CHAPTER --

ROMAN CATHOLIC ECCLESIOLOGY FROM THE COUNCIL OF TRENT TO VATICAN

II AND BEYOND

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ABSTRACT

For four hundred years after the Council of Trent, a juridical model of the church dominated Roman Catholicism. Shifts towards a broader ecclesiology began to emerge in the nineteenth century. Despite the attempts to repress any deviations from the official theology after the Modernist Crisis in the early twentieth century, various renewal movements in the decades between the world wars brought forth a period of rich ecclesiological research, with emphasis given to notions such as the Mystical Body, the People of God, the church as mystery, as sacrament, as *communio*. The Second Vatican Council embraced many of these developments into its vision for renewal and reform of the Roman Catholic Church. Over half a century after Vatican II, a new phase in its reception is emerging with the pontificate of Pope Francis.

BRIEF BIO

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Narrating a history requires of the narrator some choice of perspective for making sense of the story. This account of the history of Roman Catholic ecclesiology from the Council of Trent up until the Second Vatican Council and beyond attempts to show—retrospectively, through the lens of Vatican II—the pre-history of the dramatic shifts in ecclesiology undertaken at that council. It is only one way of telling the story.

Three factors constitute a 'theology of the church' at a particular time throughout church history: (1) the lived sense of being the church experienced by the faithful within their society's worldview and historical circumstance; (2) how theologians articulated that lived faith according to particular models and background theories of the time; and (3) how the official teaching authority in the church may have either appropriated or rejected those perceptions through the formulations of ecumenical councils and popes. Of course, these three factors exist in a complex relationship that is not always interactive.

Accordingly, while 'the history of the church', 'the history of theology', and 'the history of doctrine' need to be distinguished, they are overlapping stories. Within the history of the church, historical forces and events impact the Christian community within the particular culture and society in which it lives its faith. Also, as the following narrative shows, throughout church history there is potentially an interactive relationship between theology and official doctrine: not all theology becomes doctrine, but all doctrine is expressed in theological frameworks. Moreover, doctrine—once formally promulgated—undergoes a history of reception, in which spiritual appropriation by the faithful and theologians' further interpretation and application of the doctrine in new circumstances play important ecclesial roles in the church's evangelising mission. The history of ecclesiology, furthermore, is entwined with the broader history of theology itself. This history involves shifting theological methods, engagement with relevant background theories such as philosophy, as well as responses to 'external' historical forces and answers to new questions posed to the tradition.

'Ecclesiology,' in the more narrow sense of the specific discipline of scholarly theology regarding the church, has been an explicit part of theological treatises only in the last few centuries. Of course, themes related to the nature and mission of the church were certainly addressed in the New Testament and later patristic writings, but not in any way that treats the church as its central focus, with an explicit analysis of its nature and mission. For example, in the works of medieval scholastics including Thomas Aquinas there was no tract dealing specifically with the church. It was only in the

nineteenth century that the first 'systematic' ecclesiologies emerge. Michael Himes defines 'systematic ecclesiology', in this sense, as 'an ecclesiology which considered the connections between the Church and the central doctrinal areas of the Christian faith, such as Trinity, incarnation, Holy Spirit, creation, grace, eschatology, etc.' (Himes 2000: 45).

I. TRENT AND 'TRIDENTINE' ECCLESIOLOGY

Pope Paul III (b. 1468; pope 1534–1549) convoked an ecumenical council to address the crises arising from the Protestant Reformations. Centred on the town of Trent, the council met in three periods over eighteen years, from 1545 to 1563. The documents it produced treated a broad range of issues related to doctrine and church discipline (Tanner 1990: vol. 2:660–799). Four points can be made about the 'ecclesiology' reflected throughout the council and in its documents.

First, the council did not attempt a comprehensive treatment of the church. Trent deliberately set out to highlight, thirty years after the start of the Lutheran Reformation, the differences between the conceptions of the Protestants and those of the Roman Catholic Church. Areas of significant agreement, for example concerning the Triune God and Jesus Christ, and indeed the nature and mission of the church, were not discussed. Therefore, the vision of the council, as expressed in the conciliar debates and in its promulgated documents, is deliberately narrow in scope. This narrowness conditions the ecclesiology that emerges in the centuries following the council, both in the minds of Catholics and in the writings of theologians.

Secondly, the issue of how to label this historical period beginning with Trent reveals something of the ecclesiology of the council and the period of its reception over the next century: it is both negatively polemical and positively reformative. On the one hand, the term 'Counter Reformation' is used by historians to capture the narrowness of the ecclesiological vision that followed the council's focus only on *differences* with Protestant ecclesiology, as well as its desire to counter the advances of Protestantism in Europe. On the other hand, the term 'Catholic Reformation' is used to capture the genuine efforts on the part of the council to address calls for institutional reform coming from within the church long before the Reformation, as well as the council's genuine efforts to bring about a more cogent proclamation and living of the gospel in the new situation in which the church now found itself.

Reception of the latter impulse can be seen in the Baroque art, spiritual renewal movements, and missionary outreach in the century following Trent. Some historians prefer the broader term 'Early Modern Catholicism' as a better term for naming both of these reactive and proactive dimensions, as well for capturing other aspects of the complex reception of the Council of Trent (O'Malley 2000). 'Responding to the Protestant challenge was at the forefront of Catholicism for a long time [after Trent], but much else was happening within the Catholic church' (Tanner 2011: 165).

Thirdly, the Protestant Reformation is not the only context within which the ecclesiology of Trent is to be understood. In his pre-history of the council of Trent, the historian John O'Malley points out that issues such as 'Gallicanism' and 'conciliarism' are not far from the surface during the conciliar debates (O'Malley 2013: 23–48). Ever since the Council of Constance (1414–1417), there had lingered a papal suspicion of councils. Not surprisingly, at Trent the popes maintained a tight control on the agenda of the council and a tension between pope and council was ever present. Therefore, the ecclesiology of Trent is evident as much in the 'body language' of the council as in its decrees.

The council promulgated its decrees sequentially in pairs: one clarifying doctrine and another proposing reform in some area of discipline. The doctrinal 'chapters' were accompanied by a series of 'canons' that judged those who held certain doctrinal positions to be declared 'out' (*anathema sit*). A particular 'style' is evident in its discourse (O'Malley 2006).

Theologians played an important role at the council (Minnich 1998: 431–34). In clarifying official Catholic doctrine, these theologians drew on the current Catholic theological approach, that of scholasticism, dominant since the early Middle Ages (Schüssler Fiorenza 2011: 13–26). As evident in the decrees of the council, scholastic theology—whatever of its achievements—betrayed two major weaknesses: a proof-texting approach to Scripture and an under-developed historical sense (O'Malley 2013: 249–50).

The words 'Tridentine' and 'Tridentinism' (from the Latin name of the town Trent, *Tridentum*) have come to describe post-Trent Roman Catholicism right up to the eve of Vatican II. However, analysing the history of the reception of the council of Trent reveals that, in the centuries after the council, both the lived Catholicism on the ground and the dominant ecclesiology among theologians have features that cannot be grounded in the council and its documents (O'Malley 2013: 248–75). The Tridentine vision of the church that soon emerged 'saw a Roman version of Trent becoming the norm for Church life; it looked for the center of the Church only in Rome rather than

being also in the local Church; it exalted the papacy at the expense of the episcopate, and it revered the clerical over the lay state; it displaced medieval canon law and became almost the sole source for legislation and the practical running of the Church; it led to a static ecclesiology' (O'Donnell 1996: 451; Prodi 2010).

Within a year of the council's close, the pope of the council's third and final period, Pius IV, followed the mandate of the council and promulgated a Profession of Faith which all bishops and pastors were from then on required to profess (a disciplinary requirement lasting until the twentieth century). However, its summary statements failed to capture the nuances of the council's position. Likewise, the Catechism of the Council of Trent, published in 1566, incorporated the council's teachings into a virtual summa of official church teaching (on the ecclesiology of the catechism, see Haight 2004: 266–75).

An equally influential factor in the emergence of Tridentinism came from one of the most enthusiastic promoters of the council's reforms, the Archbishop of Milan, Cardinal Charles Borromeo (1538–1584). Secretary to his papal uncle Pius IV during the council's third period, Borromeo immediately after the council set about introducing one of the major stipulations of the council, that bishops set up diocesan synods to implement the council's reforms. However, the eleven diocesan (and six provincial synods) of Milan went beyond the general stipulations of the council and introduced requirements that Trent had not required, such as a 'confessional' in every church and a 'tabernacle' for the reserved sacrament to be situated in the middle of the main altar. These and other innovations were published in a collection of the 'Acts of the Church of Milan', which became a publishing phenomenon, being read throughout the Catholic world. Soon the Catholic world was imitating Milan. With these and other factors, 'within a year of the council's closing, the Catholic body-social was thus moving into *Tridentinismo*, that is, into phenomena claiming origin in the council but in fact taking a step beyond it' (O'Malley 2013: 263).

Another highly significant factor in the rise of Tridentinism involved a theologian who is arguably the most influential ecclesiologist in the four hundred years from Trent to Vatican II—the Jesuit Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), born three years before the opening of the council's first period and ordained a priest in 1570, seven years after the close of the council. His major work was the three volume apologetical *Disputations on the Controversies of the Christian Faith,* published between 1586 and 1593 (for a summary of Bellarmine's ecclesiology, see Hardon 1966). Bellarmine's ecclesiology

focused on external and institutional aspects of the church. The true church, he claimed, is not—as the Protestants proposed—something hidden, with its membership to be revealed only at the end of time. Rather, the church in the present is clearly recognisable by visible characteristics that can be used as criteria for judging genuine membership. Accordingly, Bellarmine defined the church as: 'the group of men brought together by (1) the profession of the same Christian faith and by (2) communion in the same sacraments (3) under the governance of legitimate pastors, especially of the one vicar of Christ on earth, the Roman Pontiff.' Bellarmine goes on to state that internal characteristics, such as virtue, are not necessarily required for membership: 'we do not think that any internal virtue is required, but only the external profession of faith and communion in the sacraments, which can be perceived by the senses themselves. For the Church is a group of men as visible and palpable as is the group of the Roman people or the Kingdom of France or the Republic of Venice' (Bellarmino 1586–1593: 4 III 2; 3 II; trans. J. Komonchak 1995: 322, numbering added).

According to Avery Dulles, 'By applying these criteria, Bellarmine is able to exclude all persons who in his opinion do not belong to the true Church. The first criterion rules out pagans, Moslems, Jews, heretics, and apostates; the second rules out catechumens and excommunicated persons; the third rules out schismatics. Thus only Roman Catholics remain' (Dulles 2002: 8). Only the Roman Catholic Church, so defined, is the one, true church. A corollary of Bellarmine's definition is that the church is a society like the emerging post-feudal nation-states of Europe, such as France. The pope is therefore conceived as an absolute monarch who rules over a society where governing authority is exercised in a pyramidal way from top to bottom. Bellarmine did give a fuller conception of the church when he spoke of not only the body of the church but also the soul of the church, which is the Holy Spirit. This more balanced conception, however, was lost to further generations.

Implicit, although not explicit, in Bellarmine's ecclesiology is the notion of the church as a *societas perfecta* ('perfect society'), which becomes more explicit in those who expand on Bellarmine's framework over the following centuries (Granfield 1982). The notion has its roots in Greek political thought and is a notion which Thomas Aquinas in the thirteenth century, in the context of debate regarding spiritual and temporal powers, had applied to the political 'State', of which the church was understood to be an integral part (Thomas Aquinas 1966: 12–15 [*ST* 1–2ae, q90, a3 ad 3]). Applied to a political society, the notion meant that a society possesses all that it needs to achieve its purpose. Increasingly applied to the Roman Catholic Church, the notion of *societas perfecta* held that

the church contains all it needs for its mission and can be free from control by secular authorities; as the church develops, it becomes 'perfect' in both a moral sense and in its entitlement to dictate its norms to society (O'Donnell 1996: 359).

The reception history of Bellarmine's ecclesiology is central to our story because it was the official ecclesiology of the Roman Catholic Church right up till the eve of Vatican II. Canon lawyers in the eighteenth century and then ecclesiologists in the nineteenth century took up Bellarmine's thought, making even more explicit the notion of the church as a perfect society. This soon became the reigning model in official Catholic ecclesial self-understanding. For example, in the nineteenth century, the notion of *societas perfecta* appeared as a major theme in the first draft of the document on the church *Supremi pastoris* for the First Vatican Council (1869–1870), and then in its revised form as *Tametsi Deus*. Although this second draft was never debated on the floor of Vatican I, these two schemata reveal of the importance of the notion at the time (Granfield 1979; Mansi 1960: 51:543). In the following decades, Pope Leo XIII (b. 1810; pope 1878–1903) frequently mentioned the notion in his encyclicals, for example, *Satis cognitum* (Carlen 1981: 2:396). In the twentieth century, the 1943 encyclical *Mystici corporis* of Pope Pius XII (b. 1876; pope 1939–1958), while emphasising the spiritual dimensions of the church as Christ's mystical body, nevertheless continued to emphasise that the church is a perfect society (e.g. Carlen 1981: 49 [no. 63]). The neo-scholastic manuals on the eve of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965) highlighted this primary model of the church (e.g. Ott 1954: 275–76). The draft schema *De Ecclesia* prepared for Vatican II is testimony to the resilience of both Bellarmine's ecclesiology and in particular to the juridical notion of the Roman Catholic Church as a perfect society, with the pope understood in terms of a reigning monarch of a kingdom.

The role of the papacy within such a view of the church was given greater and greater importance in ecclesial life and ecclesiological reflection across the four centuries under review here (Schatz 1996). However, there were always attempts to limit over-inflated views of papal primacy (Oakley 2003). The Council of Trent had gathered with memories of Gallicanism and conciliarism causing tension between the popes of the time and the conciliar assembly. The tension came to the fore in various ways in the centuries after Trent. For example, conflicts in the relationships between the French state, the French bishops, and the bishop of Rome gave rise to various attitudes regarding their appropriate relationship, such as 'royal Gallicanism' and 'episcopal Gallicanism'; similar issues were at play in German-speaking areas in the controversies of Febronianism and Josephinism (Himes 2000:

50–54). Often, political and ecclesial ideologies operated side by side in these debates. French 'Gallicans' referred derogatorily to proponents of papal maximalism as 'ultramontane', i.e., always deferring to papal authority 'beyond the Alps' down in Rome. Ultramontanists saw their maximalist views of the papacy vindicated in the definition of papal primacy and infallibility by the First Vatican Council (1869–1870).

II 'THE LONG NINETEENTH CENTURY'

By the beginning of 'the long nineteenth century' (O'Malley 2008: 53–92), a new worldview had emerged in Europe. The French and American revolutions had disrupted the social and political fabric of a monarchical European society. 'Romanticism' in the arts valued 'emotion' and 'spirit' in reaction to what was felt to be the Enlightenment's one-dimensional rational view of human existence. Notions such as 'evolution' and 'development' characterised the emerging life sciences such as biology and the emerging human sciences such as psychology and history. The evolutionary theory of Charles Darwin (1809–1892) outlined in his *The Origins of Species* (1859), and the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud (1856–1939) focusing on the origins human personality, shaped the worldview of the times. This spirit of the age touched Roman Catholic life and theology and soon a flowering of 'Romanticism' in Catholic theology occurred, particularly at the Roman Catholic theology faculty in Tübingen, Germany.

Johann Sebastian Drey (1777–1853), considered the 'founder' of the Catholic Tübingen school, wrote no specific treatise on the church, and gave no explicit place to such a treatise in his outline of topics to be treated by theology considered in his *Brief Introduction to the Study of Theology* (Drey 1994). Nevertheless, Drey presented the church as the living embodiment of revelation and indeed the realisation of the reign of God in history (Fehr 1981: 239–44). Drey's student Johann Adam Möhler (1796–1838) is arguably the first Roman Catholic theologian to write systematic works of ecclesiology. Möhler's ecclesiology shifted throughout his relatively brief writing period. Attempting to balance the outer and the inner dimensions of the church, his early 1825 work *Die Einheit in der Kirche* (Möhler 1996) emphasized the Holy Spirit as the unifying life-principle among the community of believers. For Möhler 'tradition' is an organic, dynamic process of development guided by the Holy

Spirit: 'Tradition is the expression of the Holy Spirit giving life to the totality of believers … Scripture was created out of the living tradition, not vice versa' (Möhler 1996: 117). In 1836, dissatisfied with *Die Einheit*, and in dialogue with the positions of his colleagues in the Protestant theology faculty at Tübingen, Möhler published his second major ecclesiological work *Symbolik* (Möhler 1997), which attempted to balance his earlier pneumatological approach with one that emphasized the church as the body of Christ in history; analogically, he proposed, the church continues the Incarnation in time. In an oft-quoted passage, he stated, 'Thus, the visible Church, from the point of view here taken, is the Son of God himself, everlastingly manifesting himself among men in a human form, perpetually renovated, and eternally young—the permanent incarnation of the same, as in Holy Writ, even the faithful are called "the body of Christ." Hence it is evident that the Church, though composed of men, is yet not purely human' (Möhler 1997: 259).

When Möhler's ecclesiology is taken as a whole, several themes stand out: his focus on the role of the Spirit; the value of the analogy of the Incarnation for exploring the visible and invisible dimensions of the church; and his notion of living tradition (Himes 1997). Möhler 'paved the way for a truly theological study of the Church which, with its Trinitarian dimension, was incalculably richer than the more polemic and apologetic ecclesiology of previous and following generations' (O'Donnell 1996: 310).

After Möhler, the work of Catholic canonists during the nineteenth century became important, particularly for their appropriation from Protestant ecclesiology of the notion of Christ's three offices in the church: the prophetic, the priestly, and the kingly offices (see Rush 2003: 140–43). Following on from Ferdinand Walter (1794–1879), George Phillips (1804–1872) identified the church with the Kingdom of God and understood its governance in terms of monarchical authority. Phillips portrayed the triad of *magisterium*, *ministerium*, and *regimen* in terms of Christ's prophetic (teaching), priestly (sanctifying), and kingly (governing) offices (Fuchs 1969).

This motif also figured prominently in the work of John Henry Newman (1801-1890), both as an Anglican and as a Roman Catholic. Although Newman wrote no specific work on the church, several ecclesiological themes dominated his sermons and writings: the rubric of the three ecclesial offices of Christ as Prophet, Priest, and King (Newman 1911; Dulles 1990); the organic development of doctrine in the life of the church (Newman 1989; McCarren 2009); the importance of the laity in the church and the authority of the *consensus fidelium* (Newman 1962; Dulles 2009). Also characterizing

his vision of the church were the themes of the church as the people of God, the mystical body of Christ, the temple of the Holy Spirit, and as a communion of the faithful (Ker 2009). Unable to attend the First Vatican Council, Newman ultimately defended the council's teachings on papal primacy and papal infallibility (Sullivan 2009).

A significant stage in the reception history of Möhler's ecclesiology was his appropriation by what has been called 'the Roman School' of theology (Antón 1987: 287–317; Congar 1971: 92–96). The work of the Roman School falls within the pontificates of three popes: Gregory XVI (b. 1765; pope 1831–1846), Pius IX (b. 1792; pope 1846–1878), and Leo XIII (b. 1810; pope 1878–1903). Most of this group were lecturers at the Jesuit Roman College (later the Gregorian University) in Rome. Their work was written according to the approach of the scholasticism of their day. But what distinguished their method from that scholasticism was their desire to incorporate biblical and patristic themes into their theology, leading to a greater balance in their ecclesiology between the visible-institutional and the invisible-spiritual dimensions of the church. An important factor in that greater balance was also their reception of the Tübingen School's notion of 'living tradition' (Kasper 1962). Nevertheless, the overall tenor of their work remained 'ultramontane'.

The leading figure in the early period of the Roman School was Giovanni Perrone (1794–1876). However, the more creative ecclesiological thinkers in the group throughout the second half of the nineteenth century included Joseph Kleutgen (1811–1883), Carlo Passaglia (1812–1887), Johannes Baptist Franzelin (1816–1886), and Clemens Schrader (1820–1875). Passaglia and Franzelin were students of Perrone. Unlike most of the Roman School who taught at the Jesuit Roman College, Kleutgen taught at the Germanicum College in Rome. Matthias Joseph Scheeben (1835-1888), while not strictly a member of the Roman School, was a student of many of its members at the Roman College, and his creative theological writing while teaching at the seminary of Cologne can be considered alongside theirs (O'Donnell 1996: 419).

Although most theological manuals of the time, in the tradition of medieval scholasticism, did not have a specific treatise on the church, Passaglia and Schrader wrote a two-volume book specifically on the church, *De ecclesia Christi.* While certainly written in the prevailing neo-scholastic style, it did go beyond the ecclesiologies of the day by highlighting themes such as the church as the Body of Christ, the role of the Holy Spirit in the church, and the importance of the invisible as well as the

visible dimensions of the church. The brilliant Passaglia, however, soon left the Jesuits and the church, partly in reaction to the ultramontanism of the day.

Franzelin's ecclesiology is noteworthy, first for his reception of Möhler's theology of the church as the mystical body of Christ, and secondly, and consequently, for expanding the notion of *communio* beyond the reigning ecclesiology of the time, that of Robert Bellarmine (Komonchak 1995). Franzelin's unfinished *Theses de Ecclesia Christi* was published in 1887, a year after his death. According to Joseph Komonchak, 'within the manual tradition [Franzelin's *Theses*] is one of the most serious efforts to restore some theological and spiritual substance to the treatise on the church [and] illustrates the difficulty Catholic ecclesiology, down through *Mystici Corporis,* experiences in breaking the narrow Bellarminian mould' (Komonchak 1995: 326).

In the face of perceived threats to Catholic ecclesial identity in a revolutionary Europe, Pope Pius IX convoked an ecumenical council, which met in St Peter's Basilica from 1869 to 1870. The major theologians involved in the preparation of documents for the bishops' consideration came from the Roman School. Fifty-six draft schemas on various topics were prepared. Schrader was involved in drafting a schema on the Church, titled *Supremi pastoris* (Mansi 50:539–636). It spoke of the church as a perfect society, but also in terms of its being the Mystical Body of Christ and in terms of the three offices of Christ. In their written responses to the document, the bishops did not give it a positive reception. So Kleutgen was entrusted with redrafting the constitution, now with a new title *Tametsi Deus* (Mansi 53:308–317). Significantly it depicted the fullness of supreme power in the church lying in two subjects, the pope and the body of bishops united to him (see Tagle 2004: 33–35). However the council never discussed the text. If it had indeed debated and received Kleutgen's text, then Vatican I may perhaps have presented a richer ecclesiological vision overall.. Certainly, the council had intended to give a broader treatment of the pope's relationship with the rest of the bishops, but the premature closure of the council due to the onset of the Franco-Prussian war prevented such discussion.

In the time available, Vatican I promulgated only two documents: *Dei Filius*, the Dogmatic Constitution on the Catholic Faith (Tanner 1990: 2:804–11), and *Pastor Aeternus*, The Dogmatic Constitution on the Church of Christ, with a focus on papal infallibility and papal primacy (Tanner 1990: 2:811–16). As the *Relatio* of Bishop Vinzenz Gasser (1809–1879) made clear, the doctrine of papal infallibility is grounded on the church's infallibility (Gasser 2008). In the reception of the council's teaching regarding papal primacy, a significant clarification of the council's meaning was

made five years later in a statement by the German hierarchy, reacting to the German Chancellor Bismarck's implication that Vatican I had reduced the world's bishops to mere functionaries of an all powerful pontiff (Denzinger 2012: 3112–17).

After Pius IX, Leo XIII's 1896 encyclical *Satis cognitum* (Carlen 1981: 2:387–404) not only emphasised Vatican I's teaching regarding papal primacy, but also can be taken as an exemplar of the persistent reiteration of an ecclesiology of the church as a perfect society. Also in this period, Leo XIII gave further energy to an already growing neo-Scholastic revival through his 1879 encyclical *Aeterni Patris* (Carlen 1981: 2:17–27), calling for a return to the 'perennial philosophy' of St Thomas. Kleutgen was responsible for drafting the encyclical. Leo XIII also began a shift in papal teaching towards addressing what would later be called 'the social mission of the church' when in 1891 he published the encyclical *Rerum Novarum* on the conditions and rights of workers (Carlen 1981: 2:241–61).

The ecclesiology of Vatican I, focusing primarily on papal authority in governance and teaching, was particularly embodied in the style of the pontificate of Pope Pius X (b. 1835; pope 1903–1914). The so-called 'modernist crisis' during his pontificate raised several issues directly related to ecclesiology, as well as others that had indirect implications for ecclesiology. Centred mainly in France, England, and Italy, this disparate 'movement' was an amalgam of approaches, which nevertheless had the common aim of bringing historical-critical reflection to the study of theology, doctrine, and the church.

The writings of two figures in particular treat specifically ecclesiological topics. In France, Alfred Loisy (1857–1940) applied historically-conscious biblical criticism to the origins of the church in his 1902 *L'Évangile et L'Église* (Loisy 1988). Intended as a polemical work directed against the Protestant Adolf von Harnack, it attempted to defend Catholicism by showing its hierarchical and sacramental structure to be an organic development of the seed which Jesus had planted: 'Jesus did not systematize beforehand the constitution of the Church as that of a government established on earth and destined to endure for a long series of centuries' (Loisy 1988). However, the Holy Office considered his defence heretical and the following year it was added to the Index of Forbidden Books. In England, the Jesuit George Tyrrell (1861–1909) argued that historical criticism inevitably undermined accepted beliefs such as the authority of Scripture, the ahistorical truth of dogma, and any hierarchical claim to infallibility. In 1903 he published *The Church and the Future* under the pseudonym Hilaire Bourdon

(Bourdon 1903). It presented the church as a community of believers through whom the Holy Spirit spoke authoritatively; dogmas were mere expressions of religious experience; and, the role of the hierarchy was to guide the church democratically (Gratsch 1975: 196).

In 1907, both the Holy Office decree *Lamentabili* (Denzinger 2012: 3401–66) and the papal encyclical *Pascendi Dominici Gregis* (Carlen 1981: 3:71–98) artificially grouped together and condemned positions that could not be attributed to any one scholar; however, Loisy and Tyrell were clearly among the intended targets. A core issue in the whole affair was the historicity of human knowing: 'Here, it seems, in clashing theories of knowledge, lay the central quarrel of the Modernist crisis' (O'Connell 1994: 344). *Pascendi,* to the contrary, defended a metaphysical realism and a realist epistemology (O'Connell 1994: 344). The response to *Pascendi* of the French philosopher Maurice Blondel (1861–1949) captures the feeling of many Roman Catholic scholars at the time: 'I am suffering deeply. It almost makes one cry out, Happy are those who are dead in the Lord! ... I have read the encyclical, and I am in a stupor. Is it possible? What attitude should one take? Internal attitude, I mean, as well as external. And, above all, how does one prevent so many souls from just giving up, just doubting the *goodness* of the church?' (quoted in O'Connell 1994: 348). In 1910, the *motu proprio Sacrorum Antistitum* prescribed that all office-holders take an Oath against Modernism (Daly 1980: 235–36). A period of vigilantism followed throughout the Roman Catholic world. The 'sinister' procedures of Monsignor Umberto Benigni (1862–1934) from the Roman Curia set the tone (O'Connell 1994: 361–65, at 61), especially with his *Sodalitium Pianum*—'the chilling parody of a secret service' (Daly 1980: 218).

Pius X died in 1914, just a few weeks after the outbreak of the First World War. The new pope Benedict XV (b. 1854; pope 1914–1922) soon issued his first encyclical *Ad Beatissimi* (Carlen 1981: 3:143–51), which somewhat softened Pius' aggressive policy regarding tracking down people with 'modernist' views. While surveillance and threat of censorship still continued to create a climate of repression, new shoots, nevertheless, began to appear in Catholic ecclesiology.

III. RENEWAL MOVEMENTS

'The nineteenth century ended on August 1, 1914', Paul Tillich would often state to his students (Hall 1999: 3). The utter devastation wrought by the First World War brought forth a desire in European

society for community and solidarity beyond national borders; the great symbol of this desire was the birth of the League of Nations in 1920. In a war-weary Germany, there flowered a greater emphasis on the importance of the *Volk* ('the People') and its traditions, and a deep-felt need for *Gemeinschaft* ('community'). A particularly significant phenomenon was the grass-roots emergence of youth movements. These societal shifts were mirrored within ecclesial communities and came to be reflected in the ecclesiologies of the time, which soon began to give greater emphasis to the church as a community (Schoof 1970: 76–81). These sentiments for unity likewise gave greater impetus to efforts for Christian unity, through the ecumenical movement, leading to greater openness by some individual theologians to the ecclesiological riches of other Christian traditions.

Another stimulus for deeper reflection within Roman Catholic ecclesiology in the decades between the wars was a growing dissatisfaction with the official ecclesiology, still bound to Bellarmine's model emphasising visibility, perfect society, and juridical structures of organisation and authority. Moreover, scholars came to believe, the whole neo-Scholastic style of theology—by the way it separated the divine from human affairs—was the very cause of the contemporary secularism and loss of a sense of the sacred evident throughout Europe (Komonchak 1990: 582–84).

Over the next four decades, in response to these challenges and attentive to the grassroots desire for a deeper sense of the church, Roman Catholic scholars from different theological disciplines turned to the scriptural, liturgical, philosophical and theological sources of the tradition, especially in the biblical, patristic and medieval periods. Furthermore, these studies were conducted in an increasingly ecumenical climate in which the traditions of Eastern Orthodoxy, long ignored by Western Catholicism, as well as traditions growing out of the Reformations of the sixteenth century, became sources for a richer Roman Catholic ecclesiology. The result was a greater appreciation of the rich diversity of the Catholic tradition, beyond the then dominant Tridentinism. In France, the poet and essayist Charles Péguy would later be the first to use the term *ressourcement* ('back to the sources') to name this return especially to the biblical and patristic writings. It was a term embraced by the scholars themselves—unlike the polemical term *nouvelle théologie*, which nevertheless became a common way to name this scholarship within France.

Thus, from the end of World War I up to the convocation of Vatican II, renewal movements within Roman Catholicism blossomed in a range of areas of study and activity: the biblical movement, the liturgical movement, the lay apostolate movement, the ecumenical movement, the social action

movement, etc. (Iserloh 1981). Rather than constituting separate streams in the life of the church, these movements influenced each other. For example, the biblical movement brought forth greater interest in personal reading and study of Scripture, a Christ-centred spirituality, and a focus on the personal call to discipleship, which in turn supported the lay apostolate movement. Similarly, 'the liturgical movement was an expression of a new awareness of the Church, just as, conversely, the celebration of the liturgy permitted an entirely new experience of the Church as a community' (Iserloh 1981: 305). All the major shifts in ecclesiology over these decades find their origins in these renewal movements (O'Donnell 1996: 409–10), eventually bearing fruit in the ecclesiological vision of Vatican II (Rousseau 1965). 'All these formed parallel currents that would converge in Vatican II's [*Lumen Gentium*]' (Moeller 1966: 124).

In Germany, two writers were particularly significant in the post-war renewal of Catholic ecclesiology: Romano Guardini (1885–1968) and Karl Adam (1876–1966). The Italian-born Guardini grew up in Germany and taught in Berlin, Tübingen and Munich. In the wake of the grassroots phenomenon of youth movements across Germany, Guardini became involved in the Catholic youth movement 'Quickborn'. Influenced by phenomenology, existentialism and personalism in contemporary philosophy, his writings ranged over the disciplines of liturgy, Christology and ecclesiology. Alert to the postwar desire for more meaningful community, away from inflated individualism and subjectivism (Krieg 1997: 47–51), Guardini began his 1922 work *Vom Sinn der Kirche* with a reference to the renewal of the sense of the church occurring at that time: 'A religious process of incalculable importance has begun—the Church is awakening in the souls of men [Die Kirche erwacht in den Seelen]' (Guardini 1935: 11). His 1935 *Vom Leben des Glaubens* emphasized a communal, ecclesial notion of faith over against an individualistic conception, highlighting the importance of *sentire cum Ecclesia* ('thinking with the church'). As a consequence of his critical essay against National Socialism, he was dismissed from his teaching role at the university of Berlin (Krieg 1997: 115–36). After the Nazi era and the end of the Second World War, in works such as the 1950 *Das Ende der Neuzeit* (Guardini 2001), Guardini proposed that a greater sense of evil in the world and of the delusions of the Enlightenment were ushering in the end of modernity's reign, and challenging the church to greater engagement with the world.

In 1919, Karl Adam was appointed to the Catholic theological faculty at Tübingen and soon followed in the tradition of his predecessors. His inaugural lecture was critical of the reigning neo-

scholastic theology and proposed an approach that was based on historical studies, nevertheless to be interpreted through the lens of contemporary problems. Despite the severity of his critics' reactions to the lecture, he was widely supported. 'He became, almost overnight, the most discussed Catholic theologian in Germany' (Schoof 1970: 85). In 1924, Adam published *Das Wesen des Katholizismus*, on the 'spirit' or 'essence' of Catholicism (Adam 1997), a work very much influenced by one of Adam's predecessors at the Tübingen Catholic faculty, Möhler. In the spirit of Germany's postwar search for the meaning or essence (*Wesen*) of life, particularly as expressed in the phenomenology of Max Scheler (1874–1928) and the 'life-philosophies' of the time, Adam set out to present the *Wesen* of Catholicism in terms of the living presence of Christ, the life principle of the church. He understood the church primarily as Christ's Body. Adam's book became a best seller and a major reference point in Catholic ecclesiology for the next forty years (Krieg 1992: 29–56).

In France, a similar dual emphasis—on historical studies and attention to contemporary problems—was emerging, in two centres in particular: Le Saulchoir and Lyon-Fourvière. From 1935 to 1942 the Dominican faculties of Le Saulchoir were significant in the *ressourcement* of Thomism. Founded in Belgium in 1934, and from 1937 located in the town of Étiolles outside Paris, the centre fostered an historical-critical approach to interpreting the sources of theology, and, particularly after the atrocities of the Second World War, a theological method grounded not only in the sources of the past but also in addressing the pressing issues of the day. Under the leadership of Marie Dominique Chenu (1895–1990), its leading theologians included Yves Congar (1904–1995).

Early on, Chenu published what became a manifesto, *Une Ecole de théologie: Le Saulchoir*, outlining the school's historical approach (Chenu 1937). Chenu believed that historical scholarship should ground theology; but such *ressourcement* was less some abstract 'returning' to the riches of the past than a 'sourcing' of the wisdom of the past for the sake of answering the urgent questions of today (Gray 2011). Chenu's approach was exemplified in the life work of his junior colleague, Congar, who was heavily influenced by the early pneumatological ecclesiology of Johann Adam Möhler and shaped by his own broad ecumenical contacts and research. In 1935 Congar was involved in launching the ecumenical series of studies *Unam Sanctam,* which was to become an important vehicle for disseminating the historically-grounded biblical, liturgical, patristic and ecumenical research that Le Saulchoir promoted.

The work of Congar is particularly significant in the history of twentieth-century ecclesiology for many reasons, especially his detailed historical research into the riches of the tradition, his pneumatologically-balanced approach to the church, his theology of the laity, his ecumenical studies of other Christian traditions, and his calls for reform of the Roman Catholic Church. 'By the mid-twentieth century Yves Congar had replaced Bellarmine as the Church's premier ecclesiologist' (McBrien 1995: 448). Four works in particular represent Congar's major contributions to ecclesiology before the early 1960s. In 1937, he published *Chrétiens désunis* (Congar 1939), with a vision for 'communion' among the Body of Christ. His 1950 work *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Église* (Congar 2011) set out a criteriology for genuine reform in the Roman Catholic Church. In 1953, he published *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat* (Congar 1965a) where, in outlining the fundamental role of the laity in the mission of the church, he employs as his structuring principle the rubric of the three offices of Christ as prophet, priest, and king. Finally, his 1958 work *Le Mystère du Temple* (Congar 1962), while biblical in its focus, nevertheless brings to the fore the role of Holy Spirit as the co-animator of the church, a pneumatological theme that would come to feature more and more in Congar's later works (Hanvey 2005).

The second centre of *ressourcement* scholarship in France was focused around the Jesuit faculty in Lyon-Fourvière. Its outstanding representative was Henri de Lubac (1896–1991). Although not teaching at the Lyon-Fourvière faculty, de Lubac became associated with this group and was one of the co-founders of its *Sources chrétiennes*, a series of critical translations of patristic works. His first book, published in 1938, was *Catholicisme: Les aspects sociaux du dogme* (de Lubac 1988) in which he set out to show that contemporary scholastic theology had dualistically severed the divine from human affairs, making Catholicism irrelevant to people's lives. Through erudite quotation of authors throughout the tradition, de Lubac presented Catholicism as truly 'catholic', inclusive of all that is genuinely human (Komonchak 1990: 591–92). His 1944 work *Corpus Mysticum* (de Lubac 2006) presented a series of historical studies on the church and the eucharist where he set out to retrieve the rich tradition of eucharistic ecclesiology (McPartlan 1993). In his 1953 work *Méditation sur l'Église* (de Lubac 1999) he treats themes such as the church as mystery, the church as a sacrament, and develops further the notion that it is the Eucharist that makes the church.

This diverse group of *ressourcement* theologians came to be associated with the initially derogatory term *nouvelle théologie* (Boersma 2009; Flynn and Murray 2011; Mettepenningen 2010).

The first to use the term *nouvelle théologie* was one of the opponents of the *ressourcement* scholars, Chenu's doctoral supervisor, the French Dominican Réginald Garrigou-Lagrange (1877–1964), then teaching at the Angelicum College in Rome. He was a leading exponent of the manualist tradition and a consultor to the Roman Curia. In a 1946 article, Garrigou-Lagrange posed the question: 'La nouvelle théologie où va-t-elle?' ('The new theology, where is it going?'). His answer is that it leads to a new form of Modernism and he goes on to propose that the methods used to suppress Modernism should now be applied to these theologians (Garrigou-Lagrange 1946). Four years later, Pius XII's encyclical *Humani Generis* in 1950 directly addressed the methods and conclusions of *nouvelle théologie* scholarship (Carlen 1981: 4:175–84).

Throughout these decades of work within the various renewal movements, several major themes came to the fore that attempted to give a vision of the nature and mission of the church grounded on the diversity of a broader and longer Catholic tradition. The first was the biblical and patristic motif of the church as the Mystical Body of Christ. Möhler had been one of the first to retrieve the theme, particularly in his later work *Symbolik*. The Roman School then developed the motif and it found expression in the first draft of the schema on the church prepared for Vatican I: 'The Church is the mystical body of Christ' (Mansi 1960: 51:539; trans. Hamer 1964: 13). Encyclicals of Leo XIII used the theme, and it was echoed in the writings of Guardini and Adam (Hahnenberg 2005: 7–11). In the 1930s, the theme was brought to greater prominence through the work of the Jesuit theologian Émile Mersch (1890–1940), especially in his 1936 biblical and patristic study *Le corps mystique du Christ* (Mersch 1938). The following year, the Dutch Jesuit Sebastian Tromp (1899–1975) published the first of his four-volume *Corpus Christi quod est ecclesia* (Tromp 1937–1972), in which he attempted to balance the visible, institutional, and juridical dimension of the church with that of the invisible dimension, captured in the notion of the mystical body.

By the end of the 1930s, after exploration over the previous three decades, Mystical Body ecclesiology had become dominant (for an extensive bibliography of works in that period see Bluett 1942). However, ecclesiologies centred on the theme soon had their critics. One of the most prominent was the German Dominican scholar Mannes Dominikus Koster (1901–1981) who became controversial in Germany by proposing that the mystical body notion was too vague for structuring an ecclesiology. As a counterproposal, Koster employed the theme of 'the people of God' as the most suitable

integrating motif in his book *Ekklesiologie im Werden* (Koster 1940); he would later develop this theology further in a book on the church's *sensus fidei* (Koster 1948).

In 1943, after decades of maturing theology on the theme, Pope Pius XII published the encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi* (Carlen 1981: 4:37–63), partly as a deliberate response to the controversy in Germany ignited by Koster's challenge. The Gregorian University theologian Tromp had been chosen to be the principal drafter of the encyclical. It had strong echoes of Tromp's earlier work on the theme, presenting however a juridical slant to the biblical doctrine. The encyclical blurred the distinction between Christ and his church, and identified the mystical body of Christ exclusively with the Roman Catholic Church (Carlen 1981: 4:39–40 [no. 13]). Nevertheless, while the encyclical did go somewhat beyond the Bellarminian exclusive focus on visible and institutional elements of the church, strong echoes of Bellarmine remained: 'Actually only those are to be included as members of the Church who have been baptized and profess the true faith, and who have not been so unfortunate as to separate themselves from the unity of the Body, or have been excluded by legitimate authority for grave faults committed' (Carlen 1981: 4:41 [no. 22]).

The imbalance in the encyclical's vision of the church was soon noted. Karl Rahner (1904–1984), for example, aligned the encyclical's overemphasis on the visible and juridical dimensions of the church with 'ecclesiological Nestorianism' (Rahner 1962: 70; Lennan 1995: 16–18). Nevertheless, in the end, the encyclical can rightly be considered to be 'the most important ecclesiological document to appear in the period between the anti-Modernist campaign of Pius X in the early twentieth century and the beginning of the Second Vatican Council in 1962. The encyclical represented the first significant shift in ecclesiology since the Counter-Reformation of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries' (McBrien 2008: 121–22). However, while the encyclical marks the official reception of theological work on the mystical body motif, theological interest in the theme as an integrating category began to wane within a few years. Biblical and patristic studies had already been highlighting other themes, which were now proposed as necessary complements to overcoming the perceived limitations of the mystical body theme.

Since Trent the favoured Protestant theme of the 'People of God' had received little attention in Roman Catholic ecclesiology. In the nineteenth century, in ecclesiologies centred on the church as a perfect society, the notion of the People of God had certainly been employed, but merely to designate the laity over against the hierarchy. In the middle decades of the twentieth century, the theme was

receiving greater attention from Roman Catholic biblical scholars and ecclesiologists, through a cross fertilization between biblical, patristic, liturgical and ecumenical studies (Hahnenberg 2005: 14). Scholars highlighted the way that the notion brings to the fore the nature of the church as a community, and noted its overlap with other biblical themes such as the church within salvation history and the church's relationship with the reign of God.

One of the first to bring the theme of the church as the people of God to greater prominence in the twentieth century was the Benedictine Anscar Vonier (1875–1938), Abbot of Buckfast Abbey, with his 1937 theological study, *The People of God* (Vonier 1937). In 1940, as noted above, Mannes Dominikus Koster, in a deliberate attempt to highlight the inadequacies of a Mystical Body ecclesiology, used the rubric of the People of God as an integrating principle for his 'salvation history' oriented ecclesiology. In 1947 the Belgian biblical scholar Lucien Cerfaux published *La théologie de l'Église suivant saint Paul* in which he outlined how 'the Jewish idea of "God's people" is basic to Paul's theology of the church' (Cerfaux 1959: 7). Cerfaux's work therefore showed 'that the concept of the (Mystical) Body was not, for St Paul, the *fundamental* concept to be used in *defining* the church' (Congar 1965b: 9; italics original). Likewise, liturgical studies were highlighting the frequency of 'People of God' language in liturgical texts (Schaut 1949), while patristic scholars were showing the importance of the theme in the ecclesiology of writers such as Ambrose of Milan (Eger 1947). Furthermore, studies on the notion of the People of God as a *pilgrim* people brought to the fore the eschatological dimension of the church throughout history (Grosche 1938). Parallel to this focus was greater attention to 'salvation history' and the journey of God's people through time. The Protestant biblical scholar Oscar Cullman's 1946 work *Christus und die Zeit* (Cullmann 1964) was very influential on Catholic ecclesiologists in this regard.

Alongside the development of Mystical Body ecclesiology a related notion, that of the church as a sacrament, emerged. If the weakness of the former is that it can tend to blur the distinction between Christ and the Church, then the strength of the latter is that it holds the two in tension: a sacrament is a symbol of something other than itself, even while it makes the other truly present. According to the analogy of the Incarnation, the model of 'church as sacrament' asserts that just as Christ is the sacrament of God, so the Church is a sacrament of Christ. Once again, the reception of Möhler in this development is evident (O'Donnell 1996: 414). In his 1938 work *Catholicisme* de Lubac wrote: 'If Christ is the sacrament of God, the Church is for us the sacrament of Christ' (de Lubac 1988: 76); he

would develop this further in his 1953 book *Méditation* (de Lubac 1999: 202–35). In the same year his fellow Jesuit Otto Semmelroth (1932–1979) published a book on the church as 'the primordial sacrament', *Kirche als Ursakrament* (Semmelroth 1953). The previous year the Le Saulchoir Domincan student Edward Schillebeeckx (1914–2009) had published the first part of his dissertation *De sacramentele Heilseconomie* in which he delineated a notion of the sacraments in terms of the church itself as a sacrament of encounter with God. In 1960 Schillebeeckx published a summary of his thesis in German and French, later translated in English as *Christ, the Sacrament of Encounter with God* (Schillebeeckx 1963). Likewise, Karl Rahner wrote in 1942 of the church as 'the historico-sacramental permanent presence of the salvation reality of Christ' (Rahner 1967: 248). In 1960 he took up the theme in terms of his 1959 work on the theology of symbol: 'The Church is the abiding presence of that primal sacramental word of definitive grace, which Christ is in the world, effecting what is uttered by uttering it in sign. By the very fact of being in that way the enduring presence of Christ in the world, the Church is truly the fundamental sacrament, the well-spring of the sacraments in the strict sense' (Rahner 1963: 18; Rahner 1966).

Related to these developments concerning the church as Mystical Body and the church as sacrament is the related development of two other ecclesiological emphases: 'eucharistic ecclesiology' and 'communion ecclesiology'. De Lubac's *Corpus Mysticum*, first published in 1949, traced the terminological shift of the phrase 'mystical body' in reference first to the eucharistic body and then to the ecclesial body. As he later noted in his 1953 *Méditation*: 'the relation between the Church and the Eucharist [is] as cause to each other. Each has been entrusted to the other, so to speak, by Christ; the Church produces the Eucharist, but the Eucharist also produces the Church' (de Lubac 1999: 133). In 1962, on the eve of Vatican II, the Belgian Dominican scholar from Le Saulchoir, Jérôme Hamer (1916–1996) published a study of the notion of 'communion' in ecclesiology, *L'Eglise est une communion*, using Pius XII's 1943 encyclical as his starting point: 'The principal effect of *Mystici Corporis* … was to give a new and decisive orientation to ecclesiology. With the weight of authority, it revived the great traditional idea of communion' (Hamer 1964: 13).

IV. VATICAN II AND BEYOND

By the time Pope John XXIII called for an ecumenical council in 1959 many of these developments in ecclesiology had reached mature formulation. Nonetheless, under the supervision of the Holy Office, the draft schemas prepared for discussion at the council were still couched in the language and frameworks of neo-scholastic theology of the manualist tradition. Sebastian Tromp, as a member of the Preparatory Theological Commission, was a major drafter of the schema that was prepared on the church, *De Ecclesia*. This document is not only representative of the official ecclesiology of the Roman Catholic Church on the eve of the council, but it can be used to contrast the shifts made during the council, as traced in the various commentaries on the final documents: 'In many of these redactional histories, the differences between the texts officially prepared and the final texts are great enough for one to be able to speak at times of "break" or "discontinuity"' (Komonchak 2007: 32).

Like the exemplars of the manualist tradition, such as Louis Billot's *De Ecclesia Christi*, the draft *De Ecclesia* was apologetic in tone, defined the church as a perfect society, emphasised the visible nature of the church, and concentrated on aspects of ecclesial governance in terms of the model of monarchy, giving heightened importance to the papacy (Hastings 1968–1969: 1:28–34). The notion of *societas perfecta* shaped the mindsets of the bishops who came to the council. For example, the future Pope John Paul II, Bishop Karol Wojtyla of Krakow, would state in a speech to the council assembly during the first session: 'Although the notion "People of God" is in itself best for explaining the social nature of the Church, it does not seem best for describing the Church *in actu*, because it does not explicitly convey the idea of *societas perfecta* … The Church is a *societas perfecta* in the supernatural order, i.e., disposing all the means necessary to attain the supernatural end' (Acta synodalia II, 3, 155–156; quoted in Granfield 1982: 3). However, in the final documents of Vatican II, the term *societas perfecta* is not to be found.

In the lead up to the council, Pope John's call for an *aggiornamento* ('updating') in the life of the Catholic Church raised expectations of what the council might achieve. In 1960 the Swiss theologian Hans Küng (1928–) published *Konzil und Wiedervereinigung* (*The Council and Reunion*, Küng 1961), 'perhaps the single most influential book in Vatican II's preparatory phase, because it alerted so many in the Catholic world to the possibilities for renewal and reform through the medium of the forthcoming council' (McBrien 2008: 138).

The council met in the European autumn for an average of two months each year from 1962 to 1965. Out of the approximately 70 draft schemas prepared for the bishops' consideration, the council

assembly accepted for further discussion only the document on the Liturgy. All the others were basically rejected. By the close of the council, sixteen documents had been promulgated. Although two of these were devoted specifically to the church's life *ad intra* and *ad extra* (*Lumen Gentium* and *Gaudium et Spes*), all of the documents treat ecclesial themes in some way. While interpretation of the council over the last half century has been controversial, often portrayed one-dimensionally either in terms of continuity or discontinuity, most commentators agree that Vatican II marks a significant shift in the Roman Catholic Church's self-understanding of its nature and mission, in terms very different from the juridical vision presented in the draft schemas that were originally presented to it.

One major factor at work in this dramatic shift was the creative dynamic between *aggiornamento* and *ressourcement* that soon became evident in the council's procedures. A collaborative relationship developed between the bishops and the theologians participating in the council, either as theological consultants to individual bishops or as experts (*periti*) serving on the commissions and sub-commissions entrusted with incorporating the bishops' wishes into drafting of the documents. Throughout the months that the council was sitting each year, many of the official *periti* from various theological disciplines would give talks around Rome to groups of bishops on matters related to the documents currently under discussion (Rush 2012a: 13–14). While some bishops would have already read widely translated books such as Adam's *Das Wesen des Katholizismus,* Guardini's *Vom Sinn der Kirche,* Congar's *Jalons pour une théologie du laïcat,* and de Lubac's *Méditation,* many were eager to learn more about the scholarship of recent decades to inform their deliberations on the council floor. Most of them had been educated in the shadow of the Modernist crisis and in a climate where 'Trent' was the norm for all things ecclesiological. Now, with exposure to the diversity of the Catholic tradition through the riches of *ressourcement* theology, the appeal to Trent's authority, which had so dominated the period of 'Tridentine Catholicism', was now recontextualized, as Joseph Komonchak notes: at Vatican II, 'the tradition was no longer read in the light of Trent; Trent was read in the light of the tradition' (Komonchak 2006: 76).

It is simplistic and inaccurate to state: 'Theologians were the engineers of the massive reforms that were initiated at Vatican II … In essence the theologians wrote the Vatican II documents that the bishops voted on and signed' (Swidler 1987: 189–90). The crucial leadership on many levels by the bishops and popes in the conciliar proceedings (especially key figures from Northern Europe) show how the council was far from being 'engineered' by the theologians (Kobler 1989). Nevertheless, the

theologians did play a critical and decisive role. Vatican II was, in the end, the result of 'an intense and fruitful collaboration between the church's teaching office, especially the bishops who were members of the Council, and theologians who served as experts (*periti*) at Vatican II' (Wicks 2009: 187).

Theologians were present at the council, in two senses. First, there were those significant figures from the history of theology who hovered over the discussions on particular topics, e.g., Augustine, Aquinas, Bellarmine, Newman, Möhler, Mersch, Adam, Guardini, Teilhard de Chardin, to name just a few. Second, there were those who were actually there as *periti*, on drafting commissions or as advisors to individual bishops or national episcopal conferences. These scholars mediated to the bishops the decades of *ressourcement* theology of the preceding four decades. According to Leo Scheffczyk, 'the council was determined by the spirit and content of the theology preceding it. Therefore, in relation to the dogmatic motive, the question "Who determined the theology of the council?" can be answered by a competent representative of the theology following the First World War [Yves Congar]: "An intensive work … for a good thirty years." But it may also be added that in dogma the council neither would nor could go beyond the results of this work' (Scheffczyk 1981: 271).

Many of the significant figures over the previous decades now participated as *periti*: Chenu, Congar, de Lubac, Rahner, Semmelroth, Cerfaux, Schillebeeckx. Histories of the council and commentaries list the *periti* on the various drafting commissions and subcommissions (Vorgrimler 1967; Alberigo and Komonchak 1996-2004; Hünermann et al. 2004). One critically important theologian involved in the drafting of *Lumen Gentium* was the Belgian Gérard Philips (1899-1972), who from 1963 held the key role of vice-secretary for the conciliar Doctrinal Commission, where 'it was his particular genius to be able to find a way forward amid conflicting views to a consensus which was in no way a compromise' (O'Donnell 1996: 362). Given that role, and the fact that he was often directly involved in the drafting of text, his commentary on *Lumen Gentium* became especially authoritative (Philips 1967).

The particular contributions of key scholars could well be explored in greater detail—for example, that of Congar (Congar 2012) or Rahner (Vorgrimler 1986). However, the contribution of Henry de Lubac can be selected as an example. According to Karl-Heinz Neufeld, the influence of de Lubac (like that of others such as Congar and Rahner) went beyond his work on subcommissions; his reputation had gone before him. 'At the beginning of the Council, he was often mentioned. However, the other *periti* soon moved much more strongly into the limelight, and his work remained largely

hidden, only rarely attracting attention. He influenced the Council [above all] by his works, which had long since been available in printed form. Many Fathers of the Council had studied books by him, from which they had adopted ideas that, during debates, were repeatedly referred to, positively or negatively' (Neufeld 1988: 90). His 1953 work *Méditation sur l'Eglise* was particularly familiar to the bishops. The content of its chapter four—summed up in the axiom 'The Church makes the eucharist, but the eucharist makes the church'—is echoed in the eucharistic ecclesiology of *Sacrosanctum Concilium.* The title of the first chapter of that same book, 'The Church as Mystery', is echoed in the title of the first chapter of *Lumen Gentium*, 'The Mystery of the Church', a theme that de Lubac had developed in his earlier works *Catholicisme* and *Corpus Mysticum.* The sixth chapter of *Méditation*, 'The Sacrament of Christ', found expression in *Lumen Gentium*'s notion of church as 'a kind of sacrament' (LG 1), 'the universal sacrament of salvation' (LG 48; GS 45).

While all the council's sixteen documents address ecclesiological themes in some way, they do not present a systematic treatise on the church. Oftentimes, some ecclesiological treatments contain statements that deftly juxtapose the juridical 'Bellarminian' ecclesiology with perspectives from the ecclesiologies of more recent decades. Accordingly, some interpreters propose that, in the end, *Lumen Gentium*, for example, contains two ecclesiologies, one juridical, the other a communion ecclesiology (Acerbi 1975). However, an intra-textual reading of *Lumen Gentium* reveals a richer interplay of elements. Furthermore, in reconstructing 'the ecclesiology' of the council, interpreters should not only interpret *Lumen Gentium* in terms of *Gaudium et Spes—*and vice versa—they should read all sixteen documents in the light of each other and each's particular compositional history. While the four constitutions (*Dei Verbum*, *Lumen Gentium*, *Gaudium et Spes*, and *Sacrosanctum Concilium*) function as the core, all sixteen documents must be interpreted as a corpus; they are to be interpreted *inter*-textually (Rush 2004, 2012b).

The council and its documents propose a vision for the pastoral reform of the Roman Catholic Church in all areas of its life, worship, and doctrine (Antón 1987: 835–951; Baraúna 1965; Kloppenburg 1974; Komonchak 2000). Over the four years of its deliberations, the bishops of the council made their own many of the insights proposed by scholars in the first half of the twentieth century: a desire for communion among Christians and among the whole human race; a dialogic opening to ecumenical and interreligious perspectives and relationships, as well as to 'the world' and to the signs of God working in history; an historical-critical approach to biblical and theological research;

a balancing of the visible and the invisible dimensions of the church by highlighting the church as mystery, sacrament, *communio* and as the People of God, the Body of Christ and the Temple of the Holy Spirit; a foregrounding of baptismal identity and the fundamental role of the laity in the mission of the church; the significance of local churches in eucharistic *communio* constituting the one universal church; episcopal ordination and collegial communion of bishops with the bishop of Rome; participation in the three offices of Christ by all the faithful, not just the bishops; the significance of the *sensus fidelium* in ensuring the church's infallibility in believing; etc.

Many of these elements are captured in two of the more influential interpretations of Vatican II's fundamental vision for reform. Karl Rahner interprets the council as initiating a shift from a Hellenistic model of church, which had reigned since the time of Constantine, to a truly catholic 'world-church' (Rahner 1981). The historian John O'Malley interprets the council as fundamentally a shift in ecclesial 'style'—from a top-down authoritarian, juridical style, to one that is dialogic in its relationships within the church and without (O'Malley 2008). Certainly Vatican II's vision of the church could well be described as 'a corrective to Bellarmine' (McBrien 1995: 448).

Already in the latter stages before the council's closure, portents of diverse trajectories in the council's later reception emerged, even among the so-called 'progressives'. This tension was characterised in an encounter during Vatican II between the two *periti* Henri de Lubac and Hans Küng in St Peter's Basilica, after Küng had delivered a paper on 'Truthfulness in the Church'. De Lubac came up to him: 'One does not talk like that about the church. *Elle est quand-même notre mere*: after all, she's our mother!' (Küng 1995: 4).

The reception of the council has been variously evaluated. Writing twenty years after the council, Hermann Pottmeyer saw two phases in the council's reception: an initial phase of 'excitement', and a second phase (depending on one's point of view) either of 'disillusionment' or of 'truth and realism' (Pottmeyer 1987: 33–34; similarly, Kasper 1989: 166–67). De Lubac certainly saw an almost-immediate phase of 'decomposition' and 'crisis' (de Lubac 1969). Not insignificant in this reception is the fact that the half-century since Vatican II has been stamped by the 26-year pontificate of Pope John Paul II (b. 1920; pope 1978–2005) and the 8-year pontificate of Benedict XVI (b. 1927; pope 2005–2013), both participants at Vatican II as bishop and as *peritus* respectively. Massimo Faggioli portrays the narrative of the council's reception in these years in terms of a 'battle' (Faggioli 2012). According to Richard Lennan, one reason for this problematic reception has been precisely the

four hundred year dominance of an unchanging, monolithic Catholicism: 'Contributing to this mixed character of the Council's reception was the fact that the church's history … left Catholics unskilled in discerning and negotiating possibilities for change. More specifically, there was no lived memory of how the dynamics of the *sensus fidei* might operate as the Council had advocated. Since descending models of authority had been so prominent, there was little awareness of either the theory or practice needed to nurture a communion of faith, including dealing with differences' (Lennan 2008: 243).

Twenty years after the council's close, John Paul II convoked a special sitting of the Synod of Bishops to consider the reception of Vatican II over that time. Its Final Report proposed a key for interpreting the council's documents: 'The ecclesiology of communion is the central and fundamental idea of the Council's documents' (Extraordinary Synod of Bishops 1986: C.1). However, despite this choice of a single hermeneutical key, the synod was not singular in its composition and theology. Avery Dulles saw among the attending bishops, and within the Synod's Final Report, three 'schools' of theology at work: a neo-Augustinian school with an eschatological and other-worldly viewpoint; a communitarian school, with an incarnational and this-worldly viewpoint; and a liberationist school, with a socio-economic-political albeit biblical viewpoint (Dulles 1987). The first was concerned to give priority to the transcendent and sacral emphases of the Augustinian stream of the Catholic tradition; the second, to the immanent and secular emphases of the Thomist and humanist streams; the third, to the social engagement and critical impulse of the biblical-prophetic stream. Since the 1985 Synod of Bishops the same typology could well be used heuristically to characterise the diversity and tensions within Roman Catholic ecclesiology, constituting, as it were, three models of church in the contemporary Roman Catholic Church.

It would seem that the election of the Argentinian Jorge Bergoglio (b. 1936) as Pope Francis in March 2013 has ushered in what could be called a third phase in the reception of Vatican II, bringing together in a new form the phases of 'excitement' and 'disappointment'/'realism'. Here, however, the 'realism' is the plight of the poor and the tenderness of God's mercy for moral failures. This new phase also seems to be marking a shift in balance in church life by giving a different weighting to the various streams of the Catholic tradition. If the neo-Augustinian school's emphasis on divine transcendence and suspicion of the world characterised the pontificates of John Paul II and Benedict XVI, then the incarnational and social justice emphases of the neo-Thomist and prophetic traditions are now being given greater emphasis by Francis. Determined to make the vision of Vatican II his benchmark, Francis

has spoken of the dangers of over-intellectualising the faith and of the church being too self-referential, i.e. focusing too much on itself, rather than being missionary. Attempting to balance *communio* and *ad intra* concerns, Francis is equally *ad extra* and mission oriented, with a particular priority given to those who are physically and spiritually poor and marginalised. He has a strong focus on the pneumatological dimensions of the church and on a baptism ecclesiology: the church is 'the Temple of the Holy Spirit, the Temple in which God works, the Temple in which, with the gift of Baptism, each one of us is a living stone. This tells us that no one in the Church is useless … we are all necessary for building this Temple! No one is secondary. No one is the most important person in the Church, we are all equal in God's eyes. Some of you might say "Listen, Mr Pope, you are not our equal". Yes, I am like each one of you, we are all equal, we are brothers and sisters!' (Pope Francis 3 July 2013).

As this third phase of Vatican II's reception unfolds, at least ten issues remain on the ecclesiological agenda. They could be set out as ten ecclesial relationships, *ad intra* and *ad extra*. Each relationship is between two ecclesial terms, groups or roles in the church—which Vatican II wished to hold in dynamic tension, often in an innovative way (in the light of previous church teaching.) All of these relationships were given a new orientation at Vatican II. The relationships: between the dignity and conscience of the individual baptised believer and the whole community of believers; between the interrelated centripetal and centrifugal forces of *communio* and *missio*; between the church *ad intra* (in its inner life) and the church *ad extra* (the church engaging with other Christians, believers of other religions, non-believers, and ultimately with a suffering world); between the local church and the universal church; between legitimate plurality in the faith and unity in the faith; between the whole People of God and the hierarchy; between lay people and the ordained; between the college of bishops and the bishop of Rome (and his administrative arm, the Roman Curia); between the *sensus fidelium* and the magisterium; and between theologians and the magisterium (as modelled within Vatican II itself).

The history of Roman Catholic ecclesiology since Vatican II has seen many of these issues addressed (Antón 1987: 952–1180; 1988). In all of them, however, the balance—as the council envisaged them—has yet to be realised, whether it be as the faithful experience it in the church's daily ecclesial life, or in the ecclesiological syntheses of theologians, or in the hierarchy's implicit and explicit promotion (or otherwise) and official teaching regarding all these issues.

More than a half century after the council, new questions continue to be posed to the tradition regarding the church's nature, mission, structures, and ministries – questions that Vatican II did not address, nor could even have envisaged at that time. In an interview soon after the close of Vatican II, Yves Congar stated: 'The danger now is that we shall cease to search and simply go on drawing on the inexhaustible reserves of Vatican II … It would be a betrayal of the *aggiornamento* if this were regarded as permanently fixed in the texts of Vatican II' (quoted Schoof 1970: 265). The same spirit of *ressourcement* and *aggiornamento* that the bishops embraced at Vatican II continues to challenge the church, demanding that it address these new questions with similar fidelity and creativity.

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