

Council Vatican II: Bibliographical Survey 2010-2013¹

1. *The Debate on Vatican II: from Benedict XVI to Pope Francis*

On February 14, 2013, three days after the announcement of his resignation from the pontificate at the end of the month, Pope Benedict XVI gave the priests of the diocese of Rome an impromptu but televised and lengthy lecture on his experience at Vatican II and his insights into the role of the council in the history of the Church in the last 50 years. This speech was probably the final act of Ratzinger's teaching – as Pope – on Vatican II, which had its most debated moment in the famous address to the Roman Curia of December 22, 2005². In this most recent speech, Pope Benedict presented once again the well-known and often-used contrast between two different «Councils called Vatican II»: the «real Vatican II» and the «virtual Vatican II» created by the mass media:

We know that this Council of the media was accessible to all. So, dominant, more efficient, this Council created many calamities, so many problems, so much misery, in reality: seminaries closed, convents closed, the liturgy was trivialized [...] and the true Council has struggled to materialize, to be realized: the virtual Council was stronger than the real Council. But the real strength of the Council was present and slowly it

¹ See the previous bibliographical surveys: M. Faggioli, *Concilio Vaticano II: bollettino bibliografico (2000-2002)*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 24 (2003)/2, 335-360; Id., *Concilio Vaticano II: bollettino bibliografico (2002-2005)*, *ibidem*, 26 (2005)/3, 743-767; Id., *Council Vatican II: Bibliographical Overview 2005-2007*, *ibidem*, 29 (2008)/2, 567-610; Id., *Council Vatican II: Bibliographical Overview 2007-2010*, *ibidem*, 32 (2011) /2, 755-791.

² See www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2005/december/documents/hf_ben_xvi_spe_20051222_roman-curia_it.html.

has emerged and is becoming the real power which is also true reform, true renewal of the Church.³

The history of theology will show what remains of the contribution of Joseph Ratzinger-Benedict XVI to the legacy of Vatican II. It is already clear, however, that his unprecedented resignation belongs to his complex reading of Vatican II, and that Pope Benedict's pontificate has been identified, not without reason, with a certain doctrinal intentionality regarding Vatican II. It is no surprise that one month after this lecture, on March 13, 2013, the conclave and the election of Jorge Maria Bergoglio as pope Francis changed the landscape of the debate on Vatican II at the ecclesial level: the first steps of Pope Francis have been marked by a clear and radical embodiment of Vatican II, accompanied only on rare occasions by explicit mentions of the council. The theological, scholarly debate on Vatican II will take more time to react to the change of pontificate – one of the many adjustments Catholicism will go through after this extraordinary transition from Benedict XVI to Pope Francis.⁴ This bibliographical survey of the studies on Vatican II, therefore, is positioned at a very delicate moment in the life of the Church and in the theological and historical debate on the role of the council.

It is certainly too soon to tell what will be the impact of Pope Francis on the theological debate about Vatican II. But it is not too soon to try and assess – albeit in a provisional and not definitive way – the state of the debate in the three years before Pope Benedict XVI's resignation and the main features of and contributions to this debate until the beginning of the «Year of Faith» that coincides with the 50th anniversary of the opening of Vatican II.

2. *The Relationship between Historiography and the Hermeneutics of Vatican II*

The health of the debate on Vatican II can be assessed not only from the bibliographical bulletins devoted to it according to subjects

³ The original Italian version in www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2013/february/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20130214_clero-roma_it.html.

⁴ See M. Faggioli, *Da Benedetto XVI a papa Francesco*, in «Rassegna di Teologia», (2013)/3, 341-364; M. Faggioli, *Papa Francesco e la chiesa del concilio*, in «Il Mulino», (2013)/3, 487-495.

and geographical areas,⁵ but also from the translations in other languages of important books, such as John O'Malley's *What Happened at Vatican II* (a book that in 2008 reopened the debate in the theological guild and beyond)⁶ and from the new edition (in Italian) of the five-volume *Storia del concilio Vaticano II*, edited by Giuseppe Alberigo and published for the first time between 1995 and 2001.⁷ These are signals not only of a continuing interest in the history of the council, but also of some initial reflection on the history of debate on Vatican II as a necessary addendum to the history of the ecclesial event that ended on December 8, 1965.⁸ Part of this continuing inter-

⁵ See G. Routhier, *Recherches et publications recentes autour de Vatican II*, in «Laval théologique et philosophique», 67 (2011)/2, 321-373; Ph. Roy, *Bibliographie du Concile Vatican II*, («Atti e Documenti» del Pontificio comitato di Scienze Storiche, 34) Città del Vaticano 2013, 482; P. Chenaux, *Il Centro Studi e Ricerche sul Concilio Vaticano II*, in «CIVIL Studi e ricerche», 6 (2012)/1, 9-17; J. Wicks, *Still More Light on Vatican Council II*, in «Catholic Historical Review», 98 (2012)/3, 476-502. For the studies on Vatican II in Germany see *Das II. Vatikanische Konzil (1962-1965). Stand und Perspektiven der kirchenhistorischen Forschung im deutschsprachigen Raum*, hrsg. von F.X. Bischof, Stuttgart 2012; F.X. Bischof, *Konzilsforschung im deutschsprachigen Raum*, 13-25; G. Wasilowsky, *Kontinuum – Reform – (Symbol-) Ereignis. Konzils geschichtsschreibung nach Alberigo*, 27-44; D. Burkard, *Augustin Bea und Alfredo Ottaviani*, 45-66; S. Mokry, *Kardinal Julius Döpfner (1913-1976) und das II. Vatikanische Konzil*, 67-79; G. Treffler, *Kardinal Léon-Joseph Suenens und Kardinal Julius Döpfner*, 81-91; N. Trippen, *Kardinal Josef Frings auf dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil*, 93-103; D. Neuhold, *Kardinal Franz König und das II. Vatikanische Konzil*, 105-129; M. Quisinsky, «L'Église tout entière est en état de concile» (Paul VI). *Französische Konzilstheologen auf dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil*, 131-157; R. Weibel, *Konzilsforschung und Konzilsrezeption in der Schweiz*, 159-177; J. Schmiedl, *Die Rezeption des Konzils im Spiegel der Amtsblätter deutscher Diözesen*, 179-190; S. Holzbrecher, *Basisgemeindliche Rezeption des Konzils in der DDR*, 191-199; S. Vogts, *Testfall Ökumene. Die Rezeption des II. Vatikanischen Konzils in der Vorbereitung der Gemeinsamen Synode der Bistümer in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, 201-221; R. Oehmen-Vieregge, *Strukturentwicklungen in der Erzdiözese Köln und der Erzdiözese München und Freising nach dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil*, 223-242. See also F.X. Bischof, *On the state of German-speaking research on Vatican II*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 24 (2013)/1, 57-68; J. Schmiedl, *Visionärer Anfang oder Betriebsunfall der Geschichte? Tendenzen der Forschung zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/1, 3-18.

⁶ See J.W. O'Malley, *L'événement Vatican II*, trad. de l'anglais (Etats-Unis) par M.-R. de Hemptinne, C. Hoorickx-Raucq, Lessius 2011, 448

⁷ The new Italian edition (2012-2014) has in the first volume a new preface by A. Melloni, *Il Vaticano II e la sua storia. Introduzione alla nuova edizione, 2012-2014*, Bologna 2012, vol. I, IX-LVI. See also A. Melloni, *Vatican II and the History of Vatican II*, in «Pacifica» 26 ANNO?? /2, 134-154.

⁸ See M. Faggioli, *Vatican II: The Battle for Meaning*, New York 2012, 188 (Italian

est is O'Malley's recent book on the council of Trent, which provides much needed insights into the parameters of the debate on Vatican II in terms of «tradition», «continuity», and «change», with respect to a council that surprisingly (and historically speaking, unjustifiably) has become the symbol of the immutability of the Church.⁹ The debate of Vatican II needs more and more to be part of a long-term understanding of Church history and of the history of the ecumenical councils, as it is clear from a recent book dedicated to the «idea of reform» in Church history.¹⁰

The need for a broad historical view of Vatican II and of its role in Church history has also become clearer in light of the different positions assessing the council and especially in capturing the «trajectories» coming from Vatican II.¹¹ One of the most notable features of the debate in the last few years has been the reaction against a «traditionalist» reading of Vatican II and especially against the creeping and silent acceptance of this «traditionalist» narrative of Vatican II by Catholic theology and Catholic leadership (including some quarters in the Roman Curia).¹² In other words, in the last few years it has

translation published by EDB, Bologna 2013, and Portuguese translation published by Paulinas Brasil, São Paulo 2013).

⁹ See J.W. O'Malley, *Trent. What Happened at the Council*, Cambridge, Mass., 2013, 335.

¹⁰ See *Reassessing Reform. A Historical Investigation into Church Renewal*, ed. by C.M. Bellitto, D.Z. Flanagan, Washington, D.C., 2012, xii + 289. *Reassessing Reform* can be read as a *Festschrift* for a book, in this case Gerhart Ladner's *Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Harvard University Press, 1960), but it has also clear implications for the debate on Vatican II: «The majority of the essays in this volume presume this narrative of *continuity with change* in the idea of reform [...] The concept of *continuity with change* has implications not only for the medieval and early modern centuries, but also for the debates concerning Vatican II» (from the introduction by the editors of the volume, 9).

¹¹ See *After Vatican II. Trajectories and Hermeneutics*, ed. by J.L. Heft with J.W. O'Malley, Cambridge 2012, 194; J.W. O'Malley, *Introduction: Trajectories and Hermeneutics*, x-xxii; M. Faggioli, *Between Documents and the Spirit: The Case of the «New Catholic Movements»*, 1-22; D. Fozard Weaver, *Vatican II and Moral Theology*, 23-42; M. Cathleen Caveny, *The Spirit of Vatican II and Moral Theology: Evangelium Vitae as a Case Study*, 43-67; F.A. Sullivan, *Vatican II and the Postconciliar Magisterium on the Salvation of the Adherents of Other Religions*, 68-95; J. Connelly, *The Catholic Church and Mission to the Jews*, 96-133; R. Darling Young, *A Soldier of the Great War: Henri de Lubac and the Patristic Soldier for a Premodern Theology*, 134-163; J.A. Komonchak, *Interpreting the Council and Its Consequences: Concluding Reflections*, 164-172.

¹² See *Vatikan und Pius-Brüder. Anatomie einer Krise*, hrsg. von W. Beinert, Freiburg 2009, 258. See also K. Schatz, *Ein kirchliches 1789? Zu einer traditiona-*

become more important than ever to monitor the exchanges between the traditionalist, anti-Vatican II milieu on the one side, and official Catholicism on the other, in order to estimate the influence of traditionalism on official Catholic doctrinal policy and in order to verify how little mainstream Vatican II theology has penetrated the traditionalist camp.¹³

Scholars of different views have reacted against mounting the sharp alternative offered by the polarity «continuity/discontinuity», which had become under Benedict XVI a different version of the more classical distinction between «letter and spirit»,¹⁴ but with a much more evident «ideological» tone.¹⁵ Among the many reactions to the false opposition between «continuity» and «discontinuity» (to the detriment of any legitimate idea of «change» as part of the «tradition»), special mention should be made of Gerald O'Collins' refutation of this misrepresentation on the basis of an inter-textual approach to Vatican II's teaching on the Church, the liturgy, non-Christian religions, religious life, and religious freedom (in *Lumen Gentium, Sacrosanctum Concilium, Nostra Aetate, Perfectae Caritatis, and Dignitatis Humanae*).¹⁶ The idea of understanding the changes

listischen Sicht auf das Zweite Vatikanum, in «Theologie und Philosophie», 88 (2013)/1, 47-71.

¹³ See especially G. Miccoli, *La Chiesa dell'anticoncilio. I tradizionalisti alla riconquista di Roma*, Roma-Bari 2011. See also P. Béguerie, *Vers Ecône. Mgr Lefebvre et les Pères du Saint-Esprit. Chronique des événements 1960-1968*, Paris 2010, 479

¹⁴ See M. Böhnke, *Wider die Falschen Alternativen. Zur Hermeneutik des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, in «Catholica», (2011)/3, 169-183; R. van Bühren, *50 Jahre nach Eröffnung des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Bleibende Fragen zur Hermeneutik, Rezeption und Geschichtsschreibung*, in «Theologisches», 42 (2012)/9-10, 381-390; D. Dupont-Fauville, *Une herméneutique pour Vatican II*, in «Nouvelle Revue Théologique», 134 (2012)/4, 560-579; A.M. Calero de los Ríos, *Vaticano II. Letra y espíritu*, in «Isidorianum», 19 (2010)/38, 415-438.

¹⁵ See M. Faggioli, *Vatican II: The History and the Narrative*, in «Theological Studies», 73 (2012)/4, 749-767; M. Faggioli, *Tendenze in atto nel dibattito sul Vaticano II (2002-2012)*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 15-28; G. Duncan, *The «enemy within» the post-Vatican II Roman Catholic Church*, in «HTS Theologies Studies/Theological Studies», 69, (2013)/1, www.hts.org.za/index.php/HTS/article/view/1915.

¹⁶ See G. O'Collins, *Does Vatican II Represent Continuity or Discontinuity?*, in «Theological Studies», 73 (December 2012)/4, 768-794. See also J.W. O'Malley, «The Hermeneutic of Reform»: A Historical Analysis, in «Theological Studies», 73 (2012)/3, 517-546; J.W. O'Malley, *Ten Sure-Fire Ways To Mix Up the Teachings of Vatican II*, in «America Magazine», 4 febbraio 2013, 25-27; G. Routhier, *Sull'interpretazione del Vaticano II. L'ermeneutica della riforma, compito per la teologia*, in «La Rivista del Clero Italiano», (2011)/11, 744-760 e (2011)/12, 827-841, anche in «Irish

operated by Vatican II under the rubric of *ressourcement* has also become more evident.¹⁷

Now it seems fair to say that in the last few years the skeptics of Vatican II and the anti-conciliar cliques of various kinds have overreached themselves and showed the limitations of using the tool of «continuity» to minimize Vatican II – as has been acknowledged also by some theologians based in Italy and some members of the Catholic hierarchy (like Bishop Brambilla).¹⁸ A slightly different (and more

Theological Review», 77 (2012), 219-243 e in «Theologie der Gegenwart», 55, (2012)/4, 253-268; G. Routhier, *L'herméneutique de Vatican II. Réflexions sur la face cachée d'un débat*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 100 (2012), 45-63; C. Schickendantz, *Memória do «novo» do Vaticano II. Aventura para o desconhecido*, in «Perspectiva Teológica», 45 (2013)/125, 35-59; C. Theobald, *L'herméneutique de réforme implique-t-elle une réforme de l'herméneutique?*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 100 (2012) 65-84; B. Dumont, *Comment interpréter Vatican II?*, in «Catholica», 113 (2011) www.catholica.presse.fr/2011/10/29/numero-113-comment-interpret-vatican-ii; G. Whelan, *Interpreting Vatican II. Questions of Style, Meaning, Truth*, in «Gregorianum», 92 (2012)/3, 606-616; Henk Witte, *Reform with the Help of Juxtapositions: A Challenge to the Interpretation of the Documents of Vatican II*, in «The Jurist», (2011)/1, 20-34; W. Spindler, *Fortschritt und Kontinuität. Die Staats- und Soziallehre des Vatikanum II angesichts der hermeneutischen Frage*, in «Trierer Theologische Zeitschrift», 120 (2011)/2, 283-293; P. De Mey, *Church Renewal and Reform in the Documents of Vatican II. History, Theology, Terminology*, in «The Jurist», 71 (2011)/2, 369-400. See also A. Hunt, *The Trinitarian Depths of Vatican II*, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013), 3-19; F. Trautmann, *La notion de charité au Concile Vatican II*, Perpignan 2012, 430; F. Mandreoli, *Appunti sul Vaticano II. Un modello di discernimento*, San Lorenzo 2011, 236

¹⁷ See J.M. McDermott, *Vatican II and Ressourcement Theology*, in «Lateranum», 78 (2012)/1, 69-94, and in the volume *Ressourcement. A Movement for Renewal in Twentieth-Century Catholic Theology*, ed. by G. Flynn, P.D. Murray, Oxford 2012, especially: J. Mettepenningen, *Nouvelle theologie: four historical stages of theological reform towards ressourcement (1935-65)*, 172-184; B.E. Daley, *Knowing God in history and in the church: Dei Verbum and «nouvelle theologie»*, 333-353; G.O'Collins, *Ressourcement and Vatican II*, 372-391; P. McPartlan, *Ressourcement, Vatican II, and Eucharistic Ecclesiology*, 392-404.

¹⁸ See *Teologia dal Vaticano II. Analisi storiche e rilievi ermeneutici*, a cura della Scuola di Teologia del Seminario di Bergamo ANNO?? LUOGO DI PUBBLICAZIONE??: F.G. Brambilla, *Il Concilio Vaticano II: «bussola» per la chiesa*, 11-25; G. Zanchi, *Alcuni momenti cruciali del Vaticano II*, 26-50; A. Cortesi, *Il contributo di Marie-Dominique Chenu al Vaticano II*, 52-88; A. Bertuletti, *Il «principio di pastoraltà» come principio interno del corpus conciliare. Elementi di riflessione sulle opzioni teologiche ed ecclesologiche del concilio*, 89-107; G. Rota, *Il Vaticano II nel conflitto delle interpretazioni: problemi e prospettive*, 108-140; M. Epis, *L'appello alla libertà religiosa. Emblema del relativismo o questione di fedeltà al Vangelo*, 141-158; M. Chiodi, *L'etica e il diritto. La politica e la questione della laicità*, 159-201; L. Bressan, *Il rapporto cristianesimo-cultura: oggetto dell'evento conciliare*,

diplomatic) take was evident in Cardinal Scola's address to the conference on Vatican II at the Pontifical Lateran University (October 4, 2012),¹⁹ in which the archbishop of Milan tried to embrace Benedict's official juxtaposition of continuity and discontinuity, but at the same time tried (not without original insights) to castlight on the extraordinary features of Vatican II and its «abundance» compared to the sheer textual materiality of the final documents.²⁰

Nevertheless, there is little doubt about the crucial contribution of John O'Malley's emphasis on the «style» of Vatican II (since his first essay on the subject of 1996),²¹ as we can see from the dissemination of this approach by many other scholars of Vatican II.²² We are

soggetto del suo cammino di recezione, 202-225. See also *Concilio Vaticano II. Il «balzo innanzi» della teologia*, a cura di M. Vergottini, Milano 2012; M. Vergottini, *Il «balzo innanzi» della teologia. Acquisizioni e problemi aperti*, 3-17; D. Gianotti, *Ressourcement: una teologia dalle fonti*, 19-51; A. Maffei, «Quaedam communio, etsi non perfecta» (UR 3). Presupposti ecclesiologici dell'ecumenismo del Vaticano II, 53-94; V. Di Pilato, *Dei Verbum 5: la libertà della fede nel darsi della verità di Dio*, 95-121; P. Gamberini, «Mitis et humilis corde, discipulos patienter allexit et invitavit». Quale cristologia dalla «Dignitatis Humanae»? 123-145; E. Brancozzi, *L'impatto del concilio sulla lingua teologica. Neologismi e risignificazioni*, 147-180; M. Vergottini, *Karl Barth e il Vaticano II. Un apporto singolare*, 181-207; A. Torres Queiruga, *La teologia dopo il Vaticano II. Una proposta*, 209-254; S. Segoloni Ruta, *ATI: un'associazione di idee*, 255-321; P. Broz, *Il fenomeno del crollo e le sfide del Vaticano II nell'Europa centrale*, 323-348; M. Antonelli, *Da Medellin ad Aparecida. Il caso latino-americano*, 349-428. See also the issue of «Teologia. Rivista della Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia settentrionale», 37 (2012)/33: F.G. Brambilla, *La ricerca faticosa di una via per il concilio. Giovanni XXIII e Montini-Paolo VI*, 335-360; G. Angelini, *L'aggiornamento: suggestioni e problemi di una formula fortunata*, 361-382; B. Seveso, *Vaticano II. L'indole pastorale*, 383-414; G. Rota, *Il Concilio Vaticano II e la Tradizione. I punti nodali di un dibattito*, 415-449.

¹⁹ See www.pul.it/?page_id=5301&lang=en.

²⁰ See A. card. Scola, *Un'adeguata ermeneutica conciliare*, in «Il Regno - documenti», 17 (2012) 438-549 (now also as a book: A. card. Scola, *Riforma della Chiesa e primato della fede. Per un'ermeneutica del concilio Vaticano II*, Bologna 2013, 56).

²¹ See J.W. O'Malley, *Erasmus and Vatican II: Interpreting the Council*, in *Cristianesimo nella storia. Saggi in onore di Giuseppe Alberigo*, a cura di A. Melloni et al., Bologna 1996, 195-212.

²² See *Vatican II comme style: L'herméneutique théologique du Concile*, éd. par J. Famerée, Paris 2012, 312; J. Famerée, *Introduction. Le style comme interprétation*, 9-12; G. Jobin, *Vatican II, le style et la rhétorique*, 15-35; É. Gaziaux, *Le style d'une éthique chrétienne selon Vatican II*, 37-58; W. Lesch, *Un style profane pour une éthique chrétienne. Transformations et ouvertures selon Vatican II*, 59-74; D. Barnérias, *La paroisse comme style*, 77-94; L. Villemin, *La notion de «style» est pertinente en ecclésiologie?*, 95-110; G. Routhier, *L'épiscopat à l'assemblée ordinaire du Synode des évêques de 2001. Un style fidèle à Vatican II?*, 111-129; J.

also indebted to the masterful development of Christoph Theobald's reflections on «christianisme comme style».²³ Thanks to these contributions we are now closer to a better understanding of Vatican II. We must face a newly strengthened opposition from Catholic traditionalism²⁴. Attempts to undermine Vatican II by alleging its merely «pastoral» nature continue²⁵ – just as a theological revisionism regarding Vatican II will probably continue in some circles²⁶. But in these last few years it has become once again clear that a correct and complete historical understanding of 20th-century Catholicism is the

Famerée, *Vatican II comme style ecclésiologique. «Communio notio» et «Dominus Iesus»: une herméneutique de rupture?*, 131-148; P. De Mey, *Vatican II comme style oecuménique? «De Ecclesia» et «De Oecumenismo» évalués par des théologiens non catholiques*, 149-186; A. Join-Lambert, *Les Actes synodaux comme expression d'un style ecclésiologique*, 187-224; F. Nault, *Comment améliorer un document raté? Quand Paul Beuchamp «reprend» Dei Verbum*, 227-246; O. Raudel, *La Parole de Dieu et sa lettre*, 247-264; C. Theobald, *Le style pastoral de Vatican II et sa réception postconciliaire. Élaboration d'un critériologie et quelques exemples significatifs*, 265-286; B. Bourguine, *Observations conclusives. Du style à l'herméneutique, et retour*, 287-301.

²³ See C. Theobald, *Le christianisme comme style. Une manière de faire de la théologie en Postmodernité*, 2 voll., Paris, 2007.

²⁴ See O. Rush, *Toward a Comprehensive Interpretation of the Council and Its Documents*, in «Theological Studies», 73 (2012)/3, 547-569; P. Hünermann, *Kriterien für die Rezeption des II. Vatikanischen Konzils*, in «Theologische Quartalschrift», 191 (2011)/2, 126-147; P. Hünermann, *Quo vadis? Au sujet de l'importance du concile Vatican II pour l'Église, l'oecumenisme et la société aujourd'hui*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 100 (2012) 45-63.

²⁵ See F. Kollhaus, *Le magistère pastorale du concile Vatican II*, in «Catholica» 114 (2012) 32-42.

²⁶ See W. Brandmüller, A. Marchetto, N. Bux, *Le chiavi di Benedetto XVI per interpretare il Vaticano II*, Siena 2012, 112; S.M. Lanzetta, *Iuxta Modum. Il Vaticano II riletto alla luce della Tradizione della chiesa*, Siena 2012, 184; A. Marchetto, *Il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II. Per la sua corretta ermeneutica*, Città del Vaticano 2012, 386, French translation: A. Marchetto, *Le Concile oecuménique Vatican II. Contrepoint pour son histoire*, Paris 2011; E. Casale, *Il concilio Vaticano II. Eventi, documenti, attualità*, Torino 2012, 203; R. de Mattei, *Apologia della Tradizione. Poscritto a Il Concilio Vaticano II. Una storia mai scritta*, Torino 2011, 161, there have been other translation of the previous book by de Mattei: *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil: Eine bislang ungeschriebene Geschichte*, 2011; *The Second Vatican Council - An Unwritten Story*, Loreto 2012; B. Dumont, *Le conflit irrésolu*, in «Catholica», (2012) 4-11; B. Dumont, *Overture d'un cinquantenaire*, in «Catholica», 114 (2012) 4-11; B. Gherardini, *Il Vaticano II. Alle radici di un equivoco*, Torino 2012, 407; B. Gherardini, *Il Vaticano II. Il discorso mancato*, Torino 2011. Particularly engaged in this revisionism the Italian publishing house Lindau of Turin, that published also R. Burigana, *Storia del Concilio Vaticano II*, Torino 2012, 380.

best antidote to the manipulations of ideological narratives, which serve theological and cultural nostalgia of various kinds²⁷ and which clearly impact the understanding of the key issue of Vatican II, that is, ecclesiology.²⁸

3. Sources for the History of Vatican II

Any debate on Vatican II exclusively focused on the «hermeneutical» issues risks forgetting the fact that the hermeneutic of the council changes considerably according to the amount and kind of historical knowledge of «what happened at Vatican II». Therefore, a hermeneutic of Vatican II can proceed only on the basis of a sound and well-founded historical work that, in turn, needs research in the archives and on the primary sources. In this respect, the work of historians is – whether they are aware of this or not – part of the theological debate on Vatican II: studying Vatican II means taking part directly or indirectly in the debate on the relevance of Vatican II for Catholicism.

In these last few years a considerable amount of research has been done and published regarding the archival sources for the history of Vatican II (and also a fresh edition of the documents of the council in the new collection of *Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*):²⁹ the publication of archival indexes (with an especially interesting development regarding the video sources),³⁰ the publication of a first assessment of

²⁷ See É. Fouilloux, *Essai sur le devenir du catholicisme en France et en Europe occidentale de Pie XII à Benoît XVI*, in «Revue théologique de Louvain», 42 (2011) 526-557.

²⁸ See G. Cioli, *L'ecclesiologia montiniana tra Journet, de Lubac e Congar*, in *Ecclesiam intelligere. Studi in onore di Severino Dianich*, a cura di S. Noceti, G. Cioli, G. Canobbio, Bologna 2013, 221-240; G. Colombo, *La rilettura del concilio Vaticano II: Il Sinodo 1985*, *ibidem*, 251-264.

²⁹ See *The Oecumenical Councils of the Roman Catholic Church. From Trent to Vatican II (1545-1965)*, (Corpus Christianorum Conciliorum Oecumenicorum et Generantium Decreta, 3) Turnhout 2009, XI + 739. See also the introduction by A. Melloni, republished in «Asian Horizons», 6 (2012)/3, 423-455.

³⁰ See F. Alvarez Alonso, C. Morabito, *I fondi Maccarrone e Venturi del Centro Studi e Ricerche*, in «CVII Studi e ricerche», 6 (2012)/1, 000-000????; P. Doria, *L'Archivio del Concilio Vaticano II: inventario e nuove proposte di ricerca*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 29-40; *Erneuerung in Christus. Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil (1962-1965) im Spiegel Münchener Kirchenarchive*, hrsg. von A. Batlogg SJ, C. Brodtkorb, Peter Pfister, CITA???? 2012, 608; F. Ruozzi, *Il concilio in diretta. Il Vaticano II e la televisione tra informazione e partecipazione*, Bologna 2012,

the contribution of private diaries and journals for the understanding of Vatican II,³¹ and the publication of new diaries and journals.³² Special attention has been devoted to the documents from the preparation for the council,³³ and of great importance is the publication of sources that were excluded from the official edition of the *acta* of Vatican II because of their potential for embarrassing the controllers of the council. This exclusion-censorship mainly regarded bishops' *vota* and interventions on the issues of birth control and the reform of celibate clergy.³⁴ Very important also is the publication of the documents of the Secretariat for Christian Unity, a volume that shows once again how the presence and contribution of the ecumenical observers impacted the work of Vatican II.³⁵

Other memoirs and biographical accounts of participation at Vatican II have been published.³⁶ We should note especially the publica-

565. See also AUTORE? *État des sources sur le Concile Vatican II dans les fonds conservés au Centre national des archives de l'Église de France*, in «Chrétiens et sociétés, XVI^e-XXI^e siècles. Bulletin de l'Équipe RESEA», (2010)/17, 195-214.

³¹ See N. Engender, *Cinquante ans de Vatican II*, in «Irenikon», 83 (2010)/1, 41-91. In this regard, especially important for the English-speaking world is the recent translation in English of Congar's *Journal du concile*: Y. Congar, *My Journal of the Council*, translated by Sr. M.J. Ronayne, OP, and M.C. Boulding, OP, CITTA'???? 2012, 1104

³² See *Monsignor Carlo Ferrari «Padre del Concilio». Diario 1962-1965*, a cura di S. Siliberti, L. Balbo, Mantova 2010, 688; J. Hermil, *Journal du Concile, 1963, 1964, 1965*, Guilherand-Granges 2012; *The Council Notes of Edward Schillebeeckx 1962-1963*, ed. by K. Schelkens, (Instrumenta Theologica, 34) Leuven 2011, XXX-77; *The Conciliar Diary of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk C.S.S.R. (1911-1996)*, ed. by K. Schelkens, J.Ž. Škira, Leuven-Nijmegen 2011, 333; *Sebastian Tromp SJ Konzilstagebuch mit Erläuterungen und Akten aus der Arbeit der Kommission für Glauben und Sitten; II. Vatikanisches Konzil, vol. II/1-2 (1962-1963)*, hrsg. von A. von Teuffenbach, Nordhausen 2011; G. Colombo, *Il Concilio Vaticano II. Discorsi e scritti*, a cura di I. Biffi, Milano 2013, 357

³³ See *Vaticano II in rete. IV. Una lunga preparazione andata in fumo?*, a cura di S. Mazzolini, Bologna 2012, 368.

³⁴ See J.O. Beozzo, *Intervenções episcopais desaparecidas dos Acta Synodalia do Vaticano II: a ordenação presbiteral de homens casados e o celibato eclesiástico*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 41-56.

³⁵ See M. Velati, *Dialogo e rinnovamento. Verbali e testi del Segretariato per l'unità dei cristiani nella preparazione del concilio Vaticano II (1960-1962)*, Bologna 2011.

³⁶ See G. Baum, *The Forgotten Promises of Vatican II*, in «CCHA SCIOGLIERE», 77 (2011) 7-22; G. Cottier, *Mon témoignage sur le Concile*, in «CVII Studi e ricerche», 6 (2012)/1, 37-44; J. Ratzinger, *Mon concile Vatican II*, Editions Artège 2011, 296; N. Engender, *Cinquante ans de Vatican II. I. La voix des témoins*, in «Irenikon», 83 (2010)/1, 41-91.

tion of the two volumes in the series *Joseph Ratzinger Gesammelte Schriften* that collect the writings of Joseph Ratzinger at and for Vatican II (including the speeches the young Professor Ratzinger wrote for Cardinal Frings).³⁷

4. *Studies on the Protagonists at Vatican II*

One of the busiest fields of study on Vatican II concerns the participation of individual bishops, religious orders, and local churches at the council:³⁸ this field becomes more and more important as

³⁷ See J. Ratzinger – Benedikt XVI., *Zur Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils: Formulierung – Vermittlung – Deutung*, (Joseph Ratzinger Gesammelte Schriften, 7/1-2) 2 voll., Freiburg i.B. 2012, 1250 The two volume are divided in seven section: 1) pre-council; 2) preparation of texts for Vatican II (for *Dei Verbum*, *Lumen Gentium*, *Ad gentes*, with Rahner and for Cardinal Frings); 3) reportages from Vatican II for the public; 4) texts regarding the cooperation with Cardinal Frings; 5) commentaries to *Lumen Gentium*, *Dei Verbum*, *Ad gentes*, *Gaudium et Spes*, *Presbyterorum Ordinis*, *Ad gentes*; 6) reception of Vatican II; 70 book reviews and prefaces to books on Vatican II.

³⁸ See *La Chiesa croata e il Concilio Vaticano II*, a cura di P. Chenaux, CITTA'?? 2011, 470; F. Bousquet, *A-t-il existé, un XX^e siècle, une «théologie française»?*, in «Gregorianum», 92 (2011)/4, 737-755; F. Bousquet, P. Gibert, E. Fouilloux, M. Fédou, B. Cholvy, *Les théologiens français et la préparation de Vatican II*, *ibidem*, 737-827; Renato e Riccardo Burigana, *I vescovi della Toscana al Concilio Vaticano II*, Firenze 2012; R. Coppe Caldeira, *Os Baluartes da Tradição: o conservadorismo católico brasileiro no Concílio Vaticano II*, Curitiba 2011, 335; É. Fouilloux, *Deux écoles françaises de théologie au XX^e siècle. Le Saulchoir et Fourvière*, in «Gregorianum», 92 (2011)/4, 768-780; G. Routhier, *Le réseau dominicain, vecteur de la réception de Vatican II au Canada*, in «Science et Esprit», 63 (2011)/3, 385-408; G. Routhier, *Le rôle joué par les periti Canadiens à Vatican II*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 201-236; S. Scatena, *Anni di concilio a Taizé*, *ibidem*, 315-390; P.J. Roy, *Le Coetus Internationalis Patrum au concile Vatican II: genèse d'une dissidence?*, in «Histoire@Politique. Politique, culture, société», 18, septembre-décembre 2012, www.histoire-politique.fr; G. Ruggieri, *L'Officina bolognese et Vatican II*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 100 (2012) 11-25; J. Schmiedl, *Die deutschen Bischöfe während des Konzils. Wie das Zweite Vatikanum die deutsche katholische Kirche veränderte*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia» 34 (2013)/1, 69-92; G. Turbanti, *I vescovi italiani alla prova del concilio*, *ibidem*, 93-130; G. Vergauwen, *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil und die Ökumene*, in «SZRK SCIOGLIERE» 104 (2010) 275-285. See also the issue of «U.S. Catholic Historian» (Summer 2012): R.F. Trisco, *The U.S. Bishops' Press Panel at the Second Vatican Council*, 1-20; J.P. Chinnici, *Ecumenism, Civil Rights, and the Second Vatican Council: The American Experience*, 21-49; T.T. Pyne, *The Archives of the Second Vatican Council Fathers Project: A Report from the United States*, 51-63; F. Weiser, *The Periti of the United States and*

Catholic scholars understand the value of Vatican II as a council for a Catholicism that has become a «world Church». Nevertheless, many studies attend to individuals bishops and *periti* (with special attention devoted to the participation of Karol Wojtyła-John Paul II and Joseph Ratzinger-Benedict XVI),³⁹ as well as to key players of the Roman Cu-

the Second Vatican Council: Prosopography of a Group of Theologians, 65-91; S. Smith, *Implementing Vatican II in Two Rural, Southern Parishes*, 93-114.

- ³⁹ See *Personenlexikon zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, hrsg. von M. Quisinsky, P. Walter, Freiburg i.B. 2012, 303; *A los cincuenta años del inicio del Concilio Vaticano II*, monografico di «Anuario de Historia de la Iglesia», (2012)/21; P. Doria, *L'Archivio del Concilio Vaticano II: storia e sviluppo*, 135-155; M. Lamberigts, L. Declerck, *La contribution de la «squadra belga» au Concile Vatican II*, 157-183; F. Le Moigne, C. Sorrel, *Les évêques français et le concile Vatican II*, 185-205; P. Pfister, *Fuentes archivísticas del Concilio Vaticano II en los archivos eclesiásticos alemanes*, 207-218; A. von Teuffenbach, *La Commissione teologica preparatoria del Concilio Vaticano II*, 219-243; P. Blanco, *El concilio de Joseph Ratzinger. Notas sobre su actividad durante el Vaticano II*, 245-281; A. Zambarbieri, *Doi Masatoshi: un «osservatore» giapponese al Vaticano II*, 283-302; V.V. Alberti, *La «Dignitatis Humanae» e la nuova laicità oltre la rivoluzione e la controrivoluzione*, 303-320; P. Chenaux, *El giro del Concilio. La Santa Sede, los católicos y el comunismo (1959-1978)*, 321-336. See also P. Chenaux, *Charles Journet et Vatican II*, in «SZRK SCIOGLIERE», 104 (2010) 227-237; B. Cholvy, *L'accomplissement, clé de lecture de Vatican II selon Henri de Lubac*, in «Nouvelle Revue Théologique», 135 (2013)/2, 178-195; C. Ciriello, *Pietro Pavan. Le metamorfosi della dottrina sociale nel pontificato di Pio XII*, Bologna 2012, 341; Benjamin Dahlke, *Karl Barth, Catholic Renewal and Vatican II*, preface by B. McCormack, (T&T Clark Studies in Systematic) CITTA'??? 2012, 183; H. Donneaud, *H. Küng et sa lecture critique de Lumen Gentium. Parmi les choix herméneutiques de la revue Concilium*, in «Revue thomiste», (avril-juin 2010) 434-372; P. Doria, *Il ruolo del teologo Joseph Ratzinger durante il Concilio nella documentazione dell'Archivio del Concilio Vaticano II*, in «CVII Studi e ricerche», 4 (2012)/1, 19-36; L. Figoureux, *Henri de Lubac et le concile Vatican II, espoirs et inquiétudes d'un théologien*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 249-272; P. Henrici, *Hans Urs von Balthasar und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, in «SZRK SCIOGLIERE» 104 (2010) 239-250; *Karl Barth e il concilio Vaticano II. Ad limina apostolorum e altri scritti*, a cura di F. Ferrario, M. Vergottini, intr. di E. Busch, Torino 2012, 156; T.K. Kuhn, *Oscar Cullmann und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, in «SZRK» 104 (2010) 251-274; C. Lorefice, *Dossetti e Lercaro. La Chiesa povera e dei poveri nella prospettiva del Concilio Vaticano II*, prefazione di G. Ruggieri, Cinisello Balsamo 2011, 376; G. Marengo, *Giovanni Paolo II e il Concilio. Una sfida e un compito*, Siena 2011, 287; G. Marengo, *Giovanni Paolo II e il Concilio: lo sguardo di un pastore*, in «CVII Studi e ricerche», 4 (2012)/1, 45-68; M. Mennini, *Paul Gauthier e la povertà della chiesa durante il Vaticano II. La faticosa ricerca di un consenso*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 391-422; L.F. Pizzolato, *Giuseppe Lazzati e il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II*, in «AScRel SCIOGLIERE», 3 (2010) 215-256; G. Richi Alberti, *Karol Wojtyła. Uno stile conciliare*, CITTA'?, 2012, 408; G. Routhier, *L'ombre de Karl Barth à Vatican II*, in «Etudes Théologiques

ria in the pre-Vatican II and Vatican II era (such as Cardinal Tisserant) who until recently did not receive the attention they deserved,⁴⁰ and important partners of John XXIII during the preparation of the council (such as Roberto Tucci SJ and Johannes Willebrands).⁴¹

5. *Studies on the Final Documents of Vatican II*

One of the most important accomplishments of the research on Vatican II in the last few years concerns the necessity of an «inter-textual approach» when it comes to the key theological issues of the council.⁴² In this, we have several examples from the debate on the

et Religieuses», 86 (2011) 1-24; M. Quisinsky, *The ecumenical dynamic of Vatican II – Lukas Vischer between Geneva and Rome*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 273-314; M. Quisinsky, Ökumenische Perspektiven auf Konzil und Konziliarität. *Lukas Vischer und die Vision eines «universalen Konzils»*, in «Catholica», (2012)/4, 241-253; M. Quisinsky, *Aggiornamento – aber wie? Die Konzilstheologen Henri de Lubac SJ und Yves Congar OP zwischen «nouvelle théologie» und Konzilsrezeption*, in «Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie», 58 (2011)/1, 5-33; M. Semeraro, *Il vescovo Pietro Parente (1891-1986). Padre conciliare e teologo del collegio episcopale al Vaticano II*, in «Rivista di Scienze Religiose», 25 (2011)/2, 395-496; B.-M. Solaberrieta, *Aimé-Georges Martimort. Un promoteur du Mouvement liturgique en France (1943-1962)*, Paris 2011, 352; P. De Mey, *Johannes Willebrands and the Catholic Conference for Ecumenical Questions (1952-1963)*, M. Lambrigts, L. Declerck, Msgr Willebrands and Nostra Aetate 4: *Diplomacy and Pragmatism*, and M. Velati, *Willebrands at the Council: A Historical Approach*, in *The Ecumenical Legacy of Johannes Cardinal Willebrands (1909-2006)*, ed. by A. Denaux, P. De Mey, Leuven 2012, XIV-376, 49-78, 97-115, and 245-260; C. Schickendantz, *Escritura y Tradición. Karl Rahner en el «primer conflicto doctrinal» del Vaticano II*, in «Revista Teológica», 47 (2011)/106, 347-366.

⁴⁰ É. Fouilloux, *Eugène Cardinal Tisserant (1884-1972). Une biographie*, Paris 2011, specialmente 599-646; Id., *Le cardinal Eugène Tisserant à Vatican II*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 237-248. See also H. Vorgrimler, *Welche Hoffnungen verbanden sich mit dem Konzil? Wovon waren die theologischen Berater angetrieben?*, in «Theologie und Glaube», 102 (2012)/4, 488-508.

⁴¹ See G. Sale, *Giovanni XXIII e la preparazione del concilio Vaticano II nei diari inediti del direttore della «Civiltà Cattolica» padre Roberto Tucci*, Milano 2012, 173. See also N. Klein, *Johannes XXIII. und das Projekt für ein Konzil*, in «Theologie und Glaube», 102 (2012)/4, 474-487.

⁴² See *La théologie catholique entre intransigeance et renouveau. La réception des mouvements préconciliaires à Vatican II*, dir. G. Routhier, P. Roy, K. Schelkens, Louvain-la-Neuve-Leuven 2011, 382; G. Routhier, P. Roy, K. Schelkens, *Introduction*, 5-9; A. Dupont, *The Authority of Augustine of Hippo at the Second Vatican Council. A Comparative Analysis of the Use of Augustine in the Preparatory and the Promulgated Documents*, 11-48; K. Schelkens, *From Providentissimus Deus to*

liturgical constitution and the liturgical reform,⁴³ which has seen many contributions, also as a reaction against the controversial consequences of the *motu proprio Summorum Pontificum* (July 7, 2007) on the liturgical life of the Church and more generally on the legacy of the council.⁴⁴

Dei Verbum. The Catholic Biblical Movement and the Council Reconsidered, 49-67; M. Faggioli, *The Pre-Conciliar Liturgical Movement in the United States and the Liturgical Reform of Vatican II*, 69-89; M. Lamberigts, *The Liturgical Movement in Germany and the Low Countries*, 91-121; W. de Pril, *The Conciliar Schema De Deposito Fidei on «Doctrinal Progress». An Analysis from the Perspective of Preconciliar Theories of Dogmatic Development*, 123-144; M. Quisinsky, *Vers un concile pastoral? La réception (ou non-réception) de la théologie de Chenu et de Congar au cours de la phase préparatoire du Concile*, 145-178; I. Csonta, *From Movement to Document. Vatican II's Reception of the Preconciliar Catholic Action Movement*, 179-198; G. Routhier, *La réception dans le premier De Ecclesia des mouvements de renouveau préconciliaire*, 199-211; M. Attridge, *The Struggle for Nostra Aetate. The «Quaestione Ebraica» from 1960-1962: Issues and Influences*, 213-230; F. Weiser, *La réception des auteurs protestants comme marqueur d'un affrontement culturel à l'intérieur du champ religieux catholique au moment du concile. L'exemple de l'espace théologique nord-américain*, 231-247; C. Clifford, *Elementa Ecclesiae. A Basis for Vatican II's Recognition of the Ecclesial Character of Non-Catholic Christian Communities*, 249-269; P. De Mey, *Précurseur du Secrétariat pour l'unité: le travail œcuménique de la «Conférence Catholique pour les questions œcuméniques» (1952-1963)*, 271-308; R. Coppe Caldeira, *Le conservatisme catholique au Brésil. Aspects historiques avant le Concile Vatican II*, 309-320; P. Roy, *La préhistoire du Coetus Internationalis Patrum. Une formation romaine, antilibérale et contre-révolutionnaire*, 321-354; L. Boeve, *Une histoire de changement et de conflit de paradigmes théologiques? Vatican II et sa réception entre continuité et discontinuité*, 355-366.

⁴³ See M. Faggioli, *True Reform. Liturgy and Ecclesiology in Sacrosanctum Concilium*, Collegeville, Min., 2012, 199, Italian translation TITOLO? Bologna 2013. On *Sacrosanctum Concilium* see also Gerald O'Collins, *Was die Lehre des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils vom Wort Gottes genährt und geleitet?*, in «Theologische Quartalschrift», 193 (2013)/2, 116-140; Gerald O'Collins, «Sacrosanctum Concilium» as the *Hermeneutical Key for Vatican II*, forthcoming in his book *Reclaiming The Second Vatican Council*. See also A. Bugnini, *Liturgiae cultor et amator, servì la Chiesa. Memorie autobiografiche*, Roma 2012, 292 (memoires of Bugnini, one of the major thinkers of the liturgical reform, written while serving as a papal diplomat in Iran, back then still «Persia»).

⁴⁴ See *Liturgiereform vor Ort. Zur Rezeption des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils in Bistum und Pfarrei*, hrsg. von J. Bärsch, W. Hauerland, Regensburg 2010, 374; F.L. Bonomo, *Liturgia culmen et fons*, in «Rivista Liturgica», 99 (2012)/6, 884-913; D. Estivill, *La Chiesa e l'arte secondo il Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano II*, Roma 2012, 167; E. Foley, *Looking through the Wrong End of the Telescope? Refracting «Sacrosanctum Concilium»*, in «New Theological Review», 25 (March 2013)/2, 16-21; A. Grillo, *La tradition liturgique dans le monde postmoderne. Un modèle*

Studies on *Lumen Gentium* and ecclesiology have also offered much to the debate,⁴⁵ notably a study on the much-discussed role of

interdisciplinaire de compréhension, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 101 (2013)/1, 87-100; A. Haquin, *La réforme liturgique de Vatican II a-t-elle fait preuve de créativité et en quel sens?*, *ibidem*, 53-67; M. Klöckener, *La réception de la réforme liturgique du concile Vatican II: une approche historique*, in «La Maison-Dieu», 268 (2011) 41-62; M. Klöckener, *À la recherche d'un «langage liturgique approprié». Perspectives pour un problème non résolu*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 101 (2013)/1, 69-85; B. Kranemann, *Liturgie und Liturgiewissenschaft nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil – Rückblick und Ausblick*, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/3, 179-194; A. Lameri, *L'esordio dei lavori della «Pontificia Commissio de Sacra Liturgia praeparatoria Concilii Vaticani II»*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 131-160; M. Lessi Ariosto, G. Vitali, *Paolo VI: tradito e progresso nella riforma liturgica. Dalle costituzioni apostoliche alle Istruzioni e Lettere agli episcopati, 1964-1978*, in «Rivista Liturgica», 99 (2012)/6, 933-963; C. Maggioni, *L'istituzione e l'opera del «Consilium»*, *ibidem*, 914-931; P. Marini, *Das II. Vatikanische Konzil. Anliegen und Bedeutung der Liturgiereform*, in «Theologische Revue», 109 (2013)/1, 3-15; P. Marini, *L'adaptation de la liturgie papale à la réforme liturgique de Concile Vatican II*, in «La Maison-Dieu», 268 (2011) 11-39; G. O'Collins, *Vatican II on the Liturgical Presence of Christ*, in «Irish Theological Quarterly» 77 (2012) 3-17; G. Pasqualetti, *Annibale Bugnini: dalla riforma liturgica «Piana» all'apertura del Vaticano II*, in «Rivista Liturgica», 99 (2012)/6, 855-866; P. Prétot, *La place de la constitution sur la liturgie dans l'hérméneutique de Vatican II*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 101 (2013)/1, 13-36; P. Sorci, *L'ultima editio typica dei libri tridentini: 1961-1962*, in «Rivista Liturgica», 99 (2012)/6, 867-883; M. Stuflesser, *Réforme liturgique et église locale: entre règles et liberté*, in «Recherches de Science Religieuse», 101 (2013)/1, 37-52; R. Taft, *In Dialogue with Fred McManus: Catholic Liturgy and the Christian East at Vatican II – Nostalgia for Orthodoxy*, in «The Jurist», 72 (2012)/2, 466-491; *Sacrosanctum Concilium: Eine Relecture der Liturgiekonstitution des II. Vatikanischen Konzils*, hrsg. von M. Stuflesser, Regensburg 2011, 132; M. Stuflesser, *Sacrosanctum Concilium – Blick zurück nach vorn*, 7-14; F. Hofmann, *45 Jahre Liturgiekonstitution des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 15-18; G. Danneels, *Blick nach vorne oder Flucht in der Vergangenheit*, 19-38; M. Probst, *Analyse zum Stand der römisch-katholischen Liturgie und Vorschläge für die Zukunft*, 39-56; P.-W. Scheele, *Ökumenische Impulse der Liturgiekonstitution*, 57-66; U. Kühn, *Ökumenische Aspekte der Liturgiekonstitution des Zweiten Vatikanums*, 67-76; K. Lehmann, *Rückblick auf die Liturgiereform*, 77-96; K. Richter, *Ein halbes Jahrhundert Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 97-118; B. Leven, M. Riß, *Die Liturgiereform*, 119-125; B. Kranemann, *Liturgie in pluraler Gesellschaft. Eine Relecture von Sacrosanctum Concilium*, in «Theologie und Glaube», 102 (2012)/4, 526-545.

⁴⁵ See P. Lakeland, *A Council That Will Never End. Lumen Gentium and the Church Today*, Collegeville, Min., 2013, 192; S. Bullivant, *Sine culpa? Vatican II and Inculpable Ignorance*, in «Theological Studies», 72 (2011)/1, 70-86; G. Colombo, *La rilettura del concilio Vaticano II: il Sinodo 1985, in Ecclesiam intelligere. Studi in onore di Severino Dianich*, a cura di S. Noceti, G. Cioli, G. Canobbio, Bologna 2012, 251-264; P. De Mey, *Auf dem Weg zu einer konkreten Communio-Gestalt der*

the parish (vis-à-vis the «new movements») in light of the debate that took place at the council.⁴⁶ Many studies have also been devoted to *Dei Verbum*⁴⁷ and especially to *Gaudium et Spes*, despite (or maybe because of) the conspicuous absence (or at least, uncomfortable position) of the pastoral constitution in the official teaching of the Church in recent years.⁴⁸

Kirche: 50 Jahre Lumen Gentium, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/5, 355-374, English transl. *Recent Views of Lumen Gentium, Fifty Years after Vatican II*, in «Horizons», 39 (2012)/2, 252-281; C. Delarbre, *La double identité sacerdotale du prêtre selon la doctrine du Concile Vatican II sur l'ordre*, in «Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique», 113 (2012)/3, 275-290; S. Pfannkuche, *Papst und Bischofskollegium als Träger höchster Leitungsvollmacht*, Schönning 2011, 199; F.A. Sullivan, *Developments in Teaching Authority since Vatican II*, in «Theological Studies», 73 (2012)/3, 570-589; D. Vitali, *Lumen gentium. Storia, commento, ricezione*, Roma 2012, 160; L. Villemin, G. Chevallier, *La distinction «incorporé à/ordonné à» dans Lumen Gentium: quelles conséquences pour la compréhension du rapport Église/Royaume?*, in «Recherches de science religieuse», 99 (2011)/3, 370-393.

⁴⁶ See G. Ziviani, *Una Chiesa di popolo. La parrocchia nel Vaticano II*, prefazione di F.G. Brambilla, Bologna 2011, 312.

⁴⁷ See C.A. Alves, *Inspirazione e verità. Genesi, sintesi e prospettive della dottrina sull'ispirazione biblica del concilio Vaticano II (DV11)*, Roma 2012; P. Cabri, *La divina rivelazione e la sua trasmissione. Linee di ricezione teologica della Dei Verbum*, in «Rivista di Teologia dell'Evangelizzazione», 14 (2010) 7-30; G. Lafont, «Progression» et «croissance» dans la sainte Tradition (*Dei Verbum*, 8), in Id., *L'Église en travail de réforme. Imaginer l'Église catholique*, t. II, Paris 2011, 51-69; O. Rush, *The Eyes of Faith: The Sense of the Faithful & the Church's Reception of Revelation*, Washington DC, 2009, 330; T. Söding, *Die Zeit für Gottes Wort. Die Offenbarungskonstitution des Konzils und die Hermeneutik der Reform*, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/6, 443-458; N. Ormerod, *Vatican II on Revelation – From Behind the Scenes*, in «Theological Studies», 71 (2010)/3, 637-650; J. Wicks, *Scripture Reading Urged Vehemently (DV No. 25): Background and Development*, *ibidem*, 74 (2013) 3, 555-580.

⁴⁸ See M. Faggioli, *The Battle over «Gaudium et Spes» Then and Now: Dialogue With the Modern World After Vatican II*, in «Origins», 42 (2013)/34, 545-551; M. Faggioli, *Vatican II and the Church of the Margins*, forthcoming in «Theological Studies»; T. Fornet-Ponse, *Für eine arme Kirche! Der Katakombenpakt von 1965 als Beispiel der Entweltlichung*, in «Stimmen der Zeit», 230 (2012) 651-661; P. Hünermann, *Dissoziation der Kirche? Schwindende Möglichkeiten der Identifikation mit dem Evangelium*, in «Theologische Quartalschrift», 190 (2010)/4, 291-303; P. Hünermann, *Kirche im Dialog? Zur spannungsvollen Lage in der katholischen Kirche*, in «MD-Materialdienst des Konfessionskundlichen Instituts Bensheim», *Kirche im Dialog?*, (2012)/2, 21 ss.; P. Hünermann, ... *In mundo huius temporis... Die Bedeutung des II. Vatikanischen Konzils im kulturellen Transformationsprozess der Gegenwart: Das Textcorpus des II. Vatikanischen Konzils ist ein konstitutioneller Text des Glaubens, in Erinnerung an die Zukunft, Das zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, hrsg. von J.-H. Tüek, Freiburg i.B. 2012, 31-53; P. Hünermann, *Gottes Handeln in der*

A particularly important book is John Connelly's *From Enemy to Brother* on the genesis of the conciliar declaration *Nostra Aetate*. Connelly's book casts an important light on the origins of the debate *de iudaeis* at Vatican II, emphasizing the role of the converts from Judaism (and of Oesterreicher especially):

This book has the more modest goal of answering the largely unexplored question of how the Holocaust changed the way Catholics thought about Jews. Contrary to widespread assumptions, the revolutionary about-face that took place at Vatican II did not flow «naturally» or «automatically» from reflection on genocide, but resulted rather from a struggle among theologians extending from the 1930s to the 1960s.⁴⁹

A complete history of *Nostra Aetate* based on the conciliar debate and the *Acta Synodalia* still needs to be completed,⁵⁰ but Connelly's work provides a substantial advancement of the *status quaestionis*.

Many other studies have been published on *Nostra Aetate*,⁵¹ but

Geschichte. Theologie als Interpretatio temporis, in *Phänomenologie und Theologie im Gespräch*, hrsg. von G. Bausenhart, M. Böhnke, D. Lorenz, Freiburg-Basel-Wien 2013, 560-592; P. Hünermann, *Die theologische Grundlegung der christlichen Sozialethik in Gaudium et Spes*, in *Theologie der Sozialethik*, hrsg. von M. Vogts, Freiburg 2013, 23-62; P. Hünermann, *Die theologische Anerkennung des Wechselverhältnisses von Kirche und Welt auf dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil*, in *Diakonia - Der Dienst der Kirche in der Welt*, hrsg. von M. Kirschner, J. Schmiedl, (Katholische Kirche im Dialog, 1) Freiburg, 2013, 57-78; J. Keenan, *Vatican II and Theological Ethics*, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013) 162-190; D. Fozard Weaver, *Vatican II and Moral Theology*, 23-42, e M. Cathleen Caveny, *The Spirit of Vatican II and Moral Theology: Evangelium Vitae as a Case Study*, 43-67 in *After Vatican II. Trajectories and Hermeneutics*, cit.; H.-J. Sander, «Aggiornamento» – Kennzeichen nur des Konzils? *Der spatial turn des Glaubens durch das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, in «Theologie und Glaube», 101 (2011) 510-525.

⁴⁹ J. Connelly, *From Enemy to Brother. The Revolution in Catholic Teaching on the Jews 1933-1965*, Cambridge, Mass., 2012, 376, quotation at p. 10. Other passages are revealing of the fact that the book was completed during pope Benedict's pontificate: «Like all history, this book is not about a dead past. The past does not die. Because Catholics fail to appreciate the change that took place in the 1960s, they continue to return to pre-revolutionary patterns of thought without knowing it. The Church of our day claims to understand the Jews in the terms provided by *Nostra Aetate*, but its leaders keep reverting back to the pre-Vatican II period in their pronouncements» (3).

⁵⁰ About the work that still needs to be done regarding *Nostra Aetate*, see the forum essay on Connelly's book in «The Catholic Historical Review», 93 (2012)/4, 751-766.

⁵¹ See G. Álvarez Chillida, *El Concilio Vaticano II y la reacción antisemita en la España de los años sesenta*, in *El olivo y la espada. Estudios sobre el antisemitismo*

O'Collins' book, *The Second Vatican Council on Other Religions*, is particularly representative of the new «intertextual approach» to the theology of Vatican II. The volume begins with a section on the New Testament through medieval times, with a second chapter from Gregory VII to the 20th century. O'Collins' methodology is intertextual and he approaches the issue of non-Christian religions in the final documents of the council on the liturgy, the Church, missions, and the modern world, and concludes with the theology of Jacques Dupuis. He does not shy away from the notion that Vatican II brought some *changes*:

The accumulation of evidence establishes decisively that, by its teaching on «non-Christian religions», the Council brought a dramatic change in doctrine (and subsequent practice through the international and national dialogues and forms of collaborations), a change that had some (partial) antecedents in theology and official teaching but went far beyond these antecedents to embody a massive shift in the official doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church.⁵²

en España (siglos XVI-XX), ed. by P. Joan i Tous, H. Nottebaum, Berlin 2010, 391-422; T.-M. Andreuon, *Les Juifs et la préparation du texte conciliaire Nostra Aetate*, in «Nouvelle Revue Théologique», 135 (2013)/2, 218-238; M.C. Boys, *What Nostra Aetate Inaugurated: A Conversion to the «Providential Mystery of Otherness»*, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013), 73-104; E.T. Groppe, *Revisiting Vatican II's Theology of the People of God After Forty-Five Years of Catholic-Jewish Dialogue*, in «Theological Studies», 72 (2011)/3, 586-619; E. Kessler, «I Am Joseph, Your Brother»: A Jewish Perspective on Christian-Jewish Relations since Nostra Aetate No. 4, in *ibidem*, 74 (2013) 48-72; D. Pratt, *The Vatican in Dialogue with Islam: Inclusion and Engagement*, in «Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations», 21 (2010)/3, 245-262; *Never Revoked: Nostra Aetate as Ongoing Challenge for Jewish-Christian Dialogue*, ed. by M. Moyaert, D. Pollefeyt, Eerdmans 2010, 186; M. Moyaert, D. Pollefeyt, *Introduction: The Covenant Never Revoked: Remembering the Conciliar Courage to Dialogue*, 1-12; M. Lamberigts, L. Declerck, *Vatican II on the Jews: A Historical Survey*, 13-56; J.T. Pawlikowski, *Reflections on Covenant and Mission: Forty Years after Nostra Aetate*, 57-91; S. Schoon, «The New People of God»: A Protestant View, 93-146; D. Meyer, *Nostra Aetate: Past, Present, Future: A Jewish Perspective*, 117-132; M.C. Boys, *The Nostra Aetate Trajectory: Holding Our Theological Bow Differently*, 133-147; M. Moyaert, D. Pollefeyt, *Israel and the Church: Fulfillment Beyond Supersessionism?*, 159-183. See also J. Scheuer, *L'Église catholique et les croyants des autres religions. De l'élaboration de Nostra Aetate à nos jours*, in «Nouvelle Revue Théologique», 135 (2013)/2, 239-261; H. Schmid, *50 Jahre nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil – Theologische Beiträge zum christlich-islamischen Dialog angesichts neuer Kooperationsmöglichkeiten*, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/2, 91-110.

⁵² See G. O'Collins, *The Second Vatican Council on Other Religions*, Oxford 2013, 240, quotation at 204.

Together with *Nostra Aetate*, the declaration on religious liberty is always one of the major fields for the debate on the issue of «change» at Vatican II, as many studies on *Dignitatis Humanae* can prove.⁵³ There are fewer studies on ecumenism and the Eastern Catholic Churches,⁵⁴ while a significant interest is maintained in *Ad Gentes*⁵⁵ (also because of the connection between the anniversary of Vatican

⁵³ See B. Carniaux, *La déclaration Dignitatis Humanae sur la liberté religieuse*, in «Nouvelle Revue Théologique», 134 (2012)/4, 590-605; J. Lamont, *Pour une lecture pieuse de Vatican II au sujet de la liberté religieuse*, in «Divinitas», 55 (2012)/1, 70-91; N. Schwerdtfeger, Ökumene für ein Recht der Person. *Die Erklärung über die Religionsfreiheit «Dignitatis Humanae» und ihr historischer Kontext*, in «Catholica», 65 (2011)/4, 273-290.

⁵⁴ See Diakon A. Dikarev, *Nabljudateli Russkoj Cerkvi na II Vatikanskovo Sabore: Predystorija*, «Cerkov i Vremija», 62 (2013) 107-137 [The Observers of the Russian Church at Vatican II]; M. Iff, *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil in freikirchlicher Sicht*, in «Catholica», (2012)/3, 193-212; H.-G. Link, *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil und die Evangelische Kirche im Rheinland*, in «Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte» 25 (2012)/2, 418-460; F. Nüssel, «...Nicht zur Anpassung, sondern Aufbruch»? *Notizen zum Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil aus evangelischer Sicht im Abstand von fünfzig Jahren*, in «Catholica», (2012)/3, 180-192; C. Morerod, *Unitatis Redintegratio entre deux herméneutiques*, in «Revue Thomiste» ANNO? NUMERO?, 51-57; K. Schelkens, *Seeking Full Communion. Some Notes on the Dialogue between the Vatican and the Phanar 1962-1971*, in «Notes et documents», 22-23 (2012) 65-83; W. Thönissen, *Aufbruch in ein neues Zeitalter der Kirche. Die Entwicklung des Ökumenismus nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, in «Theologische Revue», 108 (2012)/4, 267-282; P. Neuner, *Das Konzil und die Ökumene*, in «Theologie und Glaube», 102/4 (2012), 546-564; G. Siegwalt, *Vatican II et l'enjeu de la catholicité*, in «Irénikon», 85 (2012) 5-24; N. Egender, *Cinquante ans de Vatican II (I^{ère} partie)*, in «Irénikon», 85 (2012) 41-90; P. Mahieu, *La concélébration projetée entre Paul VI et Athénagoras Ier. Enseignements théologiques et nature des obstacles*, in «Istina», 55 (2013) 41-67.

⁵⁵ See S.B. Bevans, *Mission at the Second Vatican Council 1962-1965*, in «New Theological Review», 25 (March 2013)/2, 7-15; S.B. Bevans, *Revisiting Mission at Vatican II: Theology and Practice for Today's Missionary Church*, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013) 261-283; C. Foisy, *Preparing the Québec Church for Vatican II: Missionary Lessons from Asia, Africa, and Latin America, 1945-1962*, in «TOC for Historical Studies» (a journal of the Canadian Catholic Historical Association), 2012. See also *Il Vaticano II e la missione. Con «Ad gentes», oltre «Ad gentes»*, special issue of «Ad Gentes. Teologia e antropologia della missione», 16 (2012) 1: S. Noceti, *Introduzione. Con Ad gentes, oltre Ad gentes*, 5-10; S. Noceti, *Pensare il post-concilio. Tra ricezione ed ermeneutica*, 11-24; G. Colzani, *A 50 anni dal Vaticano II nuove prospettive per una teologia della missione*, 25-41; F. Sottocornola, *Dialogo interreligioso e teologia della missione*, 42-55; B. de Marchi, *Partecipazione al movimento ecumenico e ricezione di Ad gentes*, 56-70; M. Faggioli, *Lecture e commentari di Ad gentes. 50 anni di studi*, 71-76; S. Dianich, *Evangelizzare: dal Vaticano II alla problematica contemporanea*, 77-87.

II and the «Year of Faith» for the new evangelization),⁵⁶ the laity,⁵⁷ and the religious orders.⁵⁸ Two books from Germany and Italy that connect Vatican II and the role of women in the Church ask whether European theology still employs Vatican II as a tool for the debate on women in the Church, while the very active feminist theology and women theologians of North America has largely given up on Vatican II as a resource in this debate.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ See Symposion «Concilio Vaticano II: il valore permanente di una riforma per la nuova evangelizzazione» (Pontificia Università della Santa Croce, 3-4 maggio 2012), in «Annuario Historiae Conciliorum», 43 (2011) 1: J. Grohe, *Das II. Vatikanische Konzil im Gesamt der Ökumenischen Konzilien*, 1-18; M. De Salis, *Ermeneutica della riforma*, 19-54; J.R. Villar, *La constitución Lumen Gentium*, 55-112; G. Del Pozo Abejón, *La declaración Dignitatis Humanae: novedad y tradición*, 113-140; C.-J. Alejos, *La declaración Gravissimum Educationis y su recepción en el Magisterio de la Iglesia*, 141-160; N.B. Da Silva Martins, *Il Decreto Inter Mirifica e le esitazioni ecclesiali sulla comunicazione sociale*, 161-168; M. Delgado, *Das Dekret «Über die Missionstätigkeit der Kirche Ad Gentes» des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils. Einige Überlegungen zur Entstehung, zum Inhalt und zur Rezeption*, 193-205.

⁵⁷ See *I laici dopo il Concilio. Quale autonomia?*, a cura di C. Militello, Bologna 2012, 157: G. Turbanti, *L'autonomia dei laici da Lumen Gentium a Gaudium et spes*, 9-41; P. Bignardi, *L'autonomia dei laici: il percorso post-conciliare*, 43-54; D. Scaiola, *Il retroterra biblico di LG 10*, 55-70; P. Stefani, «Un nuovo popolo»... «un Regno e dei sacerdoti» (LG 10), 71-85; S. Noceti, *Laici e sensus fidei (LG 12)*, 87-101; C. Dotolo, *La corresponsabilità dei laici (LG 37)*, 103-112; C. Militello, *Donne Città Chiesa*, 127-143. See also P.C. Okuma, *The Vatican II. The Laity and Today's Challenges*, Frankfurt a.M. 2011, 203.

⁵⁸ See M. Confoy, *Religious Life in the Vatican II Era: «State of Perfection» or Living Charism?*, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013) 321-346.

⁵⁹ See *Die Tür ist geöffnet: Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil - Leseanleitungen aus Frauenperspektive*, hrsg. von M. Eckholt, Aschedorff, Münster, 151; M. Eckholt, *Ohne die Frauen ist keine Kirche zu machen - Der Aufbruch des Konzils und die Zeichen der Zeit*, Ostfildern 2012, 232; A. Valerio, *Madri del Concilio. Ventitrè donne al Vaticano II*, Roma 2012, 165; «*Tantum Aurora Est*». *Donne e Concilio Vaticano II*, ed. by M. Perroni, A. Melloni, S. Noceti, Zürich 2012, 389; H. Vorgrimler, *Prefazione*, 7-11; M. Perroni, *Introduzione*, 13-18; A. Valerio, *Mulieres taceant? Una irruzione inaspettata*, 21-31; P. Doria, *Le Udatrici del Vaticano II nell'Archivio e negli Acta*, 33-65; C. Ciriello, *Protagoniste silenziose di un cambiamento epocale. La vita consacrata femminile*, 67-86; A. Carfora, Alda de Luzenberger, Sergio Tanzarella, *Le molte altre. Le aggregazioni laicali e i movimenti*, 87-98; A. Melloni, *Vivere il Concilio. Il diario del Vaticano II di Angelina Alberigo*, 99-135; M. Guasco, *Piccola sorella Magdeleine: lettere dal Concilio*, 137-148; M. Velati, *Sete di unità: Maria Vingiani*, 149-163; N. Capozza, *Voci inattese in lingua tedesca: le prime teologhe (1954-1964)*, 165-196; R. Burigana, «Voi siete la metà dell'immensa famiglia umana». *Il Messaggio alle donne*, 197-205; M.C. Bartolomei, *Lo sfondo del pensiero dei padri conciliari*, 209-217; C. Militello, *La riscoperta della dignità battesimale*, 219-254; G. Ziviani, *La vita religiosa*, 255-284; S. Mazzolini, *Donne e missione: non*

6. Reception of Vatican II

One of the big issues in the debate on Vatican II is the role of the reception for understanding the council, both methodologically and in terms of the meaning of what happened locally and after Vatican II for the meaning of Vatican II *per se*. Gilles Routhier's seminal work has been followed in recent years by many others,⁶⁰ and has taken roots as a field of research developed in many nations.⁶¹ Recently, many studies on reception have been published in Italy, in Switzerland, in Canada, Latin America, and in Australia.⁶² It is therefore

solo suore, 285-299; A. Autiero, Vanessa Görtz, *Matrimonio e nuzialità nella visione del Vaticano II*, 301-316; S. Noceti, «Nel senso di una profezia e di una promessa». La riflessione sul ministero ordinato alle donne, 317-331; A.M. Calapaj Burlini, *Laici, donne, liturgia: una questione aperta?*, 333-342; N. Buonasorte, *Eva, Maria, la catechista. Figure femminili nelle parole del Concilio*, 343-352; M. Faggioli, *Post-fazione. Donne e teologia: un indicatore della ricezione conciliare*, 353-368.

⁶⁰ See *Vatican II et sa réception*, ed. by G. Routhier, in «Laval Théologique et Philosophique», 67 (2011)/3; C. Theobald, *Vatican II: un corpus, un style, des conditions de réception*, 421-442; G. Routhier, *À l'origine de la pastoralité à Vatican II*, 443-460; F. Nault, *Un concile prophétique au temps des sorciers*, 461-476; G. Jobin, *Rhétorique, politique et parole croyante*, 477-500.

⁶¹ See J.P. Chinnici, O.F.M., *Ecumenism, Civil Rights, and the Second Vatican Council: The American Experience*, in «U.S. Catholic Historian» 30 (2012)/3, 21-49; Ag-bonkhanmeghe E. Orobator, «After All, Africa Is Largely a Nonliterate Continent»: The Reception of Vatican II in Africa, in «Theological Studies», 74 (2013) 284-301; P. Phan, *Reception and Trajectories for Vatican II in Asia*, *ibidem*, 302-320; T. Tshibangu, *Le Concile Vatican II et l'Église africaine. Mise en oeuvre du Concile dans l'Église d'Afrique (1960-2010)*, Paris 2012, 154; *L'Église de France après Vatican II. Actes du colloque*, ed. by J.-F. Galinier-Pallerola, A. Laffay, B. Minvielle, CITTa??? 2011, 367; C. McDannell, *The Spirit of Vatican II. A History of Catholic Reform in America*, New York 2011, 286; A. Pieris SJ, *Give Vatican II a Chance: Yes to Incessant Renewal, No to Reform of the Reforms: An Appeal to the Lay, Religious and Clerical Leaders of the Asian Churches*, Kelaniya 2010, 220; M. Quisinsky, *II. Vaticanum – Wessenberg – Konstanzer Konzil. Wahrnehmungs- und Perspektivenverschränkungen in der einstigen Konzils- und Bischofsstadt Konstanz*, in «Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv», 132 (2012) 119-136; V. Schmidt, *Das Bistum Essen und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil: Eine Untersuchung zum Rezeptionsprozess in den Pfarreien*, Münster 2011, 272; O. Ernesto Valiente, *The Reception of Vatican II in Latin America*, in «Theological Studies», 73 (2012)/4, 795-823.

⁶² As for Italy, see G. Forcesi, *Il Vaticano II a Bologna. La riforma conciliare nella città di Lercaro e Dossetti*, Bologna 2011, 559; *L'Italia del Vaticano II*, a cura di V. Schirripa, Roma 2012, 132; *Da Montini a Martini: il Vaticano II a Milano. I. Le figure*, a cura di G. Routhier, L. Bressan, L. Vaccaro, Brescia 2012; G. Routhier, *Pour une étude de la réception de Vatican II au plan local*, 5-45; G. Adornato, *Preparazione del Concilio a Milano: Montini*, 49-90; E. Versace, *Giovanni Colombo e l'attuazione*

Scusa Massimo, qui ho dovuto accorpare le note relative ai vari paesi se no non mi faceva immaginare...

del Concilio a Milano, 91-115; V. Pontiggia, *Recezione del Concilio a Milano: Martini*, 117-155; A. Piola, *La recezione del Concilio a Torino: Pellegrino e Ballestrero*, 157-181; G. Vian, *Recezione del Concilio a Venezia: Urbani, Luciani e Cè*, 183-197; N. Buonasorte, *Il postconcilio a Genova: il cardinal Siri*, 199-220; S. Dianich, *L'episcopato, ovvero la figura dell'uno. Rilettura teologica*, 221-241; M. Guasco, *I presbiteri: mutamenti, lancio della formazione permanente*, 245-253; T. Citrini, *Schegge sul diaconato a Milano*, 255-262; U. Dell'Orto, *Tre momenti emblematici della recezione del Vaticano II nel Seminario di Milano*, 263-280; C. Vaiani, *I religiosi nel dopo Concilio*, 281-311; C. Bettinelli, *Recezione del Vaticano II a Milano. Le religiose nel post-concilio*, 313-323; S. Ubbiali, *La Facoltà Teologica dell'Italia Settentrionale. Gli avvisi*, 325-343; R. Repole, *I laici collaboratori dell'azione pastorale. La vicenda torinese*, 345-366; G. Canobbio, *La recezione relativa ai Ministeri*, 367-381; L. Bressan, *Le trasformazioni della parrocchia, Chiesa di popolo*, 385-402; M. Vergottini, «Applicare il Concilio» - «Sperimentare la sinodalità». *Trent'anni di Consiglio pastorale a Milano*, 403-427; G. Formigoni, *La vicenda dell'Azione Cattolica ambrosiana*, 429-453; M. Faggioli, *I movimenti cattolici internazionali nel postconcilio: il caso della recezione del Vaticano II in Italia*, 455-471; M. Bocci, *Il Concilio indiviso, da Gioventù Studentesca a Comunione e Liberazione*, 473-531; P. Colombo, *Contestazione e dissenso nel mondo ecclesiale milanese*, 533-555; A. Cozzi, *La figura dei molti. Rilettura teologica*, 557-586; F. Pagani, *Fonti nell'ASDMI e nella RDM su Concilio e postconcilio*, 587-600; G. Routhier, *Le concile Vatican II inscrit dans la chair de l'Église*, 601-626; A. Caprioli, *Il Vaticano II e la sua recezione*, 627-635. As for Switzerland, see *La réception du Concile Vatican II par les théologiens suisses. Die Rezeption des II. Vaticanum durch die Schweizer Theologen*, ed. by G. Bedouelle, M. Delgado, Fribourg 2011, 237; G. Routhier, *L'ombre de Karl Barth à Vatican II*, 25-50; H. Gottfried, «L'École de Neuchâtel» et l'unité des Églises autour de Vatican II, 51-59; P. Grossrieder, *H. De Riedmatten OP (1919-1979)*, 61-72; L. Gerosa, *Eugenio Corecco: canoniste et évêque après Vatican II*, 81-91; P. Henrici, *Hans Urs von Balthasar und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, 99-111; T.K. Kuhn, *Oscar Cullmann und das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil*, 113-140; L. Karrer, *Hans Küng und die Impulse des Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzils*, 141-154; G. Vergauwen, *Das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil und die Ökumene*, 155-166; M. Delgado, «Mysterium Salutis» als innovativer systematischer Ansatz im Anschluss an das Zweite Vatikanische Konzil, 167-178. As for Canada, see *Vatican II: Experiences Canadiennes - Canadian Experiences*, ed. by M. Attridge, C.E. Clifford, G. Routhier, Ottawa 2011, 578; I. Cuplinskas, *Vatican II Viewed by the Press Reporting the Revolution: «The Western Catholic Reporter» and Post-Vatican II Reform*, 18-38; M. Pelchat, *Le concile Vatican II dans la région de la Beauce: une fenêtre sur Rome à travers l'«Éclairer-Progres»*, 39-55; P.C. Pagé, *Deux événements médiatiques québécois en lien avec le Concile: «Foi et Constitution» à Montréal (1963) et Paul VI à l'ONU (1965)*, 56-77; S. Macdonald, *Canadian Presbyterians and Vatican II: A Silent Revolution*, 78-105; J.H. Young, *Reaction to Vatican II in The United Church of Canada*, 106-123; A.L. Hayes, «Hold Onto Your Hats»: Vatican II and Aggiornamento in the Anglican Church of Canada, 124-147; M.A. Fahey, S.J., *Growing Awareness Regarding Vatican II in Canadian Theological Monographs and Journals (1959 to 1969)*, 148-169; A. Spatafora, *Inspiration After «Dei Verbum»*, 170-181; K. Schelkens, *Cardinal Paul-Émile Léger and the Establishment*

clear that this is an expanding field and that in the future we should expect more «local» studies on the participation/reception of Vatican II.⁶³ The idea of «reception» is at the very heart of the debate on the role of the council in the life of the Church and of the theological tradition,⁶⁴ both from a perspective that looks at a particular field of

of the Mixed Commission on Revelation, 184-208; P. Meehan, «The lesser of two evils?»: Archbishop Philip Pocock, Vatican II and the Birth Control Controversy, 209-225; P. Galadza, *The Council Diary of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk and Turning Points in the History of the Catholic Church: An Interpretation*, 226-238; M. Tataryn, *Canada's Ukrainian Catholics and Vatican II: A Guide for the Future or Struggling with the Past?*, 239-252; P. Baltutis, *Experimenting Creatively with Being Church in the Modern World: The Social Affairs Commission of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, 1965-1982*, 253-275; J. Racine, *Le synode extraordinaire de 1985: l'expérience canadienne*, 276-293; P. Roy, *Marcel Bélanger: Itinéraire d'un expert canadien à Vatican II*, 294-321; J. Z. Škira, «A Great Historic Day»: The Conciliar Diaries of Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, 322-340; M. Attridge, *A Canadian Anglican at Vatican II: The Activity of Eugene R. Fairweather*, 341-359; G. Baum, *Vatican Council II: A Turning Point in the Church's History*, 360-377; L. Laberge, *Théologiens à Vatican II: Notes et carnets, témoins de l'expérience vécue à la commission doctrinale*, 378-413; D.J. Dias, *The St. Lawrence Flows into Lake Ontario: Tides of Liturgical Renewal*, 416-435; R. Brodeur, *La réception de Vatican II dans la formation catéchétique au Québec*, 436-447; M. Power and J. Van den Hengel, *Religious Education after Vatican II: From Dogma to Method*, 448-475; H. MacDonald and E. Smyth, *Imaging Perfectae Caritatis: Viewing the Consecrated Life through the Motherhouse Museums of Canadian Women Religious*, 476-494; R. Bruno-Jofré, *The Spiritual Journey of Alice Trudeau, m.o., in the Post-conciliar Context*, 495-514; S. Jardine, *Vatican II and the Changing Mission of the Catholic Women's League of Canada*, 515-524; G. Routhier, *La question de la liberté religieuse au Québec à l'heure du Concile*, 525-542; C.E. Clifford, *Anglican-Roman Catholic Dialogue in Canada: Receiving «Unitatis Redintegratio»*, 543-558. As for Latin America, see P. Margaria, *El concilio Vaticano II y su impacto en el campo episcopal argentino*, in «Trabayo y Sociedad», 15 (2012)/18, 331-344. As for Australia, see *Vatican II: The Reception and Implementation in the Australian Church*, ed. by N. Ormerod, O. Rush, D. Pascoe, C. Johnson, and J. Hodge, Melbourne 2012; G. Brown, *The Two Bodies Of Christ: Communion Frequency And Ecclesiastical Discourse In Pre-Vatican II Australian Catholicism*, in «Church History», 79 (2010)/2, 359-409.

⁶³ See the project «Lived History of Vatican II» (2012-2015) dir. by the Cushwa Center of the University of Notre Dame <http://cushwa.nd.edu/about/history/>.

⁶⁴ See S. Arenas, *Consensus Ecclesiarum Viewed in the Light of Elementa Ecclesiae and Sensus Fidelium*, in *Visions of Hope. Emerging Theologians and the Future of the Church*, ed. by K.J. Ahern, Maryknoll, NY, 2013, 109-122; B.K. Brown, *The Local and Universal Churches. Expressing Catholicity Through Their Reciprocity*, in *Visions of Hope. Emerging Theologians and the Future of the Church*, ed. by K.J. Ahern, Maryknoll, NY, 2013, 191-212; L. Cahill, *Moral Theology after Vatican II*, in *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity*, ed. by M.J. Lacey, F. Oakley, Oxford

theology and as a sign of the globalization of the Catholic Church in the formation of the theological tradition.⁶⁵

- UP, New York 2011, 193-224; M. Faggioli, *Is Vatican II Still Relevant?*, in *Visions of Hope. Emerging Theologians and the Future of the Church*, ed. by K.J. Ahern, Maryknoll, NY, 2013, 7-19; *Des théologiens lisent le concile Vatican II: Pour qui? Pour quoi?*, éd. par L. Villemain, préface de T.-M. Courau, Paris 2012, 191; Laurent Villemain, *Vatican II et la théologie*, 11-21; B. Cholvy, *Quel renouveau dans la continuité pour la vision de l'homme?*, 23-41; E. Durand, *Révélation trinitaire et histoire du salut selon Dei Verbum 2-6. L'intégration de l'histoire dans l'énoncé dogmatique*, 43-59; F. Moog, *L'Église qui est, qui était et qui vient*, 61-78; J.-L. Souletie, «La participation active dans la liturgie, une intuition renouvelée», 79-100; G. Médevielle, *Le renouveau de Vatican II pour la théologie morale*, 101-124; H. de la Hogue, *Pour le dialogue interreligieux, quell renouveau apporte le concile Vatican II dans la continuité?*, 125-142; S. Ramond, *Interpréter les Écritures: les impulsions données au concile Vatican II*, 143-158; D. Villepelet, *Le concile Vatican II et la question de la transmission de la foi*, 159-177; J.-N. Pérès, *La réception de Vatican II. Point de vue d'un luthérien*, 179-189; J. O'Leary, *Vatican II: The Unfinished Council*, in «Japan Mission Journal», ANNO? NUMERO? 000-000; K. Stevens, *What Does Gaudium et Spes Have to Say toward Contemporary Issue of Racism?*, in *Visions of Hope. Emerging Theologians and the Future of the Church*, ed. by K.J. Ahern, Maryknoll, NY, 2013, 167-176; F. Sullivan, *Catholic Tradition and Traditions*, in *The Crisis of Authority in Catholic Modernity*, ed. by M.J. Lacey, F. Oakley, Oxford, UP, New York 2011, 113-133; *Vatican II, 50 ans après. Interprétation, réception, mise en oeuvre et développements doctrinaux, 1962-2012, Actes des journées d'études de la Faculté de théologie et de l'Institut d'études religieuses et pastorales de l'Institut catholique de Toulouse, les 30 et 31 janvier 2012*, dir. par J.-F. Galinier-Pallerola, H. Gaignard, C. Delarbre, Perpignan 2012, 246; F.S. Venuto, *La recezione del Concilio Vaticano II nel dibattito storiografico dal 1965 al 1985. Riforma o discontinuità?*, Cantalupa 2011, 444; *Vatican II: A Universal Call to Holiness*, ed. by A.J. Ciorra, M.W. Higgins, New York 2012; A.J. Ciorra, *Introduction*, 1-6; M. Faggioli, *The Future of Vatican II. The Vision of the Council Beyond the «Narratives»*, 7-26; R. Scott Appleby, *To the Rulers. Reading the Classics to Renew Hope*, 27-46; D.L. Hayes, *To Women. If It Wasn't for the Women: Roman Catholic Women and Their Church*, 47-61; R.S. Goizueta, *To the Poor, the Sick, and the Suffering*, 62-79; M.J. Himes, *To Artists. A Reflection*, 80-88; S.L. Heiman and P. Denio, *To Youth*, 89-125; N. Dallavalle, *To Workers. Work and the Working Life Fifty Years After the Council*, 126-149; J.F. Haught, *To Women and Men of Science. Science, Spirituality and Vatican II*, 150-165; M.W. Higgins, *Conclusion. Holiness in the Future, Holiness as Future*, 166-172.
- ⁶⁵ See «Concilium» (2012)/3, ed. by S. Scatena, D. Gira, J. Sobrino, M.C. Bingemer: *Editorial: Vatican II Fifty Years Later*, 7-11; P. Hünermann, *Speechless about Vatican II?*, 15-26; A. Melloni, *Roncalli and -his' Council*, 27-35; G. Ruggieri, *Vatican II as Church Enacted*, 36-46; J.W. O'Malley, *Ressourcement and Reform at Vatican II*, 47-55; C. Theobald, *Vatican II Confronts the Unknown Collegial Discernment of the «Signs of the Times»*, 56-63; G. Siegwalt, *Vatican II between Catholicism and Catholicity*, 64-74; J. Sobrino, *The «Church of the Poor» did not Prosper at Vatican II*, 75-84; M.C. Lucchetti Bingemer, *The Council and the Emergence of the Laity*, 85-94; A.E. Orobator, *Look Back to the Future Transformative Impulses of Vatican II*

In this sense, it is crucial to examine modern forms of transmitting «the thing» that is Vatican II: for example, television⁶⁶ – as has been done already for the use of «external» sources (political and diplomatic archives) in order to capture the multi-dimensional character of an ecumenical council that happened in the cultural and political climate of the 1960s.⁶⁷ In this respect, it becomes more and more important for the Church to transmit the council to non-theologians and to younger generations of Catholics by publishing works that take a look at Vatican II in its entirety.⁶⁸

7. A New Start for Vatican II in the Theological Debate?

In his February 14, 2013 lecture, Pope Benedict XVI was about to retire and did not offer a fundamentally different interpretation

for African Catholicism, 97-102; M.E. Hines, *North American «Impulses» Following Vatican II*, 103-109; J.O. Beozzo, *Vatican II Fifty Years Later in Latin America and the Caribbean*, 110-115; F. Wilfred, *The Reception of Vatican II in a Multireligious Continent*, 116-122; M. Maier, *Vatican II: Inspiration and Encouragement for the Church in Europe*, 122-128. See also P. Hünermann, *Theologie nach dem II. Vatikanischen Konzil – Eine Reflexion auf die Dogmatik*, in *Epochale Veränderungen. Theologie nach dem Zweiten Vatikanischen Konzil*, in «Herder Korrespondenz Spezial», (Oktober 2012) 27-31.

⁶⁶ See F. Ruozzi, *Il concilio in diretta*, cit., 565; Id., *La «voce» del concilio. Il fuorionda del 13 ottobre 1962 nelle fonti audio del Vaticano II*, in «Cristianesimo nella Storia», 34 (2013)/1, 161-200; D. Viganò, *Il Vaticano II e la comunicazione. Una rinnovata storia tra Vangelo e società*, Milano 2012, 219

⁶⁷ See V. Delcorps, *Le Ministère belge des Affaires étrangères et le concile Vatican II*, in «Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique», 107 (2012)/3-4, 996-1034; G. Feindt, *Semantiken der Versöhnung. Theologische Hintergründe der Versöhnung mit Polen am Beispiel des Briefwechsels der polnischen und deutschen Bischöfe und des Polen-Memorandums des Bensberger Kreises*, in «Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte», 24 (2011)/2, 396-414; S. Nacke, *Die Kirche in der Weltgesellschaft. Das II. Vatikanische Konzil und die Globalisierung des Katholizismus*. Wiesbaden 2010, 38; K. Schelkens, *Vatican Diplomacy after the Cuban Missile Crisis: New Light on the Release of Josyf Slippy*, in «Catholic Historical Review», 47 (2011) 679-712. See also L. Ettorre, *Il Concilio Vaticano II nella stampa comunista italiana (1959-1965)*, in «Diacronie. Studi di storia contemporanea», 8 (2011)/4.

⁶⁸ See G. Ruggieri, *Ritrovare il concilio*, Torino 2012, 131; P. Chenaux, *Le temps de Vatican II. Une introduction à l'histoire du concile*, Paris 2012, 230; J.-M. Vezin, Laurent Villemin, *Les sept défis de Vatican II*, Paris 2012, 267 Interesting is the case of *Youcoun, le livre*. «Célébrer, comprendre et promouvoir le Concile Vatican II» chez les jeunes published in France ?????? in 2012 it sold several thousand copies in a few weeks.

from the one we heard before. There is no doubt that the role of Vatican II in the Church of today has been deeply affected by Pope Benedict's interpretation of it, and especially by the simplistic and ideological interpretations of it by others. But it is also clear that the interpretation of Vatican II offered by Benedict XVI had unintended consequences for the role of the council in the Church of today, in the sense that it reopened the debate on the council.

Ratzinger's report on Vatican II, as it was conveyed to and received by many Church leaders, has provided sometimes support for the harshest critics of an historical approach to the work of Vatican II and even let itself be read – in spite of the achievements of Joseph Ratzinger as a theologian of the council – as coming from the pope of ultra-traditionalist *revanche* against Vatican II. From 2005 onwards, the polarity of «continuity and reform vs. discontinuity and rupture» became the litmus test for talking about Vatican II, especially at seminaries and pontifical universities, but also in many dioceses and parishes. The subject of «continuity with the tradition», which originally had been presented also as an argument against the Lefebvrites' who read Vatican II as a complete rupture, was soon re-oriented against the historians and theologians who read the council as a «corpus» of documents that cannot be understood without understanding the «event» that produced those texts. Pope Benedict XVI's teaching did not create but it encouraged the idea of a mutual exclusivity between the two terms – «continuity and discontinuity». The idea of Vatican II as a «council of reform» (and not just of «continuity») was integral part of the famous December 2005 speech, but for many reasons in the ecclesial and theological debate that complex «idea of reform» succumbed to a much sharper and simplistic opposition between «continuity and discontinuity».

The biographical factor in the personality of Pope Benedict XVI played a role, as it did for John Paul II, but in a completely different way. The reception of Vatican II by Pope John Paul II was certainly not a liberal one, however it was deeply personal, deriving from his experience as council father, sometimes surprising and surely not always colliding with the interpretation of Vatican II by academic theology (especially on the issues *ad extra* – if we return to John Paul II's teaching on Judaism and Islam). Quite differently, the hermeneutic of Ratzinger – the first post-Vatican II pope who was not a council father – has placed itself in an almost programmatic contrast with the historiographical consensus on Vatican II and the theological reception of Vatican II, thus invoking a kind of «counter-reception»

that has precise ecclesiastical and ideological references in world of traditionalism. In ecclesiastical circles, the identification of the historiographical and hermeneutical studies of Vatican II (especially by Giuseppe Alberigo, Peter Hünemann, and John O'Malley) with the idea of «rupture» contributed to a *damnatio* of the council and its historical dimensions, not infrequently carried out by loquacious neo-Catholics who converted to Catholicism in virtue of this revanchist anti-conciliar narrative, which make them look at Catholicism as the home of choice for conservative thought. The teaching of Vatican II seemed to be reduced sometimes to a «negotiable», especially in the negotiations with the Lefebvrites but also with the appointment of some traditionalist and unapologetically anti-Vatican II bishops, cardinals, and officials of the Roman Curia. During the pontificate of Benedict XVI not just the «spirit» or the «event» of Vatican II, but also the «letter» and the «documents» of Vatican II came under the influence of this revisionism and revanchism – conducted sometimes even more forcefully on the periphery of Catholicism rather than in the Roman Curia.⁶⁹

In this situation, at the beginning of a new pontificate that has inaugurated a new climate in the Church, the historical-theological debate on Vatican II evokes the ecclesial protagonists who kept talking about the council in an ecclesial environment that was sometimes much less hospitable than just 10 years before. Nevertheless, there are issues that are typical in the official, ecclesiastical debate on Vatican II that has spilled over the scholarly debate, and the debates need to be aware of present-day emergencies regarding the issue of understanding «what happened to Vatican II». In particular, it is clear that the debate on the hermeneutic of Vatican II needs to be grounded in a solid historical appreciation of the council. This necessity is more evident today when we have a separation (if not sometimes an opposition) between the historical hermeneutic of the council (what historians know and say about Vatican II), the theological hermeneutic (what use theologians make of Vatican II), and the institutional hermeneutic (what use the Church as an institution makes of Vatican II in its bureaucratic and governmental

⁶⁹ For the Lefebvrites' interpretation of Benedict XVI's speech on the «two hermeneutics», see *Dichiarazione nella ricorrenza del XXV anniversario delle consacrazioni episcopali*, June 27th, 2013, signed by the three Lefebvrite bishops Bernard Fellay, Bernard Tissier de Mallerais, and Alfonso de Gallareta: www.dici.org/en/documents/dichiarazione-nella-ricorrenza-del-25-anniversario-delle-consacrazioni-episcopali-30-giugno-1988-27-giugno-2013/, especially paragraph 3.

aspects). The lack of a shared hermeneutic of Vatican II is not unique to the situation in which a community with a strong institutional component must take stock of a big event of «change» in the recent past. What is unique is the situation of the Church today, in which the appeals to and against Vatican II have immediate consequences on the life of a living religious community as big as the world.

If it is true that the interpretation of Vatican II is not unavoidably linked with the interpretation of its aftermath, it is also true that most narratives of Vatican II (especially those against Vatican II) are linked with a nostalgic interpretation of the pre-Vatican II era and of its culture. In this, the scholarly debate cannot pretend to be detached from a big cultural and pedagogical issue in the Church of today, that is, communicating Vatican II to a new generation of Catholics (of seminarians, priests, and lay ministers especially) when the fathers (the council fathers and others) are not there anymore. It is not enough to read the texts of Vatican II, and not even to read them well, and it is not enough to read the *History of Vatican II* well: we must question those texts in light of these last 50 years of Church history.

In other words, without the event of Vatican II and the events of these last 50 years of Church history, the texts of the council are silent – especially for the young generations of Catholics. Vatican II is not a text: it is an «event», a «gesto» (in Italian) with a «style», an «act» that begins with John XXIII and with *Gaudet Mater Ecclesia*.⁷⁰

In this, the debate on Vatican II raises a serious methodological issue for Catholic culture and Catholic theology in post-modernity: that is, the issue of the compatibility between understanding Vatican II (and Catholicism in the 20th century, for that matter) and the tendency to *deconstruct* Church history in a series of narrower fields of «Catholic studies» defined by gender, ethnic-national culture, local versus global, etc. It is a legitimate question whether or not understanding Vatican II historically and theologically still needs a general, classical «Church history» kind of approach, which is less and less practiced in the academia (both secular and ecclesiastical) for various reasons – without giving up the new methodological insights of post-modern historical and social studies. In other words, the studies on Vatican II are at cross-roads between a tradition of historical and theological studies still done with a «universalistic» approach on one side, and a post-modern approach to the object on the other.⁷¹

⁷⁰ See A. Torres Queiruga, *La teologia dopo il Vaticano II. Una proposta*, cit.

⁷¹ About this, see L.F. Maffly-Kipp, *The Burdens of Church History*, in «Church History», 82 (2013) 353-367.

The research on Vatican II has made huge steps forward in these last 25 years also thanks to the variety of methodologies and approaches: theological history of Vatican II (history of ideas); biographical approach (prosopography of Vatican II); social history of Vatican II (groups of influence, think tanks); history of canon law; history of bureaucracy (of the Roman Curia and of the elites of the Church); history of the mass media perception/transmission of the event; history of the «outsiders» (women of Vatican II, lay people, ecumenical observers, etc.). Church history as a discipline has a lot to learn from other methodologies – and this might well be the key for its survival as an historical discipline in the no man’s land between «historical theology», «secular history», and «social studies». But the studies on Vatican II also tell us a lot about the need to respect the «object» of study - an ecumenical council of the Catholic Church.

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