them. The only thing visible at this point is that the Commission on Sacraments answered that it had no schema in preparation of the given topics. Mayer concluded insisting on the wish of the pope to organize a pastoral Council.

Combes then presented his *relatio* on the attitude of the theological institution vis-à-vis the magisterium of the Church. For this matter, several problems had to be considered, all in light of, or in close proximity with, the magisterium: the terms of scientific theology; the terms of the sacred disciplines; the relationship with the theological institute; and the particular intellectual formation. Combes thus proposed as title: 'On the relations of the theological science with the magisterium of the Church'. Mayer explained that the title was inspired by the *Proposita et Monita* of the Congregation (ADAP I, III, 321) and that it was dealing with an issue that rather belonged to the Theological Commission. It was clear at this point that the text of Combes, which had arrived some days prior to this meeting, was

¹⁵² Ibid; busta 1127.

¹⁵³ For the minutes of these sessions, see busta 1156.

¹⁵⁴ Keller, Vayalil, Colombo, Angioni and Hilarino da Milano were absent.

not multiplied and distributed due to lack of time. First, the discussion about competence was to be held, but the discussion clearly went in another direction. According to Blanchet, one should distinguish between the task of a theologian in a seminary (who has to explain the magisterium of the Church) and a theologian at a university (who has to prepare and promote doctrine). Theologians at universities had to be more focused on promoting progress of theological science, but at their own risk. Mayer asked to respect the focus, wondering whether this topic belonged to the competence of the current commission. Marty was of the opinion that the text of Combes was adequate with regard to teaching in seminaries, but not with regard to the task of a theologian involved in theological research.

With regard to the matter of competence, several members thought that what the commission was to discuss, was how teachers and theologians hand over the doctrine that had been entrusted to them as some kind of “delegates”. In this regard, Johan observed, the task of the theologian had to be better explained and this in such a way that it would become clear what the borders were within which a theologian can do research. Even although there was not much structure in the discussion, it became clear that most members believed the topic was part of the commission’s competence, insofar as it dealt with passing on theology, not with the content. It was more about the ‘how’, and not about ‘what’; it was about obedience, disciplinary aspects and norms. The text had to be substantially reduced and written in a more positive manner. Mayer concluded the meeting observing that the topic belonged to this commission insofar as it dealt with the attitude of theologians towards the magisterium. It still had to be discussed whether the text would become part of the decree on the studies in seminaries (under the section on teachers) or as an introductory part in the decrees on Thomas and the ratio to teach scripture. Abbreviation was asked by all.

10.2. Second session (October 3, 1961, morning)

Carrero, referring to the discussion of the previous day with regard to competencies, asked to hand over the following petition to the CPC or to the pope: to make a discussion possible through the meetings of the secretaries or by other means to tackle absent or otherwise related questions in order to save time and to realize a stronger unity among matters that will be tackled in the Council. It was decided to hand over this petition to Felici. Then, Fabro presented his report on the observation of the Thomistic doctrine.¹⁵⁵ Keller had questioned the idea whether Thomas’ doctrine was advanced enough to be discussed in the Council. In the absence of Keller, Fabro angrily asked the commission why Keller had asked the advice of external experts (he had asked the advice of the German philosopher Josef Pieper, who was not in favor of including Thomas Aquinas). Fabro argued, supported by Jedin, that the council should judge the maturity of Thomas’ doctrine. Mayer clearly disagreed with the insinuations of Fabro and reminded him that the pope had permitted members to consult experts by way of collecting information. Moreover, Keller had in fact a thorough expert on the history of philosophy.

¹⁵⁵ For an outline of this discussion and the various criticisms, see Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 62-66.

Fabro then explained how the canonization of Thomas and the theological locus was discussed in the previous *relatio*. Replying to the objection made by Faraoni that nothing novel was said, he replied that the novelty existed in the description of Thomism in a dynamic sense. He emphasized that the magisterium often refers back to the Angelic doctor. Moreover, one was to distinguish between the philosopher and the theologian Thomas Aquinas. While the philosophy could be prone to discussion, it was for Fabro clear that scholastic philosophy was much more at the heart of the Catholic truth than any other form of modern philosophy could provide. In fact, he saw the latter as even irreconcilable with the Catholic faith. As far as theology was concerned, it “offered the principles of faith”, and these were “immutable”. Moreover, to consider Thomas Aquinas as the universal teacher of theology, it meant that the exposition of Thomas would make theology stronger.

During the follow-up discussion, no. 1, which mentioned Thomas of Aquinas as “the doctor communis for all Catholic schools and universities,”¹⁵⁶ was considered to be too long (Carraro); there were exaggerations (Marty, Savino); some even suggested to leave it out (Adam). A reduction of nos. 1, 2, 4 was asked. For instance, nos. 1 and 4 said actually the same (Bertoglio). The abbreviation was most often mentioned as a point of critique. Other statements such as “omnia traditionis documenta” were considered to be exaggerated (Marty). Savino asked to leave out “ut ipse S. Thomas loquitur”. Fabro replied that every decree has an introductory paragraph. The sub-commission was then asked to reduce the first paragraph. What is striking is that Fabro, in contrast to other relators, was not willing to consider such suggestions.

Regarding no. 2, in which it was discussed that “the upcoming Council must recommend that all theologians and philosophers study Thomas’ doctrine carefully and teach it to students in universities, seminaries and schools”¹⁵⁷, Fabro agreed with Masi that in the recommendation of Thomas’ doctrine, stronger expressions should be used. Indeed, Masi mentioned that with regard to truths about natural knowledge, it should be said that these aspects were not defined by the Church but were intimately connected with revelation and dogma. Even if one can find these aspects with other Doctors of the Church, no one had done it better and in a clearer way than Thomas Aquinas. For Masi, this was the fundamental reason why the philosophy of Thomas was better and easier to combine with revelation and this was also the reason why the Church continued to prefer the Thomistic doctrine of. But many others had criticisms. To provide some of them: Roschini mentioned that it almost seemed as if the teachings of Thomas Aquinas were rather ordered than suggested. Faraoni was on a similar line, arguing that the popes always suggested the Doctor without imposition. Dezza and Muñoz Vega had their reservations and asked to leave out the twenty-four theses. The council could make a clear statement, but in that case, it was a matter for the Theological Commission. In Gerard asked to shorten the text.

¹⁵⁶ Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 64.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

10.3. Third session (October 3, 1961, afternoon)

The discussion continued in the afternoon, with an interesting remark of Adam: according to the constitution *Sedes Sapientiae*, other teachers were not left out when recommending Thomas. Fabro agreed that it would be good to constitute a sub-commission, defining what the Thomistic principles were. For no. 3, in which the intellectual evolution from the Church Fathers up until Thomas Aquinas as the pinnacle and pivotal moment in Church history was described, multiple members ask to shorten it as well and use more sober language (Adam, Carraro, Jacono, Jedin, Girard, Dezza, Stickler, Steinmueller). The French members Blanchet, Marty, and de Bazelaire de Ruppierre were rather critical in that there was no consensus of what the Thomistic principles actually consisted of, and that describing Thomas Aquinas in such a way, would actually imply that further theological and philosophical research was no longer needed. Dezza criticized the triumphalist tones. With regard to nos. 4 and 5, people were of the opinion that a solemn recommendation of Thomas' doctrine for all Christians was not opportune (Olaechea Loizaga, Herlihy). Fabro replied that Thomas Aquinas was and remained the doctor who was more secure and safer than all the rest. People, however, insisted not to exclude the other teachers. Jedin had his doubt that Thomas' method could be used for exegesis and church history, but Fabro answered that Thomas had his own original method. Dezza observed that, according to the text, the council was to recommend the principles, doctrine and method of Thomas in an authoritative way, yet at this point no one knew exactly what these principles were. Fabro again repeated that these were words of popes. However, he agreed with Dezza that the no. 5 had to be mitigated to a general recommendation and that it did not make sense that only Thomas Aquinas must be imposed Catholic educational institutes.

10.4. Fourth session (October 4, 1961, morning)

That the whole tossing back-and-forth on the theme of Thomas was still not finished, became clear during the fourth session, in which Roschini started with a long list of observations on the decree on Thomas Aquinas. Basically, Roschini stressed that something had to be added regarding the method of using Thomas Aquinas in arguments intended to reach the truth – either through an inductive (positive) or a deductive (speculative) approach. This was more so the case for theology on the basis of reason and revealed truths of sound philosophy, resulting in conclusions and an organic synthesis by reducing the doctrine. While Aquinas had to be exalted as Angelic doctor, it was also to be mentioned that there were other important Doctors in the field of education. Regarding the principles, one had to comprehend the foundation of sciences on the basis of which Aquinas derived his conclusions and constructed his organic body of doctrine. The determination of method, doctrine and principles had to be done by a special commission to be established by the Congregation (which, however, was never done).¹⁵⁸

Next, the floor was given to Suárez Díez to read his report on Catholic schools, in which he gave a survey of the remarks given by the members and explained the more

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., 66.

important problems. In a detailed way, he described their comments. Several members approved the schema, while others asked for a different structure, a reduction of some parts, and an enlargement of other parts mostly in relation to the educational aspect. He discussed the use of terms like public schools (official by the state), schools of the Church (unofficial), Catholic schools, and private (non-)Catholic schools. Several members liked the decree or had nothing to add, but as usual, some fathers asked to shorten the decree, to avoid loquacity, and to make the decree more synthetic. The document dealt with schools; some suggested shortening the part on education, while others wanted it more elaborated (for instance, a reference to the new media). Major problems had to do with the rights of parents and children, the definition of a Catholic school, cultural dualism (nos. 3-4) presented in a too universal and rigid way, and some specification was needed concerning state laicism and other errors. With regard to the structure: it had to be shorter; some paragraphs had to be deleted; something had to be mentioned regarding the rights and offices of the educators or teachers.

In a written intervention, Blanchet emphasized the importance of a document on Catholic schools, because Catholic faithful and even priests had sometimes questioned the need of such schools. Some, for instance, pointed out that *DIM* was promulgated under the Fascist regime, was too particular and no longer valid. Others observed that there were no ecclesiastical schools at the grassroots of Christianity; the Church took care of schools in a time when the state failed to do so; meanwhile, the state had gradually taken over this task in a legitimate way. Another argument was the separation between instruction (e.g., mathematics could be done in state schools as there was no Catholic element in it) and education (which happens in the family and Church). Public schools were to be approved and also praised for Catholics (one should not isolate them) – laicitas being the condition for freedom of Christian faith. In a secular school, there was freedom of faith affiliation, no pressure, and it could be maintained as perfectly sincere and pure. It was not the task of the Church to separate the faithful from the world in some sort of ‘ghetto’; on the contrary, they had to be sent in the world. Consequently, religious congregations with a focus on education and instruction, should gradually look for other offices. The notion of ‘priest-teacher’ was not in accordance with a truly priestly task; one had to distribute the Catholic efforts in a better and more efficient way. Moreover, it was simply impossible to organize Catholic schools in all nations. Blanchet thus concluded: there was much confusion, and the Church had to take a position with regard to the doctrine for the current time: was *DIM* still valid? Was CIC 1374 still to be preserved? And what about the future of religious congregations which concentrate on schools and education? The fourth session ended with the initiation of the discussion on no.1-11.

10.5. Fifth session (October 4, 1961, afternoon)

The discussion continued in the afternoon session. Dezza asked for a more fixed definition of education. Muñoz Vega insisted to speak about education. Stickler wanted a reaction against the error of materialism and that paragraph 3-5 be taken together. When dealing with errors, one also had to mention the errors with regard to the education of adults of whatever

cultural background in order to protect the rights of the Church. The discussion then focused on paragraphs 12-22. Some asked for clarification about the distinction between public and private schools. Suárez Díez replied that multiple concordats used the terms in a variety of ways. According to Mayer, schools of religious are qualified as public in *Sedes Sapientiae*. Again, a reduction was asked about the text. Other discussions centered around the relationship between school and family with regard to education. In general, the text gave the impression that the school was the most important player with regard to education.

10.6. Sixth session (October 5, 1961, morning)

During the sixth session, the discussion on nos. 12-22 continued. According to Farraoni, the freedom of the school had to be safeguarded in one single paragraph as this was the central point. He had his doubts about the establishment of Catholic schools in various Asian and African countries, as many of these countries only recently became independent. Masi joined this remark stating that a better definition on ‘the freedom of school’ should be provided as many people were seemingly confused by the freedom of school with the freedom to teach. Suárez Díez was of the opinion that everything necessary was already in the text and insisted on the absolute obligation to regenerate and renew the Catholic school. Girard asked to change the title of the third part of the decree: the school is not the most important medium of education *de iure*: it can be the case *de facto* but not always. Dezza agreed with the doctrinal part but asked for a better explanation of the material. In no.13, the definition of school had to be limited to a fact (*de facto*) and not as a right (*de iure*). Moreover, in the missions, religious education was not given in Catholic schools, due to the presence of non-Catholics. What made Catholic schools different with other schools *de iure* was that the Catholic schools were established and directed by the Church. Again, in no.14, it had to be changed that private schools only exist *de facto* as Catholic and not *de iure*. Moreover, it had to be more explicitly mentioned that the schools of the Church were public and not private. In no.15, a stronger emphasis was needed on the absolute, secure and apodictic motives of the freedom of Catholic schools. The other types of schools, i.e., mixed and neuter schools, had to be dealt with elsewhere in the text. More sobriety of word selection was also asked. At one instance, Muñoz Vega had his doubts about the rights of the state. He also observed that in mixed and neuter schools, such as in Egypt, Islam had to be taught in Catholic schools. Stickler finally asked to reduce nos. 10 and 22 as both paragraphs mentioned the same ideas.

Mayer’s proposal to speak of “The paramount importance of the school in education” was accepted by all. Then, the discussion continued on part 4. A better order of paragraphs was asked. Questions were asked about the financial burdens of parents to enter Catholic schools – it was a big issue at the time – however, free access, according to some fathers, did not always contribute to an esteemed school. Suárez Díez answered that one could argue that Catholic schools are free in the same way as the state schools. For Blanchet, however, the matter of gratuity was useless as there were simply not enough financial resources on behalf of the Church. Others agreed and believed absolute gratuity was not required. Herlihy suggested leaving it out as the decree had to apply for the whole world. Fabro, however, emphasized the need for accessibility for the poor.

Then, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre observed that nothing was mentioned about the task of a Catholic school to prepare apostles who work to prepare the kingdom of God in the world. It was pointed out that the best promoters of Catholic Action often had a state schools background as they already had the experience to act in a more hostile and indifferent environment. Catholic schools too often prepared in a traditional Christian way, but not in a militant one. The latter was more necessary in a world where all problems in family and social life are subjected to an evangelical sense and where the Christian faith needs to be communicated to all. Something also had to be said about the conditions needed to prepare youngsters for this apostolate. The Church had to be missionary, and the Catholic schools had to prepare for the apostolate. Finally, Stickler asked to unite nos. 25, 27, and 33.

10.7. Eighth session (October 6, 1961, afternoon)

In this session, thirty-three members were present, and multiple votes took place. Some of the schema already got a major *placet* by this time; On universities of ecclesiastical studies: 30 *placet*; 3 *iuxta modum* (Adam, Girard, Fabro).¹⁵⁹ The day after the eighth session and while the ninth session was taking place on October 7, Vito submitted his co-relatio on Catholic universities.

10.8. Tenth session (October 9, 1961, afternoon)

At the tenth session, Dezza presented the decree on Catholic universities. He first thanked all those who had approved both the report and the decree. The decree as it was then presented held the middle ground between the decrees on Catholic schools and ecclesiastical universities. Although Dezza did agree with Adam that the decree on Catholic universities could actually be absolved in the two other decrees, he still presented it now separately. At the suggestion of Fabro who actually wanted a much larger text, Dezza had added some elements mainly regarding the historical development of Catholic universities; however, he did not expand too much, fearing that otherwise the fathers would not read it. With regard to the nature of the Catholic university, he observed that there was a consensus that the ecclesiastical legislation would be ameliorated (work for the new Code of Canon Law). Moreover, the Council – as repeated endlessly – had to limit itself to general principles. Dezza brought forward that the origin of the Catholic university lied in the canonical establishment and formal approval by the Church. But he admitted that also other universities could in fact be considered Catholic, that is, when the institution is in conformity with the Catholic doctrine yet juridically not Catholic in se. He also mentioned that one should look for a coherence between definitions on Catholic universities and Catholic schools. The aim of both would remain social and personal as it dealt with the formation of young people and adolescents.

With regard to the ecclesiastical and civil universities, he did not follow the suggestion to distinguish between them. For Dezza, a Catholic university is simply not Catholic without the incorporation of the sacred studies. The term ‘Catholic’ was simply there to distinguish Catholic universities from the protestant ones; however, not from the ecclesiastical ones.

¹⁵⁹ See also ADA II/2, 820 for the ecclesiastical universities.

The difference between ecclesiastical and Catholic universities was merely extrinsic – the first one being accessed by the clergy, and the second by the laity. An agreement was still needed, however, about the need of a theological faculty at Catholic universities: some said yes, others no. He suggested not to multiply theological faculties but to think of theological institutes where faculties were not yet in existence.

On the importance of Catholic universities, Dezza accepted the remark of Vayalil to promote the ‘profane’ scientific studies in these universities in order to overcome a dichotomy between ‘non-erudite faithful’ and ‘non-faithful erudite people’ within society. Nothing was said about the current state of Catholic universities in the remarks, while for its future development, the educational quality of the professors was emphasized. Dezza then suggested that the Council should insist more on the quality than on the numbers. Regarding the study at Catholic universities, he was of the opinion that a Council could not express a strict obligation but instead bring recommendations in which a strict obligation to follow the study curriculum is highly desired and useful despite the fact that the decision would ultimately be determined by the local ecclesiastical authority. He underlined that all agreed that Catholic universities should also be open to youngsters with poor financial means and developing countries. As for the fate of state subsidies, they were omitted in this decree as they would be discussed in the decree on Catholic schools. With regard to other Catholic university centers, importance was given to the role of Catholics in non-Catholic universities.¹⁶⁰

In his co-report, Vito insisted on the role of Catholic universities in the world of today – the Catholic universities were necessary – to overcome the harming influence of positivist, materialistic and agnostic influences. Catholic universities also had to include scientific research in such a way that they impact the global research. They had to provide scientific specialization insofar as it was needed for scientific progress; all this without neglecting divine revelation of course. He wished that every Catholic university had a theological faculty – a center from which, based on reflection on man and society with roots in revelation, singular scientific disciplines would be fructified. As for no.7, he added the interest for the social doctrine of the Church, which for him was too often neglected in many countries. He also observed this deficiency in the seminaries. Other important disciplines to be added were the study of social disciplines such as political economy, sociology, and social psychology. Here, the need of qualified teacher priests in the seminaries was mentioned and a gap in numbers and expertise among the laity was observed to teach these issues in Catholic schools.

In the discussion, Herlihy observed a confusion between doctrinal principles and current praxis. While the Church was urging Catholics to visit Catholic universities, this was not happening *de facto*. Dezza replied this was simply not always possible. One solution could also be that where the protestant universities were too rigorous, Catholic universities could be established. Camelot then insisted that a true Catholic university cannot exist without the faculty of theology – being the queen of all disciplines. Dezza observed that this

¹⁶⁰ The report was added to the minutes of the meeting; see busta 1156.

rule had existed until 1921, but that with the foundation of the Sacred Heart University of Milan, the first exception had been accepted which then multiplied after 1921. Suárez Díez asked to distinguish between universities established by the Church and those approved by the Church. As for no.2, there was an agreement, even though some repetitions were observed. Moreover, some argued that a comparison with state universities could result in a diminution of the esteem for Catholic universities. But others were in favor of a comparison, nonetheless. Finally, Muñoz Vega asked to reflect on the growing specializations, decomposing sciences in minor fragments. He mentioned that an emphasis on unity could overcome the growing separation between faith, philosophy, and modern sciences; only then, a true Christian mind could be formed.

19.9. Eleventh session (October 10, 1961, morning)

During session eleven, the discussion on the decree on Catholic universities continued. Some asked about the 'Christian vision on the world'. Regarding no.3, Herlihy asked to order the creation of a theological institute in Catholic universities where a theological faculty was missing. Roschini, for his part, was not happy with the paragraph, because a clear and full notion of the Catholic university was missing, and this was also true for the importance of a theological faculty. He observed that the impact of theology or Catholic doctrine was diminishing in case where theological faculties were too much separated from other faculties or, even worse, excluded. Thus, there was a need to instore the influence of theology in philosophy and all the other sciences based on a conjoined action between theologians and other scientists in order to find a just solution to the problems of various sciences. In this way, Roschini proposed a new text in which these matters were made clear. However, Dezza replied that he agreed with Roschini's points in theory, but that these demands were impossible in practice. In the discussion that followed, it became clear that some linked the catholicity of a university to the presence of a faculty of theology, while others had their reservations and referred to local situations and contextual issues. Mayer then summarized the discussion stating that the majority agreed with the paragraph as it was. Some desired sharper regulations, but the vote made clear that 22 members voted placet, while 1 non placet and another one no opinion. Mayer also said that on the schema on the ratio for the teaching of Scripture, no discussion would be held, because consultation of the Theological Commission was needed.

Next, the discussion on theological faculties started. Blanchet suggested that a theological institute for lay people might be a good thing. Suárez Díez was wondering whether nothing should be said about subsidies for Catholic universities (in parallel to Catholic schools). No.5-6, despite some minor details, were considered no problem. At the end, in line with wishes of Keller and Jedin, Dezza proposed a redaction of two paragraphs – one, on the Christian education of professors teaching in state universities, and another one on the education of adolescents who would be able to succeed their teachers in university chairs. Both redaction proposals were accepted, although Camelot feared for an accusation of clericalism and secret influence in state universities.

10.10 Twelfth session (October 10, 1961, afternoon)

The meeting started with the new paragraph dealing with the points with which the meeting had ended the day before. Nine members still insisted that something should be said about the establishment of theological chairs in state universities, for it could be a medium against the influences of laicism and materialism (Suárez Díez); Dezza was wondering whether the Council had to proclaim this or local bishops; Bouyer asked what would happen in case a state university would decline. In the end, most agreed to follow Dezza in stating that the decision would be left to the local bishops. After this discussion, a short report was read about the meeting of the sub-commission on Catholic schools, that had held a meeting on October 5. Present were Cody, Adam, Dezza, Stickler and Suárez Díez. The following general norms were approved: the decree remained a specific document on Catholic schools; the principles about Catholic education had to be retained by way of a general introduction; the decree was re-ordered in such way that the emphasis was first and foremost on doctrine, the rights of the church, the family. Only in a second step, it dealt with the rights of society. Other means of Christian formation were to be mentioned in a specific paragraph although very briefly. As for specific points, the reporter had the freedom to reorganize the text, taking into account all the remarks made. More cohesion was needed, and the style of the text had to be more normative and conciliar, without endarkening clarity and distinction of ideas. Especially part 4 had to be reordered.

In a next step, the new redaction on Thomas Aquinas was introduced by Fabro. Mayer asked the members to send their remarks regarding the obedience towards the Magisterium in dealing with theology to the secretariat. The same was asked for what was discussed concerning other documents. With regard to concrete issues such as delaying ordination, the age of ordination, chastity and the like, Mayer asked whether it was fine to ask the Commission for the Discipline of the Sacraments for advice. However, a discussion started immediately regarding the age of ordination (i.e., 24, 25, or 26?) and regarding the fact whether or not celibacy had to be linked with the diaconate or priesthood. Dezza was in favor of the last, as it sometimes became clear that when (sub-)deacons were not allowed to be ordained, they could easily get dispensed. The ordination thus has to be at age 24; dispensations are being suppressed. With regard to the interval, he was in favor of a decision by local bishops, but maturity had to be the requirement. It was clear that no agreement was immediately found, thus Mayer asked the members to continue their reflection in the coming days after the fourth general meeting ended and to send their opinions.

11. Developments between the Fourth and Fifth General Meeting (October-December, 1961)

After the fourth general meeting, on October 18, the remarks of the Theological Commission with regard to *De ratione docendi S. Scripturae* were sent to Herlihy, Spadafora, Muñoz Vega and Dezza.¹⁶¹ On October 23, 1961, the second redaction of *De Universitatibus*

¹⁶¹ Busta 1152.

Catholicis was brought to the commission by Dezza,¹⁶² which would be sent to Masi, Stickler, Muñoz Vega, and Roschini three days later. On October 30, Suárez had finished a second version of the schema *De Scholis Catholicis*. This time, the text was restructured and consisted of twenty-five points. To make matters brief, some of the main changes was that the rights of the state were more explicitly recognized (no. 7), the fact that the Catholic school consists both of education and instruction (no. 9) and that for the Catholic school to exist it needs the input of the ecclesiastical authority (no. 10), the rights and duties of the Church were even more emphasized (no. 14), schools for adults were elaborated upon (no. 17), Catholic Action and other relevant associations highlighted more (no. 18), free admission to the Catholic school was now in no. 19 (previously no. 28), and a stronger emphasis on the training of teachers and professors (no. 20). This version was sent to the members of the sub-commission who had to send their suggestions by November 6. One day later, Stickler also received the text. But like previously (he had provided his own schema), he was still critical of Suárez Díez' text. He considered it too extensive, too general in the introduction, not conciliar enough, etc. For him, the text had to consist of two major parts; the first one on general principles while the other one on the practicalities of these principles (i.e., how to apply these principles on the training of teachers, the material provisions, the establishment of schools and the like).¹⁶³

11.1. Coetus particularis "De Institutione spirituali" (October 30, 1961)

During this meeting,¹⁶⁴ Masi, Herlihy, Roschini, Dezza, Mayer and Baldanza were present. Bertoglio and Stickler were absent. While the most part of this meeting had to do with the decree on spiritual formation and discipline in the seminaries, Suárez Díez had also brought in person the second redaction of the decree *De Scholis Catholicis* prior to this meeting. Thus, towards the end, the new redaction of this decree together with the remarks of the secretariat was distributed in order to give the members the opportunity to submit their remarks in written form for the next special meeting. One day after this meeting, Bertoglio, Stickler, and Suárez Díez all received an invitation for a meeting on *De Scholis Catholicis* to take place on November 6, 1961.

11.2. Coetus particularis "De Scholis Catholicis" (November 6, 1961)

The following people were present during this meeting:¹⁶⁵ Bertoglio, Masi, Roschini, Stickler, Suárez Díez, Herlihy, Dezza, Mayer, and Baldanza. First, the members were asked to give their opinion about the draft on *De Scholis Catholicis*, in which the observations made during the fourth general meeting were taken into account. Masi asked to first start a discussion on education and then focus on the schools. Stickler proposed that the part on the education had to be shorter and more introductory. Suárez Díez, the relator, replied that the third paragraph could be reduced even though other commissions had prepared longer decrees. He also added that the efficacy of decrees did not come from a concern about their

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ See Lamberigts, "*De Scholis Catholicis*," 324-25.

¹⁶⁴ For the minutes, see buste, 1152, 1156.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

brevity. The problem of education was complex and a topic of a lot of discussion. He finished arguing that many errors were present regarding education and that the Council had to determine the fundamental principles in this matter more clearly. Mayer supported Suárez Díez, saying that the text would be a constitution and thus could have some length. Stickler replied that the CPC had given this commission the task to deal with schools, not education. Suárez Díez responded to Stickler that the main question was whether the Council should tackle this point or not. Mayer was of the opinion that the task given by the CPC did not impede this commission to speak about education; the fundamental doctrinal principles had to be put in singular decrees by way of introduction. Stickler was still not convinced and for Herlihy, there was nothing novel in the current redaction. The style of the decree was too polemical and Suárez Díez gave the impression to be a strong opponent of the rights of the state. Roschini defended the length of the introduction because of the importance of education today. Finally, it was decided to leave the decision to the whole commission.

Afterwards, a discussion started about the order of the various numbers. According to Stickler, in no. 1 it had to be expressed why this decree was necessary. He gave the following reasons: the ignorance of the Christian truth, the growing errors, and the multiple obstacles regarding Christian education. Suárez Díez defended himself stating that his text was based upon the remarks as made in the last general meeting of October. Dezza reacted stating that one should not consider all remarks as important and that one should absolutely avoid things of little importance, or which were deemed contradictory. Mayer insisted that the decree should not only have negative but also positive argumentations. It should not be too defensive as the momentum across the world was one of searching for a more perfect education; thus, a Council did not have to separate itself from the progress of the times. Mayer's idea was supported by Dezza. For no. 2, reductions were asked because of repetitions. Finally, for no.3, Dezza suggested leaving out text and focusing only on the errors of the times. Stickler suggested to first start in a positive note and then deal with errors. However, Suárez Díez did not give in and opined that it was better to first present the errors to better illuminate the positive doctrine of the Church on education.

11.3. Coetus particularis "De Scholis Catholicis" (November 10, 1961)

In this meeting,¹⁶⁶ all members were present. Suárez Díez had left out education as a part in its own right and had instead dealt with it by way of introduction. Moreover, no. 1 had been revised, and some parts of no. 8 were now inserted in it. The meeting focused on nos. 9-14, but the numbers were not discussed in a systematic order. A discussion was held about whether schools were an ecclesiastical institution given their history. Dezza argued that one could not argue that there was an ecclesiastical school tradition in the East. When Suárez Díez replied that *civilitas* was introduced in the East by the West and that the school was mostly Catholic, Mayer objected that there were already indigenous schools in the East. He asked Suárez Díez to find a more cautious formula. Stickler asked to say something about the task of the Church regarding schools on the basis of history and that the major role of the Church in this aspect should be praised. Herlihy observed that the idea of Catholic schools

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

as public schools would be a problem for the members from France, as public schools were solely reserved for the schools of the state. Bertoglio asked whether something should be said about coeducation (accepted by Suárez Díez for no.14). When Roschini proposed to reduce no.11-13 to one paragraph, Suárez Díez accepted this for no.11 and 12, but considered no.13 in its own right as it was dealing with the freedom of the Church. Stickler agreed with Roschini but asked to conjoin no.11 and 13 and leave no.12 independent instead. Dezza warned not to repeat too much and observed that the great problem today lay in the freedom of the school and especially the monopoly of the state. He suggested to first express the rights of the Church and the family, and afterwards the freedom of the school, as was done in the encyclical *Divini illius Magistri*. He also considered the visitation of all schools by the Church too strict. Stickler observed that the Church not only had the right to establish schools for Catholics but also for non-Catholics. For Dezza, this was too explicit. A strong discussion started about the right of the Church to control all schools in a direct way. Mayer thought this could not be accepted and Suárez Díez was asked to look for a better phrasing. It was clear that during this meeting that major work still had to be done. Mayer thus invited Herlihy, Stickler and Suárez Díez for an extra meeting to be held on November 14.

11.4. Coetus particularis "De Scholis Catholicis" (November 14, 1961)

During this meeting,¹⁶⁷ the second part of the decree had been restructured completely, which pleased Herlihy. Yet, he was still of the opinion that there were too many particularities. Stickler, for his part, proposed a new order: the establishment of schools (nos.15-17 together); the quality of Catholic schools (a shorter no.22); the training of teachers: formation, rights and duties (nos.20-21); the support (no.19); the organization (no.18, 25, 24, 23). Suárez Díez agreed, except that he preferred the following order of no.23, 24, 18, 25. All agreed with this option. Stickler finally asked to speak in a positive way about technical schools in 16. In fact, for all the numbers, remarks were made but the meeting had to be closed. On the basis of the report, it is difficult to say what was finally decided.

In the period after the meeting, the decree *De Universitatibus Catholicis* as revised in the meeting of October 2, 1961, was sent to all members and consultors of the commission on November 16. On November 21, Fabro submitted his schema on Thomas Aquinas, this time a more sober text with five nos. Meanwhile, on November 18, Suárez Díez submitted a first part of the new third scheme *De Scholis Catholicis*, and the second part on November 22, 1961. The whole text was sent to the members on November 23. This time, the text had been reduced from twenty-five to twenty numbers. Moreover, one could find in a way the bipartite section as was proposed by Stickler earlier: the importance and the rights of the Catholic school (nos. 5-10), the implementation of these principles on a practical level (nos. 11-20). In general, the content was more or less the same with some restructuring of the numbers (e.g., nos. 13-14 on the essence of the Catholic school and the rights and duties of the family from the previous draft were now nos. 6-8 respectively; nos. 16-17 on the various types of schools were now nos. 12-13). There were also some additions. For instance, this text dealt also with how the Church does not encourage coeducation while leaving room for

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

some exceptions like in the missions (no. 10); the need for adult education (13), the necessary equipment within schools such as libraries (nos. 14-15). Other aspects which were already mentioned before were even more highlighted. For instance, the authority of the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies (no. 19). In general, the schema consisted of twelve pages, twenty nos., and would be discussed during the fifth general convention planned December 10-16, 1961.¹⁶⁸

The comments came between November 28 and December 9. Some more or less accepted the text as it was (McDonald, Herlihy, Jacono, Lavaud, Camelot, Bouyer, Bandas). Others asked for a reduction (Girard, Johan, Blanchet, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, Jacono). Probably the most critically was Tilmann, who objected against the tone of the text, pointed out some hypocrisies (e.g., Catholics had borrowed a lot from others), and asked for a stronger emphasis on more important aspects such as the family and youth movements.¹⁶⁹ In any case, alongside receiving the text of Suárez Díez on November 23, on the same day, all members and the consultors Vito, De Lestapis, D'Avack, McDonald, Steinmüller, Martil, Kleinedam, Suárez Díez, Bouyer, and Camelot, were invited for the fifth general meeting to take place from 11-16 December 1961 and they also received a new draft of *De doctrina S. Thomae*.¹⁷⁰ On November 29, the decree *De ratione docendi S. Scripturam* (4th edition) alongside documents on priestly formation were sent to all members and the consultors Bigamini, De Lestapis, D'Avack, McDonald, Perini, Steinmüller, Martil, Kleinedam, Suárez Díez, Bouyer and Camelot: along with some documents on clerical formation.¹⁷¹ On the same day, a new version of the decree *De Universitatibus Catholicis* (2nd version) was sent by Keller to Pitton for advice.¹⁷² Finally, on November 30, the schema on Scripture (prepared by Spadafora, Jacono, and Herlihy) was sent to Bea for advice.¹⁷³

11.5. Coetus particularis "De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium in tradenda theologia" (December 1, 1961)

In this meeting,¹⁷⁴ only Mayer, Combes and Fabro were present. Combes acted as relator, and Fabro as co-relator. Combes had prepared another version of this schema, which was presented by Mayer. Combes had considered the observations as made in the general meeting and the written remarks of some of the members. The schema had received a new title. The text no longer discussed the question how scientific theology relates to the magisterium but focused on what the teaching of the sacred disciplines required in seminaries and faculties. Mayer deplored that one did not know what the theological commission had put in the schema on the magisterium of the Church, as it was an important matter. Due to their importance, many aspects related to the doctrinal fundament had to be put in the schema under discussion. Combes read out his new redaction and gave some short comments, observing that the text amalgamated with the teachings of the magisterium,

¹⁶⁸ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, "*De Scholis Catholicis*," 326-27.

¹⁶⁹ Busta 1122.

¹⁷⁰ Busta 1152.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² Ibid.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ For the minutes, see busta 1156.

including the documents of the popes and congregations. The text dealt with the dangers and abuses in contemporary theology. Combes further observed that in some contemporary French seminaries at the time, students did not know *ex toto* the summa of Thomas Aquinas nor even the name of this work. Fabro applauded the work of Combes as it had been elaborated with solid doctrinal references, an ardent love for the Church, and been elegantly formulated. He agreed that the errors were mentioned but added that even more could have been mentioned since the time of Vatican I. He also hoped that the attempts of theologians would also be positively stimulated in the final conciliar decree. According to Combes this was the case at the end (no.21). For Fabro, this was too late and too little. It should be more explicitly mentioned to promote a sane progress in theological science. Fabro also insisted on the method but agreed with Combes that the magisterium, before condemning, should paternally and fraternally correct, instruct and intervene.

Mayer was positive as well, but gave some further suggestions: should nothing be mentioned about the way of acting regarding those questions where the magisterium allows free discussion? Is there no need to distinguish between extraordinary and ordinary magisterium? He pointed out that many theologians were only interested in the extraordinary magisterium. Moreover, it had to be stated that teachers had to ensure that students know and assimilate the important documents of the magisterium, including the recent ones. On the question of Combes whether a new redaction should be prepared in which also philosophy would be discussed, Mayer answered that the next general meeting was nearing and that the text should be multiplied instead. He asked Fabro to add Combes' suggestion in a brief *relatio* on philosophical training. Moreover, the unity of this text with other documents such as the one on Thomas Aquinas and on the ratio for teaching Scripture should be explained. Mayer finally suggested the following order: *De obsequio erga Magisterium in tradendis disciplinis sacris. Normae fundamentales; De tradenda theologia in particulari; De tradenda philosophia in particulari; De Doctrina S. Thomae servanda; De ratione docendi Sacram Scripturam.*

After this meeting, Combes submitted the second edition of *De obsequio ergo magisterium in tradenda theologia* on the same day,¹⁷⁵ which would then be sent to all the European members of the commission.¹⁷⁶ One day later, *De disciplina* is discussed in a separate meeting in which Bertoglio, Pascoli, Herlihy, and Masi were present.¹⁷⁷ On December 6, Dezza sent observations on the 3rd edition of the Catholic schools and on *De doctrina S. Thomae servanda*.¹⁷⁸ On December 7, Muñoz Vega sent observations on the second edition of *De Universitatibus Catholicis*.¹⁷⁹

12. Fifth General Meeting (December 11-16, 1961)

During this meeting, 31 members and 8 consultors participated.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁵ Busta 1152.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid.

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ For the minutes of each session, see busta 1156.

12.1. First session (December 11, 1961, evening)

After a welcome by Pizzardo, in which he mentioned the passing away of Keller, the illness of Saba, and a survey of the work to be done by Mayer,¹⁸¹ the meeting started with the discussion on the Catholic universities. Dezza explained how the new edition had taken into account the observations made by the members and the consultors. On the request of some bishops, those consultors and members who were not holding the title of bishop were asked for their advice. Fabro opined that there should at least be one faculty of theology in one Catholic university in every country. He further asked that the decree should more accurately determine this matter. Dezza considered this issue a practical question that should be determined not by the council but by the congregation. Fabro proposed to establish an international superior institute for the training of bright lay people from across the world in Rome, to be trained in ecclesiastical sciences in which the Church in the midst of the modern world is introduced and defended. Such center should have the same function as other pontifical universities. Dezza objected due to practical issues, such as the choice of language and the preference of the laity to study in their own countries. He further argued that the Catholic universities had the aim to train the laity. Finally, he did not consider this a topic of a conciliar decree. Muñoz Vega, for his part, considered the matter of the establishment of theological faculties in universities where they were missing as not yet mature to be mentioned in a conciliar decree. He did agree with Fabro's suggestion concerning the superior institute for the laity, even though he also pointed to the difficulties surrounding it. In the course of the discussion, people were both in favor or against the establishment of such institute. In the votes, all agreed that the establishment of a theological institute should remain in the text, but 17 were in favor of omitting that it should depend on a theological faculty (only 8 wanted to keep it). However, the recommendation of a theological faculty was supported by all (except for 2). Later, de Bazelaire de Ruppierre asked to mention in no. 5 something about the obligation of parents to send their children to Catholic universities instead of state universities. Some members also asked to add something about Aquinas (Herlihy, Jacono).

12.2. Second session (December 12, 1961, morning)

In the second session, Suárez Díez presented the new redaction on Catholic Schools. The new schema consisted of an introductory part, in which the principles of education were explained, and the decree on schools. In the discussion, Blanchet observed that some aspects were missing regarding the apostolic function of the Christian school and its various modes, and about the duty of professors and Catholic students in state schools. Some considered the exposition too long and argued that several aspects should be transferred to the Congregation after the Council. Pascoli asked to mention something to drop fees for Catholic schools for those parents who cannot afford. Suárez Díez replied that this was left out at the request of other bishops, but that, indirectly, something was said about it in no. 17. Mayer suggested to add "cuiusvis conditionis" in "primis pauperibus" – a suggestion, which was accepted.

¹⁸¹ Both reports are added to the minutes of this meeting.

Dezza's proposal to say something about the religious instruction in Catholic schools in a separate paragraph was also accepted.

Muñoz Vega observed that there were no sufficient Catholic schools in Latin America, which caused Catholics to visit state schools. He suggested to add something on this matter. Suárez Díez promised to think about it. Fabro asked to say something about the formation of catechists (both lay and priests) and the ability to teach the catechism and Christian doctrine in state schools. Suárez Díez answered that Fabro's suggestion can be accepted if Muñoz Vega's observation was also accepted. Afterwards, a discussion regarding various details of the schema started. Muñoz Vega asked to affirm the natural right of the person, as it would have a practical importance in those states in which the Church was being attacked. By affirming such right, it would imply that human society cannot be recognized as perfect in and by itself. Fabro asked to classify concepts such as positivism, idealism, pragmatism, racism, humanism, and dialectic materialism. Blanchet disagreed that the Christian schools were founded by the Church as Christian children visited pagan schools since the birth of Christianity. He also considered no. 10 on co-education unnecessary due to the different contexts across the world. Suárez Díez observed that co-education was less suited for moral and psychological reasons. For no. 7, D'Avack's suggestion to add a sentence on the need to respect the authority of the Church in teaching and governing matters and within the limits of the common good, was accepted. Johan, for his part, was opposed to state monopoly, as this could be considered an attack on the freedom of a school, and it was also based on a false concept of the state as containing the full truth and possessing infinite rights – often resulting in totalitarianism and usurpations by the state. Dezza asked not to restrict the meaning of school as it should also be valid for universities and asked to avoid comparison between the schools of Church and state. Finally, Muñoz Vega asked to say something about the right of the Church regarding non-Catholic schools.

12.3. Third session (December 13, 1961, morning)

During the third session, Marty was of the opinion that the whole of no.11 was too specific and did not belong to a conciliar decree. Johan was convinced that several aspects should be transferred to the congregation. Cody asked to make the paragraph more sober – something, also agreed by Muñoz Vega and Girard (the latter also asking to shorten it). Fabro then considered that what was mentioned about spiritual formation in Catholic schools in no.14 was insufficient. He asked for a new paragraph stating that children should be educated in the love for the Church, the obedience to the hierarchy, and the exercise of spiritual life and virtues, from the first school year. In this way, they would become witnesses of the Christian truth in the midst of a more secular world. Carraro asked to speak more explicitly about the gratuity of Catholic schools for the poor in no.17, despite the fact that nuances were brought in this paragraph in the previous session. Dezza, for his part, was in favor of the establishment of institutes outside universities for the training of professors of religion – an idea, which had the support of Jacono. Mayer then mentioned that someone outside the commission had observed that the Catholic school was fully identified with Christian education, while predication and catechesis were seen as most important in the education of

faithful. Moreover, something could be said about the dangers present in schools in no.4. The obligation of exercises of piety in school should therefore be added in this context, as Mayer was of the opinion that children would not maintain such exercises outside school. This would cause a deficiency of personal adherence to Christ and profound education. He then concluded that a more sober style was needed so that the decree would look more conciliar. There was a need to train future teachers of religion, and concrete definitions of a central organization had to be left out.

12.4. Fourth session (December 14, 1961, morning)

After a long discussion on the decree on pastoral formation prepared by Carraro and the relevant the sub-commission, the floor was given to Combes to introduce the content of the decree on the obedience towards the magisterium in teaching theology. Combes made three points: the decree was now dealing with obedience and not the relation between theological science and magisterium. All that had to do with theological science was therefore left out. The schema focused on obedience as an attitude of the soul. The second point was that the text was still a provisional document: the various decrees on teaching the sacred disciplines would be ordered in a kind of organic order and thus changes would be made. Finally, obedience was discussed based on documents of the magisterium. The discussion that followed made clear that there was no consensus. The various disagreements were as follows: the decree was considered as too extensive or too severe; the content should be tackled by the Theological Commission; a conciliar decree should be more than a conglomeration of pontifical documents. Fabro defended the decree as important, for it had to do with the attitude of the theologian towards the magisterium which is the highest authority.

12.5. Fifth session (December 14, afternoon)

The discussion continued in this afternoon session. Muñoz Vega recognized the importance of the decree, suggested an abbreviation and remarked that one should make clear as to what belonged to this commission and what to the Theological Commission. Mayer concluded that this task was given to this commission but that respect for the commission's competences had to be taken into consideration. He invited everyone to submit their remarks before January 15, 1962. Next, he gave the floor to the co-relator Fabro, who read out his remarks. He praised the new schema for obedience to the magisterium as the most important rule in theological studies, as it ensures that the truth is preserved and disseminated from the center to the periphery and communicated well. However, Fabro added that he would have liked a more precise exposition, a systematic order, a respect for chronology, and more elaboration on the theological errors in line with the pontifical documents. Regarding the errors, attention had to be paid to the problem of evolution (positive science), the principle of immanence (philosophy), the hermeneutical biblical problems (archeology, philology), economic sciences (the problem of dialectic and historical materialism as projected by Marxist socialism), and political sciences (laicism/secularism as the separation of religion from life and that of the state from the Church). Fabro also considered it opportune to

distinguish in the nature and origins of these errors between authors outside and inside the Church. While the former deliberately fight against the Church, the latter involved Christians themselves.

In the next step, Fabro defended the use of the papal documents and the negative tone of the decree as the decree was a document about the continuity in the doctrinal life of the Church. People were generally more inclined to error, due to the “weakness of the soul and a deviation of the will”. For him, theology remained a human science that had to adapt the revealed truths to the course of human reflection. It had its roots in the early Church, and through the mediation of the Church Fathers and the scholastic doctors (among whom Thomas Aquinas excels), it appropriated the task to respond to the current culture and bring resolutions to the needs of the times. Such an answer had not to be exclusively static (i.e., solely an objective and historical exposition of tradition) nor dynamic (i.e., solely focused on the contemporary or based on modern philosophy). Instead, it had to hold together the old and the new in a synthetic way, the new augmenting the old. In this respect, contemporary theologians had to face the errors of our time, to engage with them, but with obedience to the magisterium. While it remained useful to know the errors of the past, it was more necessary to have a profound knowledge of contemporary errors and to instore a direct dialogue with contemporary culture.

Blanchet asked to have Fabro’s report sent out so that one could study it.¹⁸² This was most likely done, as Fabro’s handwritten text was submitted on January 8 and then typed on the typing machine of the secretariat. Towards the end of the fifth session, Jacono was invited to communicate the conclusions of his sub-commission with regard to the ratio for teaching Scripture. Jacono first presented what was already done on this topic in the Theological Commission. Next, he indicated the changes made by his sub-commission. Mayer concluded that the schema was ready for approval.

12.6. Eighth session (December 16, 1961, morning)

After a discussion on the decree on spiritual and pastoral formation and Mayer’s concluding remarks, the meeting during the eighth session ended with votes. As for the decree on *De obsequio erga ecclesiae magisterium*, only the second chapter on the teaching of the Sacred Scripture was voted upon. All members gave it a placet, except for Roschini (placet iuxta modum).¹⁸³ Then the members also voted for the schema on Catholic universities, to which all voted placet.¹⁸⁴

12.7. Ninth session (December 16, 1961, afternoon)

In the last session, after a discussion on the document on the discipline in seminaries, Fabro shortly explained the new redaction on the doctrine of Thomas Aquinas,¹⁸⁵ and pointed out that compromises had to be found regarding the doctrinal, methodological aspects along with

¹⁸² The typed version of Fabro’s intervention will arrive in the secretariat on January 8, 1962.

¹⁸³ See also ADA II/4, 163. However, unlike what the Acta states, not all unanimously agreed as there is no mention of Roschini’s iuxta modum.

¹⁸⁴ In the placets: 32 present and written placets of Vayalil and Lavaud.

¹⁸⁵ For this session, see also Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 67.

the principles. Jedin again reiterated the methodological distinction between speculative theology and positive theology. For Hilarino Da Milano added that, the schema had to add the dynamic element regarding Thomistic doctrine. In the aftermath, members were asked to send their remarks on this document and on the obedience towards the magisterium before January 15, 1962.

After the fifth general meeting had ended, multiple decrees were sent out in the last two weeks of 1961. On December 19, the schema of the decree on Thomas Aquinas, alongside other ones,¹⁸⁶ was sent to the Latinist Egger.¹⁸⁷ On December 23, Combes sent his co-relatio on the decree *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium*.¹⁸⁸ On the same day, the third version of *De doctrina S. Thomae servanda*, modified during the fifth plenary meeting, was sent to all members as well, and to the consultors Suárez Díez, Martil, Bouyer, De Lestapis, Camelot, Perini, D'Avack, and Bignamini.¹⁸⁹ Finally, on December 30, the following documents, definitively approved by the commissions, were sent to Felici: *De Universitatibus Catholicis*, and *De Studiis in Universitatibus Ecclesiasticis*.¹⁹⁰

13. The Work of the Preparatory Commission towards the Central Commission Meeting and the Sixth General Meeting (January – March, 1962)

When the year 1962 took off, the Preparatory Commission had time up until June to present their texts before the opening of the Council in October later that year. On January 10, the co-relatio of Fabro on *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium*, prepared by Combes, was sent to all the members and to the following consultors: Pitton, Beltrán de Heredia, McDonald, Bettazzi, Martil, Suárez Díez and Amici.¹⁹¹ These remarks of Fabro had already been discussed in the fifth general meeting, and were now reworked in a new redaction. The members were also informed that meanwhile some schemata with commentaries were sent to the CPC:¹⁹² among other ones,¹⁹³ it concerned *De Studiis Academicis ab Universitatibus tum Catholicis tum Ecclesiasticis provehendis (Cap I.: De Universitatibus Catholicis and Cap. II: De Studiorum Ecclesiasticarum Universitatibus)*. The CPC would discuss these documents in its session on February 19-27. On January 17, Fabro was invited to prepare the part on *De Obsequio*.¹⁹⁴ On January 18, Suárez Díez submitted the fourth draft of *De Scholis Catholicis* to the secretariat.¹⁹⁵ Pizzardo sent the schemata earlier submitted to the CPC, alongside other schemata, to all the members and the following consultors: Steinmüller, McDonald, Camelot, Bouyer, Suárez Díez, Martil, Perini, D'Avack, Bignamini,

¹⁸⁶ The other ones being *De normis generalibus*, *De Institutione spirituali*, *De Disciplina*.

¹⁸⁷ Busta 1152.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² This was done on December 30, 1961; see busta 1112.

¹⁹³ Those were *De vocationibus fovendis*, and *De Studiorum ratione in Seminariis (Cap. IV Constitutionis: De sacrorum Alumnis formandis)*.

¹⁹⁴ Busta 1152.

¹⁹⁵ Busta 1122.

Denis, Amici, and Pitton. The members were informed that they would be discussed in the meeting of the CPC of February 19-27.¹⁹⁶

On January 30, all the members received the fourth text of *De Scholis Catholicis* that had been finalized by Suárez the day before and which had taken into account the animadversiones made during the fifth general convent. It was yet again further reduced (18 nos.) and consisted of five parts with introduction and conclusion: the educational principles (nos. 2-4), the significance of the Catholic school (nos. 5-8), the rights and duties mainly of the family and the Church (nos. 9-11), the same for the teachers along with their required expertise (nos. 12-13), the promotion and support of the Catholic school (nos. 14-17), and finally the organizations and cooperation. This time, details were omitted such as the necessary equipment in the Catholic school, or the need for one-hour religious instruction. The section on *de iure* and *de facto* was omitted as well. Some things were still mentioned such as coeducation or the establishment of schools but in a shortened way (no. 8 and no. 14). Small additional emphases were there, such as the role of the spiritual director or the need for spiritual support of the teacher (no. 12). Some parts were more positively described, such as religious liberty (no. 9), and more dogmatic aspects were omitted, such as the Church as the infallible protector (no. 11) or the authority and role of the Congregation (no. 18). One new aspect was the right for children to receive religious education and catechesis when attending non-Catholic schools, either at school or at home (no. 16). Another addition was the need for the Catholic school to use financial support in the forms of gifts in a proper, evangelical way (no. 17). The edition of this schema would be discussed during the sixth general convent in March.¹⁹⁷

Mayer also sent a letter on the same day to Francesco Tinello, Regent of the Apostolic Chancellery, in which he sent his appreciation for Tinello's knowledge on scholastic matters and in which he asks to send his remarks on the schema of the Catholic Schools.¹⁹⁸ One day later, the same letter is sent to Umberto Cameli, director of the Scholastic office of the Congregation on Seminaries and University Studies; to Pietro Pavan, Professor at the Lateranum;¹⁹⁹ to Giampietro S.J. (discussed earlier);²⁰⁰ to Roberto Tucci SJ; to Cardinal Francesco Roberti, Prefect of the Apostolic Signatura; to Cardinal Arcadio Larroana CMF, Penitentiary of the Apostolic Penitentiary; and to Sebastian Tromp SJ, secretary of the Theological Commission. The letters were more or less the same. However, for Tucci, Mayer

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. For the letter, see busta 1155.

¹⁹⁷ See Lamberigts, "De Scholis Catholicis," 328-29. All info in busta 1122.

¹⁹⁸ Busta 1131. This letter was accompanied with another letter written in Latin in which he asks for Tinello's remarks on the training of young clergy and the pastoral activity. In fact, this other letter had been sent on the same day by Baldanza (on behalf of Mayer) to Bartoletti Enrico, Canestri Giovanni, Ceriani, Spinazzi Raimondo OP, Grasso Domenis SJ, Cardinal Lercaro of Bologna, Cardinal Siri of Genoa, also the presider of the Italian Bishop conference. However, they were not asked for comments on the Catholic school. On February 5 (received one day later), Tinello sent his annotations. On February 7, Mayer replies that he is very happy with these comments and in the letter, it also becomes clear that Tinello had meanwhile received the four decrees prepared by the commission and that Tinello could also send his remarks on them. On February 12, Tinello sent his congratulations mentioning that there are no faults in the decrees.

¹⁹⁹ On February 9, Pavan's comments arrive. However, the letter is handwritten and unreadable.

²⁰⁰ Giampietro would send his comments on February 7.

asked to send his remarks and revisions of the schema with utmost freedom.²⁰¹ For Larroana, it was added that Mayer had gotten note through Suárez Díez and Stickler of Larroana's strong interest in the schema of the Catholic schools. Therefore, before final approval of the schema, Mayer asks for Larroana's opinions on the document before the end of February. As for Tromp's letter,²⁰² it was added that since the schema on Catholic schools also touches on the natural and ecclesiastical law, Tromp could send his modifications and additions by February 20.²⁰³

Comments of the members and the external consultants outside this commission arrived between February 2-11. There are many and one can only be brief here. As usual, some approved (e.g., Fabro, Blanchet, Spadafora) while others asked to reduce and/or simplify (e.g., Denis, Gerard, Jacono). Lane and Stickler asked for a new structure of the text. From the CPC came the critique of Tinello that the whole schema was not conciliar enough and that many phrases needed to be reformulated. For instance, for no.4, he argued that one should also add there is a false opinion circulating that the school should only exist exclusively at the service of culture, or that total freedom of methodologies and ideas should be allowed in school. For no.7, he proposed to highlight the truly integral, scientific, moral, human and Christian culture for students in the Catholic education. Pavan, for his part, complained about the lack of emphasis on social teaching and the way coeducation was described. Giampietro wanted a stronger emphasis on the duty of parents to continue the instruction of their children at home in no.3. A strong critique also came on the way the state was being dealt with in educational matters. It was pointed that the description of the Catholic school was irrelevant for the missionary regions as the state decided education for a main part there (Vayalil), and that many Catholics in fact actually visited state schools due to a large variety of contextual complications such as economic factors, the state's approach to Catholic teaching in state schools, the lack of alternatives (Tucci).²⁰⁴

Meanwhile, on February 13, the notes on the schema *De ratione docendi S. Scripturam*, a note of the Secretariat, was sent to all the members and the following consultants; Martil, Bettazzi, Bignamini, Perini, D'Avack, Amici, McDonald, Steinmüller, Pitton, Camelot, Denis, Bouyer, Suárez Díez.²⁰⁵ One day later, Tromp sent the schema *De ecclesiae magisterio*, which had been prepared by the Theological Commission.²⁰⁶ While the Fourth Session of the CPC would take place (see section below), Fabro would also send a revised version of the schema on Thomas Aquinas on February 23 and 28 respectively.

²⁰¹ On February 9, Tucci sent a letter in which he explains lack of time and other tasks which made him write some observations in the margin of the text of the diagrams, while for others he took the liberty of submitting the judgment to Mayer. Most of the comments had to do with making some formulations even more to the point or clearer. On February 12 and 17, Mayer writes back to Tucci that he will gratefully use Tucci's modifications for the schema.

²⁰² Tromp replied on February 14 that he had received the letter and sent the remarks of the draft by the commission to Mayer.

²⁰³ Busta 1131.

²⁰⁴ For more details, see busta 1122, and Lamberigts, "De Scholis Catholicis," 330.

²⁰⁵ Busta 1152.

²⁰⁶ Busta 1152.

Most notable change was that the Angelic doctor was no longer recommended to be used in all Catholic schools, and that the term “method” had been exchanged for “ratio”.²⁰⁷

14. The Fourth Session of the Central Preparatory Commission (February 19-27, 1962)

From February 19-27, 1962, the CPC came together for the fourth session. On February 26, the schema on the Catholic universities was presented to the members. The chapter on Catholic universities consisted of seven numbers. No. 1 discussed how from the beginning, the Church always supported the studies at the university, as the Church acted as a patroness. At their core, these universities were Catholic imbuing Christ in all the disciplines and providing the Christian spirit to the students. No. 2 discussed the reason for recommending Catholic universities today. Professors ought to excel in knowledge and Christian judgement. They should receive all the necessary resources from libraries and research institutes. The scientific study should go harmonious with the Christian revelation. No. 3 discussed the presence of the theological faculty (or institute) at the Catholic university that seeks to enhance this harmony between science and the sacred sciences. No. 4 discussed the aim to have Catholic universities in every part of the world to undertake this task and to aid local ecclesiastical authorities. University care must be given to people from various nations and disciplines. No. 5 argued that parents should understand the duty to send Catholic children to Catholic universities. Easy access must be granted to diligent students with few financial means. Foreign students must also be aided with assistance. No. 6 pointed to the reality that many still go to civil universities given the fact that Catholic universities are not present everywhere; thus, priests and pastors need to assist those students. Centers at such universities are also needed to provide moral protection and spiritual help. If possible, theological chairs ought to be established in civil universities. Finally, no. 7 recommends Catholics to gain knowledge outside the Catholic university and to participate for the common good, gain teaching roles in civil universities, debate with people of science and are expected to enlighten young minds.²⁰⁸

Alongside presenting the schema, Pizzardo gave a *relatio* in which he once again emphasized the importance of the Catholic university and the contemporary challenges, especially how students from non-Western countries ought to be protected against errors in Western universities as a large influx had come to these universities. He finalized saying that the style of the decree, in contrast to the one on ecclesial universities, had to do with the fact that Catholic universities fell under another legislation and were not directly under the influence of the Church.²⁰⁹

The members then proceeded with the *animadversiones*.²¹⁰ Some of the important observations: Ottaviani proposed to remove the sentence on establishing a theological chair at civil universities as this might end up into heretical teachings. Bea proposed to have

²⁰⁷ Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 68. See *ibid.*, 67-68, for an overview of how Fabro had revised the text on the basis of some criticisms by the members.

²⁰⁸ See ADP II/2, 800-03, and ADP III/2, 123-26.

²⁰⁹ See ADP II/2, 803-05.

²¹⁰ For the full list, see ADP II/2, 806-09.

theological faculties independent from a particular diocese so that it does not necessarily befall upon seminarians. Silva Santiago asked to add some aspects about the need for technical-scientific education, especially natural sciences and philosophy and how it relates to religion. A faculty of sociology is also more than ever necessary according to him. Moreover, there should be more awareness about globalization and the effect on universities. Then the voting started, with the results 50/50. Many gave a *placet* but an equal amount *placet iuxta modum*, with the majority of the latter agreeing with Ottaviani's remark.²¹¹

One day later, on February 27, the schema related to the ecclesiastical universities was presented, consisting of 17 nos. divided into seven subtitles. As discussed earlier, this schema was approved at the eighth session on October 8, 1961. Starting with the intro, no. 1 discusses how the times are one of increasingly highly educated individuals and therefore those who pursue sacred studies in ecclesiastical universities should be more thoroughly trained in knowledge, scientific research and teaching. Nos. 2-4 relate to the philosophical studies. No. 2 discusses the elevated role of philosophy in the help of founding and defending the faith, to judge and reject new systems and, as such, become Christian philosophy to the fullest sense. No. 3 therefore recommends the need for a two-year course of philosophy study in ecclesiastical universities that includes the philosophy of education and further specializations. Again, scholastic philosophy is mentioned as a guiding principle and as a necessary requirement to engage in higher philosophical studies. Clerics need to have been already trained in this matter before engaging in universities. No. 4 points to the necessary means of teachers and assistants in these universities and faculties to be able to provide laureates in philosophy in light of the Christian truth. The second section deals with theological studies (nos. 5-8). No. 5 discusses how theology should be handed down to students by providing and explaining the doctrines as a whole and having room for particular *foci* with the aim of students being ready to teach and promote sacred disciplines. No. 6 discusses the baccalaureate that should take four years with the aim of preparing clerical students for the holy office, but also to appropriate higher specialization studies. Positive scientific methods are to be preferred above speculative ones, in light of the principles of Aquinas. No. 7 points to the need to have three more years of study of which two years to obtain a licentiate in theology. This licentiate is a further specialization of a particular topic in order to become an expert in the matter. Laureate degrees should only be possible in suitable universities with enough teachers and with proper qualifications. In this way, students are able to teach in turn in major seminaries. No. 8 briefly touches upon the guidance and approval of the Holy See with an eye for local conditions. The third section deals with specialization studies (nos. 9-10). No. 9 refers to the need to have additional specialization alongside philosophical and theological studies on dogmatic, moral and spiritual issues. These specializations include the study of the Scripture with prudence, patrology, religious history, liturgical and pastoral studies, canon and civil law, Oriental Christian studies, missiological sciences, non-Catholic religions, Christian archaeology, sacred music, sacred art, social sciences, pedagogy, ethnology, anthropology, Christian literature, media studies.

²¹¹ See ADP II/2, 810-16.

No. 10 emphasizes the need for a harmonious approach in which all disciplines flow together into the sacred disciplines. The same holds for the individual faculties and institutes within one ecclesiastical university and even among universities. The fourth section deals with the method (nos. 11-12). No. 11 asks for teachers to be as accurate and sharp as possible, to use methods for the progress of science in light of the philosophical (scholastic) and theological disciplines. No. 12 deals with the fact that students need to be guided well by professors and have the right methodological principles at their disposal. In the specialization, students ought to juggle well with the various comments and opinions. The fifth section on professors (nos. 13-14) discusses the need to have truly outshining teachers in the ecclesiastical universities and faculties to be able to teach all disciplines. They ought to have scientific maturity (no. 13). Moreover, they ought to continuously watch over their scientific endeavors and serve as an example to the students by being learned and humble at the same time (no. 14). Nos. 15-16 were conjoined in the sixth section on founding new universities. No. 15 discusses that new ecclesiastical universities can be established under the guidance of the Holy See wherever it is necessary provided that there are enough professors, libraries, buildings and resources. No. 16 deals with the major diocesan and religious seminaries in that they should be affiliated to ecclesial universities and faculties so that bright students can easily move further into higher studies and already be well prepared in scientific formation for the baccalaureate. Finally, the seventh section on organization of scientific research discusses how institutes of culture should be established to promote scientific research with suitable support, and appropriate methods.²¹²

Then, Pizzardo gave his relatio in which he pointed to the importance of higher studies in ecclesiastical universities based on Pius XI's *Deus Scientiarum Dominus* but that since then things still had to be updated and enhanced for the study of theology and philosophy. He lauded that the work had been done by a multitude of professors from different universities like the Gregoriana, Lateranum, Salesiana, Urbaniana and Anselmianum, with Stickler and Muñoz Vega doing the most as (co-)relators. It has to be mentioned here that these comments of Pizzardo actually demonstrate that he was actually not really much aware of all the work done by those consultants and experts beyond Stickler and Muñoz Vega, and that he did not follow much of the preparatory debates in person. He argued that the main aspect of the schema was to provide academic distinction between theology and philosophy on the one hand and specialization on the other, and to allow for a longer study period for specialization studies. He then continued by pointing to some additional information. Finally, he ended by arguing that the licentiate of theology not only serves the purpose of knowing the discipline but should enable the students to be ready to teach the sacred disciplines in turn in schools and major seminaries; and this aspect needs to be highlighted.²¹³

Animadversiones of the members followed.²¹⁴ To provide some of the major ideas: Liénart felt that the decree did not resonate with the other scheme on seminary studies. He warned that when bishops would choose the bright seminarians, they should only do so with

²¹² See ADP II/2, 816-29, and ADP III/2, 126-39.

²¹³ For his relatio, ADP II/2, 829-32.

²¹⁴ For a full list, ADP II/2, 833-44.

the approval of those leading the seminaries. Moreover, nothing was mentioned about uniting seminaries in order to have enough students. Liénart also did not agree that a situation would arise in which the less bright minds remain ‘stuck’ in seminaries while the smarter ones go further to university causing a segregation. Other deficiencies had to do with the fact that nothing was mentioned regarding the practical preparation of the apostolate of preaching and the sacraments, nor about the time needed to bring the different disciplines into harmony. This might cause an inferior training of clergy in universities than in the seminaries, thus the method of teaching in seminaries needs to be considered in the universities. Liénart was also convinced that the seminaries should deal with the baccalaureate while the canonical faculties should deal with the licentiates and doctorate, but only in those places of the world where this is rendered possible. Ruffini believed that one should already be able to obtain a degree and the possibility to teach after the years of classical studies in the seminaries; the philosophy part could be too much. Moreover, he argued that the whole study curriculum to obtain a laureate was way too long, given for instance the context of Italy that already consisted of eight years of classical studies. That would imply a total of yet another 17 years after primary school before any degree would be obtained (given two years of philosophy, four for theology and another three for specialization).

Döpfner appreciated the text given the difficult questions one had to tackle for the times regarding the priestly education. He did however mention, among other things, not prolonging the specialization studies as was already needed to obtain a laureate. Moreover, he was of the opinion that professors should teach multiple courses both in the sacred and scientific disciplines. Students already in the first years of the ecclesiastical studies should be introduced to questions pertaining to specialization, so that the flow would be better, and no segregation would arise between the main curriculum and the later specialization. Bea suggested to add something about the Orientals or the missions, and with Orientals he meant Eastern Orthodox, as whatever was described in the schema did not apply to them and would be an obstacle for their return to the Catholic Church. The same argument also held for the missions in Asia where whatever was described and especially scholastic philosophy was not applicable to, for instance, Asian Catholic clergy. Browne criticized the way philosophy was described as pertaining to human culture as in reality it existed of different components with different objectives. Moreover, for him, it was more important to train a theologian in Scripture, Magisterial documents, and documents of the Tradition in perfect harmony than providing specialized courses (though they are useful). Only then would they be knowledgeable in the doctrines.

Janssens, though happy with the increase of study years to obtain a licentiate, was not fully convinced why yet other extra years were needed to get a laureate, though he does agree that philosophy needs to maintain three years and theology four. Finally, Tinello ponders whether such a decree was necessary for an ecumenical council given the fact that the rules and suggestions described were transient to time and context and might no longer be applicable in years to come. Moreover, he criticized the fact that the universities and faculties themselves were not asked to provide their opinion on this important matter and that the content had been made by a small group of people in the commission. Therefore, he

was of the opinion that the matter should actually be tackled by a dicastery on Catholic education and university studies.

The members then gave their vote,²¹⁵ with almost all giving a *placet iuxta modum* except for two who gave a *placet* (Ciriaci and Gracias). Meanwhile, a new meeting of the commission was foreseen from March 1-10. At this meeting, the schema *De Scholis Catholicis* would be discussed.

15. Sixth General Meeting (March 1-10, 1962)

For this convention, 31 members and 10 consultors were present.²¹⁶

15.1. First session (March 1, 1962, morning)

At the start of the sixth general meeting, Pizzardo commemorated the death of Saba, who had passed away earlier in February. Mayer then welcomed Denis, who represented the African continent in the commission. He announced that the approval of the schema on Catholic universities by the CPC was for most part valid, with most reservations having to do with the difficulties of establishing a theological faculty or institute within a public university. Theological faculties exclusively depended on the Church's authority, which was not guaranteed in public universities. Others defended the proposition of the schema because of the *via media*, as professors could be invited who had the expertise to teach theological courses. Finally, regarding the schema on the ecclesiastical universities, the majority voted *placet iuxta modum*. Remarks were made about the prolongation of the studies, the need to integrate pastoral interest, and about the open-ended question whether a council was to decide about a topic that had to be reformed every two to three decades.

The major challenge for this general meeting was, according to Mayer, to finish the constitution on Catholic schools and to finish the last chapter of the constitution on the formation of students of sacred studies. Suárez Díez then offered his report²¹⁷ on the fifth version of the document on Catholic schools. He first highlighted the new structure: the important principles of education (nos. 2-4, as with the previous version); the importance and qualities of the Catholic schools (nos. 5, 6, 14, 10 of the previous schemata had now been placed in nos. 5-8. An additional text on the spiritual director had also been added here in no. 7); the rights of family and Church concerning schools (nos. 7, 8, 9 of the previous schema were now nos. 9-11); on the formation, duties and rights of teachers (nos. 15-16 of the previous schema were now nos. 12-13, with additional text about the formation of teachers of religion, catechists and Catholic teachers in state schools in no. 12); on the promotion of Catholic schools (nos. 11, 12, 13, 18 in the previous schema were now nos. 14-16, with additional text about the frequentation by children of the state schools in no. 16); on the support of Catholic schools (no. 17 previously now no. 14, an exhortation about the sober administration of ecclesiastical goods without being opposed to the progress and

²¹⁵ See ADP II/2, 845-50.

²¹⁶ For the minutes of the sessions, see busta 1156.

²¹⁷ Busta 1156.

perfection of Catholic schools; and finally the central organization and cooperation (nos. 19-20 in the previous schema now nos. 18-19).

Suárez Díez then discussed in detail how the document had taken into account the multiple remarks of the members concerning the definition and denomination of a Catholic school;²¹⁸ the apostolic mission of a school had been more clearly circumscribed; issues related to the monopoly of state schools had been more clearly described (no. 9); co-education was better defined (no. 10); the collaboration with parents in educational matters (no. 15); there was a reference to the poor (no. 17); and the obligation of Catholic parents to send their children to Catholic schools (no. 19) had been added. Finally, Suárez Díez gave a survey of all new paragraphs as asked by the members and ended with a list of new proposals for formulation.

Most members were pleased with the revised document, although Jacono suggested putting determinations in the notes, because they depended on time progress and evolving conditions. For Landucci, a part of no.7 could be left out, as the use of force could never be used in education. About coeducation (no.8), he asked for more prudence and proposed a change of the text. Masi, referring to state domination as a greater danger as the state could object to the establishment of Catholic schools or refuse proper means, asked to explain in a specific paragraph the rights and tasks of the state concerning Catholic schools. Special emphasis had to be added here regarding the freedom of parents and Church to found Catholic schools. Hilarino Da Milano observed that no.9 could be read both through Catholic and inimical eyes, something, according to Mayer, Tromp also had observed while reading the text. Dezza, for his part, was not happy with the fact that in no. 7, the distinction between Catholic school *de iure* and *de facto* was deleted as it excluded schools that did not meet what was being said in no. 7, but *de facto* were Catholic schools nonetheless (cf. in the missions: while the majority of schools were non-Catholic, they were juridically speaking Catholic). Muñoz Vega observed confusion in no.3 between proper faith and moral education, and what was said about mere human sciences. The first had to do with divine institution, whilst the second with natural law. For Denis, various statements were too long, and the style could be corrected. He made a very long and detailed intervention, observing that people did not understand the concept of “perfect society”. For no. 15, he asked to better explain the duty of parents to send their children to Catholic schools. Finally, he asked for study groups for the youth, apart from catechists.

15.2. Second session (March 2, 1962)

Unfortunately, archival files concerning this session are missing. According to the minutes the decree on the doctrine of Thomas seemed to have been discussed.

15.3. Third session (March 5, 1962, morning)

In this session, Mayer announced that a sub-commission was to be held with regard to the obedience to the magisterium in the afternoon, as Combes had prepared a new redaction of this schema. Afterwards, the decree on Thomas Aquinas, redacted by Fabro, his sub-

²¹⁸ Cf. Lamberigts, “*De Scholis Catholicis*,” 330-31.

commission and especially Camelot, was distributed alongside the document on discipline in seminaries.²¹⁹ Moreover, the schema had now been extended to eight numbers, and no. 4 had been reworked. The additional nos. described issues related to “the knowledge of God, the investigation of human nature, and the moral activity tending to its ultimate aim.”²²⁰ With regard to Fabro’s text, it was asked to focus mostly on philosophy and theology. Up against a criticism that had come up mentioning that the way Aquinas engaged with Scripture was no longer valid in light of the contemporary developments on Biblical studies, Camelot maintained that the exegesis done by Aquinas was still steadfast and valid for today. He repeated once again that Aquinas had to be better known by professors and students alike. Denis highlighted that the liberty to choose one or another Doctor of the Church by theologians should remain a central argument. He pointed out that this was also in line with the papal documents. He was also convinced that no. 4, which discussed the principles, the ratio and the doctrine would cause heated debates. Fabro, as usual, continued to defend the central place of Thomas Aquinas in the Church tradition as the doctor communis. After the presentation of the schema on discipline in seminaries by Stickler, Mayer invited the sub-commission on discipline and the one on Catholic schools to continue their study of their own schemata. In the afternoon, the commission on obedience would meet.

15.4. Sixth session (March 8, 1962, afternoon)

After the voting of the documents on spiritual formation and discipline in seminaries, Suárez Díez presented the fifth edition of the decree on Catholic Schools consisting of twenty-four pages. Suárez Díez hoped the schema could be finalized. He first discussed the corrections based on the meetings of March 1-2. Indeed, on both these days, the sub-commission had checked all the comments and had finalized the new text.²²¹ Now, the text consisted of nineteen numbers. He then spoke about the smaller modifications that had to be made and for which he had asked advice. With regard to the corrections made, Mayer and Stickler helped. No. 3 was better redacted, and it was made clear that the family, the Church and the state had to work in harmony and cooperation. A Latin word *munera* was added to make clear that both the family and the Church were providing a service in the whole educational realm. Instead of orders and religious institutions in no. 5, it now was noted as religious societies and institutes. Moreover, the correlation of teachers to the magisterium was exchanged for the contribution of teachers to the true apostolate. D’Avack’s request to state that the religious laity should not aim for priesthood, was not accepted. In no. 6, a new redaction was made in order to have a definition of the Catholic school that did not exclude schools in so-called ‘pagan’ or ‘infidel’ regions belonging to the apostolate of the propaganda fide. The addition *non secus ac statales* remained at the request of Stickler. In no. 7, a small change was made to make clear that moral education was not exclusively the work of the spiritual director but belonging to all. Moreover, moral education was the fruit of the Catholic school as such. For nos. 8-9, attention was paid to exclude ambiguity. The

²¹⁹ Cf. Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 68-71, for the discussion during this session.

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 69.

²²¹ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, “*De Scholis Catholicis*,” 331-32; See also ADA II/4, 110-57. For the final text, see ADP III/2, 140-63.

authority of the magisterium in doctrinal, moral and faith matters was again emphasized. Moreover, any state monopoly or decline of state aid to non-state schools was rejected. It was also added that the term liberty need not to be misunderstood in the secular sense (i.e., as in relativism). In no. 9, the idea of divine instruction was replaced for divine law and the right of the Christians, and the Church were considered unchangeable. No. 8 and 16 from the fourth version were now nos. 11-12, to give them a better place. Rather than speaking of non-Catholic or state schools, it was now described as “other schools”. For co-education, it was decided to add the final clause of the instructions and norms of the Holy See in no. 12. In no. 13, a new formula about Catholic teachers in state schools was added. As for no. 16, a sentence regarding the means to inform the public opinion was added. After presenting the text, Suárez then gave a survey of the emendations that still had to be done: nos. 1, 4 (line 2), 8 (line 12), and 9.

The members wanted to first discuss some questions of major importance before voting. First, it was asked whether the addition “non secus ac statales” was to remain in no. 6. Twenty-one members asked to omit a comparison with state schools. Regarding no.8, Denis observed that also protestants and Muslims have the right to found schools. In the discussion, it was clear that the matter had to do with what was meant with the sentence “according to the rightly formed conscience”. Thus, Dezza proposed to leave out the word “formed”, but others, like Fabro, observed that the decree gave the impression that the rights of the Church were put on the line as those of non-Catholics, concluding that the Church should defend her own rights. In the end, Dezza’s proposal was accepted with 29 votes pro. The votes for the whole schema were in conclusion: 34 *placet*, 1 *placet iuxta modum*.

15.5. Seventh session (March 9, morning)

A final discussion on Catholic schools initiated the start of the seventh session. With regard to the sentence “iuxta recte efformatam conscientiam”, Denis proposed “ratione habitae uniuscuiusque conscientiae” instead, as this would better apply in the territories where many non-Catholics visit Catholic schools and/or where Catholics were obliged to visit lay schools. Denis’ proposal was accepted as it was considered to be more in accordance with the doctrine. The same was through for no. 6: public schools were not less than state schools. Then, the discussion on the fifth and final schema of Thomas Aquinas started.²²² In this schema, the allusion to the “magisterium of Thomas” had been exchanged for the suggestions that the Church had given him the authority, and the Thomistic ratio had now been reduced to the philosophy and theology (leaving out Church history).²²³ Although there had already been much agreement, formally it was not yet voted. The discussion again focused on doctrine, ratio and the principles (no. 4). Fabro explained that the schema was not about Thomistic schools but about Thomas. The main question was whether the members agreed with the arguments and whether they were to be accepted as part of the decree or put within the notes. The commission was divided with some asking to put them in the decree (e.g., Spadafora) while others in the notes (e.g., Camelot). Some members also suggested

²²² See Lamberigts, “The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission,” 70-71, for the discussion.

²²³ *Ibid.*, 69.

leaving them out in general (e.g., Adam, Bouyer, Dezza). Some of the other criticisms included Ferreira Gomes who was of the opinion that the schema was not fit for a Council. He argued that the principles were merely enumerated but not described. Moreover, nothing was said about essence and existence, nor on moral doctrine in its individual and social aspects whereby Thomistic principles were very relevant. Fabro agreed that Ferreira Gomes' additions had to be added in the text, but he did not want to canonize the whole doctrine of Thomas. Rather, it was more to recognize the universal solidarity of human reason. In the end, it was decided to put the additions in an appendix for no. 4. The final vote resulted in 32 placet, one non placet, and the schema would be sent as a third part of the *De obsequio* to the CPC.

15.6. Eighth session (March 9, 1962, afternoon)

During the eighth session, Combes introduced the third version of the schema on the obedience towards the magisterium of the Church in teaching the sacred disciplines. He thanked Hilarino Da Milano for his great help. Combes observed that he had received many answers, which made clear that there were differing opinions regarding the method and some textual aspects. He added, however, that in substance, practically everyone agreed.²²⁴ Combes added that the text had by now become very different from the previous version and that a discussion on the remarks of the previous version was now useless. Next, he mentioned the praises he had received, but also the very severe critique of only one person.²²⁵ The new schema had undergone three substantial changes; first, because of the different aim of the text; second, because of what would be mentioned about the magisterium in the constitution on the Church; third, on the basis of the observations of the members of this commission.

With regard to the first point, Combes argued that the schema did not deal with theological science in se (schema I), nor with how to teach theological science (schema II), but with how to teach the sacred disciplines with proper respect to theology. The first seven articles had been deleted. A provisional introduction meant to introduce the other decrees on teaching Scripture and Thomas Aquinas, now consisted of a kind of distribution of the constitutive elements. For no. 2, a whole paragraph on the statute of the theologians was defined with respect to the constitution of the Church, thus leaving out nos. 11-13 of the previous schema. The current document had also engaged with the multiple remarks that were made on the previous versions. While in terms of method, the use of papal documents was initially criticized, literal quotes had now been reduced and the references to papal documents had now been placed in the notes while their core argumentations had been preserved in the text. If the previous text was considered too extensive, the decree had now been reduced. Even the notes had been reduced from 51 to 25. Finally, the negative tone which seemed to overtake the content of the previous version had now been counterbalanced by nos. 12-15, though Combes did in general disagree with this remark.

²²⁴ The "fere" in his report did not do justice to reality. In fact, the critiques were that much that he had to write a new text!

²²⁵ As we will see further, he had in mind Blanchet. He spoke of him as: "severissimus quidem censor, sed unicus (...) acerrimus censor (...) censor meus (...)".

Moreover, the whole decree was now divided in six chapters. It started with the task of teaching within the Church. More specifically, the text took off with the proper statute of theology, followed by the different sacred disciplines being taught in the various ecclesiastical institutes and especially their relation to the magisterium. The second chapter elaborated on the spiritual bond between magisterium and the doctrinal task. Moreover, it argued that the task of the theologian consisted in positively dealing with the exposition of truth while countering errors. During the theologian's work, the magisterium of the Church was always to be considered the closest to the truth. Therefore, a theologian's work could never be done without a vital connection with the magisterium. Without this connection, errors and false ideas would proliferate (no.15). In this respect, not only teachers had to embrace the magisterium, but also students at universities and seminaries had to be taught to love and embrace the magisterial teaching and authority in the same way. Other additions included the seventh chapter, in which Combes had added a text of Roschini about the way to appropriate the various documents of the ecclesiastical magisterium.²²⁶

After presenting the new version, some serious critiques were brought forward. Some found the simple summary and affirmation of errors too simplistic. For instance, Formgeschichte in se was not totally wrong;²²⁷ it had resulted in good fruits. People questioned whether the help for the ecclesiastical magisterium only came from theologians. People asked to better highlight the relation between the scientific investigation of theologians and the magisterium of the Church. A theologian should do this research in a humble but active way. It was asked to leave out the list of errors in no.14. People asked for better linguistic redaction. Remarks had to do with competence (this commission; Theological Commission). Mayer was convinced that it belonged to the competence of his commission for it was a topic given to this commission and we are dealing with the institutional aspect.

15.7. Ninth session (March 10, morning)

The discussion on the document continued. Herlihy considered the decree important, but the form not apt. He agreed with Bertoglio regarding the repetition. He further asked to omit the elenchus of errors in no.14, as these were contingent (Dezza agreed as well). Masi had problems with the extension of the doctrinal part, which seemed unbalanced. It was about the method of obedience. He was happy regarding the personal investigation of the theologian but asked to add a phrase that ensured that a theologian attempting to discover new applications and ideas in line with Catholic tradition should be allowed to do so. Dezza

²²⁶ Given the fact that Blanchet had been criticized by Combes – he requested to preserve his commentaries – he asked to add in the appendix of the report of the meeting of 9 March, the following comments: The form of the first schema was rejected; the mindset of the proposed schema as considered to be too negative. Regarding the content: the final schema should have the distinction between theological science and simple profession of faith. The quote from *Humani Generis* was wrong and did not do justice to the encyclical (despite Combes indignation). Instead, it was the result of selective reading. What was mentioned in *Humani Generis* could also be applied to the work of the theologians. In any case, the authentic interpretation about this task had to be given to the Magisterium alone. Only the changes to the text were subject of congratulations. Legitimate dissensions have contributed to the amelioration of the schema and that is the only thing that matters.

²²⁷ This remark was made by Blanchet, but the next day Roschini stated that the method, invented by a-Catholics, was false and must be rejected, as mentioned in this decree.

(supported by Steinmuller) asked to rephrase no.15 and repeated that Formgeschichte did not have to be condemned as such, referring to an article of Vaccari in *Divinitas* and published by the Lateran university. Spadafora reacted, claiming that Vaccari's article was translated from German into English, that Formgeschichte was related to the rationalistic system, and that it is against the Church on the principal and practical levels as made clear in the pontifical documents. Mayer intervened, stating that the concept had different meanings with different authors. In Bea's written advice (he was not present), a distinction had to be made between the dangers and the usefulness of a precise method of Formgeschichte to explain the differences in the synoptics. Dezza further doubted no.17, stating that what was said there had to be extended to all disciplines in seminaries and universities. Others asked to highlight the sublimity of the theologians' task. Clearly the preceding debates regarding the interpretation of the Bible prior to the council between the Lateranum (in which Spadafora was a professor in exegesis) and the Biblicum, the latter ran by mainly Jesuits, came back to the fore in this debate. The schema tended to diminish the freedom of the theologian. Dezza also observed that there was no proper distinction between the authentic interpretation of the magisterium and the private interpretation of authors. In matters for which the magisterium did not give interpretations, research had to be done in prudence.

Muñoz Vega again questioned the commission's legitimacy to deal with the matter and proposed to elaborate this text together with the Theological Commission, in order to avoid repetitions and to respect the competence of individual commissions. He also asked to make the twofold task of the magisterium clear: the Church teaches in another way when exercising the ministry of the word than when explaining the deposit of faith. Moreover, the task of the theologian in scientific investigation had to be better highlighted. While the theologian depends on the magisterium, the theologian must also investigate other things not contained in the magisterium's teaching. For Fabro, the schema could be enhanced if it was shortened, thus suggesting that the 6 chapters should be reduced to 6 paragraphs and reduced to the essentials: the notion of ecclesiastical magisterium (there were different grades in the magisterium – some aspects clearly defined, others not, which in turn should define the obedience of the theologian in various degrees), obedience to the Church (while obedience is necessary, intelligent theologians could also inquire the truths, come to new conclusions and do efforts to apply them to new problems). He also made some comments on the various chapters. For ch. 1 he criticized the ambiguity of a theologian working in a private setting and talking in public and asked more clarity about the role of the theologian appointed by the bishop. For ch. 2, clarity was needed regarding the "sensus Ecclesiae". For ch. 3, the function of natural reason in light of theological reasoning was needed. For ch. 4, more had to be done regarding the part of the dogmatic progress. Finally, for ch. 5, a clear statement on immanentism beyond religious immanentism alone was needed. Regarding the latter, Roschini agreed by adding that the immanence as discussed by theologians and even Thomas Aquinas is not the same as it was being discussed by the contemporary philosophy of the time.

Stickler for his part was of the opinion that chapters 2, 3, 6 could be held together. He agreed with Fabro concerning the issue of obedience. Betazzi suggested leaving out no.2-4, 7-8. For him (supported by Camelot), more freedom should be given to theologians. Bouyer praised the science, work and zeal of Combes but followed the remarks as made by Dezza, Muñoz Vega, and Herlihy. Suárez Díez suggested to work on the style of the text. He further stated that the magisterium of the theologians is not of the same order as the ecclesiastical magisterium; the ecclesiastical magisterium cannot be delegated, but it can be delegated insofar as it participates in the power of jurisdiction which supposes a previous capacity of the magisterium; thus, the laity cannot exercise the official magisterium for the power of jurisdiction requires a cleric. Up until then, the magisterium remains private and thus the magisterium of theologians had to be seen as ecclesiastical, human, and private. As long as it is not official and public based on a mandate, it is not the ecclesiastical magisterium. For Denis, the schema was too long and doctrinal. He suggested to leave out chapter 3.

Having heard all these critiques, Combes suggested organizing a special meeting in Rome to amend the text. Mayer concluded that this was possible once the votes of the members were received. Like the one on Scripture and Thomas Aquinas, the document could be handed over to the CPC. However, time was lacking to prepare a text on obedience to the magisterium. Fabro had prepared a first draft but there was no time. Thus, as is written in the Acta, the schema on the fundamental notions were approved after this Assembly.²²⁸ As mentioned earlier, the part on Scripture had already been approved earlier in December 1961.

16. Developments between the Sixth General Meeting and the Central Commission Meeting (March 10-June 12, 1962)

On March 24, 1962, the definitive text of the constitution *De Scholis Catholicis*²²⁹ was sent to Felici.²³⁰ Three days later, the schema *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium*, prepared by Masi who had actually overtaken the work of Combes, was sent to Muñoz Vega, Dezza, Fabro, and Roschini.²³¹ Masi was asked to be present in the meeting of April 2, where this text would be discussed and indeed be criticized.²³² On March 27, 1962, Confalonieri sent the proposals for correction as suggested by the CPC.²³³ Stickler would look at it for the ecclesiastical universities, and Dezza for the Catholic universities.²³⁴ In a special meeting on April 2 moderated by Masi, the reworked text of *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium* was examined and approved. The members were asked to vote on this text by post. On April 9, all the members received the new schema of *De Obsequio*.²³⁵ The schema of the decree, elaborated by Masi, thoroughly discussed but not voted on in the previous meeting of the commission, was revised according to the remarks made. Pizzardo further informed the

²²⁸ ADP II/4, 159, 166.

²²⁹ Not everyone was happy. For instance, Marty had his doubts that the text had dealt enough with the evangelical mission of the Church. Moreover, it lacked a focus on the Gospel. See busta 1122. And Lamberigts, footnote 85, p.?

²³⁰ Busta 1152. For the written remarks of Mayer on *Schema Constitutionis de Scholis Catholicis*, see busta 1122.

²³¹ Busta 1152.

²³² Ibid.

²³³ Ibid.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Ibid.

members that the schemata of this commission would be examined by the CPC in the sessions of June 11-19, 1962.

On April 18, *De Obsequio* (ch. 1. Notae fundamentalis; ch. 2 De ratione docendi S. Scripturam, ch. 3. De doctrina S. Thomae servanda) was sent to Felici.²³⁶ On April 25, the commission would sent the corrections as asked by the CPC with regard to the decrees *De Universitatibus Catholicis* and *De studiorum ecclesiasticorum universitatibus*.²³⁷ The same day, Fabro sent corrections of some errors as present in the additamenta of the decree on Thomas.²³⁸ In the course of May 1962, Pizzardo happily announced that *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium in tradendis disciplinis sacris* in its revised form was approved. He also added to this letter the schemata prepared by the commission, now being printed. He announced that the CPC would discuss the schemata in the meetings from June 12-14.²³⁹

The final version of *De Obsequio* consisted of three chapters: the first one on fundamental notions, the second on the teaching of the Scripture and the third one on Thomas Aquinas. The first chapter consisted of eight nos.: no.1 discussed the authority of the Magisterium of the Church as infallible and divine disseminated by means of the Pontifical teaching along with the bishops; no. 2 emphasized the need of teachers of sacred disciplines in schools and universities to be directed by this magisterium as a norm both in their teaching and writing; no.3 discussed how teachers can rely on the repertoire of the magisterial documents through the centuries to teach faith and morals, and to investigate deeply the doctrine and to appropriate it for the current times with new (scientific) questions without falling into errors – led in all this endeavor by the example of Aquinas; no.4 discussed how by following the example laid out in no.3, teachers will be able to refute educational errors among the students whether it be based on a wrong principle, false method or insufficient investigation of the issue; no. 5 yet again emphasized the Church documents as being “pillars of sacred knowledge” and how teachers should use and explain them to students; no.6 provides the distinction between infallible and fallible teachings, pointing out that some of the opinions or theological doctrines are from a higher order than others, and that teachers should carefully distinguish between the two (from certain ones to more disputable ones needing more investigation). Moreover, teachers are not standing outside the teaching of the bishops; no. 7, discussing the authority of the teacher, points out how their authority is simply a delegation from the authority of the Church. The only authentic teachers are the Pontiffs above but in correspondence with the bishops and the authoritative teaching in fact expounds their teaching, therefore teachers ought to be humble; followed by no. 8 as a conclusion in which obedience to the magisterium of the Church implies to all teaching disciplines. Again, Aquinas is mentioned.

The second chapter on Scripture consisted of 4 nos.: first an introduction in which the place of the Holy Scriptures in the Church as one source of revelation which cannot be ignored at any point is treated. St. Jerome is quoted for this purpose: without knowing the

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Ibid.

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

Scriptures one does not know Christ. No. 1 then discussed the need for those who study Scripture to be led by the Holy Spirit but also adhering to the Magisterium of the Church. While appropriating the ancient languages and resources to investigate the Scripture, the pontifical norms ought to be followed. No. 2 basically extends on no.1 by emphasizing that in order to interpret Biblical books, the Magisterial documents have to be consulted including that of the Church Fathers and the *analogia fidei*. No. 3 emphasizes the need of teachers of Scripture to show the (doctrinal) continuity between the Old and New Testaments. Special attention ought to be given to the creation of humankind, some prophetic texts and psalms that are incorporated in the liturgy of the Church, the life of Christ, and the Pauline letters. In universities, professors can expand on selected questions and investigate further for the benefit of the progress of the doctrine. Where answers are not yet provided, teachers ought to carefully distinguish between true and false doctrines/beliefs on the magisterial teaching so that the faith is never harmed. Finally, in no. 4, the primary approach to the Scripture needs to be one of delving into God's "treasure" in a way that the Scripture coincide with theology as a whole. The divine inspiration of the Scriptures needs to be highlighted so that the texts may benefit good works of students and enhance the priestly formation as such.

Finally, the third chapter on the Angelic doctor consisted of five numbers but some additional text was added after the notes that were not part of the schema as such but could be of particular interest to the members in their assessment of the text. No. 1 lauds the reference of Thomas Aquinas by many Pontiffs whose approach to and teaching of the faith and doctrines is a guiding light for Catholic schools. That is why he is called the Angelic Doctor. No. 2 expands on this matter, emphasizing the need to study Aquinas' doctrines in both philosophy and theology. No. 3 elaborates that considering Thomas as a role model does not reject the guidance of other Church Fathers or Catholic Doctors; however, Thomas can serve as a perfect model of guidance as he provides many diverse sources of tradition, shows perfectly how to refute false doctrines and opinions, and how to engage with intellectual matters in a structured and profound way. No. 4 points out that the authority of the Church to Thomas implies a dynamic way of dealing with intellectual and sacred matters, both old and new. Finally, no. 5 reiterates the role and place of (the teaching of) Aquinas in the tradition of the Church, in schools and universities as a guiding model, and finally even to the Christian faithful as a whole.²⁴⁰

17. The Seventh Session of the Central Commission (June 12-14, 1962)

When the CPC met, *De Scholis Catholicis* was discussed on June 12-13 in the seventh and final session.²⁴¹ In his relatio, Pizzardo lauded the extensive work done by Suárez Díez and Stickler, again a proof that Pizzardo simply did not follow the preparatory work closely (as people like Stickler and Dezza were oftentimes at odds with Suárez Díez' way of working and contradicting suggestions made by the latter), and argued for the importance of this constitution: for the apostolate in times of access to culture and education, to counter false

²⁴⁰ For the schemas, see ADP II/4, 158-73; ADP III/2, 164-80.

²⁴¹ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, "*De Scholis Catholicis*," 332-33. See also ADP II/4, 110-57 for all the details.

doctrines, and to counter the ignorance on Catholic schools on behalf of the faithful and non-faithful alike. He then gave an outline of what the constitution aimed at.²⁴² There were multiple animadversiones by the members.²⁴³ However, only few important aspects can be pointed out here. Twenty-six members (consisting of cardinals and bishops) criticized the introduction in the sense that the text should start with the right of children to receive education in a wholesome way, then followed by the tripartite rights (family, church, state) in this matter. As the child is the central focus, the state should therefore provide all the necessary finances to enable all kinds of schools.²⁴⁴ Léger, supported by fourteen members, in a similar vein argued that the introduction should focus on the right to education for all human beings but also the common problems. Defensiveness on behalf of the Church had to be avoided or even omitted. The Church had to be “in the world” and collaborating with the state instead of opposing it. Moreover, the text was too much Eurocentric in describing educational problems in the Catholic school. The tone had to be more universal while particularities had to be avoided. In general, Léger therefore proposed a new version.²⁴⁵ Bea for his part also agreed that particularities had to be avoided, as this work belonged to the national episcopal conferences. Moreover, in line with Frings, Bea did not consider the need to establish Catholic primary schools when the state is already supportive on this matter. Alfrink wanted a rephrasing of the term ‘Church’ to include all the faithful. Silva Henriquez criticized the lack of the role of the laity or the tasks of the priests; he was unhappy about the fact that pedagogy was almost not discussed at all, and he further asked to clearly distinguish between the various types of schools.²⁴⁶ Ottaviani, praising the constitution as a whole, asked to add something to praise those states who already support Catholic schools, and also about the rights of the state (he actually uses ‘republic’) towards schools in general.²⁴⁷ Godfrey pointed to the problem of finances to maintain schools to an ever growing larger school population also through immigration.²⁴⁸ Saigh emphasized that the Holy See should only have the authority to establish international bodies on education, but not on a national or regional level. The latter belongs to the authority of the Ordinary and would diminish the burdens of the Holy See.²⁴⁹ The large majority of the Fathers give the schema a *placet iuxta modum*, while a minority simply gave it a *placet*. Nobody gave it a *non placet*.²⁵⁰

Then, the schema on *De obsequio erga ecclesiae magisterium* followed. In his relatio, Pizzardo demonstrated how the commission had taken up some of the earlier recommendations of the Fathers and showed how Combes, Masi, Jacono, Herlihy, and Fabro

²⁴² ADP II/4, 133-35; cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 30, 45-46.

²⁴³ For a full detailed list, see ADP II/4, 136-48. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 52-59, who provides his summary of the observations.

²⁴⁴ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, “*De Scholis Catholicis*,” 332. The names: Liénart, Tisserant, Ferretto, Tappouni, Quiroga y Palacios, Léger, Montini, Richaud, Doepfner, Alfrink, Silva Henriquez, Suenens, Bea, Albareda, Gori, Antezana, Hurley, Perrin, Seper, Bazin, Bernard, Bernier, Yago, Rakotomalala, Suhr, Sépinsky.

²⁴⁵ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, “*De Scholis Catholicis*,” 332.

²⁴⁶ Busta 1122.

²⁴⁷ ADP II/4, 144.

²⁴⁸ ADP II/4, 144-45.

²⁴⁹ ADP II/4, 147-48.

²⁵⁰ ADP II/4, 148-57.

had done the work of the various schemes represented in this decree.²⁵¹ Again, the Fathers gave various *animadversiones*, of which some of the major aspects are represented here.²⁵² Micara, though understanding the importance of Thomas, did not find it fit for an ecumenical council to exalt Thomas to such extent especially for a conciliar decree. He would be supported by various other fathers like Döpfner and Sépinsky. Frings asked to adapt some parts of the infallibility of the church, pointing to the historical problem of Galileo. Like Micara, he also asked to remove the section on Thomas as had already been repeatedly emphasized by the popes. Moreover, he pointed out that many had deviated from the original sources of Thomas and instead were making use of secondary sources on him. Bea felt that the whole section on the Scripture had in fact already been told by previous magisterial documents and asked to avoid particularities and instead point to simple principles especially as a conciliar document must remain stable for the future since particularities will change in time to come. Like the others before him, he wanted to remove the section on Thomas as it was too unilateral and partial. But someone like Browne stood against the ones just mentioned, as he very much praised Thomas' section. Hurlihy praised the Scripture section. Saigh asked to define more clearly the distinction between infallible and non-infallible magisterium especially in relation to the teachings of the Popes and up to the Roman dicasteries. Saigh like others, did not agree with putting Thomas in a conciliar decree.

In the end, most members gave the schema a placet *iuxta modum* for all the parts. Some gave the placet for certain parts (mostly chapter I and some chapters I-II). Very few gave a placet for the whole decree. No one gave a *non placet* for the whole, though people like Bea, Suenens, Micara, Döpfner, Yago, Suhr, Scharmach, Sépinsky and Jansens gave a *non placet* to the whole section on Thomas. It was clear that the whole section on Thomas gave the members most problems, as could be expected.²⁵³

In the aftermath, Suárez received the comments and criticisms made by the members of the CPC. Indeed, on June 22, Confalonieri sent the observations of the CPC on *De Scholis Catholicis*,²⁵⁴ while the observations made by the CPC with regard to *De Obsequio erga Ecclesiae Magisterium in tradendis disciplinis* were sent to the central sub-commission *De schematibus emendandis*. It arrived on the July 2.²⁵⁵ On July 3, it was decided that the work would be divided as following: for *De Obsequio*, Masi would send his answers by July 14,²⁵⁶ for *De ratione docendi S. Scripturam*, Jacono would send his answers by July 5,²⁵⁷ and for *De doctrina S. Thomae servanda*, Fabro would send his answers by July 6.²⁵⁸ Meanwhile, for *De Scholis Catholicis*, Suárez would send his responses on July 9, 1962 (*De schematibus emendandis*). Suárez Díez' tone was quite defensive, to say the least. Rather than

²⁵¹ ADP II/4, 158-73 for the schema, and 173-76 for the relatio.

²⁵² For the full list, see ADP II/4, 176-205.

²⁵³ See ADP II/4, 205-19 for the full list.

²⁵⁴ Busta 1152. It is not clear when he submitted the corrections, but on July 9, Confalonieri will receive the answers on the remarks of the CPC with regard to *De Scholis Catholicis*. The other corrections were also sent to him.

²⁵⁵ Busta 1152.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid. In his answers, he would staunchly reject all the accusations against the text, while putting the blame with a lack of knowledge and hastiness of voting by the members of the CPC. See Lamberigts, "The Decree of the Vatican II Preparatory Commission," 73, for a full outline.

incorporating some of the major suggestions, he mainly defended each part of the schema. In the end, nothing much was changed content wise, but only rephrased some parts.²⁵⁹ Briefly, no. 1 was more generalized and included the reference to all human beings as having a right to a wholesome education (it is part of human dignity and progress). Everyone and each institute (mainly Church and state) need to collaborate to enable this purpose, both materially and spiritually. Those ideologies that worked against this purpose were criticized. Correlated to this call, in no. 3, the tripartite collaboration was emphasized and mainly the family's rights were highlighted, and this time the state preceded the church in the follow-up order. In line with the suggestions, it was also said that the state must offer the necessary finances in light of the *bonum commune* (repeated in no. 17). The aspect of the common good was once again repeated in no. 8 alongside the remark that any sort of violence in education has to be rejected. Other additions were the focus on human freedom and freedom of conscience, without falling into the trap of indifferentism. No. 15 included the modern media as educational tools. Regarding the other schemata, another more defensive even arrogant tone clearly rejecting most of the comments regarding Thomas, came from Fabro who placed many comments rejecting Thomas aside.

By July 20, the central sub-commission *De schematibus emendandis* came up with a new text which combined and printed the schemata on the Catholic schools and the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities into one constitutional schema *De Scholis Catholicis et de studiis academicis*. This text would serve as a basis for further discussion once the Council would officially open two months later in October.²⁶⁰ The content remained more or less the same with some changes here and there that had been made by the relators based on the observations of the members of the central commission. Some of the pertinent critiques, such as the inclusion of Thomas, were not incorporated. It was also decided that the schema on the obedience to the magisterium would be taken up by the theological commission.

18. Conclusion

Before making any conclusion of this chapter, a moment to stand still is needed for the tremendous and exhaustive work done by the various members, consultors, external consultors, theological experts, to come to the promulgation of six schemata throughout the preparatory period. The sending of letters, remarks and suggestions back-and-forth, the work done by the various relators and co-relators of each sub-commission, the amount of time to consider all the opinions of those who sent suggestions to improve the text – whether that be from experts, members, consultors, or CPC – the work done by Mayer as secretary, Baldanza as notetaker, and all the members during the endless discussions... Indeed, a feat on behalf of the preparatory commission to deal with a large scope of the topic called 'education' and a true precursor of things still to come during the conciliar sessions when everything will be thrown on a heap once again (at least for the schools and the universities) with new members

²⁵⁹ Busta 1122; Lamberigts, "De Scholis Catholicis," 333; Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 60-61.

²⁶⁰ See Sacrosanctum Oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum Secundum, *Schemata Constitutionum et Decretorum ex quibus arguenda in Concilio disceptanda seligentur*, Serie IV (Vatican City: Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1963), 281-345. Cf. Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 59-60; Pohlschneider, "Declaration on Christian Education," 3.

involved. This chapter is proof of this exhaustive draft history during the preparatory period, and it did not even engage with the parallel work for the schemas on priestly formation in the seminaries and vocations.

That being said, the whole endeavor was indeed not without problems. First, as broad as education runs, it becomes very clear that despite all the large efforts, the need to select certain themes the commission deems important – very much inspired by the parallel Congregation on Seminaries and University Studies – the mindset among some of the members and consultors involved, ran the risk of selecting things considered more pertinent than other matters (though one can applaud that core issues are dealt with). It becomes clear that throughout the discussions on the three schemata under discussion in this chapter and in their final form, members came to an agreement on matters that, when reading through the texts, still look rather defensive and juridical: whether that be on the Catholic school, on Catholic and ecclesiastical universities or obedience to the magisterial authority. In that respect, I agree with Fusi that the pastoral aspect, as wished by the Pope, is not yet visible in this preparatory commission. It is true that there is no open approach towards new methods like the *Formgeschichte* or the pedagogical sciences, and that the content is too Western-centered.²⁶¹ Even the fact that Thomas is mentioned oftentimes, shows the dominance of scholastic thought still applicable for the future of studies at schools or universities. Much surely had to do with the parallel Congregation on Studies and Seminary Studies and with the selection of the members involved including a Roman centeredness...

However, and where it nuances Fusi's observation of the preparatory period, having looked at the archives considered in this chapter, the picture becomes much more nuanced, complicated, and a lot more can be concluded on the basis of the people involved in the preparatory commission. In our commission, some contributors stood out. Indeed, some members and consultors were more impactful than others. In fact, their contributions in the various discussions correlate to variety of factors: the preceding studies, the professional function in (Roman) institutes, and/or the religious function. For the members, Fabro, professor at the Urbana, Stickler ODB, professor at the Salesianum, Dezza SJ, rector at the Gregoriana, and Blanchet, rector of the Catholic University of Paris, were the most active across the educational topics. Others who contributed significantly but to a minor extent include Muñoz Vega SJ (professor at the Gregoriana), de Bazelaire De Ruppiere (alumnus of the Angelicum), Johan (alumnus of the Gregoriana), Roschini OSM (alumnus of the Urbana), followed by Hilario Da Milano OFMCap (professor at the Urbana), Pascoli (alumnus Lateranum and Urbana), Jedin (professor at Bonn University), Gomes (alumnus Gregoriana) and Spadafora (professor at the Lateranum). Among the consultors, major input came from Bignamini (alumnus Milan seminary), Vito (rector Sacred Heart University Milan), Camelot OP (professor at Le Saulchoir), Beltrán de Heredia OP (professor at Salamanca University), Suárez Díez SchP (alumnus Gregoriana), McDonald (professor at the Catholic University of America), and Denis SJ (professor at the Gregoriana). Among these consultors, Suárez Díez probably played the most significant part given the fact that

²⁶¹ See Fusi, *L'educazione al tempo del Concilio*, 61-64.

he, as a consultor active in Spanish education, was given much authority and responsibility to come up and deal with a schema on Catholic schools. Closer inspection showed the *foci* of all the above-mentioned contributors, with some members and/or consultors forming one camp or one common line depending on their persona.

For Fabro, alumnus theology at the Angelicum and relator on the Thomas schema, it is perhaps no surprise that he was very active in the whole Thomas debate often underlining the necessity and exaltation of Thomas in the studies. He remained very fervent on this matter, often sidelining alternative suggestions and declining the idea to incorporate modern philosophy in the studies. In fact, his unwillingness to compromise on Thomas even surpassed that of the consultor Dominicans Camelot and Beltrán de Heredia. While the Dominicans also favored Thomas as the guiding principle (Beltrán de Heredia more fervently), the French Camelot as professor at Le Saulchoir also favored the inclusion of ethics, social and contemporary philosophy, political economy, and Marxism. For Camelot, Thomas had to be more enhanced in the seminaries, while for Beltrán de Heredia it had to be the case for the ecclesiastical universities. Fabro's stance along with Combes to a certain extent on Thomas surely placed people like Dezza, Muñoz Vega, Blanchet and Keller – people from different institutional traditions – on the other side of the spectrum. In between were people like Roschini and Masi. As for the schema on Scripture, the larger debate between the Lateranum and the Biblicum at the background continued in the commission's sessions, with Spadafora of the Lateranum on the one hand clearly rejecting any inclusion of *Formgeschichte* while Dezza, defending his confreres at the Biblicum, more in favor of including it, on the other hand.

Unlike Fabro, not all were against a more comprehensive incorporation of modern disciplines in the ecclesiastical universities. But while the consultor Camelot, and the members de Bazelaire De Ruppierre (another Angelicum alumnus) and Hilario Da Milano focused on contemporary philosophical theories, others highlighted the sciences (the members Blanchet, Colombo, and Muñoz Vega), the pastoral education (the members Dezza, Roschini, Muñoz Vega to an extent, and the consultor Bignamini), or just specializations and modern methods in general (Stickler). Here was an example of compromises across the Roman and non-Roman institutes. Other demands had to do with the quality of the ecclesiastical universities, with the members Muñoz Vega, Roschini, Blanchet, and the consultor Bignamini highlighting the value of these universities beyond seminaries and distinguished in qualitative studies. Bignamini highlighted the quality of professors and the need for a library, while Blanchet saw a necessary distinction between a seminary's theologian and a theologian at university. For the Catholic universities, Dezza as relator, also favored an enhancement of the quality: future teachers of religion had to better prepared in these universities, and an increase of didactical and pedagogical studies had to be in place to better train the laity. Similarly, profane studies had to be further enhanced to keep the quality of Catholic universities on equal foot with the state universities. His vision was supported by the co-relator and only lay consultor Vito, who added the need for scientific research and specialization and for Catholic universities to contribute to the latest international developments on this matter. For Vito, the social disciplines were equally

important (economy, sociology, psychology) and both the clergy and the laity had to be well educated to teach these matters all the way up to Catholic schools. But unlike Dezza, Vito was much more fervent in having a theology department in each Catholic university (although he hinted to the possibility). In fact, this vision was more strongly supported by Camelot and Roschini who both insisted on theology in Catholic universities as the part of the identity. Blanchet, on other hand, was more aware of the contextual diversity and opposed any uniformity regarding the definition of Catholic universities. While Dezza was also more favorable to the rights and existence of state universities without the need of imposing theological chairs there, the members Hilario Da Milano and Suárez Díez demanded the opposite. De Bazelaire de Ruppierre asked favored the obligation of Christians to go enter Catholic universities, while Camelot OP did not find it necessary to mention the need for Christian education in state universities.

Clearly, in matters of the ecclesiastical and Catholic universities, there is no consensus among the various members and consultors as to the direction, with some contributing either on one or both topics. The Roman diversity and affiliation are not always that clear-cut, but it is clear that people having studied or being affiliated with the Gregoriana, French universities/institutes, or active in Milan were more or less contributing in a progressive way (with Jesuits the most and Dominicans probably the least). In fact, this tendency would also become visible in the rather late preparatory discussions on Catholic schools, with most people active on matters of Catholic universities also active on Catholic schools. On the one side of the spectrum stood the consultor Suárez Díez, notably a doctoral alumnus of the Gregoriana. He was very active as a relator on Catholic schools, writing the most extensive drafts on the issue. Throughout the preparatory period, it became clear that he very much favored the existence of Catholic schools, convinced that they should be regenerated and renewed. But oftentimes he was unwilling to include the suggestions of other members both in the preparatory and central preparatory commissions (cf. Fabro), defending a prolonged draft where many errors in schools had to be condemned. He was often negative about the rights of state and state schools, reduced the history of Catholic schools to ecclesiastical Western history and preferred a universal condemnation of coeducation for moral reasons. In other words, Suárez Díez' suggestions were very much an extension of the preceding *DIM* and not much open for dialogue and a more comprehensive global outlook. One can place the Dominican alliance of Camelot and Beltrán de Heredia along the lines. Although not much contributing to the discussion and being more skeptical on a new decree, unlike the relator, they were convinced that all had already been mentioned in *DIM*. Only Camelot hinted at a more positive reformulation to avoid polemics.

While not all what Suárez Díez proposed contradicted the rest, it became clear that many members and consultors were on the other side of the spectrum. The most opposing was probably Stickler from the Salesiana, a university related to a large Salesian school network across the world. He oftentimes criticized the negative tones of the various drafts, asking instead for a more positive, conciliar text. Although he and Suárez Díez were allies in defending the Catholic school up against the state, Stickler instead sought to enlarge the preparatory decree from one on the Catholic school to one on Catholic education at large

and even came up with an alternative draft at one point (which, in fact, was a forebode of the conciliar turn on the text). The French members Blanchet and de Bazelaire de Ruppierre, for their part, were very much in favor of a text on Catholics schools but highlighted the apostolic function, most probably due to the French secular context. De Bazelaire de Ruppierre even added catechesis and the need for a more militant Christian education. Blanchet did not agree with gratuity as it was too costly. This last idea was rejected by the Urbana people Fabro and Pascoli, who highlighted the opposite (probably keeping in mind the state of the Catholic schools in the missions). Fabro also highlighted the need for catechesis and spiritual formation, oftentimes basic forms of education in the missions. The Gregoriana people demanded a contextual, international awareness with an eye on the pluralizing nations in the West as well (Dezza, Muñoz Vega, Denis, Gomes, Johan). Indeed, the Jesuits had one of the largest international educational networks and were on the forefront in other cultures. Dezza and especially Denis contributed the most on this contextual awareness and complexity. Dezza highlighted the rights of non-Catholics, the eastern context and awareness, and the schools in the missions. With Stickler (and Mayer), he wished for a more positive text, but unlike Stickler, he was less keen on a polemics of state vs Church in school matters. Denis agreed that defending the private Catholic school also meant defending any kind of confessional school, including for instance Protestant and Muslim schools. He asked for more contextual awareness, not to overburden Catholic parents by enforcing them to send their children to Catholic schools as this was simply not always possible. He asked to take into consideration the norms as they were in Africa and Asia, including the educational history beyond the West. Like Dezza, he pointed to the schools in the missions and opposed church-state dichotomy. Denis asked for a clear nuanced definition of the Catholic school given the global differences (cf. Johan) and was the only one to point to the existing (inter)national organizations of Catholic schools as means of reference.

The whole issue of state-church dichotomy in fact recurred with people like Jedin, from the German context of Bonn, also supporting Dezza's and Denis' suggestion to leave out any dichotomy (up against Stickler and Suárez Díez). On the other hand, Bignamini active in Milan, highlighted the state to aid Catholic schools financially, and to ensure that no state monopoly is possible by providing religious education. McDonald from the American context and supported by O'Boyle, was much keener to emphasize the rights of Catholic parents and children, aided by the priests. While not pointing to a dichotomy, he underlined the need to defend Catholics at the state level. Indeed, in the USA, Catholic education remained a private matter and, given the constitution, was clearly separated from the state. But along with Dezza, McDonald and O'Boyle both favored more qualitative Catholic education by implementing highly educated teachers with academic degrees, especially in pedagogy. Unlike with the discussions surrounding the universities, then, for the Catholic school, one clearly can distinguish the local context of the persons involved and the Roman diversity/affiliation.

But one should not overlook the correlation indeed impact of the external advisers on Catholic education that most likely influenced the first schema written by Suárez Díez and

his role throughout the preparatory period. Most of these external advisers had more expertise on schools and pedagogy and schools in contrast to the members and consultants. Despite the fact that they were asked only once to provide their suggestions, one can see traces of their ideas recurrent throughout the schemata written by Suárez Díez. Indeed, many of the external experts warned against state monopoly (Rooney, Pieschacon, Daem, Michiels, Regatillo) and were of the opinion that the state must subsidize and/or cooperate with Catholic schools (Beck, Koroschetz, Rooney, Bernier, Descamps, Amici). Daem even complained about Catholic parents sending their children to state schools. In general, most agreed that Catholic education adds to the *bonum commune* (Beck, Pieschacon, Daem, Funke, Descamps). For this purpose, all those engaged in Catholic education needed to be prepared well, especially the clergy as many of them lacked the relevant and necessary degrees (Daem, Koroschetz, Regatillo, Amici, Descamps). Some even pointed to the lack of pedagogical qualifications (Descamps, Michiels), and only one seemed to focus on a child-centered approach (Michiels). In general, the tone was oftentimes negative regarding societal developments such as indifferentism, *laïcité*, and inappropriate religious education by parents (Pieschacon, Rooney, Descamps). Some opined that *DIM* was already largely sufficient (Descamps, Regatillo). Singular proposals included the religious colleges enjoying the same rights as diocesan ones (Regatillo), an increase of technical education (Regatillo), the necessity of Catholic universities (Amici) and national Secretariats of Catholic education (Descamps), and the apostolicity of Catholic schools (Descamps). In general, all the external advisers saw the Catholic school as a necessary institute and oftentimes triumphalist in tone. But none of them really critically reflect on the negative aspects surrounding the Church. Indeed, while the Church is projected as triumphalist, there is no honest introspection regarding the fragile, unfinished and indeed sinful structures and aspects of the Catholic school and university. In other words, much of the above-mentioned aspects clearly resonate in the drafts of Suárez Díez, including the church-state opposition.

One last point of interest among the members included the establishment of a centralized institute to train the laity (Fabro, Stickler, Denis). While Fabro was more generalized, both Stickler and Denis asked to take local contexts into consideration. Stickler focused on apostolicity, while Denis wanted people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds involved with expertise and pedagogy and clerical formation. As far as Pizzardo is concerned, his remarks provided at the CPC prior to presenting the schemata actually proves that he was unaware of the heated debates and sometimes tensions among various Roman members and consultants on the topics as described above. In fact, he was never really active during the sessions, popping up the question whether he was really interested in knowing the internal diversity of opinions. Mayer, on the contrary, as rector of the Anselmo, was much more active and taking the initiative. He oftentimes tried to bring together the two opposing camps wherever possible to come up with a common conclusion, and brought forward his opinions wherever deemed necessary, and this also by favoring a more positive outlook. For instance, in the whole Catholic school debate, he sidelined with people demanding a more positive conciliar decree while at the same time very much appreciating the work done by Suárez Díez.

As far as the CPC was concerned, some members took a stance against certain formulations deemed unnecessary for a conciliar document, out-to-date, or inapplicable to the universal church. For instance, on the Thomas debate, in the final voting many provided a *non placet* to the whole section (Léger, Döpfner, Bea...) thereby confirming the remarks by people like Dezza, Blanchet, Faraoni, Oleacha and Herlihy. Similar things could be argued for the critique surrounding the Catholic schools, in that the content of the schemata were too Western (and even Latin) centered (e.g., Vayalil, Bea and Saigh, all criticizing this aspect). Someone like Silvia Henriquez rightly brought up the critical question whether there was enough pedagogical awareness of the commission engaged with Catholic schools and universities. While his comment remained very valid for our commission, as indeed many of the members and consultants were engaged as professor in seminaries and therefore with the formation and education of the clergy and not that of the laity for the future, he could not see the valuable comments made by people like the Jesuits Dezza, Denis and the Americans McDonald (and O'Boyle) in bringing up pedagogy as an important matter. The final voting of the members proves that none of the schemata got a full placet on all matters. Of course, the relators tried to maintain a balance with what they thought should stay or not, based on other majoritarian votes. It also remains unclear to what extent the Theological Commission upheld the more doctrinal and juridical part. Readings here seem to suggest a more superficial role. This commission would even do nothing with the schema on *De obsequio* despite all the hard work done by the preparatory commission.

All in all, dealing with such a large matter of education, the question pops up whether it was even possible for the preparatory commission to remain purely pastoral in its approach to a complex topic in a diverse, complex social reality with different contextual problems and issues but where everywhere it seemed the Catholic education was under attack nonetheless – be it from the secular side, the religious pluralist side, or the totalitarian side; more so in the wake of ever increasing and unpredictable political developments all across the world. Moreover, the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies had become a very controlling dicastery, and it wanted to keep the upper hand in controlling educational and formational matters. As no conciliar decree on the Catholic school and the Catholic and ecclesiastical university, or the obedience to the magisterium, had ever been promulgated (most notably Trent or Vatican I), it seems that the preparatory commission finally saw an opportunity to circumscribe and defend this important matter in more defensive and juridical tones than being overly pastoral.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation proved how, at the threshold of Vatican II, Catholic education and formation ran very large considering the multitude of vota sent by the world episcopate, religious superiors, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, and the Roman congregations. Taken together, it became clear that Catholic education and formation consisted in a variety of themes and applications, and these had to do with (i) catechism and catechesis; (ii) seminaries; (iii) Catholic and public schools; (iv) Catholic, ecclesiastical and public universities; (v) the religious; (vi) the language (Latin or vernacular); (vii) the laity and the families; (viii) the modern tools and journalism; (ix) the jurisdiction of Church and state; (x) the condemnation of anti-Catholic ideologies; (xi) the Index; (xii) the Magisterium. This overview has provided a novel contribution to and comprehension of the various ideas surrounding Catholic education and formation that otherwise would get lost in the schematization as provided in the AC or the various *rapporto sintetici*. These summaries of the vota – at least those submitted prior to their making – distinguished conciliar topics under the headings of doctrinal issues, canon law, persons, discipline of the clergy, seminaries, the religious, the laity, sacraments, sacred places, ecclesiastical precepts, divine liturgy, ecclesiastical magisterium (includes catechesis and schools), benefits and goods of the church, proceedings, crimes and penalties, missions, ecumenism, and Church activity. Valuable as they are in their own right and historical context – indeed, a logical division based on the work and expertise of the various preparatory commissions – for Catholic education and formation, almost all of these headings held relevant aspects to a greater and lesser degree.

1. The Versatility of Catholic Education and Formation

From Chapter I, it became clear that most of the themes related to Catholic education and formation oftentimes overlapped and cross-influenced. To give a variety of examples as discussed in this dissertation: while catechesis had always been part of the formation of the faithful into the Christian doctrine and way of life, in various parts of the world and according to some bishops, it was and had to be part of school education. After all, in many countries, the parish and the parish school were both controlled by the Church. It was not uncommon, for instance, to have sisters run local schools for girls under the authority of the local pastor, and catechesis played a significant part in the education. Similarly, catechesis had to be part of the education and formation of seminarians. For some of those dealing with the missions, catechesis played an important role where schools were lacking, and even catechist schools had to be established for this purpose. Catechesis thus played the primary role of evangelization and sometimes acted as a precursor for schools and universities in these regions. Some suggested that the clergy had to provide catechesis while others agreed that well-educated laity could provide this formation. These demands also strongly depended on whether or not there were enough priests or chaplains to do the job. As far as the schools

and universities were concerned, the demands to uplift the strict procedures regarding the Index to consult relevant literature were for the most part intrinsically connected with university education but in some parts of the world, also the seminaries and schools. After all, it was not uncommon for professors in seminaries to act against forbidden books. The question whether clergy should take up the role of teaching in Catholic and/or public schools coincided with the demands for seminary formation and education, and the crisis of vocations. The need to enhance the academic education of teachers in schools sometimes coincided with uplifting the education and formation of the religious and secular priests. The critique of the schools run by the religious found an echo with the demands of reforming the education of the religious as well as their tasks for the apostolate. The problems portrayed in public schools, or the financial issues related to Catholic schools coincided with the questions to what extent the state ought to cooperate with the Church in educational matters. Most of the criticisms on ideologies and theories that contradicted the Catholic religion found had to be banned or contradicted in the Catholic school and the university education. The use of modern tools to educate and form the wider society, were demands that applied to the need for both the clergy and the laity to be trained in using these tools for the benefit of the Catholic message. This training could be provided in schools, universities and seminaries. The discussions surrounding the impact and authority of the Magisterium in turn would influence the direction of the Catholic and ecclesiastical university.

In other words, if one was to reduce Catholic education only to the issue of the Catholic school, ecclesiastical faculties or comprehensive Catholic universities, it would bypass the complexity on a global scale as to the extent these institutes relied and depended on other factors that to a greater or lesser degree (in)directly influenced them: catechesis, the religious and the secular clergy, the laity and the families, the language, the state, the modern tools, the external ideologies, the Index, and the Magisterium/ecclesiastical hierarchy. At the same time, each of these subtopics was a concern and did not always cross-overlap, dependent on the issue at stake. For instance, the demands for diocesan or national catechesis centers were solely a matter of catechesis. Nevertheless, demands like this one do not bypass the fact that they relate to the formation of the faithful. The same can be said for the other topics discussed in Chapter I. Thus, while some aspects were a matter of discussion in their own category, it was not easy to simply separate one from the other, and this tension would recur during the preparatory period as discussed in Chapter III. Such educational responsibility, a complex interplay of multiple factors in which the various institutes of Catholic education and formation had found themselves, logically brought up the pertinent question whether the commission dealing with, among other things, the Catholic school and university could really do justice to all the different aspects involved.

2. Pre-Conciliar Desiderata on Catholic Education and Formation: From Local Demands to Global Suggestions

As much as the versatility of Catholic education and formation was visible when taking the vota dealing with Catholic education and formation in their totality, Chapter I already foregrounded that some actors focused on aspects that were correlated to the local context,

expertise or identity of the one writing the votum. The most explicit, in this light, were the Roman congregations, the Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, and many religious superiors. It was discussed how each author most often promoted their own demands, with the Roman congregations and pontifical universities highlighting the status quo without many compromises for renewal. Chapter II showed these tendencies all the more. Most of the demands were related to the problems visible in dioceses, the persona and position of the bishop (secular, religious, Eastern Catholic), the location, tradition or aims of the Catholic/Pontifical university, and the religious affiliation of the superior. Only a few suggestions were applicable to a globalized approach to education, but the national categorization nonetheless showed important and significant insights. Multiple remarkable insights came forward when looking at the global picture for what both the religious and secular clergy looked at, along with the superiors and universities. The need to enhance religious education in Catholic schools came notably from a range of religious bishops and superiors along with South Indian bishops (some of whom were Eastern Catholic). This demand was the case for a range of dioceses across African and South(east) Asian countries and was visible across superiors related to a variety of religious orders and congregations: Mercedarians, Minims, Piarists, Augustinian Recollects, Marists, Comboni Missionaries, Indian CMI-Fathers, Salvatorians, Sacred Heart Missionaries, MEP, Benedictines and Franciscans. Three times the Bible was explicitly mentioned by the French Marist Father Poncet of Wallis and Futuna Islands, the Belgian Sacred Heart Missionary Vermeiren of Coquilthatville (Congo), and Espiga e Infante of Palawan (Philippines). As most episcopal demands came from African and South(east) Asian regions, it became clear that these regions with plenty of missions were lacking the necessary resources to provide sufficient religious education. There were also other problems related to the religious schools, since many mostly secular bishops demanded to enhance the episcopal control. The reasons for these demands were not always described in a transparent way, although it is clear that these demands correlate to tensions that kept on flaring up throughout time: secular priests bemoaning the (financial) power of the religious and their schools, undermining in turn the authority and the educational means of the secular priests.

First of all, these demands were noticeable among a couple of rural dioceses in England (Shrewsbury, Southwark, Plymouth), Ireland (Dromore), Spain (Ciudad Real), Italy (Veroli-Frosinone, Vercelli, Larino, Civita Castellana, Orte e Gallese, Pavia, Loreto), and Poland (Lwów, Warsaw being the only urban diocese), singular dioceses in Ireland (Dromore) and Spain (Ciudad Real), and some urban dioceses in South India (Coimbatore, Hyderabad) and South Africa (Cape Town). The main reasons were a complaint of quality of education, but most often had to do with ensuring the power of the bishop over religious groups and congregations. There were, however, also two religious bishops asking for the same control over schools: the Italian PIME Bishop Obert (Dinajpur) and the Italian Consolata Missionary and Bishop Cavallera (Nyeri). The problem of who has the authority or power to control schools also played part among the religious bishops here, showing thus a larger ecclesiological problem in some parts: do local religious clergy have their own autonomy (including in schools and for their own charisma) or are they supposed to obey

the local (religious) bishop? Moreover, from a financial viewpoint, do local religious bishops have the authority to establish and control schools or does the provincial (superior) have the final authority? Further criticisms on religious schools came from dioceses in Mexico (Guadalajara), Nicaragua (Léon), Dominican Republic (Higüey), Ecuador (Riobamba), India (Bangalore) and Egypt (Alexandria), where all of the bishops and the patriarch criticized the lack of the poor having access to Catholic schools run by the religious. Oftentimes, they bemoaned a form of elitism and instead suggested that some of these religious should reappropriate the original goals of their order/congregation: embracing poverty as a main goal including in education. Episcopal control over religious in general was mainly asked in mostly urban dioceses, where the religious always started their educational network, from Latin-America (Medellín in Colombia; Bahía Blanca in Argentina; with the exception of the mission of Araçuaí in Brazil), Iraq (Mosul), Japan (Tokyo), and Australia (Sale), for similar reasons as discussed for the issue on schools.

When it comes to the need to further enhance the academic training of teachers in Catholic schools, three universities stood out: ICP, Salesiana and Lateranum, showing thus their conviction that they can provide such academic training to teachers. But we saw some demands, most of them in Central and Latin America, arguing for the same in the following regions: Guadalajara, Léon en Nicaragua, Caxias do Sul and Aguarico in Brazil. Outside the Americas, a few suggestions came from Rabat and Vercelli. For pedagogy in Catholic schools, only a handful of vota showed their concern on the matter, of which three came from Italy. Unsurprisingly, again the Salesiana showed the awareness of the matter, but we also saw the contributions come from two archbishops Imberti of Vercelli and Parente of Perugia), the Capuchin missionary Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico (Brazil), and the Dominican Santo Tomas University. It brings up the pertinent question whether pedagogical expertise was really present prior to Vatican II. The identity of the Catholic school as implying the Christian formation at the center, was predominant a Latin and Central American concern across a couple of dioceses: Léon, Guadalajara, Barro do Rio Grande (Redemptorist), Caetité, Maracaibo. Those to mention this aspect outside this continent, were Archbishop Imberti of Vercelli and the Armenian Catholics in Beirut. The suggestion of Christian formation as the central part of the identity of the Catholic school, coincided with those bishops who praised the Catholic school as a bulwark for evangelization (Sayegh of Mosul, Farrelly of Lismore) or who criticized the failure of evangelization (Dud of Rumbek). Similarly, the criticism from some (religious) clergy of the failure to convert local students can be placed on a similar line (Sundaram of Tanjore, Bazin of Rangoon, Sidarouss of Alexandria, Moloney of Bathurst). Interestingly, all these suggestions came from outside Europe, and it brought up the pertinent question of what actually constitutes the Catholic school. After all, Catholic schools were rather a recent establishment in these regions in contrast to Europe where it had been part of the landscape for the past centuries.

The criticism to modernize the study curriculum also came from outside Europe: Léon, Guadalajara, Riobamba, Coimbatore, Superior Valiyaparampil of the CMI-Fathers (India), with the exception of the Perugian Archbishop Parente. Not all Catholic schools across the globe had equally been enhanced with the latest disciplinary developments, once again

showing that one unified approach to Catholic schools would prove to be a difficult matter. The other suggestions that incorporated a criticism on the Catholic school were fully comprehensible given the context and work of the author of the vota: pastoral care (Rinaldi of San Marco Agentano e Bisignano), sociology and psychology (Salesiana), economic and political questions (Pulido Mendez of Maracaibo, Méouchi of Bkerke), other religions (Bazin of Rangoon, Lanfranconi of Toungoo), non-Western theories and concepts (Sidarouss of Alexandria, CMI and MEP superiors Valiyaparampil and Lemaire), contextual differences (Salesiana, CMI and MEP superiors), lack of Catholic students at the cost of non-Catholics (Armenian Catholics, Pothacamury of Bangalore, Bazin of Rangoon), more technical schools (Sayegh of Musol, Méouchi of Bkerke, Gopu of Hyderabad, Arthurs of Tanga), non-Catholic teachers to teach religious education to non-Catholic students (Trigueros Glennie of Trincomalee). The same singular suggestions regarding the direction of Catholic universities holds true as well. It was shown that the demands from various universities and clergy oftentimes related to the *niche* of the university or the context in which these vota can be situated. In other words, how can a conciliar document that will have to deal with the Catholic school and university satisfy all the local demands?

Beyond the Catholic school and university, it is noticeable that it was mainly the superiors Tomek SchP, Eugenio Ayape OAR and Schweizer SDS, along with two resigned missionaries (De Jonghe D'Ardoye MEP, Moshi CSSp), who suggested some aspects regarding education that were applicable to state legislations and support. These superiors, though focusing on different aspects, staunchly defended Catholic education. The superior of the Piarists, a teaching congregation founded by a Spaniard and closely intertwined with the Italian context, was most defensive speaking out in favor of religious education up against any state monopoly. He also rejected taxes on behalf of Catholics to fund public schools if the state does not apply the same funding for Catholic schools (this demand was also shared by Bishop Binz of Dubuque in the USA where this reality was prevalent).¹ The Augustinian Recollect superior wanted to see religious education in all schools, and an increase of Catholic schools in non-Catholic countries. The Salvatorian superior particularly pointed to the Catholic subordination of Irish and English Catholics in the British schools at the cost of Protestant forms. More nuanced were some French clergy from Nice (Rémond) and Cambrai (Guerry) along with the Nuncio Marella, seeking cooperation with the state and between public and Catholic schools. The French Church had experienced a long battle with the French state in the past decades and given the minor popular role of Catholic education in contrast to the more popularized state schools, a status quo seemed more desirable. More nuanced and subtle was the Salesiana, that instead highlighted the need for Catholic (inter)national organizations to influence state legislations. Moreover, given its extensive experience in the field of education as Salesians were a teaching order as well, it was among the only ones to highlight the complexity and contextuality of dealing with Catholic education on a global scale; a demand which was shared only by the Maronite Méouchi. But where Catholic education had been pushed to the margin or was strongly

¹ It is interesting to note that Suárez Díez SchP as the relator on Catholic schools also fervently promoted Catholic schools in the same defensive tones.

opposed by the state, the Salesiana along with two diocesan bishops and one religious in countries where such state control was enhanced (Alba Palacios of Antequera in Mexico, Székesfehérvár in Hungary, De Jonghe D'Ardoye MEP), they all highlighted the freedom of the Church to establish schools against state monopoly. In fact, the Tomek SchP also contributed on public schools and universities, where a similar mindset was visible as he favored implementing theological chairs in state universities, and the need to imbue Catholic (religious) education in public schools and universities. The other religious clergy to share these concerns were O'Toole CSC (mainly for American universities; note that the Superior was an American himself), Cavallera of Nyeri (for public schools; given the uncertain future in the mission), and Pittini Piusi Santo Domingo (for public schools; who applies it universally). In fact, the latter's global vision as a Salesian is once again shared by the Salesiana. In Nigeria, the Spiritan Bishop Nwedo of Umuahia was protective in asking to defend Catholic students in public schools (note that these were run by British in Nigeria), but a similar concern was shared by Bishop Alba Palacios of Antequera (Mexico, given the secular constitution). Most negative were the Greek Melkites writing from Ain-Traz, the Auxiliary Bishop Rupp of the Eastern Faithful in France, along with the Italian Nuncio Mozzoni of Argentina, all rejecting that Catholics enter public educational institutes. The latter two (along with the Canadian Passionist O'Gara of Yuanling, living in the USA) bemoaned secularization in schools. The fact that this demand was prevalent among a 'minority group' of Eastern Catholics, shows that they evidently wanted to preserve their identity. On the opposite side stood the Nuncio Marella of France, and the bishops Rémond and Guerry of Nice and Cambrai, accepting public education. Clearly, the local context, history, and position of the Church played a significant role in these opposite demands.

Some of the clergy also agreed on parents taking care of the religious education of children at home, mostly in areas where education had been under opposition: McCann of Cape Town (due to Apartheid), the PRC (the Belgian Scheutist Oste and the American Franciscan Dillon), Tokyo (Doi), and the Austrian Benedictine Superior Riha. Specific demands for parents to be impactful on public schools through associations, came from local French (Cambrai), Italian (Vercelli) and Spanish dioceses (Jaén) along with the Salesiana, which shows that these demands could only be appropriate if Catholics have a strong foothold in society. Further noteworthy insights are that Jesuit affiliated universities, given their tradition of being at the forefront of mission in other cultures, often highlighted a stronger engagement with other religions in education (Xaverian Pontifical University, Gregoriana, Pune Papal Seminary). The need to raise ecumenical awareness or at least the need to recognize/collaborate with other Christians in education came from places where Catholics were a minority or in a national context where Protestants were active alongside other Christian traditions (Indianapolis, Dubuque, New Orleans in USA; Pune Papal Seminary in India; Indonesian Episcopal Conference and Borneo in Indonesia; Paderborn in Germany; Fribourg University in Switzerland). From the superiors, only the Austrian Benedictine Riha contributed and was mainly focused on the clergy.

Regarding the Eastern Catholics in particular and those closely engaged with them, most of them focused on their own issues based on their own traditions: Greek-Catholics

were often defensive in their position of Catholic education and the Catholic school, as there was a staunch rejection of public schools in France (Rupp) and children being educated in secular schools (Maximos IV Saigh), the need to expose communism in Catholic schools (Senyshyn), priests to teach in schools (Martenetz). They clearly envisioned the Catholic school as a bulwark against secularism and a necessity to maintain the Catholic faith and truth in society. The Maronite demands for schools in Lebanon (Méouchi) were less hostile and more focused on the status quo, asking for clarity on the relationship Church and state. The Maronite representative in Syria (Ayoub) also showed more openness to engage with the Orthodox Christians in schools in a cooperative way. Less cooperative and more of a staunch defender of using Catholic schools to convert non-Catholic Christians was visible in the demand of the Chaldean Patriarch Sayegh of Mosul, who sought to enhance all means of education (Catholic including technical schools) to convert the Nestorian Christians. Similar ideas of Catholic schools meant to ultimately convert not only non-Catholics but also other religious people, came forward from the criticism led by the Armenian Catholic Patriarch Agagianian (Beirut) that the Catholic school should have the formation of students into Christian people at the core of its mission. In doing so, it should also always ensure that Christians get priority in admission. As far as the seminaries were concerned, we saw the logical demand from the Greek Melkites to focus on Church Fathers rather than scholasticism. More modern and among the few to mention it across all the vota, were the demands from the Maronite Farah of Cipro to enhance sociology, psychology, pedagogy and the need for an internship among seminarians. As for the Eastern Catholics of India, it were mainly the Syro-Malabar bishops and the CMI superior Valiyaparampil to mention the issue of Catholic school and university, and their demands had different focus points. For the CMI superior, the Council was to take into consideration the contextuality of the Catholic school, which implied that for instance in India, the established study curriculum was too Western centered and in need to be modernized. Other Syro-Malabar demands were diocese-related and focused on enhancing catechesis in schools (Alapatt of Trichur) or to ensure the vocation of catechists (Padiyara of Ootacamund). The latter also talked more generally, as he was of the opinion that all nations should at least have on Catholic university, and if not, students should have easier access to foreign ones. As for Valiyaparampil, there was also a demand to have a better cooperation between diocesan and religious bishops, again showing the tension at play in India. Further demands were more related to the priestly training with only one Syro-Malabar asking to enhance the pastoral and practical theology (Tharayil of Kottayam). The Syro-Malankara vota related to education were only focused on the seminary and based on local needs and demands. These included liturgy, cultural studies and pastoral theology in seminaries (Polachirakal of Tiruvalla), the Bible, modern philosophy, and ascetic and spiritual formation (Thangalathil of Trivandrum). In general, where some of the Eastern Catholic demands coincided, unsurprisingly, was the demand for seminarians to have more engagement with oriental/eastern Christianity (Syro-Malabar and Syro-Malankara bishops, Ayoub of Aleppo, Katkoff). In fact, the demand for focusing on eastern Christianity was also shared among other authors: De Bazelaire de Ruppierre of Chambéry, Saint Joseph University (in Beirut by Jesuits), KU Nijmegen.

Various explicit demands for a stronger Roman control over national educational institutes, most often came from secular clergy and universities. The majority of these demands were related to the seminary study curriculum (Nuncio Antoniutti of Spain, Salamanca Pontifical University, Principi of Loreto, Parente of Perugia, Cody of London (Canada), Pontifical Institute Ontario, O'Hara of Philadelphia, Howard of Portland, Esorto of Bahía Blanca, Santos, Lovanium). Most of these contributors were known to have closer ties with Rome. Two times it was asked to do the same for the universities, whether American ones (O'Toole CSC) or ecclesiastical universities worldwide (Silva Santiago of Concepción). The latter one in fact asked Roman supervision over religious education worldwide as well as the problem of priestly vocation crisis. Only once was it explicitly asked to ensure the unity of Catholic schools within India (Pothacamury of Bangalore) or within the (Brazilian) mission (Gamboa Satrustegui of Aguarico). In other words, while the seminaries had the most contributions along with minor suggestion from the universities, also because the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies had this authority, it was much less clear of who was to overlook Catholic schools.

For catechesis, despite major contributions to enhance it everywhere, it became clear that there was no uniformity as to how, where, and to who it had to be enhanced. For some, it meant the usual tradition of providing it during the Mass, while for others, it (also) implied to enhance it in the schools (where it was not always clear whether it was meant the Catholic, public or both schools). Only a few in Europe also focused on catechesis to be provided in the seminaries. Perhaps most significant were the few who actually criticized catechesis as being insufficient for the future to ensure the Christian formation of the faithful, instead mentioning that other complementary means will be needed including educational means. These criticisms were shared among two Italian nuncios (Marella of France, Mozzoni of Argentina) and two bishops from Austria (Schoiswohl of Seckau) and Italy (Ursi of Nardò). Moreover, from various sides, the demand came to either increase diocesan or national catechesis centers or both. But those demanding such centers, did not contribute as to where catechesis had to be enhanced. In other words, various demands on catechesis were locally bound and it was significant that these were most often from secular and religious clergy while the superiors and the universities did not really mention much on this matter.

The notion to enhance the responsibility of lay catechists came forward from regions where clergy were simply too few and where there were few vocations. This was most often the case in Africa and Asia but also in some parts of North and Latin America. Here, it was predominantly the religious (missionary) bishops who proposed this matter from the following regions: Thakhek (Arnaud), Búi Chu (Pham-Ngoc-Chi), Mandalay (Falière), Toungoo (Lanfranconi), Rajaburi (Carretto), Ubon (Bayet), Makassar (Schneiders), Jinzhou (Oste), Tanga (Arthurs), Oudtshoorn (Hippel), Internuncio in East-Pakistan (Obert), the Indian bishops (Gopu, Feuga & D'Souza, Simons, Sundaram, Pothacamury, Alapatt) Apostolic Delegate Korea (Righi-Lambertini), Dedza (Chitsulo), Pietersburg (Van Hoeck), Kabgayi (Perraudin). Some of these also focused on the need of (catechist) schools to train these catechists in Ootacamund (Padiyara), Mysore (Feuga & D'Souza), Ubon (Bayet), Oudtshoorn (Hippel), Ankang (Maleddu), and Bahía Blanca (Esorto).

As far as the demand for a new universal catechism was concerned, it were primarily the Italians and the Italian universities asking for this demand, but the input of the Spanish and the Franciscans and Capuchins are also noticeable: Ávila (Moro Briz), Diano-Teggiano (Tinivella), Turin (Bottino), Apuania (Boardi), Segni (Carli), Modigliani (Massimiliani), Montreal University, Rhodes (Acciari), Nuncio of Spain (Antoniutti), Urbaniana, Salesiana, Lateranum, Naples University, Gurk (Köstner), Aguarico (Gamboa Satrustegui), Toungoo (Lanfranconi), Indonesian Episcopal Conference, Medan (van den Hurk), Sanyuán (Pasini), Kyoto (Furuya), Kagoshima (Satowaki), Tangerang (Aldegunde Dorrego), Kasongo (Cleire), Santiago (Do Carmo Colaço), Cape Town (McCann). Other catechisms involved a Biblical catechism (Naples University), diocesan catechisms (Marianum, Gregoriana, Cesana of Gulu), catechisms for pastors (Salesiana) or for spouses (Faveri of Tivoli), national or provincial catechism (Garcia of Culiacán), and a catechism for religious education in schools (Marengo of Dibrugarh, Lanfranconi of Toungoo).

The most recurrent topic across all of the vota was definitely the education and formation of future clergy, with a multitude of suggestions of which aspect needs to be enhanced in the seminaries. This was the case for secular and religious clergy, religious superiors, and universities. It thus shows that all these authors shared similar concerns and that their expertise lied more with educating future clergy than the laity in Catholic schools. In fact, this observation would recur during the preparatory commission (see below). Without repeating the various topics (see chapter II), it was clear that, aside from the particular suggestions fitting the needs of the author (e.g., missiology according to the Urbania), local diocesan concerns and problems were in fact global problems, much more so than Catholic schools or universities for that matter. Perhaps important to recall here, is the disagreement across dioceses whether the clergy is to teach in schools. This aspect was in some places also correlated to the lack of priestly vocations, a crisis that would become more enhanced after Vatican II in some parts of the world. Indeed, we already saw the warnings from multiple dioceses across the world that the vocations were lacking, including missionaries, causing a multitude of problems including teachers (of religion) in schools. It was clear that the proposed remedies were singular suggestions and did not find a cacophony on a global scale. The only part where some agreed on was the added value of lay catechists. The minor seminaries were minimally dealt with, also because in some parts of the world this institute was non-existent or no longer popular. From the few suggestions, it is noteworthy that universities in fact contributed substantially: Lateranum, Santo Tomas, Naples, Urbania, Ontario University, and that the majority of these suggestions had to do with ensuring that the education was enhanced and did not lack behind the parallel schools for the laity. Indeed, in some of these countries like Canada, USA, Philippines, it needed to be ensured that young students were not left with nothing should they no longer have a priestly vocation. The American Maryknoll Superior Comber even proposed further increases. From the dioceses, only in Portugal (Braga, Beja), Italy (Nusco, Terni e Narni), Croatia (Zagreb), and Poland (Gziesno) there were some correlated demands. No religious substantially contributed. Finally, for the missions, we mainly saw suggestions from those

experienced with the matter, that were mainly religious clergy, superiors and universities (KU Nijmegen, Urbaniana).

Finally, regarding the need to revise the books listed on the Index, to make it easier for professors and students to read some of these books in schools and universities, or even to abolish the Index, the vota came from the dioceses of Bruges, Edinburgh, Basel and Lugano, Boston, Indianapolis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Lages, Nellore), Nueva Segovia, Makassar, Tokyo, Fribourg Catholic University, Pontifical Institute Ontario, Catholic University Ottawa, Xaverian Pontifical University, Sophia University, Lovanium, superiors O'Toole CSC and Michell MSP. It is clear that the North American bishops, superior and universities have a significant input on this matter, but also other universities and dioceses where important universities were located (e.g., Basel, Edinburgh, Boston, New Orleans, Tokyo...). It is also significant that bishops from Latin America and South Europe remain silent on this matter.

All in all, some of the silences in the vota could also not be ignored. Regarding the religious sisters, despite the fact that they were very active in schools worldwide, there was minimal engagement except for the fact that some bishops mainly criticized to enhance their education or works. Nothing much was being discussed regarding non-Catholic private schools, which is remarkable as across the globe, various other private schools were actively engaged with religious education whether that be Christian (Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist...) or non-Christian (yeshivas, madrassas...). Neither was anything discussed regarding the indigenous and their place in a primarily Western education system, whether in the Americas, Asia, Oceania or Africa. The same holds true for all the tragic forms of abuse, that only recently has come to the fore, but which however needs to be contextualized by the fact that these were local problems and probably not fit for the genre of vota. Another significant lack of engagement in the vota, was that of the socio-political and legislative reality in the background. Very few vota actually mentioned how local Catholic education was (not) taking place in light of the government regulations. In fact, the concerns were most often with uplifting the training of seminarians, while the laity was most often conceived as the receiver of education and formation. Most likely, a lack of expertise on education of the laity in schools and universities played a large part in this silence.

3. The Work of The *Commissio Praeparatoria de Studiis et Seminariis*

The preparatory commission on studies and seminaries was also silent on various topics related to education and formation that were under discussion in this dissertation. The education and the formation of the religious and the missionaries, the modern tools, catechesis, the use of vernacular for the liturgy, the Index, the way how to deal with the Bible, doctrine, and morality were all topics marginally or not being discussed in our commission. That did not necessarily imply that during the preparatory period, these topics were ignored. Indeed, one of the main reasons was that other preparatory commissions were dealing with a majority of these issues. The preparatory commission for the religious would deal among other aspects with the education and formation of the religious. That for the apostolate of the laity would engage with the larger question of having a well-educated and

well-formed laity. The one on liturgy would incorporate the need of having well (in)formed Christian laity by means of using the vernacular and it would also touch upon the catechumenate issue. The commission for the missions included the education and formation of the missionaries, and the one on the discipline of the clergy and the Christian people dealt with catechesis. The theological commission would deal with the Bible, the doctrines, and morality. Finally, the Secretariat for communications media would engage with the modern tools/media. Even topics that were initially dealt with within our commission, were ultimately dropped such as Latin (given *Veterum Sapientia*) and the obedience to the magisterium (taken up by the theological commission). From archival research on our commission, it became clear in between the lines that Mayer as secretary had informed the members during some of the meetings that parallel commissions were working on issues that overlapped with his commission. In one busta, excerpts were found from the commission for sacraments (regarding the diaconate), the Secretariat for the promotion of Christian unity (to foster the ecumenical spirit in the seminaries), the commission for liturgy (the full schema), the commission on the lay apostolate (social apostolate in the preparation of priests), and finally the commission for modern tools (the formation of seminarians in this matter, the magisterial dependence, the contribution of Catholic schools in media and social communication for the youth, the wariness of modern tools in university teaching, and the fostering of the apostolate through radio and cinema).² Mayer was also in correspondence with Tromp SJ of the theological commission to get his thoughts on Catholic schools and the ecclesial magisterium, but engagements with minimal.

All this proves that Mayer and the commission were informed about the work done in other preparatory commissions on the matter, but the extent of how it in turn influenced preparatory debates in our commission is far from clear. The prime concern was first and foremost on seminaries, the main topic of interest, and indeed, a main concern across the world episcopate and the universities as we have seen. On the other hand, one could see traces recurring of some of these educational topics even though they were taken up by other commissions, and there are numerous examples for this proof. To provide but a few: in Suárez Diéz's questionnaire to some of the experts before the start of de schema on Catholic schools, he asked their opinion, among other topics, on the use of modern tools, the missions, catechesis, religious associations, Catholic Action, and the magisterium. It was even asked if the Catholic school had to be considered the main means of education. Some of the replies by experts like Daem, for instance, engaged widely with catechesis and catechists. Some of the later discussions on the Catholic schools among the members also included catechesis (e.g., Manresa Formosa, Amici), and the final preparatory schema on Catholic schools included the topic as well. Stickler's counter-schema submitted in September 1961 even considered to exchange a text on Catholic schools for one on Christian education, and this schema included even more references to catechesis, but also to the different means of Christian education such as sermons, spiritual exercises, the use of modern media (television, radio, cinema), the cooperation of multiple organizations, education in the missions...

² See busta 1132, prot 8.

Indeed, what was discussed for catechesis, can also be argued for the use of modern tools which was discussed throughout the preparatory period by people like Amici and Stickler, and also found a place in the final preparatory schema. The Bible, though discussed by the theological commission, was also widely discussed in our commission including how to deal with exegesis and *Formgeschichte* and found its way into the texts on ecclesiastical universities and especially the obedience to the magisterium. Beyond the Bible, topics like the need to study modern media was included as well in ecclesiastical universities. Even among the animadversiones of the members during the central preparatory meetings, we see traces recurring of topics to be included in some of the schemata of our commission along the way, such as missions, Oriental Christians, ecumenism, magisterium, ...

In other words, even though various preparatory commissions were dealing with educational and formational topics – our commission the most – it became clear that the essence of Catholic education and formation could not be simplified and differentiated to one or more preparatory commissions. Instead, there is proof that there was a difficulty of delineating schemata in our commission which, in fact, a thorough analysis of the *vota* already forewarned. It even pops up the question, once again, if a preparatory commission on Catholic education (and formation) dealing with all the relevant material had not been better in place to come up with a solid preparatory constitution. One might even argue that this problem of delineation during the pre-preparatory period continues during the preparatory period. In the discussion of Chapter III, it became clear that Mayer had received some copies of the *vota*, most notably the volumes on Europe (vol. II/1-3) on Asia (vol. II/4) and the parallel Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies (vol. III, 311-406). The *vota* of the latter were much more present in the discussions given the foci, but it was less clear to what extent other volumes were actually consulted nor which aspects from these volumes were highlighted for the discussion on Catholic schools, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, and the obedience to the magisterium. Nothing is also mentioned regarding the summarized versions of the *vota* (i.e., *Rapporto sintetici* or AC). Moreover, as was discussed in Chapters I-II, most contributions on the first two topics (schools and universities) actually came from outside Europe, religious superiors and universities. This means that the relevant volumes for a discussion on the schemata discussed in the third chapter, were not consulted. Most of the discussions actually relied on the input of the preparatory members, consultants and experts. None of the members substantially contributed on Catholic education and formation in their own *vota*, if they even wrote one. The only ones who did so were De Bazeilaire de Ruppierre, Vayalil, and Carraro. But the first two only focused on the seminarians, while the latter on catechesis, the Bible in seminaries, and secularism rampant in schools. Another exception could be Blanchet who was the rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris. ICP had also sent *vota* from its respective faculties and was discussed in the second chapter, but it is far from clear to what extent Blanchet actually wrote these *vota*.

In other words, one cannot say that there is logical line between the pre-preparatory and preparatory periods when it comes to Catholic education and formation. Moreover, most of the members and consultants had studied in pontifical universities (most notably the Gregoriana and Lateranum) and/or had some connection to Rome in one way or the other.

While having significant positions in universities or seminaries, they did not significantly contribute on the topic of Catholic education, the Catholic school, or other educational topics under discussion in the first two chapters of this dissertation. Instead, most had published on doctrinal, academic or seminary issues. The same can be extended to the consultants, with perhaps Vito having the most expertise in schools and universities. It should again be emphasized that most members and consultants were also teachers in seminaries and ecclesial faculties, hence more engaged with the training of future priests than with the Catholic laity.

Moreover, the preparatory commission, probably because of its composition, was relatively quick to come up with a text on the universities, while the Catholic school and the obedience to the Magisterium took the longest. However, the latter schema had much more to do with pertinent topics on the Bible and scholasticism, causing major discussions. It was pointed out that the very diversity of the Roman members affiliated to different Roman faculties caused different and sometimes opposing contributions. Multiple examples were discussed in the concluding section of Chapter III. For instance, the pre-conciliar discussions and tensions between some professors at the Biblicum and at the Lateranum on how to approach Biblical exegesis found its echo in the discussion on *Formgeschichte*, especially the heated debates between the members Spadafora (even acting as co-relator for the Scripture) and Dezza SJ. The emphasis to include Thomas as the main example of how to engage with contemporary educational topics caused a division among Fabro and the Dominicans Camelot and Beltrán de Herredia, on the one hand, and the Jesuits Denis, Dezza and people like Blanchet. For the universities, the Jesuits in the commission were less keen to implement a sentence for the necessity to have theological chairs in state universities while on the other side of the spectrum, people like Hilarino Da Milano OFM^{Cap} and Suárez Díez SchP were in favor of the opposite.

The Catholic school, for its part, was the last topic to be dealt with during the preparatory period probably also because the commission members had the least expertise on this matter. In fact, the late appointment of the Piarist Suárez Díez at the end of February 1961 and soon relator on the Catholic schools, shows the unease of the commission to deal with the matter up until May 1961 while handing over authority to a consultant rather than to a member of the commission. Suárez Díez was also quick in asking the advice from external experts all active in education in one way or the other. Of course, learned as all the members and consultants were, they could nonetheless contribute during the discussion on issues related to the Catholic school. Indeed, many were also a member of a religious order/congregation that had contributed to education and formation worldwide (the Jesuits Dezza, Muñoz Vega, Denis; the Dominicans Camelot and Beltrán de Herredia; the Salesian Stickler; the Capuchin Hilarino Da Milano), and as some of the bishops or priests were active in universities and other Catholic movements, they were not blind to what was significant for the Catholic school. But like the other topics, also here the Roman diversity came to the forefront. It was for instance seen that the Jesuits, mainly Dezza and Denis, were more comprehensive in their outlook on Catholic schools beyond a merely Western centered history and description. It included more religious, ecumenical and contextual awareness. This contrasted the approach taken by Suárez Díez SchP and Stickler SDB. Similar contrasts

were also visible to the issue of the state, with the Jesuits demanding less contrasting vocabulary and respecting the state's rights, while the other two more insisted on the state to aid the Church and the Catholic school. Those from France like Blanchet and de Bazelaire De Ruppierre were, given their context, keener to emphasize the apostolicity of the Catholic school and the need for more militant teaching. But despite Stickler and Suárez Díez agreeing on these matters, they were themselves often at odds with the structure and length of the drafts. Stickler oftentimes demanded a reduction of text, a more positive tone, and even came up with his own draft at one point. The defensive and extensive approach taken by Suárez Díez, on the other hand, was in line with what some commission members and external advisers had highlighted (mostly those who also referred often to *DIM*). Indeed, it was visible that most of them uplifted the Catholic school, underscored the importance of it, and demanded the state to aid the Church in all possible means for this endeavor. At the same time, some of the external experts to whom consultation was asked, showed their expertise on the matter and in fact significantly contributed on the matter. Some, like Beck, even showed support for the state in matters of education.

In this respect, despite the fact that there is no proof of consulting vota to a large extent, the preparatory commission did include a multitude of issues related to the Catholic school and the significance of Catholic education and formation for society that had found their echo throughout the vota discussed in this dissertation. Indeed, the importance of the Catholic school, the need for inspection, the improvement of the quality of teachers, the free access to schools, cooperation... All these aspects were highlighted, but it was clear that the rather defensive tone was appropriated without introspection of where some of the blind spots lied with the Church and within Catholic education. And yet, the schema also enhanced on topics that actually did not really come to the fore in vota. Indeed, much emphasis was placed upon the rights and duties of the state, the rejection of state monopoly, the natural and supernatural goal of education that all influenced the tone of the schema on *De Scholis Catholicis* in general. The final result was a rather defensive and juridical text heavily reliant on papal references and documents, most notably the speeches of Pius XII and the most important preceding document *DIM*. It was seen that this result was not necessarily the wish of all involved in the discussion, but more due to the hand of the relator and his selective reading of the suggestions of some of the external experts and the commission members.

In all honesty, thus, the final preparatory text on the Catholic school seemed much more reliant on preceding papal literature than that it was the result of a careful, extensive reading of all the vota on Catholic education and formation. The schema largely followed *DIM* in emphasizing the rights of the Church on education up against state monopoly, protecting the rights of the Church and the family from that of the state, circumscribing the supernatural role of the Church, the freedom of parents to choose schools, a reference to the dangers/errors on education...

As far as the schema on ecclesiastical universities was concerned, things were not really that novel from what was described decades earlier in the apostolic constitution and the ordinances given by the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies in *Deus Scientiarum Dominus*. Of course, the style of the schema here was much different than the

simple articles provided in the earlier constitution, but in terms of content, much is largely a repetition. The minor changes had to do with the change of the total duration of studies and various emphases, such as the emphasis on specialization, well qualified professors, intelligent students, the possibility of students to teach in seminaries when having obtained a licentiate in theology, the close relation of seminaries to ecclesiastical universities. But overall, the ideas resonated with the constitution earlier: the need for appropriate buildings and materials, methodologies, the possibilities for different specializations, the importance of scholasticism, ... As far as the preceding vota during the pre-preparatory period were concerned, nothing much new was contributed either on this particular topic; thus, despite the fact that the vota were most likely not consulted on this topic, things are rather similar, probably also because the most authority on this matter lied with the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies.

Regarding Catholic universities, no substantial papal text had yet appeared on this matter, thus the inclusion of a chapter on Catholic universities would be renewing for a Council. In terms of content, the chapter was perhaps the least doctrinal from all other schemata, though some traces were still visible such as showing the excellence of the Catholic university, the need to increase Catholic universities, the need for parents to send their children to Catholic universities, or the lack of true engagement with civil universities. Nevertheless, the content remained largely generalized and indeed more inviting. That is why this chapter was probably the first to be easily approved with some minor adaptations by both the preparatory commission members and consultants, and in the CPC. One could also say that the content actually replied to what was marginally demanded for the Catholic universities in the vota; however, not to the extent of dealing with the civil universities.

Finally, the text on obedience to the magisterium, including the Bible and Thomas, was surely in line with emphasizing the authority of the Congregation of Seminaries and University Studies, and the whole schema was not really pastoral as it was overly doctrinal and juridical. Already on Thomas, a variety of opposing opinions came to the fore, although the contrasting opinions and heated debates on this matter would be further enhanced during the conciliar period. In general, the schema just reiterated what was already the case for Rome, the dicasteries, and the anti-modern success of the 20th century. Those who had mentioned something in the vota on these matters, were those who supported and upheld magisterial authority in a variety of issues. However, a small minority of voices in the vota had asked for more clarity on the distinction between fallible and infallible magisterial teaching, and while the schema dealt to a minor extent with this issue, much more clarity was needed. As regards the vota on the Bible, much had to do with the open question of the clarity on exegesis (though the majority was focused on seminaries and not universities), which the preparatory schema incorporated as well.

In other words, while the consultation of the vota for the schemata under discussion is far from clear, the main issue lies more with the Catholic schools. In the many debates surrounding this topic, blind spots were visible between the preparation of the schema and the demands in the vota. For the Catholic and ecclesial universities, and the obedience to the magisterium – minor topics of discussion in the vota – the consultation of vota seems to

matter less. Nonetheless, as discussed in the third chapter of this dissertation, all three schemata, though conjoined into one preparatory constitution at the end of the preparatory period, were rather more doctrinal and juridical than that they were pastoral. But in between the lines, it was also elaborated that this result was not necessarily a conclusion which was unanimous and easily agreed upon, as many members, consultors, experts, fathers, showed different attitudes on various aspects in all three schemata that cannot merely be reduced to being doctrinal or juridical. Instead, some tried to incorporate aspects that were more dialogical or pastoral (e.g., demands on ecumenical awareness, oriental Christians, the missions, other religions, civil universities, ...). It shows that people involved in educational and formational matters cannot be simply reduced to being conservative or progressive (or somewhere in between), but that much depended on each separate topic under discussion and the willingness to come to compromises. Moreover, perhaps the very fact that no conciliar constitutions/decrees/declarations on Catholic schools, universities, and ecclesial magisterium had really seen the limelight before – and, for some parts of the world, these institutes were under (intellectual) opposition or had to co-exist next to increasing public schools and universities – it is not surprising that a preparatory commission on studies and seminaries would end up with such schemata despite the nuances.

4. The Catholic Vision on Education and Formation at the Threshold of Vatican II

This dissertation ended when the conciliar period was about to start. Although it could not cover the sequence of the conciliar story on Catholic education and formation, it can be stated that the same topical discussions would continue to take place in the following years. Most notably, a good number of conciliar members had already served as member or consultor in the preparatory period and Pizzardo was keen to reconstitute the preparatory periti. Nevertheless, some changes were to take place in the commission's outlook. In light of the conciliar and the papal emphases on pastorality and *aggiornamento*, much of the content would have to be rediscussed especially on Catholic schools and universities, and Thomas. But just as Stickler already proposed a text on Catholic education in 1961, his demand would soon haunt the conciliar commission once again as from the end of 1964, the brothers of the Christian Schools would get the opportunity to enrich the text to a declaration on Christian education. What was once a preparatory constitution, however, would become degraded to a declaration with the promise that a post-conciliar commission would deal further with the matter. In fact, much of the educational and formational topics that were ignored in the preparatory period, but extensively discussed in the *vota*, would once again recur in the various conciliar drafts surrounding Catholic schools and universities. But the story of the conciliar period is up for further discussion elsewhere.

In general, a thorough investigation into how the other preparatory commissions dealt with some of the educational topics such as catechesis, the education and formation of the religious, the modern tools for effective education and formation, the training of missionaries, and so forth, are some of the issues that still need to be thoroughly investigated but which, due to the scope of this dissertation, could not be elaborated here. Nevertheless, multiple novel contributions came to the fore on other fronts. Any exhaustive study on

Catholic education and formation during the pre-preparatory and preparatory periods was quasi non-existent, even sixty years after the Council. The vota had for the most part been ignored given their irrelevance for the ultimate results of the Council. Even if they had been discussed, they were simply distinguished in typical conciliar topics such as doctrinal, juridical or liturgical issues. The more extensive distinctions in the *Rapporto sintetici* and *Analyticus Conspectus* are not much different although valuable in their own right. For a topic like Catholic education and formation, these distinctions were not really useful as all the related matters run cross-variedly within these existing distinctions. It became clear how the vota were on Catholic education and formation were both thematically exhaustive in yet contextually exemplary. A comprehension of the preparatory and conciliar periods dealing with studies and seminaries, can and must be placed in light of the preceding vota in order to understand some of the critiques flourishing in the post-Vatican II period. As much as this declaration has oftentimes been sidelined or pushed to the margin, the necessity to talk about Catholic education and formation became clear in the demands of the vota. Indeed, the Catholic Church had to ponder on one of its core gifts: *ecclesia docens et discens*.

But to be a teaching and learning Church, one needs to incorporate the teaching and learning in its full totality, and that is what the discussion of the vota has proven throughout. All matters on Catholic education and formation overflow, confluence, in the variety of educational institutions, organizations and tools bound to the *Mater Ecclesia*, which need to be circumscribed and protected. At the same time, a teaching and learning Church in a century of global awareness and accessibility, is a Church that holds together the localities and contextualities of the national churches. To comprehend the vota on Catholic education and formation cannot be simply topical but desperately asks for local and contextual influences on the why of particular demands. The multifaceted societal aspects with preceding histories all influence the disposition Catholic education and formation, including most vota. No study thus far has shown the educational and formational complexity across the globe at the threshold of Vatican II, especially in light of the Catholic world episcopate and the universities. Nor have the various demands derived from contexts been cross compared to see where local or universal demands were visible. Finally, an exhaustive discussion on the draft history of the schemata on Catholic schools, Catholic and ecclesiastical universities, obedience to the magisterium has now finally been presented in light of the limited studies on this matter. This dissertation will therefore prove of significant value for Vatican II studies on the redaction history of *Gravissimum Educationis*, and the fate of Catholic education and formation across the world during the 1950s at threshold of the Council.